THE MULATA AFFECT:

BIOREMEDIATION IN THE CUBAN ARTS

by

Stephen A. Cruikshank

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

SPANISH AND LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies
University of Alberta

Abstract

The "mulata affect" may be understood as the repetitive process and movement of power and affect qualified in the mulata image over time. Through a lens of affect theory this study seeks to analyse how the mulata image in Cuba has historically been affected by, and likewise affected, cultural expressions and artistic representations. Relying on a theory of "bioremediation" this study proposes that the racialized body of the *mulata*, which is remediated through artistic images, consistently holds the potential to affect both national and exotic interpretations of her body and of Cuban culture. Four different artistic expressions of the *mulata* image are discussed. Beginning in the early twentieth century various artistic mediums are explored in the contexts of the *mulata* in the paintings of Carlos Enríquez's and the *rumbera* [rumba dancer] in the graphic illustrations of Conrado Massaguer. In addition, images of the *miliciana* [the militant woman] in the photography of Alberto Korda following the onset of Cuban Revolution and the *jinetera* [the sex-worker] in Daniel Díaz Torres film *La película de Ana* (2012) are discussed. Through an analysis of these four different expressions of the *mulata* body, this study seeks to expose a genealogy of the *mulata* image in art and, in doing so, reveal the ongoing visual changes and affective workings of the racialized female body that has contributed to the designations of Cuban culture and identity over time.

We are dealing obviously with an unpredictable society
that originated in the most violent currents and eddies
of modern history where sexual and class differences
are overlaid with differences of an ethnographic nature.

— Antonio Benítez Rojo

No matter who restages the colonial encounter from the
West's perspective—the novelist, the playwright, the
discoverer, or the government official—it stars the same
white male protagonist-subject and the same brown, found "object."

— Diana Taylor

Because certain mulaticized bodies (depending on their phenotype
and how closely it approximated whiteness) could move through
varying spaces of (ambiguous) racial identity and domesticity,
one might position the mulata as a woman with a certain degree of access.

— Melissa Blanco Borelli

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for the incredible financial support I received through a three year doctoral fellowship grant towards this research. I am grateful, as well, to the the Faculty of Graduate Studies, the Graduate Student's Association, and the benefactors of the José Varela Travel Grant at the University of Alberta for the financial aid I received to attend a research conference in Columbia Missouri in 2016, and to travel for research and conference presentation work in Cuba in 2017. Both these experiences proved extremely beneficial to the completion of this research. I also want to acknowledge the dedicated work and patience of my dissertation committee: To Dr. Russell Cobb for his supervision and constant support— *hasta la tesis para siempre;* to Dr. Victoria Ruétalo for her incredible support and thorough readings, edits, and guidance in my work, and to Dr. Sourayan Mookerjea for his advanced insight into theoretical implications of my work and for providing me the early inspiration of this project. I want to furthermore thank the staff and faculty at the department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies at the University of Alberta for the ongoing collaboration, teaching opportunities, and research support that I have received throughout my doctoral degree. Last, but absolutely not least, I want to give credit to my wife Dara-Ann who has been a pillar of support and a constant source of encouragement during my doctoral program and my ongoing passion for academic research.

Table Of Contents:

Abstract		ii
Acknowledgements		iv
List of Figures		vi
Introduction: The *Mulata* Image: From Representation to Affect		1
Chapter 1:	The National Body: The *Mulata* and the Paintings of Carlos Enríquez	37
Chapter 2:	The Commercialized Body: The *Rumbera* and the Graphic art of Conrado Massaguer	82
Chapter 3:	The Revolutionary Body: The *Miliciana* and the Photography of Alberto Korda	132
Chapter 4:	The Economized Body: The *Jinetera* and Daniel Díaz Torres' film *La Película de Ana*	182
Conclusion: The After-Affect: Re-envisioning the *Mulata* Image		236
Bibliography		248

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Victor Manuel García, *La Gitana Trópical* (1929)	52
Figure 1.2	Carlos Enríquez, *Dos Ríos* (1939)	55
Figure 1.3	Carlos Enríquez, *Las tetas de la guajira* (1945)	55
Figure 1.4	Carlos Enríquez, *Bandolero Criollo* (1943)	56
Figure 1.5	Carlos Enríquez, *Caballos y Mujer* (1952)	56
Figure 1.6	Carlos Enríquez, *El rapto de las mulatas* (1938)	61
Figure 1.7	Carlos Enríquez, *Trópico* (1945)	65
Figure 1.8	Carlos Enríquez, *Cortadoras de Caña* (ca. 1945-1946)	*68*
Figure 1.9	Carlos Enríquez, *Mulata a la luz de la luna* (1952)	68
Figure 1.10	Carlos Enríquez, *Mulata* (1947)	71
Figure 1.11	Carlos Enríquez, *El desposo* (1956)	74
Figure 1.12	Carlos Enríquez, *La danza de la mulata* (1956)	74
Figure 2.1	Carlos Enríquez, Illustration I from Nicólas Guillén's *El son entero* (1947)	94
Figure 2.2	Carlos Enríquez, Illustration II from Nicólas Guillén's *El son entero* (1947)	94
Figure 2.3	Carlos Enríquez, Illustration III from Nicólas Guillén's *El son entero* (1947)	94
Figure 2.4	Conrado Massaguer, "Massaguer-icatures" (1929)	104
Figure 2.5	Conrado Massaguer, Illustration of a Tourist Festival (1929)	104
Figure 2.6	Conrado Massaguer, "Los Precursores de Jazz" (1925).	108
Figure 2.7	Conrado Massaguer, Photo of illustration "Después de la rumba" (1931)	108
Figure 2.8	Conrado Massaguer, illustration of *rumbera* dancing for politicians (1939)	110
Figure 2.9	Conrado Massaguer, "Visit Cuba" postcard illustration (ca. 1950)	112
Figure 2.10	Conrado Massaguer, "Welcome to Cuba" guidebook illustration (1955)	112
Figure 2.11	Instituto Cubano del Turismo, "Cuba Ideal Vacation Land" (1953-1954)	115
Figure 2.12	*Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* "La Playa: 39 Hours from New York" (1930)	115
Figure 2.13	*Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* "Smart America Discovers La Playa" (1929)	116
Figure 2.14	*Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* "Just a Step from Winter to Summer" (1929)	116
Figure 2.15	Walt Munsen, "A toast to the land of good cheer. . . " (1929)	120
Figure 2.16	Cuban National Tourist Commission, "Cuba Exquisite Isle of Delight" (1929)	120
Figure 2.17	The Sevilla Biltmore Hotel, "Havana Europe Over Night" (1929)	120
Figure 2.18	Conde Nast Publications, "A Compact Guide to Cuba" (1929)	122
Figure 2.19	Conde Nast Publications, Cropped Image of the "black boys" (1929)	123
Figure 2.20	Conde Nast Publications, Cropped Image of the "bombo" (1929)	123
Figure 2.21	Conrado Massaguer, January 1st Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1929)	125
Figure 2.22	Conrado Massaguer, January 26th Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1930)	125
Figure 2.23	Conrado Massaguer, March Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1929)	125

Figure 2.24	Conrado Massaguer, January Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1930)	125
Figure 2.25	Conrado Massaguer, March Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1930)	126
Figure 2.26	Conrado Massaguer, January Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1930)	126
Figure 2.27	Conrado Massaguer, February Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1929)	127
Figure 2.28	René Portocarrero, *Brujo* (1945)	127
Figure 2.29	Carlos Enríquez, *El rapto de las mulatas* (1938)	129
Figure 2.30	Conrado Massaguer, "Cuba at the World's Fair" (1939)	129
Figure 3.1	Alberto Korda, *Guerrillero Heroíco* (1960)	136
Figure 3.2	Alberto Korda, *Miliciana, La Habana* (ca. 1962)	136
Figure 3.3	Alberto Korda, *Mujeres Maquillándose* (ca. 1960-1962)	138
Figure 3.4	Alberto Korda, Photo of woman in bandana (1964)	138
Figure 3.5	Alberto Korda, Photo of *milicianas* marching (1961)	138
Figure 3.6	Alberto Korda, Photo of *milicianas* in column formation (1967)	138
Figure 3.7	Korda Studios, "!exquisitamente Mas Seco!" Bacardi Advertisement (1968)	147
Figure 3.8	Alberto Korda, "Silvana en la Habana." Photo for Cine Personalidades (1959)	147
Figure 3.9	Alberto Korda, "Cine Bellezas" photo of actress (1960)	147
Figure 3.10	Alberto Korda, *Norka* (ca. 1956-1958)	148
Figure 3.11	Alberto Korda, *Nidia* (ca. 1956)	148
Figure 3.12	Alberto Korda, *Norka, La Habana* (ca. 1956-1958)	150
Figure 3.13	Alberto Korda, *Sierra Maestra, 1962* (1962)	150
Figure 3.14	Previous FMC logo until 2007	171
Figure 3.15	Current FMC logo with a photo of Vilma Espín	171
Figure 4.1	Screenshot of actress Laura de Uz as "Ana"	207
Figure 4.2	Screenshot of Ana (Uz) acting as the *jinetera* Ginette	207
Figure 4.3	Screenshot of wooden hanging "Actuar es encuerar el alma"	217
Figure 4.4	Screenshot of Flavia's glass eye	223
Figure 4.5	Screenshot of Flavia handing Vergara a photo of St. Lucy	223
Figure 4.6	Screenshot of dolphin trainer peering through the glass	227
Figure 4.7	Screenshot of dolphins' eyes fixed on Ana and Flavia	227
Figure 4.8	Screenshot of "Melancolía" metatext.	228
Figure 4.9	Screenshot of Vergara watching Ana's role in a telenovela	228
Figure 4.10	Screenshot of Ana redirecting the camera to tourists	231
Figure 4.11	Screenshot of Ana redirecting the camera to the audience	231
Figure 4.12	Screenshot of Ana acting out the "folkloric whore."	233
Figure 5.1	"Palma Mulata de Cuba" rum bottle label.	237
Figure 5.2	Anecdote written on the back of the rum bottle container	237

INTRODUCTION

The *Mulata* Image: From Representation to Affect

La estrella es una piedra que otra piedra
pinta de luz y brilla en la distancia...
(Y la piedra es la estrella sin afeites...)

—Dulce María Loynaz, "Maquillaje Celeste"

Prologue: *Ten Mucho Cuidado de Esas Mulatas*

My duffle slides through the conveyer belt at the Toronto airport. The security guard at the end of the line, a middle-aged *latina,* had evidently overheard me speak Spanish to a friend about our current trip to Havana. She hands me back my bag with a few words of advice: "*Oye, ten mucho cuidado de esas mulatas allí chico, en serío, a ellas no les puedes confiar. Todas ellas sólo quieren una cosa. . .*" [Hey, be careful of those mulatta women over there, seriously, you can't trust them. They all just want one thing . . .] She doesn't have time to finish her explanation, but her vigilant words affect me in a way I never expected. I am taken back by them, confused as to why a stranger felt it necessary to warn me of a mixed-ethnic group of women in Cuba supposedly known as "*mulatas*" who were, apparently, "untrusting" and out to take advantage of me, a young white *yuma*.[1] She had cast me as the white sheep entering a foreign den filled with dark wolves. Such was the very first impression of Cuba that I was ever given.

Since then, and after various trips to the island, I have unfortunately heard similar statements of caution echoed by others, Cubans and non-Cubans alike. Still, with every caution lingered a feeling of repulsion and disagreement. No matter the context, any warning against a

[1] Yuma: Cuban slang for a "tourist" or "foreigner."

"*mulata*" seemed to ooze with racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes. It was a warning that was passed off far too easily and far too comfortably to me as a white male; it was a nonchalant attempt to *affect* my perspective of a nation and a people "different" from myself. My conscience was flooded with questions: Why did that security guard feel the need to warn me of someone I never met? Why target me with such a warning? Why a *mulata* of all types of people? How ridiculous. Was I to shake the hands of a white Cuban woman yet run from a dark-skinned one? Where was all this nonsense coming from?

In retrospect, it is the continued unsettling effect of that woman's words that have motivated this study here— a glance beyond the mere prejudice of a misfired warning and into the deeper affective history, culture, and artistic expressions of a nation. I was never able to visit Cuba without receiving that warning against a *mulata* stranger who I had never met. This is my attempt to know why. Why was I to fear her, to take caution? Why was it that the security guard did not recognize her warning for what it truly is: a mere prejudice, a stereotype, sheer racism? And, most importantly, who was this "*mulata*?" What sort of political, cultural, aesthetic, and economic forces have converged over time to signify the image of a sexual figure powerful enough to *conquistar* a white Canadian male? Since then, what I have learned—and what this study aims to expose—is that the prejudice I encountered during my first departure to Cuba is, rather unfortunately, not reminiscent of a single women's opinion. Rather it is a historically rooted stereotype fashioned into the cultural and national fabric of Cuba's history. What I was witness to was not the out-of-place babble of a random person at the airport. It was a historical myth of Cuban culture and I, the white male foreigner, was one of the many characters inevitably caught up in it.

"*Ten mucho cuidado de esas mulatas.*" The words have stuck with me, not because I agree with them and not because I feel any alarm by any race or gender of people different than myself, but rather because the words surprised me and, in turn, were an affront on my own identity as a white, North American male. The words imply that I am the stereotypical white colonizer who must be cautious of the dark-skinned "other;" I am Prospero the traveller, she is Caliban the Carib. Must we continue with this same absurd role-play in the twenty-first century? In a manner of speaking, this study reveals that the answer to my question is far more complicated then it ought to be. A large reason for this is that race and gender remain two of the most visible qualities of the human body that can be used to differentiate one person from another, one society from another, and yes, even one nation or culture from another. As is the case in Cuba and much of the Caribbean, these two bodily traits have historically been used to claim certain identities as different and more "powerful" than others. This has been done for so long that, over time, the structures of race and gender have become the cornerstones to the political, national, and cultural images of Cuba.

"*Ten mucho cuidado de esas mulatas,*" in this respect, becomes more than some racist advice passed on to a white boy from Canada; it becomes a sign of a culture that still holds on to a racialized system of governance that seeks to relegate the skin of the body as a tool for power and position in society. The truth, however, is that race is not a warning sign. *Race is, in fact, not a sign at all, it is an image.* That is, if anything, the key premise of this study. To claim race as an image means that the supposed "danger" that the security guard thought she was warning me of was, in fact, a cultural image that she was qualifying. She *qualified* this image as a stereotype that she, subsequently, chose to pass on to an assumedly naïve *yuma* like myself. I use the term "qualify" here with a very specific purpose, one that is rooted in affect theory as a way to avoid

the term "representation" or "adaptation." Such terms imply that the viewer or spectator has control over an image by *representing* it or *adapting* it however they see fit and, consequently, without considering how that image itself is, in fact, *affecting* them as well. The security guard's attempt to *represent* the *mulata* as a warning rather than qualify the *affect* of the *mulata's* cultural image reveals the first error in her judgment.

The security guard thought that she was "pointing" me in a safe direction, as if to draw me a map whereby the *mulata* was *represented* as the "out of bounds" area. In theory, then, she was following a thought process known as signification, which is the foundation of post-structural western philosophy. A poststructuralist, for example, would explain that the *mulata* was being *signified* or *represented* as a danger and that I was being, consequently, empowered through the knowledge of the sign's *signification* or *representation.* If we were to continue on this line of thought—reading the *mulata* as a sign of warning and I as the warned—then we would enter into a cycle of power known in globalization studies as hegemony. Taking heed of that warning, I would empower myself as the cautionary white traveller who looks down upon the threatening *mulata* woman. She, in turn, would adjust her subaltern position to either provoke the warning or take advantage of it in some way, attempting in this manner to subvert my fear and prejudice to her own end. The history of Latin America has seen this same battle time and time again. But this is not how I want to interpret that past warning and this is not the objective of this study. Rather, this study relies on a theory of the body that, in the humanities, has been claimed as a "turn to affect."[2] What motivates this study, then, is not how the *mulata* as a cultural "sign" has been *represented*, but rather how the *mulata* as a body is *affective.* In other words I want to explore ways in which the *mulata* body-as-image has *affected* and likewise been *affected*

[2] See Patricia T. Clough's chapter "The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedia, and Bodies" in *The Affect Theory Reader* (2010).

by Cuban culture and beyond. Furthermore, I want to investigate how, through the means of embodied performance, the *mulata* has escaped the male representations that consistently attempts to label and control her. This directs this study away from what the *mulata* has been represented as and towards what the *mulata* body *does*.

For this study's purpose, the "*mulata* affect" may be understood as *the repetitive process and movement (bioremediation) of power and affect qualified in the mulata image over time*. Through a lens of affect, the *mulata* image will be analyzed in different periods of Cuban history beginning in the early twentieth century and ending in the early 2000s during the latter end of an economically difficult period in Cuba known as the "Special Period." In addition, the *mulata* image will be explored in the context of four artistic expressions such as painting, graphic illustration, photography, and film. It could be said, then, that this study seeks to investigate a genealogy of the *mulata* image in art as a way to show the ongoing visual changes and affective workings of her body that have contributed to the designations of Cuban culture and identity. It is a study influenced by what recent scholars have begun to observe concerning the narrativization or genealogical process of the *mulata* body as a cultural image: for example what Megan Daigle has observed as the rise of economies of sex, romance, and money in Cuba through the *mulata* image; what Melissa Blanco Borelli has observed as a genealogy of the *mulata* body in Afro-Cuban dance; and what Alison Fraunhar has observed as the development of nationhood through the representation and performance of the *mulata.*[3] This study seeks, in this manner, to contribute to recent scholarship on the *mulata* image in Cuba while attempting to revert the focus towards an acknowledgement of the body's affective influence and participation in both artistic and cultural expressions.

[3] See Megan Daigle's work *From Cuba With Love: Sex and Money in the Twenty-First Century* (2015), Blanco Borelli's work *She is Cuba: A Geneology of the Mulata Body* (2016), and Alison Fraunhar's work *Mulata Nation: Visualizing Race and Gender in Cuba* (2018).

I am, in this respect, not interested in the security guard's reasons for why I should be wary or cautious of the *mulata,* for why she supposedly *represents* "this" or *represents* "that." Instead, this study is about *affect* and how the image of the *mulata* body has, over time, been repeatedly qualified as a stereotype in order to reassume new versions of political and economic power, yet at the same time has not been limited by such qualifications. Resultantly, there has been a revitalization of power struggles passed on from one image of the *mulata* to the next, which in turn has consistently been subverted through acts of embodied performances. Art, as both a visual and performative medium, has consistently qualified these power struggles over time through a process that I will explain further as *bioremediation.* Namely, this refers to the repetitive and affective transmission of the *mulata* image and the power discourses associated with her body through mediums of art. I am, in this respect, avoiding that security guard's "warning sign" altogether and am choosing instead to investigate the effective and affective influences of images that have contributed to the belief that the *mulata* body heeds any warning at all. This is my attempt at tossing away that misguided "map" that I was handed years ago and venturing out of bounds, exploring its polemical terrain, its potent history, its potential to affect.

The "*Mulata*" Term

It is an odd, but inevitable reality that the term "*mulata*"—a prejudicial term to say the least—remains used in the contemporary Spanish lexicon. However, despite its prejudicial significance the term remains applicable in at least three possible contexts in Cuba: Firstly, and most evidently, the term *mulata* is used as a racial designation that refers to a woman of mixed descent of both European and African heritage. Secondly, the term often acts as a national allegory of Cuba's *mestizo* or "mixed" culture that is said to have been embodied through a process known as transculturation. Lastly, and most damagingly, it has been used as a stereotype

towards any Cuban woman—no matter their ethnicity—that labels them as promiscuous in activity, overtly sexual in behaviour, erotic in looks, and sexually available. As a result, the *mulata* is an incredibly polemical term that represents both the national and exotic designations of Cuban culture, one side that looks to race to promote a national identity and one that looks to race to promote an exotic identity. These are what I will refer to in Spanish, for the duration of this study, as the designations of Cuba's national "*espíritu*" [spirit] and the imagined notion of Cuba's exotic "*atmósfera*" [atmosphere]. Basically stated, these are two historical tropes that have been used by ethnographers and literary writers alike as a way to allude to the national and exotic interpretations of Cuba.[4] Being that the term *mulata* is both polemical and prejudicial, I choose to leave the word in the original Spanish as noted with italics. This reminds the reader of two things: Firstly it acts as a reminder that the word itself is racially charged but cannot be ignored as it has, over time, become commonplace in Cuba and throughout the Caribbean. Secondly, the viewer will be reminded that we are dealing with a very historical term that has become rooted in the political, national, and economic make-up of Cuban culture itself. This distinguishes the term "*mulata,*" for example, from the anglicised version "mulatta." The two terms may refer to similar racial designations and share a similar history of racial stratification in post-colonial contexts, but the two terms were birthed into very different environments and moments of history that have marked the words with different meanings and cultural implications.

Before inquiring into the affective transmission of the *mulata* image in Cuban culture, it is worthwhile to expand on exactly *what,* or perhaps better said, "*who*" is implied in the term "*mulata*." The answer to this leads us back to the late nineteenth century when Cuban

[4] Unless otherwise referenced throughout this study, all English translations—provided in square brackets—are my own.

independentistas, fighting for Cuba's independence against Spain, were left searching for a way to express the new foundations of Cuban identity, culture, and the birth of the independent and national Republic. At a time when colonialism was synonymous with racial stratification, the answer for independence and post-colonial unity was thought to be found in the inclusive unification of Cuba's various races and cultures. Basically, the power structures that colonialism separated through race Cuban revolutionaries sought to unify through an ideological focus on *mestizaje,* or literally translated, racial and cultural "miscegenation." What was needed, therefore, was a subject who could personalize and embody the post-colonial vision of a miscegenated nation that had been promoted, for example, in the writings of revolutionary leaders such as José Martí. In other words, the newly formed Cuban Republic needed a "face" of independence and unity. The face for this role was dark, but not too dark, light, but not too light; the face was *mestiza* like the "*nuestra américa mestiza*" [our *mestizo* America] advocated by Martí in his famous essay *Nuestra América*. The face was none other than the *mulata* who, through her mixed race, could physically embody the post-colonial principle of *mestizaje* and symbolize the mother-figure birthing forth a new post-colonial *mestizo* nation. The objective, then, was to qualify Cuban culture and race like the *mulata* skin—a non-European entity, a mixture of race and culture that, over time, had become something inherently "Cuban" in the process.

The *mulata* image, however, was not maintained solely as a national symbol. As the ethnomusicologist Robin Moore explains the *mulata* quickly became the most stereotyped figure in Cuban history, seen as an "object of sexual desire, the epitome of wanton carnal pleasure" (*Nationalizing* 49). The very term *mulata* reflects the racial prejudice associated with its "wanton" interpretation. It is, as I have mentioned, an incredibly racial and prejudicial word.

According to the historian Werner Sollars the term mulato/a "was long etymologically derived from 'mule'; yet it may also come from the Arabic word *muwallud* (meaning 'mestizo' or mixed)" (127). The metaphor of a "mule" is both vivid and violent: a crossbreed of the female horse (the "maternal nation") and the male donkey (the patriarchal colonial power). The colonial "ass" thereby gives birth to the *mestizo* mule. Resultantly, like the crossbreed of a mule or the "mixed" Arab, the *mulata* becomes a key figure in Cuban history that can exemplify the island's history of racial miscegenation. She is cast as the "animalistic mule" of Caribbean society, the untamed crossbreed of cultures that is persevering, strong, and unique in appearance. However, at the same time that she symbolizes a unique, independent, and *mestizo* nation based on her skin colour, she also symbolizes a sexually active and erotic woman. As a result, the *mulata* has been presented as both an allegory for Cuba's national culture and as a symbol of Cuba's exotic and sexualized imaginary— both *espíritu* and *atmósfera.* Evidently these interpretations are rooted in previous stereotypes of her body, which began in literature and ethnographic texts that were dispersed throughout the Americas. A consideration of these stereotypes, which I now turn to, reveals how the various images discussed in this study are anything but new. Rather they fit into a long history of imaging racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes through the *mulata* body.

The *Mulata* Stereotypes

The polemical interpretations of the *mulata* body are rooted in a history of colonization, the African diaspora, and national discovery which, in Cuba, has been documented through stereotypical stories and images found as far back as the early nineteenth century. My argument here is that there are, in fact, no archetypes of the *mulata,* only stereotypes. This is because any narrative model or image of the *mulata* does not have a specific "*arche*" (beginning) because the *mulata* is always rooted in the imagined notion of some ambiguous form of racial mixture rather

than in a specific source or person. There is no single root to her image; she is always bifurcated between "white" and "black" races, histories, cultures, and perspectives. Indeed to even use the word "*mulata*" is immediately to stereotype an image based on racial categories. Otherwise said the *mulata* was, is, and always will reference a stereotype because the term itself is already charged with racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes promulgated in the colonial system of racial stratification.

One of the earliest stereotypes of the *mulata* can be found in Cirilio Villaverde's famous *costumbrista* novel *Cecilia Valdés o la loma de Angel,* originally published in 1839. The novel details the story of Cecilia, a *mulata* woman who is pursued by the son of a Spanish slave trader named Leonardo. Cecilia, although bearing Leonardo's son, turns to a poor black musician José Dolores Pimienta to help carry out her revenge on Leonardo after he leaves her to marry a white upper class woman. José, also in love with Cecilia, obliges her request and kills Leonardo. In this way, the early perceptions of the *mulata* as a protagonist are one of both romantic and racial conflict. The *mulata* is presented as the key player in a three-way love triangle between a white man and a black man and their competitive attempt to win her over. She is the protagonist of racial and romantic collision. She in unable to maintain a lasting relationship with a white man and yet does not whole-heartedly desire a relationship with a black man. Consequently the white man is the source of her anger, the black man the source of her revenge— neither become the romantic lover providing a "happy ever after." *Cecilia Valdés* therefore acts as an early literary presentation of the "*mulata* concubine" stereotype, a figure who— according to the scholar Lisa Ze Winters—pervades the literary landscape of the "African diasporic community produced by and through its subjection to the transatlantic slave trade" (2). While being prevented from marrying the white man and not willing to pursue the black man, the *mulata* is then labelled with

the relational position of a "concubine" for the white upper class male. Due to the complicated relationships surrounding Cecilia, the novel has, as Alison Fraunhar describes, been deemed as "an allegory of Cuba" ("Staging" 128). In other words the novel points to a historical narrative of Cuba's racial and cultural hybridity and the complicated nationalization of the country surrounding the discourse of *mestizaje* (racial miscegenation). The difficulty of such an allegory is that it is shaped both by cultural and literary stereotypes of the *mulata*. By utilizing the figure of the *mulata* as a national allegory the racial stereotypes already inherent in her image are then inserted into the ideological constructs of the nation. Stereotypes of the *mulata* are then able to pervade the national image.

In both North American and Latin American literatures other stereotypes of the *mulata* have carried over the original stereotypes implied in the "mulata concubine" image. Another example can be found in early twentieth-century English literature that formulated depictions of individuals of mixed descent known as "quadroons" (a person who is a quarter black) or "octoroons" (a person who is one-eighth black). The racial characterization of "hypodescent," or quantifiers of black blood, were common in the antebellum era in the United States. Severe racial categorization brought forth the narrative stereotype of the "tragic mulatta," the woman quantified by her racial hybridity and therefore tragically destined to be positioned between both racial politics and social relationships. The "tragedy," of course, has to do with her lack of belonging. As a "freed" figure she is not a slave and thereby not "owned" by anyone, however, neither does she "belong" to any group, white or black. She is therefore stereotyped as the victimized outcast of racial division and becomes a tragic trope of ambivalence.

According to the scholar Eve Allegra Raimon the North American mulatto, during the national formulations of the United States in the late nineteenth century, was a figure of

incredible political controversy. The divisive tensions between the Northern and Southern States over the existence of slavery placed the mulatto/a as a symbolic medium between the two. Being both black and white, the mulatto/a became a political symbol that abolitionists would interpret as a national figure of both state and racial unity. As a result, the ongoing disputes of federalism and race in the U.S. were embodied in the mulatto/a image. As Raimon explains, by mid-century, the mulatto/a had become an incredibly popular and politically influential figure that was interpreted as "a trope [that] operates as a vehicle for exploring the complexities surrounding the interrelated identifications of race and national allegiance" (4). The mulatto/a as a "complex trope" was determined to foreshadow a "tragic" clash of cultural and racial intolerances. It was originally in Sterling Brown's literary critique *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937) where the female mulatta was specifically condemned to "go down to a tragic end" (145). According to Raimon the stereotype of the tragic mulatta was thereby produced and glued to the abolitionist writers deployment of the mulatta image as "a way to scrutinize the coextensive categories of race and nation" (7). It is also the mulatt*a* rather than the mulatt*o* that inherits this tragic persona. Raimon clarifies:

> The very tragedy of the figure's fate depends upon her female gender. The sexual vulnerability of a female light-skinned slave is essential to propel the plot forward and to generate the reader's sympathy and outrage. . . If the female figure drives the plot forward because of her sexual vulnerability and because of her resonance within the hugely popular genre of women's fiction, she also introduces elements and themes of nationalism insofar as she produces the future generations of Americans who will have to contend with slavery's aftermath. (5-6)

Incidentally, the "tragic mulatta" is as much a Latin American stereotype as it is a North American one. Cecilia, for example, becomes the Latin American version of a "tragic *mulata*" caught in the loophole of abandonment and violence perpetrated from the masculine representations of race on either side of her. The images of the *mulata* as "concubine" and "tragic" have, as a result, infused her image with the overweening stereotype of exoticism

perpetrated from the masculine gaze. The true "tragedy" is, in fact, that she has been labeled or *represented* as a concubine for white males and as a "tragic" figure of male desire used for sexual endeavour. Both her agency and her image are attempted, in this manner, to be qualified, controlled, and represented by stereotypes.

In continuation, it is well known that twentieth-century Latin America was utilizing the figure of the *mulata* as a national allegory before the United States. Therefore, if the North American "tragic mulatta" stereotype was birthed out of U.S. abolitionist literature, then we may claim that her tragic narrative was originally played out in Latin America. Indeed as *Cecilia Valdés* demonstrates, the *mulata* was positioned in a "tragic" setting of romantic desire and racial intolerance far before Sterling Brown wrote of the mulatta's "tragic end." There remains, however, a slightly different take on the "tragedy" in the Latin American context. Whereas the U.S. construct of the mulatta was devised as a tragic depiction of federalist divisions on the topic of race and slavery, the Latin American construct of the *mulata* was devised as a tragic allegory of colonial domination. In the context of the latter, the *mulata* embodied national objectives to "advance" Latin American nations from a horrible colonial "tragedy" into a great postcolonial future. In specific, it was the *mulata's* image of racial miscegenation that embodied this zeal for national advancement.

By the early twentieth century socio-economic stratification throughout the Latin American Caribbean and Brazil was severely racialized. The *mulata* was symbolic of both a social and racial progression in Latin American societies, a figure that brought skin colour closer to that of Europeans without disregarding its African or indigenous heritage. The *mulata* therefore embodied a nation's progress towards European modernity while differentiating itself from European culture. In this way the ideological stance on both national and class/social

progression at the onset of the twentieth century was guided by questions of racial hybridity. Take, for example, the *testimonio* narrative of the Afro-Cuban woman María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, known simply as "Reyita." In her *testimonio* Reyita recounts her life growing up as a black women in early twentieth-century Cuba. Her later decision to marry a white man points to a typical perspective of racial hierarchy in Cuba at the time:

> No quería tener hijos negros como yo, para que nadie me los malmirara, para que nadie me los vejara, me los humillara. ¡Ay, sólo Dios sabe...! No quise que los hijos que tuviera sufrieran lo que sufrí yo. Por eso quise adelantar la raza, por eso me casé con un blanco" (17).
>
> [I didn't want to have black children like myself so that no one could look down upon them like they did me, so that no one could mistreat them like me, so that no one would humiliate them like me. Only God knows! I didn't want my children to suffer through what I did. For that reason I wanted to advance the race, so I married a white man.]

Reyita's tripartite perspective of race—*blanco, mulato, negro*—turns her relationships into a socio-economic strategy based on racial "advancement." To better the circumstances for her family her strategy was literally to "*blanquear*" or whiten them. This collision between ideals of class and race in Cuba fragmented the *mulata* identity. Seen as a figure of "advancement" she became the symbol of racial stratification in motion while exacerbating white fears towards a growing power and status among blacks.

This brings us to yet another stereotype of the *mulata* worth mentioning, one that was developed in the Brazilian context. By the early twentieth century Brazil, much like Cuba, was socially and economically stratified by race. In her article "The Brazilian *Mulata*: A Wood for All Works" Jennifer J. Manthei describes how this racial division in Brazil worked to create the stereotype of the "*mulata quente*" [the hot *mulata*], who is considered "sexually desirable, and may use her powers of seduction to survive or improve her circumstances" (189). Similar to Reyita's children, the Brazilian *mulata* is imagined as a figure of racial and social advancement.

To be less dark is to have more opportunities, and in the case of the *mulata,* her "advancement" is achieved principally through her "hot" sexuality. Sexual stereotypes are seen as her social catapult, launching her "hot" appearance into the eyes of foreign European men and geographically embodied in the "hot" tropical environment of the nation.

The *mulata quente* stereotype is rooted in the theory of cultural and racial supremacy in Brazil. Since the legitimating ideology of Europe was heavily based on a racial hierarchy, the twentieth century articulations of Brazilian national identity—Cuban identity as well—were intimately tied to the politics of race. Manthei emphasizes that the progress towards an autonomous nation based on a new hybridized racial platform "required a radical reinterpretation and negotiation of Brazilian history, culture, and identity" (191). This was a project taken on by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in his work "*Casa-grande e Senzala*" (1933), first translated into English in 1945 as *Masters and Slaves.* According to Manthei "at the core of [Freyre's] theory is a positive reinterpretation of miscegenation" (191). The ideology of that time focused on a scientific racism that understood miscegenation to be a degenerative process towards social and national inferiority. Freyre's purpose was to revaluate miscegenation as a cultural process that distinguished Brazil as a superior nation rather than limiting it as a European colony. The *mulata* became the centrepiece of Freyre's proposition and her *mestizo* skin was the key to unravel previous notions of racial inferiority in Brazil. Freyre concludes that "[m]iscibility rather than mobility" (11) was the manner for which the Portuguese maintained a minority presence over such a large land mass in Brazil. Therefore, according to Freyre, miscibility (a scientific term referring to the mixture or dissolution of elements) permitted a colonial presence to be maintained in the country through sexual and social relationships. However, what began as a symbol of colonial domination eventually resulted in a new *mestizo*

population better accustomed to the Brazilian climate, environment, and the transformative culture. The genetic outcome was the *mulato/a*, however it was the female *mulata* who was particularly important since she was seen as the "mother" figure of a postcolonial *mestizo* nation. Her gender, in this way, was used to idealize a national "birth." She was, as Manthei expounds, "the bridge between the races, the biological and social link. [...] Her role is to unite whites and blacks, primarily through sexual relations" (191). Resultantly, this prioritized the *mulata's* social role as a sexual partner, a biological object used to hybridize Brazil. Indeed, as Manthei observes, the mulata's "sexual availability is critical to Freyre's theory of superiority" (191). What therefore becomes evident in Freyre's work is the early presentation of the *mulata quente* stereotype in Latin America, a sexualized trope rooted in the *mulata's* biological affect as a women to represent both cultural and racial miscegenation, which were used ideologically during the early twentieth century to appropriate a national identity throughout the Latin American Caribbean. As long as the *mulata* is "*quente*" she is desired sexually, as long as she is desired sexually she is reproductive, as long as she is reproductive she is racially "miscible," and as long as she is "miscible" she is symbolic of national progress.

The Brazilian stereotype of the "*mulata quente*" is evidently transferrable across the Latin American Caribbean. It is the affect of this stereotype, along with those of the "*mulata* concubine" and the "tragic mulatta," that have worked to repeat the erotic stereotypes of *mulata* women that exist today. In his study of Cuban theatre, Robin Moore has meticulously observed that the *mulata* has continued to adopt other "subtype" characteristics that have existed since the early twentieth century: "the *mulata* rumbo or 'loose women' of the streets; the *mulata borracha,* or drunkard, the *chismosa,* or gossip; and the *sentimental* or maudlin *mulata*" (*Nationalizing* 49). Such stereotypes performed in Cuban theatre, particularly the "*mulata* rumbo," appear to be

influenced by the repetitive tendency to *represent* and label the *mulata* as both sexual and morally devious. Various contemporary writers have sought to theorize the existence of these sexualized stereotypes. The Cuban-American author Gustavo Pérez Firmat, for example, has described Cuba to have the exotic appeal of a "*bilongo*" (The *Havana* 20), a term stemming from *santería* implying a sort-of magical "hex" placed upon people. In a similar stead, the historian Louis A. Pérez Jr. describes a romantic "magic" (*On Becoming* 189) that works to promote sexual relationships in Cuba. The cultural anthropologist Nadine Fernández adopts the Spanish term "*interés"* (125) to highlight a foreigner's unhindered "interest" in *mulata* and black Cuban women, and vice versa, the ethnographer Jafari S. Allen has described this as a form of "negrophilic" desire known as "Afro-kitsch" (40). What remains the same in each of these examples is the consistent qualification of the *mulata* as an eroticised object in Cuba— an impression that has been formed and performed culturally in the country since the advent of European colonialism. The purpose of this study, in a manner of speaking, is to analyze how such stereotypes beginning in the early twentieth century have been passed on from one image to another and how such images have *affected* both the Cuban identity as well as the cultural identifications of the *mulata* image over time.

The *Mulata* Polemic

What has been made clear so far is that the *mulata* body is a historical and stereotypical construct that has been presented in early literatures as an image rooted in both nationalism and exoticism. So if we have, thus far, looked into the question of *what* the term *mulata* implies or, better said, *who* the term refers to, what I now want to turn to is the question of *why*. Why, for over a century, has the *mulata* image been polemically and stereotypically mediated between the tropes of a national *espíritu* and an exotic *atmósfera*? The answer to this question first requires us

to acknowledge that all qualified images of the *mulata* body in Cuba are, in some way, connected to this polemical discourse of the *nation* versus *notion*. Language becomes very important here and, because this project deals with various artistic expressions, the aesthetic tool of metaphor is particularly relevant. The two metaphorical tropes of *espíritu* [spirit] and *atmósfera* [atmosphere], therefore, will help to emphasize the polemical state of the *mulata* subject when repeated throughout the expressions of Cuban art and culture. The first term, *espíritu*, is used to reflect the "nation" of Cuba and the latter, *atmósfera,* is used to represent the exotic "notion" of Cuba. Together, these are what may be considered as the "double-imagination" of Cuban culture, one side that imagines a national culture, the other that imagines a foreignized or exotic culture. Otherwise said, the "spirit" of Cuban identity points to the ideology of nationalism while the "atmosphere" of Cuba points to the ideology of exoticism (a key component of the foreign imaginary). In this respect, this project examines the ways in which the stereotyped image of the *mulata* has embodied the national "spirit" of Cuba within the island while, at the same time, also promoting the exotic "atmosphere" of a tropical and erotic paradise imagined from outside of the island.

Let us consider further the notion of "Cuba-as-atmosphere," a definition that reflects Pérez Firmat's observation that Cuba is an "atmosphere rather than place" (13). That is to say that Cuba, beginning in the early twentieth century, became advertised as an exotic touristic paradise. The foreign idea of Cuba was that it was an "atmosphere" of adventure and vacation more so than a place of national production. In was in this manner that tourism became advertised and successfully sold abroad. Indeed what was seen to sell better than a location was the idea of what that location entailed. Pérez Firmat has described this as a difference between "location" (its

geographical location) and its "locale" (what Cuba supposedly entails).[5] The "locale" of Cuba is where we encounter the Cuban "atmosphere," a notion of Cuban culture that appeals to the foreigner's imagination. As evidenced in Cuba's tourism industry the early twentieth century development of the Cuban *atmósfera* has, hands down, become one of the greatest advertising strategies to promote the "exotic" experience of the island.

Our second metaphorical trope, "*espíritu,"* reflects the "spirit" of national solidarity that surged during the early Cuban Republic and became popularized by the Cuban *vanguardía* artists during the early twentieth century. The idea of Cuba as a national "spirit" stems all the way back to the writings of Martí who once claimed that Cuban independence depended not on a change of form but rather on a change of "espíritu" (*Nuestra* 35). From there on the trope *espíritu* became invaluable to *vanguardía* writers, intellectuals, and artists who attempted to wrap their minds around the spirit of Cuban identity which has often been summarized in Fernando Ortiz's neologism "*cubanidad*."[6] Resultantly, the trope reappears in a number of important twentieth-century writings. The novelist Alejo Carpentier, for example, saw the art style of the Cuban Baroque as an "espíritu" that extended throughout Cuban history ("Lo barroco" 120). Another twentieth-century writer, José Lezama Lima, used the metaphor of "un espíritu visible" [visible spirit] (111) to describe Cuba's natural environment. According to the art critic Guy Pérez Cisneros: "El cuerpo de lo nacional es el espíritu y es el paisaje" [The nation's body is its spirit, the landscape] (181). Another art critic, Luis de Soto y Sagarra, also describes Cuba's national body to be artistically represented in "el paisaje espiritual" [the spiritual landscape] (19). The father of Afro-Cuban studies himself, Fernando Ortiz, describes black Cubans to have brought a cultural "espíritu" from Africa that was a critical factor in the process of transculturation

[5] See Gustavo Pérez Firmat's book *The Havana Habit* (2010).
[6] See Fernando Ortiz's essay "Los factores humanos de la cubanidad" published originally in 1949.

throughout the country ("Los factores" 91). Concerning the Cuban Revolution, the Argentinian doctor turned revolutionary, Ernesto Che Guevara, once exhorted that the revolutionary individual was to "forjar día a día su espíritu revolucionario" [to forge day to day their revolutionary spirit] ("El socialismo" 31). Even Fidel Castro, while giving a speech on the tallest mountain in Cuba (El Pico Real de Turquino) compared the so-called "spirit" of the mountain to "el espíritu de nuestra revolución" [the spirit of our revolution] (*Radio Rebelde*). All in all, the term *espíritu* has, since the late nineteenth century, become synonymous with the expressions of Cuban culture, national identity, and independence.

The image of the *mulata* is fundamental to Cuban history because she represents an ambiguous subject that embodies both national and notional visions of Cuba, both the *espíritu* and the *atmósfera*. Following the *mulata,* I argue that three other visual qualifications of the *mulata* body emerge: the body of the *rumbera* [the rumba dancer], the body of the *miliciana* [the militant woman], and the body of the *jinetera* [the sexual-affective prostitute of the informal economy]. What remains evident in each of the subsequent feminine "characters" is that the same ambiguous position of the *mulata* caught between national exposition and foreign exploitation (the *espíritu* and the *atmósfera*) continues in each case. The power struggle based on racial differentiation therefore repeats itself from the *mulata* to the cultural images of the *rumbera,* the *miliciana,* and the *jinetera.* Each figure remains, like the *mulata* image, hitched to both the national and exotic exploitations of her racialized body.

The *Mulata* Memory

If the metaphors of *espíritu* and *atmósfera* help explain *why* the *mulata* has been used as a cultural image over time, what I now want to turn to is the question of *where*: Where does the *mulata* exist outside of these national and exotic imaginaries? The answer, evidently, is in the

body. A turn to affect theory will, therefore, help to consolidate a physical location of the *mulata* image out of which emerges an affective relationship between the image and the "imaginer" (the art and the audience/participant). Furthermore, this implicates a relationship that is both sensual (focused on senses) and emotional (focused on feelings). That is, as I have stated, the *mulata* image goes beyond the visual *representation* of signs and meanings. Rather, the image is something that is sensually experienced and emotionally felt by both the participant of the image (i.e. its viewer, spectator, audience, reader, interpreter, listener, feeler, *voyeur*, onlooker, *flâneur,* etc...) and its subject. What can be deemed, then, as the attempt to "*feel* the *mulata* image" evidently demands a clarification of how the theory of affect and visual imagery are connected.

To begin, affect is a very diverse theory that has been utilized in a number of contexts throughout the humanities. It has been applied to a variety of fields: psychoanalytic theory in psychology, systems theory in post-modern studies, metaphysics in philosophy, performativity in queer studies, gestural studies in film, power systems in sociology, emotion in gender and political studies, etc.... Although scholars will debate specifics about the nature of affect and its applicability, there seems to be a general agreement that affect points to a shift from the post-structural tendency to analyze an image as a *representation* and transition, instead, towards an analysis of its potential to *affect.* Rather than study how an image is perceived, then, affect guides us to what an image does: how it feels, emotes, senses, responds, etc.... Resultantly, common research questions that affect theorists tend to ask are, for example, "how are feelings produced?" or otherwise said "where do feelings come from?" The answers to such questions often leads to a reflection on the mnemonic influence on feelings, emotions, and reactions in the human body.

According to the French continental philosopher Henri Bergson, one of the forefathers of affect theory, the emotional and sensual claim of affect unavoidably points to the connection between memory and the body. This is because, as Bergson claims, memory is a "nascent sensation" (174) implying therefore that "the memory image is already partly sensation" (175). To sense—that is to "feel" or respond to a neurological stimulus—is always connected to a mnemonic potential of that sense; we feel because we have felt, we respond because we remember. This was, in short, a key premise found in Bergson's acclaimed work *Matter and Memory*, first published in 1911. While focusing on the connection between memory and the senses, Bergson hopes to draw attention to how the body is already capacitated with the potential to act and react to images and, vice versa, how such images can then produce actions and reactions within a body. He was, in effect, responding to an error he saw in the idealistic attempts to "reduce matter to the perception which we have of it" (xi). Incidentally, Bergson was one of the first thinkers to encourage an interpretation of an image that goes beyond perception (that is representation) and to consider, instead, how the body has been *affected* by memories and the historical contexts preceding it. He summarizes his discovery as such:

> I see plainly how external images influence the image that I call my body: they transmit movement to it. And I also see how this body influences external images: it gives back movement to them. My body is, then, in the aggregate of the material world, an image which acts like other images, receiving and giving back movement. . . *My body, an object destined to move other objects, is, then, a centre of action; it cannot give birth to a representation*. (Italics in original; 4-5).

Bergson's argument that the body cannot "give birth to a representation" was, without a doubt, a theory ahead of its time. Only recently, particularly so in the last fifteen years, have theoretical studies reverted to what the scholar Patricia T. Clough has observed as "the affective turn" (206) in theoretical studies that has been characterized by a renewed study on the body as *a centre of action* rather than as *an object of representation*.

One of the most cited scholars of this "affective turn" is the Canadian philosopher Brian Massumi who has theorized what he calls "the *primacy of the affective* in image reception" ("The Autonomy" 274). Referencing studies of autonomic reactions in visual imagery Massumi argues that all emotions or physical reactions, before occurring, are "primed" per say with a certain potential that he describes as an image's "intensity" (274), a term that he admits to be more or less synonymous with the notion of affect. The importance of Massumi's work, then, is the acknowledgement that the body is already primed or predisposed to react to images in certain ways. This, evidently, recalls Bergson's focus on past memory as "sensation" and the present as "action and movement" (177). Every action or kinaesthetic movement of the present (what Massumi titles as an image's "qualification") is thereby mnemonically and neurologically primed with sensorial functions (what Massumi calls an image's "potential"). We may not always know beforehand exactly how and in what ways these sensorial reactions or actions will occur, but by analyzing how a body ends up acting or reacting, one can begin to recognize and understand the "potential" that affect has on a body and the similar manners for which that body may, in turn, affect other bodies, images, and so on. This is, respectively, the objective of this study in regard to the *mulata* image: to assess the potential (the sensorial primacy of the past and progressive movement of the present) that the *mulata* affect has on cultural images and, resultantly, how these images have transmitted this potential over time.

The *Mulata* Repertoire

Another way to understand Bergson's distinction between past memory and present action or Massumi's so-called "temporality of affect" ("The Autonomy" 209) is through what the Latin Americanist Diana Taylor has distinguished between the "archive" (material memory) and the "repertoire" (ephemeral or embodied memory). As per her work *The Archive and the*

Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas (2003) Taylor, without explicitly claiming it, has provided an important blueprint for the influence of affect on an image. According to Taylor there are two forms of memory that *affect* an image. Firstly there is the "archive," which refers to "enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) . . . [and] works across distance, over time, and space . . . [and] succeeds in separating the source of 'knowledge' from the knower" (19). These materials of knowledge do not change. The same archive that existed in the past exists today, however the value or meaning of the archive may change depending on the context, time, and place that it is being retrieved from. This is especially the case in the context of the *mulata* image that changes its value and meanings, but not necessarily its "image" over time. So, in this study, when the *mulata* image is mediated from paintings to graphic illustrations to photography and then to film, the image is more or less the same—a light-skinned Afro-Cuban woman—but the value and meaning of the "body" changes along with the different historical, political, social, and economic contexts. This, in turn, exemplifies how the *mulata* image is an "archive" that has, over time, been passed on as a racial motif from one image to the next.

At the same time, however, the *mulata* represents what Taylor describes as a "repertoire" which, in her own words, "enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing—in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, non-reproducible knowledge" (20). The repertoire, in other words, is a form of embodied knowledge rather than material or archival knowledge. It is a form of lived knowledge rather than material knowledge. This implicates a form of memory that is qualified specifically through a human body rather than through an aesthetically invented object. We are dealing here, therefore, with the *body-as-image* rather than the *image of a body*. Unlike the archive, this is not the *mulata* image as a stagnant

motif *imitated* from one image to the next, but rather a memory of the *mulata* body in movement that has been *transmitted* and performed in one image to the next. A repertoire, therefore, does not indicate a *mimetic* function of an image, but rather a *mutative* one. So although Taylor does not explicitly connect the repertoire with the theory of affect what she has done is to provide a term that encompasses the potential of affect (the qualification of senses and movement), or in other words, the tendency to perform the archival memory stored and intensified over time. The "potential" and "intensity" that Massumi prescribes to affect is, therefore, none other than a repertoire of embodied memory that is continuously performed through senses, feelings, and emotions. In this respect, I present this study as a brief analysis into only a few of the archives of the *mulata* body, as exemplified throughout the discourse of Cuban history. Furthermore, the *mulata* affect does not refer solely to the archive of the *mulata* body as a motif in art, but also as its repertoire, a performance of embodied knowledge that has been remediated through images over time. What concerns this study, therefore, is not so much the appearance or *representation* of the *mulata* within an image, but rather the *process* or mediation of her body from one image to the next. In this sense, this study is not an exhibition of the *mulata* image in art but rather an exposition of her body-as-image; it is not just a display of artistic archives, but a revelation of embodied repertoires.

Evidently, then, an important premise of this study is that the same figure of the *mulata* keeps appearing in different images at different times. What I intend to reveal through the progression of *mulata* images in different mediums of art is that the same *mulata* body, although repeated, cannot necessarily be claimed to promote the same value. Although a similar image of a body is used, it reappears in different contexts and with different meanings. What changes, then, if anything at all: the archive or the repertoire? The answer to this question requires us to

clarify more precisely what is meant by the *mulata*-as-archive and the *mulata*-as-repertoire. Firstly, we may consider the *mulata* image (i.e. a painting, a graphic illustration, a photograph, a film, etc.) to represent the medium of the archive. The artistic image is not an archive itself because it is not a memory per se, but merely an object. The memory associated with the object/image is what I imply as the *mulata*-as-archive. I have already clarified that, in the context of the *mulata,* there is a polemical function rooted in the archive. This is what I have previously discussed as the nation versus notion polemic infused into her image (the national *espíritu* versus the exotic *atmósfera*). I argue that this archival debate does not disappear over time; the archival memory of the image does not change. Nonetheless, the repertoire does. Otherwise said, what does change is how the *mulata* embodies the knowledge of the archive and concurrently performs it. The *mulata*-as-repertoire therefore refers to the state of the *mulata* body to affect and to be affected by the racial, gender, and sexual performances and the receptive participation of the audience with her body-as-image. As will be evidenced in this study, the repeated archival debate of the *mulata* body is passed down through the memory of the *image of the mulata body*. At the same time, however, the repertoire is consistently performed and exposed in the *mulata body-as-image* in new ways that subvert or, better said, affect her body's archive consequently opening up new venues for liberation, negotiation, and mediation.

The *Mulata* Machine

The basic principle of affect is that an image has previously been affected in a certain way causing it, in turn, to affect other images in other ways. For this very reason affect is always considered to be both systematic (in repetitive movement) and incipient (in an emerging state). It moves in circles, as repetitions; it is a circuit of various *affects* creating varying *effects* on the body. In this manner, the cyclicality of affect has led me to revert to an important metaphor

throughout this study that stems from Antonio Benítez Rojo's acclaimed work *La isla que se repite* (1998) where he denotes the economical, political, and cultural systems of Cuban history to operate like a "máquina Caribe" [a Caribbean Machine]. Like a "machine" Cuba is understood to have been geared by systems of power that, at times, promote a form of cultural progression while, at other times, cultural interruption. That is, Cuban culture has always been progressive and digressive, empowered and depowered. By drawing our attention to the mechanical repetitions of power in Cuba Benítez Rojo's objective is, although not explicitly mentioned, to divert critical readings away from representative functions and towards an "affective" criticism of Cuban culture and history. Indeed his words simmer with the emotional and sensual criteria for a criticism of affect: "Hablemos entonces del Caribe que se puede ver, tocar, oler, oír, gustar; el Caribe de los sentidos, de los sentimientos y los presentimientos" [Let's talk then of the Caribbean that we can see, touch, smell, hear, taste; the Caribbean of the senses, the Caribbean of sentiment and pre-sentiment].[7] In many ways, then, Benítez Rojo's *maquína Caribe* acts as a valuable metaphor for the affective circuit of the *mulata* image in Cuba. It is clear, for example, that he intends to direct a reading of the Caribbean away from previous tendencies to nationalize and exoticize the notion of Cuba, opting instead to engage with the actual "Caribbean of the senses"— a culture that is haptic rather than optic, felt rather than imagined. Stated in his own words, his objective is to "alcanzar la situación en que todo texto deja de ser un espejo del lector para empezar a revelar su propia textualidad" (ii) [to start rereading the Caribbean . . . in which every text begins to reveal its own textuality] (2). Therefore, without claiming a theory of "affect" what Benítez Rojo promotes is a reflection on the repetitive circuit of affect passed on through cultural images over time. It is clear that these images are not to be "represented." Instead these images reveal to the reader their own sensual participation with the textual image,

[7] I borrow all English translations of Benítez Rojo from James E. Maraniss' work in *The Repeating Island* (1996).

an action Benítez Rojo describes in the citation above as "*un espejo del lector*" [a mirror of the reader]. In this line of thought, we are dealing with *revelations* rather than *representations*, an *affective* exposition rather than an *effective* imposition. This return or "reflection" back to the reader becomes an important basis to what affect theorists like Massumi imply with the term "incipience" ("The Autonomy" 280), that is, a process of exposing the participant (i.e. the viewer, the audience, the reader, etc...) and their involvement and responsibility with the emergent effects of the image they participate with.

Incipience is a key principle to explain how art and affect work hand-in-hand. Incipience implies a focus on an image and the participant of the image. It is obvious enough that every artistic expression is participated with in some way: a novel is "read," a painting is "observed," a song is "heard," a film is "watched," etc.... There are, therefore, always two sides to an aesthetic image that emerge. Firstly, there is the audience or participant of the image that attempts to affect the image. Secondly there is the art expression itself that attempts to affect the participant of the image. Indeed, as the film critic and affect theorist Laura Podalsky affirms, "art can invent affect" (13). Art creates or invents affect because it is—to refer back to Bergson and Massumi—always primed with affective potential (memory and its corresponding sensorial functions). Being that an artistic image is mnemonic it is always, therefore, built on the recollection of senses that promotes a connection of the image directly with the participant's body. For this reason art is one of the most capable mediums to put affects into production and circulation. This is because the artistic image has already been affected and is, therefore, primed with the ability to affect its audience.

If art creates affect then the important question to consider, then, is who is being affected? Simply stated, affect requires a body to affect. So if art is affective then it is only due to

its participants—the audience being affected—that this is the case. This is particularly important because this exposes the participant's role in the production of affect through artistic images. When looking through the "mechanical" lens of affect, for example, we must acknowledge that the relationship between an image and its participant is exposed rather than hidden. In an affective relationship there can be no blind reader, no invisible spectator, no unknown listener, no ignored audience. Rather, the text affects the participant who engages with the image and is, consequently, affected as well. Affect, therefore, always exposes the participant's involvement in qualifying the image. The audience, for example, is always, as Massumi's says, part of the "incipient action and expression" of the image that they are participating with ("The Autonomy" 280). Throughout this study, then, when I reference Benítez Rojo's "*máquina Caribe*" what is being implied is the mechanically cyclical and affective repetition of an image throughout the historical developments of Cuban cultural identity. It refers to how an image has been previously affected by the images before it (its archival memory) and concurrently is charged with the potential to affect images that proceed it through embodied action and performance (the repertoire). Furthermore, this is a labour intensive machine where every image is biologically empowered by sensual and emotive qualifications of the body that expose the relationship between the image and the participant. As will be revealed throughout this study this affective circuit is particularly important for how it exposes the participant's involvement and responsibility in the aesthetic gestures and performances of the *mulata* body in art.

The *Mulata* Movement

I have, thus far, presented the *mulata* in the context of a term, a cultural polemic, a memory, a machine, and a repertoire. What each of these attributes of the *mulata* image point to is that we are dealing with an image that is charged with a potential and intensity *to affect* and

that, resultantly, becomes repetitively qualified in other images that further the process of affect. What I now want to turn to is precisely *how* this affective "charge" has been passed on from one image to the next. Otherwise said, I want to know *how* the *mulata* affect "moves" over time? According to the affect theorist Teresa Brennan what I am searching for here can be explained as the "transmission of affect," which attempts to "capture a process that is social in origin but biological and physical in effect" (3). What I am looking for, in other words, is how the same image of the *mulata* (the archive) has affected an audience in a manner that has evoked emotions, drives, and other physiological responses that have, in turn, put into circulation new affects and new archives of the *mulata* body. That the *mulata* body is not simply "adapted" or "adopted" into new images but rather "moves" from one image to the next requires us, of course, to consider the *mulata* image in the context of memory. That is, we must recall that the "movement" of an image does not only implicates the adaptations or visual changes achieved in mediums of the archive (i.e. a painting influencing an illustration that influences a photograph that influences a film, etc...), but also the proceedings of the repertoire (a progression of embodied acts). For Taylor, this "movement" of an image draws us back to the importance of recognizing the repertoire as a "performance" of sorts:

> Embodied memory, because it is live, exceeds the archive's ability to capture it. But that does not mean that performance—as ritualized, formalized, or reiterative behavior—disappears. Performances also replicate themselves through their own structures and codes. This means that the repertoire, like the archive, is mediated . . . Multiple forms of embodied acts are always present, though in a constant state of againness. They reconstitute themselves, transmitting communal memories, histories, and values from one group/generation to the next. Embodied and performed acts generate, record, and transmit knowledge. (21)

What Taylor affirms here is that the performance of a body-as-image is always in movement "mediating" itself in new ways that transmit knowledge. It is performative because the *repertoire* is always acting out an image that either promotes or challenges the information received in its

archive. This is, in sum, what I imply in the term "the *mulata* affect." That is, the *mulata* affect references the embodied and performed acts of the *mulata* that have repeatedly *transmitted* the knowledge of historical stereotypes and cultural polemics from one image to the next and from one figure of the *mulata* to another. In the case of this study, I exemplify how the *mulata* body-as-image has been transmitted through various artistic mediums: from the *vanguardía* paintings of the *mulata,* to the graphic illustrations of the *rumbera* (the rumba dancer)*,* to the photography of the *miliciana* (the militant woman), and lastly to the performance of the *jinetera* (the female sex-worker) in film. One cannot claim these as the only images found in the *mulata* movement; they represent only four of many possibilities where the *mulata* body has been qualified over time.

Each of the four aforementioned images of the *mulata* body can best be understood as periodical "captures" of the *mulata* affect. As cited above, for example, Taylor references the archive's inability "to capture" the embodied memory of an image. Here she seems to be making a direct reference to Massumi's claim that the emotions activated out of an image represent "the capture and closure of affect" ("The Autonomy" 285). In other words, once affect is qualified in an image of any type it has consequently moved from a state of potential and possibility to a state of emotional or representative capture. The *mulata* affect, in this respect, is always a cyclical process of capturing (qualifying an image) and "escaping" it, that is, a process of *effects* and *affects*, of the desire for objective representation and the potential of bodily affect. This is what Taylor is getting at when she claims that embodied memory (the repertoire) is unable to be "captured" by the archive. Basically said, the embodied performance of the *mulata* cannot be *represented* by the memory of her body-as-object. That said, although the *mulata* body may be *captured* in images nowhere in history can we say that she has ever, in fact, been *captive*.

Something always escapes the *mulata* image, pointing to what Massumi explains as a quality "inseparable from but inassimilable to any *particular,* functionally anchored perspective" (Emphasis in original; "The Autonomy" 285). The *mulata* body, when in performance, cannot be captured as an "authentic" image because any emotional qualification of the image is always, at once, hidden and exposed, authenticated and unauthenticated. Like an actress behind a mask, the *mulata* body performs a version of her image while, at the same time, escaping another. Her body, in this way, is always capable of being qualified in yet another image. Her body is potential; it can, at any time, subvert the meaning or value placed upon it by the archive. The *mulata* body*,* in other words, is not a mere image placed on a shelf like a book that can be deciphered, interpreted, or deconstructed. Her affective body—her performance—cannot be *represented.*

The movement of "capture" to "escape"—the *effect* of a qualified image that, in turn, *affects* another—represents a process that, for the sake of this study, I present in the term "bioremediation." There are two parts of this term to expand on: firstly the idea of a body as a medium or image known as "biomedia," and secondly the movement of the body through a process of "remediation." Concerning the first of these terms I refer to the affect theorist Patricia T. Clough's discussion of the "biomediated body that allows the raced body to be apprehended as information" (223). Clough borrows her theory from the philosopher Eugene Thacker's notion of "biomedia," which points to the process of rendering a body as information.[8] Like Thacker, she recognizes how the movement of affect has, through globalization and the rise of media and digital technologies, become interconnected with an economic drive for capital. In simple terms, Clough is interested in how information that is retrieved from the body has been valued as a form of capital investment or production. Such a process is seen, for example, in the "affective labour"

[8] See Thacker's article "What is Biomedia?" (2003).

of tourist and service industries whereby emotional drives and expressions of feelings become valued as a tool for capital production. Furthermore, as Clough affirms above, the value of bodily capital is placed on the "raced body," which can be "apprehended as information." This connects well with our context of the *mulata* whose archival memory is flooded with "information" in the forms of racial stereotypes and the long-winded history of what Clough calls "biopolitical racism," namely the use a person's biology as a way to monitor affect and to consolidate political power, control, and governance over racialized bodies.

The second factor of bioremediation to consider is the process or movement of "remediation." As mentioned above Taylor affirms that both the repertoire and the archive are "mediated," which implies a movement of sorts from one image or medium to the next. Because the image of the *mulata* is repetitive we are, in fact, dealing with an act of "*re*mediation" whereby one medium transmits its archival knowledge (its historical content, meanings, symbols, stereotypes, and values) into a different image where, in turn, new forms of embodied knowledge are then performed (the repertoire). For a prior theory of "remediation" we can turn to Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's work *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (2000) where they understand the term as a process whereby new medias improve upon prior medias. Such a process, according to Bolter and Grusin, is characterized by, what they call, "the double logic of remediation" (5). Their theory stems from the observation that the mediation of one digital media to another is characterized by two contradictory processes. First, is the process of immediacy, that is, a culture's attempt to multiply media while, at the same time, erasing all traces of that mediation. The media is presented as instantly available for the viewer without any premise to the contributions of other media that came before it. Secondly, is the contradictory function of hypermediacy that is defined as a "style of visual representation whose goal is to remind the

viewer of the medium" (272). Basically what Bolter and Grusin observe is a contradictory process where media attempts to portray itself as uniquely fashioned and yet, at the same time, as *representative* of previous media as well. What becomes evident, in their own words, is that no medium—be it digital media or aesthetic images of any sort—"seems to do its cultural work in isolation from other media, any more than it works in isolation from other social and economic forces. What is new about new media comes from the particular ways in which they refashion older media and the ways in which older media refashion themselves to answer the challenges of new media" (15).

Bolter and Grusin are keen to observe how older media is refashioned. A similar process occurs in the context of the *mulata* image, which I demonstrate in this study to be refashioned from images of the *mulata* in painting to the *rumbera* in graphic illustrations to the *miliciana* in photography and to the *jinetera* in film. The *mulata* is, in other words, remediated or "refashioned" from one image and context to another. For this reason what I have called the "*mulata* affect" resembles Bolter and Grusin's theory of remediation, however with a critical difference. According to Bolter and Grusin, remediation "makes us aware that all media are at one level a 'play of signs,' which is a lesson that [they] take from poststructuralist literary theory" (19). The *mulata* affect, however, is not a "play of signs" but rather a "play of affect." The purpose of this study, as I have mentioned, is to move past poststructuralist theory and the temptation to signify or represent images. This is only possible because, in the context of the *mulata,* we are dealing with a real, living, breathing, and sentient body. She is not an object that is re-signified or re-represented in one image to the next, but a body that is affectively transmitted into other images. For this reason, I have proposed the process of "bioremediation" as a way to distinguish the poststructuralist approach of Bolter and Grusin's theory of

remediation and, likewise, to reflect on Clough's notion of the bioremediated body as the affective capacity to qualify and be qualified by political and economic struggles for control. Indeed this study deals with a *bio*-logical movement of affect through different images and different periods. It is about bodies not signs.

The *Mulata* Gaze

One of the greatest challenges of affect theory is to look beyond the representative "gaze" while, at the same time, recognizing the power of that gaze. Every one of the bioremediated images of the *mulata* in this study, for example, are created by white, male artists: Carlos Enríquez and his paintings, Conrado Massaguer and his graphic illustrations, Alberto Korda and his photography, and Daniel Díaz Torres and his film. This study, in this respect, presents a very male-directed genealogy of the *mulata* image that has been laid out for the viewer like a historical map drawn and designed by white, male hands. Without question, the goal of each of these artists is to "represent" the *mulata* in a very particular way and through a very strategic lens. As I have implicated, this lens is always a bifocal of sorts: it either images the *mulata* under the light of a national *espíritu* or casts her in the shadows of an exotic *atmósfera.* In either case the masculine gaze is evident, figured either as the political surveillance of the state (i.e. the early Cuban Republic or the later Revolutionary government) or as the sexualized surveillance of the male *voyeur*.

A turn to affect does not diminish or eliminate the power struggle occurring in the images presented throughout this study. These images remain figured by male hands and the archival memory of each image remains drenched in patriarchal power asserted over the *mulata* body. What a turn to affect does accomplish, however, is to recycle or better said to *affect* the

masculine gaze that otherwise, from a poststructuralist perspective, focuses on the object in a very linear perspective. A linear gaze implies that the participant of an image simply looks straight at the object and never back at itself. Under such a gaze the *mulata* is targeted as an object without escape; she is *represented,* controlled, and dominated by the gaze. Her body is thereby objectified. She is "seen" without agency, interpreted only through a single pin-hole occupied by the male eye. Affect, on the other hand, reminds us of the inseparable relationship between the subject (the *mulata* body*;* the repertoire), the object (the artistic medium; the "archive"), and the participant of the image (the audience). It is a triune operation whereby the linear gaze folds over itself and is circuited back to the physiological eye from whence it came. Affect, in other words, always reminds the participant of their responsibility—of their affectivity—towards the image that they are participating with. Basically stated, the participant recognizes that their gaze *affects* the image and that, likewise, the image a*ffects* them. In the context of the *mulata* no process could be more important. For over a century the *mulata* has been improperly objectified and *represented* in Cuban culture and abroad. This study, in this respect, is an attempt to "gaze" at the *mulata* body-as-image rather than the image of her body. By doing so, the objective is to restructure the gears of this so-called *máquina Caribe,* reversing the attention back onto the gaze itself and its own affective performance. Only in this way will the *mulata* be seen for what she truly is: an escapee, a repertoire, an embodied performance, an agential being, a biological movement in flight, an affect.

CHAPTER ONE

The National Body:
The *Mulata* and the Paintings of Carlos Enríquez

Y fíjate bien que tú [mulata]
no ere tan adelantá,
poqque tu boca é bien
grande,
y tu pasa, colorá.

—Nicolás Guillén, "Mulata"

From *Prostituta* to *Mulata*

One of the most powerful—what affect theorists would call the most "intense"—catalysts of the *mulata* affect originated in a colonial system of controlled prostitution in the country. During the nineteenth and early-twentieth century prostitution consistently exploited *afrocubanas* as sex-workers for Spanish sailors and foreign travelers arriving to Havana, a city that was then one of the key commercial and political hub of the Americas. By the late 1920s the post-colonial appeal of the still new Cuban Republic began to bandage the Spanish wound of prostitution on the island as a way to draw political attention to the reformations of a newly independent Cuban nation. The immediate challenge that the Cuban Republic confronted was to remove a colonial system of legalized prostitution in the country that operated in areas known as "tolerance zones." Essentially, these tolerance zones were regulated areas in Havana and other cities where prostitution was permitted and controlled by the government. It was an important issue to deal with. The existence and tolerance towards prostitution was damaging the reputation of the national *espíritu*, portraying its people as a prostituted rabble rather than a sovereign Republic. Indeed, by the early 1920s prostitution had became such a key social and health issue

in the Cuban Republic that it had left its mark on the island as "the brothel of the Caribbean."[9] The concurrent tourism boom of the 1920s only served to progress the issue of local prostitution towards a socio-economic dilemma of sex-tourism. The immediate consequence for the *mulata* was the augmentation of colonial stereotypes that labelled dark skinned women as the exotic and erotic objects of the white, male gaze. In the words of the scholar Valerio Simoni, tourism had given rise to "the racialization of sexuality" and the "(hyper)sexualization of Afro-Cubans" that still exists to this day (42). The potential of the *mulata* (her affect) was therefore being qualified in the early Republic in the same way that it had been qualified in the colony, as a *prostituta.* This was an issue that threated national unity; legalized prostitution and the eroticization of the *mulata* body were acts that were promoting an exotic *atmósfera* of Cuba rather than a national *espíritu.*

So under the mindset of building a new moral and national Republic different from the previous colonial system, the desire to abolish state-regulated prostitution became a key debate throughout the early twenties. As the author Tiffany A. Sippial reveals in her work *Prostitution, Modernity, and the Making of the Cuban Republic 1840-1920* "the abolition of state-regulated prostitution was thus increasingly linked to shedding the final trappings of colonial status and embracing a fully realized modernity" (149). The Cuban republicans therefore interpreted the task of deregulating prostitution as a nationalist manoeuvre and took the matter seriously until state regulated prostitution and its "tolerance zones" were finally removed in 1913. By the onset of Cuba's first republican president, Gerardo Machado y Morales (1925-1933), further anti-trafficking legislation was added as well. The amendment to the legislation on prostitution was seen as a symbol for the burgeoning discourse of the new post-colonial Cuban Republic. As a

[9] Such is the title of Tomás Fernández Robaina's interviews with three prostitutes in prerevolutionary Cuba: "The Brothel of the Caribbean" found in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (p. 257) edited by Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff.

result, Sippial affirms that, by 1925, the prostitute had "been recast less as a thing to be feared and punished than to be rescued, empathized with, and protected" (179). In other words the social status of the prostitute had began to shift along with the political status of the Republic. Along these lines the prostituted *mulata* and national politics had found a common thread— the Cuban *espíritu*. Republican nationalists advocated for the elimination of state control over bodies. There was no longer any "tolerance" for colonial-like captivity; bodies were to be qualified as free and independent like the *espíritu* of the nation.

Despite the political efforts, the act of shutting down the tolerance zones was not enough to decolonize centuries of colonial rule over the island. The response of the Republic reverted, therefore, to the bioremediation of the "previously" colonialized *mulata* body, qualifying her body through art as a new post-colonial image of Cuban hybridity and independence rather than as a symbol of prostitution and captivity. Basically put, the *mulata* body was reconfigured or "re-qualified" as a post-colonial, nationalist symbol, thus entering what Massumi denotes as the "narrativizable action-reaction circuits" of affect ("The Autonomy" 277). Every national qualification became part of this narrative circuit—what the author Benítez-Rojo terms *la máquina Caribe* (19) [the Caribbean machine]—because, like a machine, it consistently produces or "qualifies" bodies under a guise of mediated change that is, in reality, only a cyclical repetition of power. So, as an image of *mestizaje* the *mulata* was now qualifiable as a different body—not prostituted but nationally promoted—yet all the while remaining part of the same colonial initiated "circuit" of power that sought to utilize race as a stepping-stone for bio-political control. Being neither fully European nor African the *mulata's* body contained the physical ingredients necessary to represent a new national body that was ideologically structured on Martí's *mestizo* vision of the Americas.

A Proto-Political Becoming

For the philosopher Brian Massumi affect "is proto-political. It concerns the first stirrings of the political" (*Politics* ix). It is this very notion that drives the proposition of this chapter that firstly argues that the *mulata* body was prefigured as a national construct which diverted attention from the colonial stereotypes of the *prostituta,* thereby stirring one of the first bio-political prototypes of the Cuban Republic. Secondly, I argue that the proto-political affect of the *mulata* was most intensely qualified through *vanguardía* artists whose paintings are commonly known as *arte nuevo* [new art]. Of all the works of *arte nuevo* it was, in particular, the paintings of the *vanguardía* artist Carlos Enríquez that would both expose and exploit the racial stereotypes of the *mulata* hitched to a long history of systematized prostitution originally overseen by Spanish colonialism. Arriving in the late 1920s, the paintings of Enriquez consequently represent one of the earliest aesthetic qualifications of the *mulata* affect on twentieth-century Cuban culture, which would continue without fail throughout the rest of the century. This affect would further a circuit of bioremediation where dark-skinned Afro-Cuban bodies were to become repeatedly qualified under different aesthetic images that worked to mediate both the exotic (the "atmospheric") and the political (the "spiritual") imaginings of Cuban culture. However, before inquiring into how the *mulata* affect became qualified through the paintings of Enriquez as a proto-political strategy of the Cuban Republic, it is worthwhile to briefly examine the philosophical underpinnings of what we may term the "politics of affect."

First of all, affect is proto-political—that is it proceeds political status—because it is as Massumi says elsewhere "a realm of potential" ("The Autonomy" 280). Otherwise said, affect is always *before* the political because it is the potential of a political *becoming* rather than a political act itself. Physiologically speaking, affect is the potential of a reaction within a body

and for that body to respond accordingly, as Massumi says, "with the felt intensities of life" (*Politics* ix). So when a physical body is said to become politicized we are therefore analyzing how a body is being qualified as a source of political or nationalizing power. We are discussing how a body holds the "potential" to be used or exploited towards a political end. To this extent, every affect is always divisible between two potential bodies: a body's potential for power (to govern) and a body's reaction to that power (to subvert). Qualified politically, these two bodies become "hegemonic," split between state power (i.e. the national body) and subaltern power (i.e. the multitudinal body). Resultantly, this hegemonic distinction of the body—what may be called "bio-hegemony"—remains in a constant state of potential (its ability to be qualified), which can be deemed as its "intensity." Intensity—which Massumi basically inserts as a synonym for affect—is most often used to measure the potential of a body's response to an "image" (in our case Enríquez's paintings) that is always, in some manner of speaking, physiologically connected to the body. A painting, for example, is seen with one's physical eyes and reacted to with one's physiological senses; art is signalled by and signals the body.

According to Massumi, intensity can be considered to be "the quality of the image; the strength of duration of the image's effect" ("The autonomy" 274). The intensity of an image—its *affect*—therefore holds the potential for an image's *effect* (a qualified state of emotion or reaction); it boils over with the potential to *qualify* an image (i.e. to judge, stereotype, label, voice, define, acknowledge, reveal, display, exhibit, represent, etc...). The qualification of an image represents a process along the lines of what the feminist philosopher Teresa Brennan calls the "transmission of affect," which in simple terms means "a physiological shift accompanying a judgment" (5). In other words, affect is the potential of an image to qualify a body, that is, to physiologically *transmit* an emotion out of the body's interaction with an image (a personal

judgment of sorts). The transmission of emotion resultantly becomes the first step towards a politicization or nationalization of that image (for there is no politics without judgement). It is important that affect is always, in this respect, understood to hold both the potential of transmitting emotive and political "judgments" or reactions. Indeed there can be no *politics* of affect without the *emotion* of affect seeming as any socio-political structure is, in one way or another, an emotionally charged position of power. So at the moment that an affect becomes qualified, bifurcated into emotive and political/national representations, we observe what Massumi's calls "the *capture* and closure of affect" (italics in original; "The Autonomy" 285). And it is precisely the process of "capturing" the affect of the *mulata* body in the politicized/nationalized paintings of Carlos Enriquez where this chapter is posited.

If one could put a date on the initial "capture and closure" of the *mulata* image in Cuban painting, it would be 1927 when *el* a*rte nuevo* burst onto Cuba's art scene with the *Exposición de arte nuevo* [Exposition of New Art], an art exhibition that took place from May 7 to 31 at the Association of Painters and Sculptors. The event was produced by the *Revista de Avance*, an important magazine of the time that Juan A. Martinez explains had become "the main supporter and mouthpiece of the 'new,' 'modern,' or 'vanguard' art" (*The Vanguardía Painters* 6). The exposition, along with the magazine's publicity, acted as a catalyst for early Cuban modernism that marked a new stage of artistic development and innovation in the island. The exposition displayed works by key artists such as Amelia Peláez, Eduardo Abela, Victor Manuel, Marcelo Pogolotti, and of course, the acclaimed Carlos Enríquez. However, despite the importance of these painters to the Cuban art movement, *arte nuevo* was not retained within Cuban borders. By the end of 1928 almost all the aforementioned artists, Carlos Enriquez included, had moved abroad to Europe. This led to a new stage of *arte nuevo* characterized by the adoption of

European painting trends into Cuban art, particularly that of Cubism, Futurism, and Surrealism. "Thus began," writes the art historian Ramón Vázquez Díaz, "the dialectic of appropriation-transformation-integration-synthesis that led to the creation of the first classic works of Cuban modernism, which oddly enough were executed in Europe" (125). Ironically the *mulata* may have been qualified in Cuba, but the "intensity" of her qualification—aestheticized through artistic modes, styles, and tropes—was developed abroad.

Neither the distance of its artists nor the adoption of European styles could diminish the *mulata* affect within Cuba. This is because, in the first place, artists like Carlos Enríquez still identified with the growing national sentiment of the Cuban Republic. All the themes and motifs of *arte nuevo*, whether painted abroad or not, still claimed and clung to the *patría* of the island. Secondly, distance had no influence over the *mulata* affect because—like Pérez Firmat has eloquently put it—the Cuban *atmósfera* was a question of *cultural* distance rather than *physical* distance, "a matter of mores rather than miles" (*Havana Habit* 5). The *mulata's* double insertion as both a national symbol of *mestizaje* and a cultural symbol of exoticism had, by the 1920s, already been set in motion. The *mulata* affect, in other words, was already woven throughout the fabric of Cuban culture due to what Fernando Ortiz coins "transculturation" or, namely, the physiological miscegenation of indigenous, African, and European bodies made possible through the advent of a violent, sexualized, racialized, and hegemonic colonial system of power.[10]

The Quadruple Embodiment of the *Mulata*

Despite the proto-political "capture" of the *mulata* image in the early Republic, the *mulata* body does not remain "captive" within the paintings of Enríquez. Reverting to Diana Taylor's theory of the archive and the repertoire, we may understand the proto-political image of

[10] See Fernando Ortiz's seminal work *Contrapunteo Cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* originally written in 1940.

the *mulata* to be hitched to the archival memory of her body. The repertoire, however—the *mulata's* embodied performance within the image—is consistently interfering with her representation. Rather than capture a single representation or "archive" of the *mulata* body in Enríquez's images, then, we as the audience are tossed between various performances and interpretations of her body. There is more than one archive of the *mulata* represented in Enríquez's work. That each of these archives point to a particular function and historical knowledge of the *mulata* indicates that her body is, all at once, more than a single image can represent. The various *representations* of the *mulata*, in this way, points to a memory of an ecclectic body performed in various ways. This corresponds with Taylor's notion of the "repertoire" that resembles "[m]ultiple forms of embodied acts [that] are always present, in a constant state of againnness" (21). The repertoire of the *mulata,* that is, tosses us between archival representations of her image. As a result, the *mulata* as a motif in Enríquez's work is never fully representative as a single entity. Rather, the *mulata* image in Enríquez's work consistently escapes the "capture" of the linear representative gaze.

In total, I see four ways in which the *mulata* mediates the body in Enríquez's work, leading to what I propose as the *quadruple embodiment of the mulata*. Namely, this refers to the locus (the physical body), the local (the national body), the locale (exotic body), and the syncretic (the *mestizo* body). I borrow the terms "local" and "locale" here from Pérez Firmat's work *The Havana Habit* where he distinguishes Cuba between the physical geographical location (the "local" Cuba) and a "locale" or "atmosphere" that represents "a setting not bound by geography, a 'there' without a 'where,' the kind of place that can materialize anyplace" (4). Thinking on the theory of "affect," I have added the theory of a "locus" and "syncretic" to this as

well as a way to emphasize the memory of the *mulata* repertoire that, in the works of Enríquez, is seen indicated through both physical and syncretic performances.

The first and most obvious archive is exemplified with the *mulata's* physical body, which is seen time and time again as naked and exposed in Enríquez's paintings. Basically stated, the mulata's exposed physical body becomes the site or *locus* of her power or, as Massumi would say, her "intensity." This is the most important image of the *mulata* because the repertoire cannot be exposed without the *locus* of affect. Otherwise said, there can be no performative "body" or repertoire without the physical or "body-locus." Indeed the very embodied knowledge of the *mulata* (her repertoire) is always performed out of her biology. Affect, in this manner, is first and foremost a question of the body-locus— how the body affects and is affected by other physical bodies. This body is not "imagined" nor immediately qualifiable. It is the locus or initiating point of what Massumi calls the "primacy of the affective" ("The Autonomy 274). Otherwise said, the body-locus is where the potential of an "effect" exists; it is the location of affect.

Turning to the second embodied archive we may recognize the *mulata* to be qualified as an allegory of the national body, or the "local" body. Like Pérez Firmat, who clarifies Cuba (the geographical island) as a "location," I see this as connected to the imagined community of the nation. The nation, although imagined, is intimately tied to geography, which in Enríquez's work is visualized as inseparable. The national/ geographical body of Cuba is the "local" interpretation of what Cuba is. It is the inner workings of Cuban culture, not the outer designations of what Cuban Culture "appears" like. On the other hand, we are provided the archive of the "atmospheric" body or the "body-locale." According to Pérez Firmat the term "locale" is the idea of locating a culture outside of its actual geography or national constructs. It is more like an "atmosphere," rather than place, becoming useful to what Pérez Firmat describes as "a powerful

tool in the assimilation of foreignness" (14). Evidently nationalist ideologies (i.e. Cuban music as a national symbol) can overlap with exotic depictions of Cuba (i.e. the erotic rumbera), but this is, in sum, a body that is qualifiable beyond national borders. It is the imagination of what one "desires" out of Cuba more than the imagination of what being "Cuban" means on a national or political level. This is the body glued to the tourist imagination that sees Cuba as a "locale" or site of exotic culture, tropical destinations, and erotic people.

Lastly, and most importantly, there is a fourth body to consider: the *mestizo* or, better described as, the "syncretic" body. In short, this body can be said to be a syncretisation of all the above bodies into one. The *mulata* may be qualified through images of one of the above "bodies," but remains despite such qualifications, a syncretic and hybrid qualification of all the above. Like the syncretism of Afro-Cuban traditions and religions into Cuban culture or the syncretized cultural and racial attributes of her physical body, the *mulata* is the bodily host of a transcultural ambiguity, a hybridized and syncretic image that through the performance of various "bodies" is able to escape any given "capture" or representation. Resultantly, the syncretic body of the *mulata* reminds the participants of the image that their gaze can never be locked. The audience's gaze is never able to be fully representative seeming as the physical body (the locus) of the *mulata* is, at the same time, inseparable from both the idealized national body of Cuba (the local) as well as the imagined "atmospheric" or exoticized body of Cuba (the locale). The *mulata* is, in this way, three bodies (locus, local, and locale) at the same that she is one (syncretic); she is a multi-faceted, syncretic "archive of discursive formations whose articulation can be culturally specific" (32), to quote the Latin Americanist Laura Podalsky. It is precisely this quadruple *entendre* of the *mulata* body—this four-pronged "archive" of the *mulata* affect—that the artist Carlos Enríquez evokes in his paintings. It is also this four-pronged archive

of the *mulata* body that exposes the *mulata*-as-repertoire. That is, the movement between images, the affect of one image to another, points to the *mulata's* ability to flunctuate between images due to the performative potential her body has to take on various roles and historical representations. Tasked with the challenge of qualifying each performance, we as the audience, are consistently being affected with the historical knowledge that the *mulata* is ambiguously affective rather than permanently representative.

***La Vanguardía*: The Captors of Affect**

The paintings of Carlos Enríquez "captures" the *mulata* as both a national and exotic image. This, as I have mentioned above, lends to a rather ambiguous interpretation of his work that exposes the embodied performances of the *mulata* (the repertoire). His paintings of nude and erotic women, for example, resemble masculine and machismo archetypes yet, at times, seem to become more nuanced by inserting Cuban versions of folklore and myths in his images. One approach, in particular, he labels *romancero guajiro* [peasant ballads]. Such a title connects romanticism with peasantry; the cultural imaginary is connected with the *guajiro* [the peasant]. For Enríquez, the simple *guajiro* is the revolutionary hero. Various examples of his *romancero guajiro* in the 1930s*,* for example, create visual narratives that attempt to mythologize certain heroic figures of the past including the writer and revolutionary José Martí (i.e. *Retrato de José Martí* 1956; *Dos Ríos* 1939) and the famous outlaw and independence fighter Manuel García Ponce (i.e. *El rey de los campos de Cuba* 1934). It was, however, not until the 1940s that his *romancero guajiro* style would shift attention to the female *guajira* (the female peasant) represented, of course, by the *mulata*. It was here that Enriquez would move from narrating legendary heroes that fought for "*nuestra América mestiza*" towards the maternal, feminine roots

that gave birth to *mestizaje*.[11] In this turn, landscape and female bodies are often obscurely intertwined in much of his work arriving in the 1940s— a patriotic embodiment of sorts. For Enriquez the fantastic nature of the tropics gives birth to a mysterious sensuality; the landscape images of the Cuban *patria*, in this way, sublimates that of the erotic.

It is important to acknowledge that Enríquez's paintings were posited on the ideological and aesthetic properties of the artistic *vanguardía* movement beginning in the late 1920s. As Martínez notes, to understand artists like Enríquez, one must recognize the environment that they they were born into, one in which was founded "in the turmoil of constructing a new nation . . . and [where they] reached maturity when Cubans were engaged in discovering and inventing a national identity" (2). In the case of *arte nuevo,* artistic style tended to be characterized by two movements of the time, namely, *criollismo* and *afrocubanismo*— both instrumental in the Enríquez's *romancero guajiro* and subsequent works. The two movements represent some of the artistic strategies of the *vanguardía* to construct a national identity. The tools they used to do this were both ideological, based on José Martí's principle of *mestizaje,* and aesthetic, adopting an artistic trend of realism rather than the previous Cuban sub-movement of romanticism known as *constumbrismo.* Cuban realism attempted to break from colonial representation by highlighting the reality of both people and the land. Movements such as *afrocubanismo* characterized images of Afro-Cubans (especially the *mulata*) while *criollismo* sought to imitate the island's natural and tropical environments along with its *guajiros.* These were not the images of white wealthy colonialists; they were images of the common *criollo* or Afro-Cuban in every-day environments. The national overtones of realism are evident in these images. Artists like Enríquez turned their attention to poor peasants as well as iconic elements of the Cuban landscape such as flowers and

[11] It is in his famous essay *Nuestra América* (1891) where José Martí describes Latin America as *"nuestra américa mestiza"* [our mestizo America].

palm trees as a way to visually claim both a face and a place for Cuban independence. The nation was visualized as the habitat of simple dark-skinned *guajiros* and the land of elegant tropical palm trees, rolling mountains, and lush vegetation. Images of the rural poor placed against tropical landscapes, in this way, became symbols of national pride, the "real" Cuba depicting "real" Cubans.

By the 1930s the movements of *afrocubanismo* and *criollismo* were knowingly associated with *arte nuevo* paintings, which were also subsumed under the cultural and artistic class of *vanguardismo.* The concepts of art as "new" and the artists as the *vanguardia* [the vanguard] characterize these artists' intention to break from the past and rupture traditional styles, a movement that would come to be understood later under the tradition of Cuban Modernism. This was, all in all, a perfect environment for the *mulata* affect, one characterized by dialectics: rupture and revolution, disassociations of the past and associations with the present. Artist's dialectical approach to both European styles and new Cuban trends were motivated by their appreciation for classic colonial artistic traditions along with an enflamed desire for national regeneration. It was an artistic expression stuck between the political trauma and artistic styles of a colonial past and the political anxieties and artistic renovations of a not-yet qualifiable present— a place reminiscent of what Massumi calls "a temporal sink, a hole in time" ("The Autonomy" 276).

Unsettling times demanded a settled claim of what it truly meant to be "Cuban." The dialectical approach of the *vanguardía* artists therefore depended on a strong assertion of what the ethnographer Fernando Ortiz later coined as *cubanidad,* namely the ideal of a national and cultural identity unique to the Cuba.[12] Politics and art, however, struggled on their attempt to qualify *cubanidad* on the same level. Politically speaking the national reforms promised by the

[12] See Ortiz's pivotal essay "Los Factores Humanos de la Cubanidad," published originally in 1949.

Machado government of the 1920s had remained unfulfilled. As a result the previous hopes of national reform became the new determinate goals of the post-Machado provisional government in the mid-1930s. Led by one of the tentative political leaders Ramón Grau San Martín, one of these goals included the much-anticipated abrogation of the Platt Amendment in 1934. This was significant since the Platt Amendment, the bill that passed in 1901 guaranteeing the United States military control of the now well-debated Guantanamo Bay and the right to intervene in Cuba's economy, was spurned by Republicans for its neo-colonial implications. The new national slogan in the mid-1930s "Cuba for Cubans" led to further political and social reforms that, along with the *vanguardía,* promoted sentiments of the national *espíritu* throughout the island. Ironically, the intended reform was short lived. Following a military insurgency known as the Sergeants Revolt in 1933, Batista was named colonel of the armed forces and would effectively control the country with U.S. support through a series of puppet presidents until 1940 when he himself was elected. Yet, even though the political realities at the time seemed to move from the hopes of national independence back into U.S. control, the *vanguardía* remained throughout the latter part of three decades a cultural beacon that lit the way for both national and artistic progress. It would seem that affect held greater potential on a canvass rather than in front of a political podium. The national sentiment of the arts, despite U.S. intervention, therefore continued, as Martínez clarifies, to be qualified in ideals of "progress ('movement, change, advance') and independence" (*The Vanguardia Painters* 11). *Arte nuevo* and its artists were, in this respect, seen beyond the scope of politics and even that of the aesthetic. They were the generators and symbolic proprietors of cultural reform and progress; the *vanguardía* was the visual and ideological "captors" of affect. One "captured" image or qualification, in particular, became essential to their art: *la mulata.*

Voluptuous Women and Violent Horses

In a time of political turmoil and cultural reformation, the *mulata* had become the perfect image that could dialectically capture both Cuba's colonial past and its Republican future, a position caught somewhere between racial suppression and racial celebration. Through paintings the *mulata* became envisioned through images of race (*mestizaje*), the female body (corporeality), and the tropical landscape (tropicality), three characteristics of *arte nuevo* images that worked to connect the physical *mestizo* body with an ideology of a *mestizo* nation. Arguably the most well-known Cuban painting of the era is Manuel García's *La gitana tropical* (1929) [The Tropical Gypsy] currently exhibited at the *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes* in Havana. The painting simplistically depicts the close-up image of a *mulata* in a manner reminiscent of the infamous Mona Lisa, which incidentally, has labelled it with the common nickname "Gioconda americana" [the American *Mona Lisa*]. Lacking in an abundance of colour or flare, the rather simply presented image details a close-up of a *mulata* from the torso up, arms crossed over like the *Mona Lisa* with a downcast expression staring back at the viewer. The background of the image reveals, in a style indicative of Cubism, a tropical landscape that assumes the palm tree-ridden island of Cuba as its setting. A tropical landscape and the *mulata* body becomes infused together as the new "gioconda americana," the new-world *mulata* rather than the old-world white European.

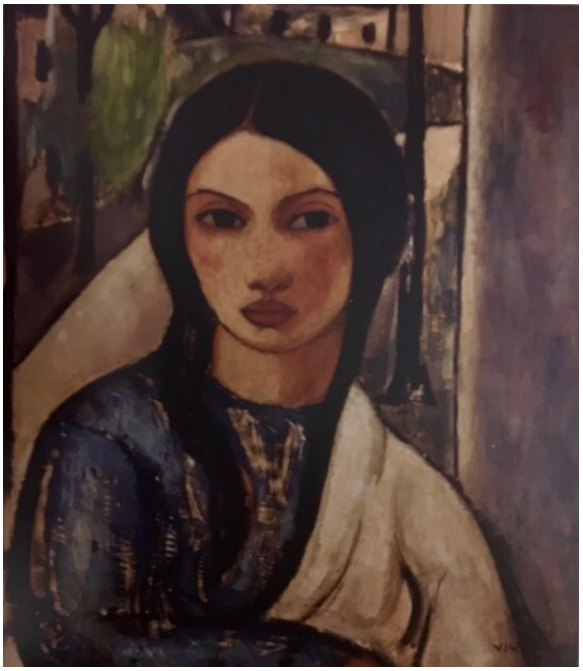


Figure 1.1 Victor Manuel García, *La Gitana tropical* (1929), Oil on wood, 46.5 x 38cm. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. Image taken from *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes La Habana, Cuba: Colección de Arte Cubano* (p. 79, 2013).

Manuel García's *Gitana Tropical* became a catalyst for the *mulata* image in art. This was, of course, aided by other works such as Eduardo Abela's *El triunfo de la rumba* (ca. 1928) that became one of the earliest representations of a *mulata* as the exotic and mythical *rumbera* dancer; Attonio Gattorno's *Dos mujeres junto al río* (1927), which represents one of the juxtapositions of the nude body of dark-skinned women alongside Cuba's tropical environment; and Amelia Peláez del Casal's *Gundinga* (1931), which like the *Gitana Tropical*, reveals one of the earliest *retratos* [portraits] of the Cuban *mulata* in art. Each of these artists' work, in one way or another, influenced Carlos Enríquez's own insertion of the *mulata* in his later paintings in the 1940s, paintings that seem to pull from the *mestizo,* nude, and tropical motifs found in these earlier works of *arte nuevo*.

For Enríquez the *mulata* was not an immediate motif of his work. Although he would eventually became one of the most notorious painters of the *mulata* in Cuban art, the original foundation of his images was rooted in a syncretic melding of tropical environments, female nudes, and potent narratives of revolutionary battles and animalistic violence. In this manner, there is an ecclectic and ambiguous display of images in many of his paintings that delicately juxtaposes nudity alongside the peaceful backdrop of the Cuban tropics, which is then placed alongside the violent narrative of machete-wielding *mambises* soldiers fighting for Cuban independence against Spanish colonialists on horseback. In this manner, the motifs of horses, machete bearing *guajiros,* and nude bodies fused together in a tropical environment become the cliché narrative of Enriquez's work, his signature style that exploits the memory of a violent revolutionary past alongside the very affective and physical embodiment of a *mestizo* present.

Enriquez's paintings are not fantastical, but mythical. In other words, he does not attempt to create a fantasy of what he imagines Cuba as, but rather exploits the mythical, historical, and folkloric realities that transfigured Cuban culture during the first half of the twentieth century. To do so, Enríquez first captures the viewer's gaze through the vivid colour and exotic detail of his paintings. However, the explicit and complicated detail of colour often leads to a rather simple image. The robust colours of lush green, blue, turquois, and red tend to give form to simple *criollo* scenes of every-day events on the island such as people standing on balconies, people bathing, musicians playing instruments, and people dancing. When the focus of his paintings are not on people, we are then provided with simple every-day sights on the island such as tropical landscapes, flowers in vases, and horses in the countryside. What stands out in these simple scenes, however, is the emphasis on erotic female bodies and national violence. Firstly, the majority of all Enríquez's female images are nude and evidently eroticize the female body.

Countless paintings of Enríquez, for example, focus on the nude body while in various acts: nude lesbians kissing (i.e. *Lesbianas besándose,* ca.1935; *Bilitis* 1935), nude women posing or laying down erotically (i.e. *Desnudos* 1934; *Eva* 1940; *Desnudo de mujer* 1942; *Desnudo* 1946; *Desnudo con flor* 1956), women bathing naked together in a lagoon, a river, or the ocean (i.e. *Las bañistas en la laguna 1936; Bañistas* 1934; *La bañista* 1944), women dancing topless (i.e *Bailarinas* 1946; *La danza de la mulata* 1956; *Bembé en el solar* 1955; *Bailarinas Berlinescas* 1957), women standing naked on a balcony (i.e *Mujer en el balcón* ca.1936), naked women cutting sugarcane (i.e *Cortadoras de Caña* ca.1945-1946), women riding horses in the nude (i.e. *Mujer montando dos caballos* ca.1932-1933; *Muchachas a Caballo* 1953), naked prostitutes sitting together on a bench (i.e. *Las tres putas,* ca.1953), and various scenes of naked women surrounded by tropical vegetation (i.e. *Trópico* ca.1945; *Odile* 1945; *Desnudo* 1949).[13] All in all, the eroticization of the female body is an unavoidable scene in Enríquez's work. Indeed to view his paintings, one is immediately witness to brush strokes capturing the male gaze towards the naked and exploited female body.

Secondly, if it is not pictures of nudity, then his images tend to centre on masculine archetypes of power and strength exemplified through *macho* images of muscular horses galloping ferociously through the countryside— an image Martínez describes as a visual personification of an "old, free, and restless" nation (*Carlos Enríquez* 99). Then, in the odd bursts of both power and eroticism, both the motifs of horses and the nude female body are brought together in a few of his most perfected works. This occurs, for example, in paintings such as *Dos Ríos* (1939) *Las tetas de la Guajira* (1945), *Bandolero Criollo* (1943), and *Caballos y mujer* (1952) where the strong and dignified body of a horse (a historical symbol of both masculine and national power demonstrated by *mambises* solders who rode and fought on

[13] For photos all paintings, see Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (2010).

horseback against the Spanish) is blended together with the nude and exposed body of the woman (a symbol of Cuba's exotic, *mestizo,* and maternal beginnings). The painting *Dos Ríos* is particularly noteworthy as it blends the heroic figure of *José Martí* on horseback melded together with the blurred images of two women. What Enríquez does, therefore, is to use eroticism as a tool for narrating the birth of a new post-colonial Cuban nation, a *mestizo pueblo* that was born both physically from the sexual act of miscegenation and politically through violent battles on horseback against the Spanish. Both the national body (the force of power) and the physical body of the *mulata* (the force of *mestizaje*) are thereby infused into a transcultural image of the Cuban nation.

Top (left to right): Figure 1.2 *Dos Ríos* (Dos Ríos), p. 158, 1939, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Collection: Consejo de Estado, Havana, Cuba; Figure 1.3 *Las tetas de la guajira* (The Guajira's Breasts), p.192, 1945, oil on canvas, 30 x 24 inches. Collection: Beatriz M. & Jesús Peña, New York.

Bottom (left to right): Figure 1.4 *Bandollero Criollo* (Criollo Bandit), p. 181, 1943, oil on canvas, 47 3/4 x 34 7/8 inches. Collection: Ramón & Nercys Cernuda, Miami, Florida; Figure 1.5 *Caballos y Mujer* (Horses and Woman), p. 225, 1952, oil on canvas, 32 1/4 x 24 1/2 inches. Private Collection, Miami, Florida. All images taken as photos from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (2010).

As per the images above, when the female body is bifurcated into both physical and the national—the nude body and the horse—the image is immediately qualified as both biologically racial and systematically political. The clash of nudity with the national symbols of horses infuses the female's physical body with the national "body." Resultantly, this combination causes two affective events. Firstly, the female body becomes an object of difference; she becomes "racialized," or in other words set apart as physically "unique" from the past image of "white" European culture. This is particularly evident in one of Enríquez's most famous images, *El rapto de las mulatas,* where it is specifically *mulatas* who are revealed alongside Enríquez's violent

horses. In this single work, Enríquez qualifies the *mulata* as the subject of post-colonial differentiation. Consequently, to borrow from the words of Benítez Rojo, the racialized *mulata* becomes "una práctica que entraña necesariamente una diferencia y un paso hacia la nada" [a practice that necessarily entails a difference and a step toward nothingness]. What Benítez Rojo implicates here is that any qualification of difference, for example the racial hybridity of a *mulata,* cannot resolve the differentiation of power that is automatically associated with such physical distinctions (i.e. hegemony). In other words the *mulata,* once qualified as a physical *mestizo* symbol that differs from the "white" appearance of colonialism, automatically enters into a hegemonic system of power. As part of that system her racialized body is politically utilized by as an ideological and biological tool that works to consolidate a "feeling" of national patriotism and belonging in the country. This leads to the second event: the *mulata* becomes politicized. The *mulata* enters "the politics of affect" where her body is qualified as a politically-influenced emotion (i.e. national pride, happiness of belonging, "love" and passion for the homeland). As Massumi claims, such emotion is "the intensest (most contracted) expression of [the capture and closure of affect]" ("The Autonomy" 285). Both racialized and politicized the *mulata* body is, through visual images, able to disperse this powerful and emotional *effect* on a cultural level, which incidentally, was a key objective of the Cuban *vanguardía* during the first-half of the twentieth-century.

In short, the power behind the racialization of the *mulata* body is none other than a system of biopolitics where the body is systematically structured to a political end. As discussed in the introduction, the affect theorist Patricia Clough sees the biopoliticized body to have undergone a process known as "biomediation" whereby affect is capable of being mediated through images over time. I have mentioned that, in the case of the *mulata,* we can take this a

step further with the theory of bioremediation that understands the *mulata's* physical *mestizo* body to be "remediated" (that is re-qualified) through different images over time yet, all the while, with the same affect. I mention Clough here because, like Enríquez's *mulata* tossed between both the racial and the political, Clough sees affect to be bilaterally qualified as both a process of race and politics. According to Clough biomediated bodies (affective bodies) are defined by two processes: firstly, an emergent classifications of race that she terms "capital accumulation" and secondly, an accompanying relationship of power that she terms "biopolitical control," which occurs when governance shifts from a structure of social organization to social stratification. This is seen, for example, in the deployment of race or other physical qualities of difference (i.e. gender) as a way to consolidate power. In the case of the *mulata* her body becomes an image of racialized difference that separates the notion of post-colonial independence (idealized in her dark skin colour) from a notion of oppression associated with a "white" colonialized past. This process represents what Clough describes as "an accumulation and an investment in information as the dynamic immanent to matter, and its capacity for self-organization, emergent mutation, and creation" (221). Otherwise said, the *mulata* body accumulates the ideological and physical information of race useful in the organization, mutation, and creation of a new cultural and national identity.

In the case of Enriquez's paintings the second process mentioned by Clough, biopolitical control, emerges since the *mulata's* affect is— through such motifs of horses and tropical landscape—qualified as a national symbol, representative of a power structure already politically embodied in the Republic. Once we acknowledge this affective process what then becomes important is to recognize how the body's information has been qualified emotionally. We know that, through artistic images during the early twentieth-century, that the *mulata's* body was

immediately racialized and politicized. What I have not yet specified is precisely how the *mulata* has *emotionally* been qualified in such a way as to impinge a national sentiment upon its audience. The answer depends on understanding the emotional qualification of affect as a key step towards a synaesthetic (both a sensual and artistic) representation of nationalism through artistic images. What Clough terms as the "the circuit from affect to emotion" (220) is precisely this very process whereby images tend to repeatedly simulate a "feeling" of desire or sentimental connection to it, which concurrently exposes the symbolic/allegorical implications of the image (i.e. the nation or *patría*). Enríquez's images of the *mulata,* which I now turn to in greater detail, tend to "capture" this process in four ways, or better said four "bodies," to be exact.

Enriquez's *Mulata*: Four Embodiments

Carlos Enríquez was famous for his portrayal of European Baroque and Romantic versions of classical myths that have been artistically visualized through Cuban landscape and people. One could argue, in this respect, that Enríquez was more of a creative adaptor rather than a novel creator of images. His paintings tend, in this manner, to point to either a narrative or allegorical significance beyond the image itself. It is for this reason that his depiction of *mulatas,* as Martínez clarifies, are not deemed simply as "isolated figures or objects, for pure male sensual contemplation, but basically, they are part of a context that includes other human beings, animals, landscape and myth" (*Vanguardia Painters* 68). Observing the various contexts of the *mulata* in his paintings, one can see, at least, four different interpretations that are qualified beyond a simple erotic spectacle for the male gaze. Furthermore, each of these four qualifications of the *mulata* body coincide with the quadruple embodiment theory of the *mulata* that I have previously described as the locus, the local, the locale, and the syncretic. That is to say that from one painted *mulata* to the next we are witness to a varied performance of a *body as images* and

not just the representations of various *images of bodies*. Throughout the four versions of the *mulata*, her body is consistently referencing a performance as either an allegory, a metaphor, or a myth of Cuban history and culture. Resultantly, there is a great deal of archival knowledge within the allegories, metaphors, and myths that are best qualified through an understanding of Cuban history, culture, and the emergent passion of nationalism that Enríquez was surrounded by during the first half of the twentieth century.

I. The Body-Local: The *Mulata* as Victim

The first image of Enríquez to explicitly use the Cuban stereotype of a *mulata* also happens to be his most renowned work and, arguably, his most nationalistic painting. This is the painting entitled *El rapto de las mulatas* [The abduction of the Mulatto Women] that remains proudly exhibited at the *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes* in Havana. Originally completed in 1938, the painting was exhibited the same year at the *II Exposición Nacional de Pintura y Escultura* in Havana where Enríquez also won a purchase award for the work. *El rapto de las mulatas* has arguably become the single most valuable work of *arte nuevo* that, through all the elements mentioned above, represents the historic discourse of the *mulata*, and correspondingly, the sexualisation of Afro-Cuban women in the island. The painting details the abduction and what appears as the rape of two *mulata* women by Cuban *jinetes* (horse riders), assumedly *mambises* soldiers during the Cuban War of Independence. The image blurs the figures of the naked *mulatas* with that of the *mambises* wearing white brimmed sombreros typical of the *guajiro* and ammunition strapped across their shoulders. The abduction and rape takes place on the *mambises* horses who are placed at the base of the image galloping as violently as the assault itself. Unlike much of Enríquez's other work this image is not toned down with peaceful colours of the tropics such light greens and blues. Rather harsher colours such as red, dark greens, and

brown scar the image with an obscure blood-stained violence. Although the tropicality of the image is evident, the lush mountains and palm trees are only visible at the top of the frame, a peaceful scene far beyond the horrific act of chaotic sexual conquest that dominates the image.

Figure 1.6 Carlos Enríquez, *El rapto de las mulatas,* (Abduction of the Mulatto Women), 1938, oil on canvas, 64 x 45 inches. Collection: Museo Nacional de Cuba, Havana. Photo of image taken from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (p. 159, 2010).

El rapto de las mulatas happens to be the first painting Enríquez completed that compiles each of his most represented national archetypes and stereotypes: the macho horse, the male *guajiro,* the feminine landscape riddled with rounded hills, palm trees, and wave-like clouds and, of course, the nude *mulata.* The horse, the *mulata*, the male *criollo,* and the *patría* are blurred together in this image creating a narrative that refuses to separate the four elements from the historical reality of violence that brought them together into their "local" setting. In this respect, the image emphasizes the "body-local" of the *mulata* where the "local," otherwise said the "national" body, is qualified through a triple-*entendre* of bodily images: politically through the

history of liberation (the body of the horse and the *criollo*), nationally through the love of the *patría* (the body of the land), and ideologically through the the image of *mestizaje* (the nude body of the *mulata*). Consequently, the image historically and physically "localizes" the nation both *in* the *mulata* body and *through* its multiple "effects" where she is sexually abused, racially exploited, nationally claimed, and ideologically convoluted. The national body is, in this way, localized in a national subject who has historically been at both ends of rape and revolution, bodily violation and political volition. In a manner of speaking, Enríquez exposes the irony that *mestizaje*—the physical product of rape of Afro-Cuban women by the *criollo* or European—later becomes the ideological liberation of Cuba. Paradoxically the *mulata* is shown to be sexually enslaved through violence and yet nationally liberated through sex.

The title of Enríquez's painting is also a play on words that evokes two possible interpretations, one hitched to Greek mythology and the other tied to previous Cuban traditions of romantic courtship. In the first case the image references old classical myths of female abductions and rape by soldiers such as seen in the French Romantic artist Eugene Delacroix's *The Abduction of Rebecca* (1846) and the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens painting *Rape of the Daughters of King Leucippus* (1916). Like the overwhelming strength of the horses the themes of masculine power and warring masculinity are evident. While describing the painting, the art critic Martínez emphasizes the mythical and historical significance of the image:

> [The armed males on horseback] often appear in Enríquez's paintings of the 1920s and 1940s and represent the memory of a heroic Cuban fighter for social justice and national sovereignty. In this and other paintings, Enríquez endowed this Cuban archetype with a strong macho character and an impulsive sexuality. The object of these two mambises' desire—the mulatto women—were also well established symbols of cubanidad by the 1930s. The mulata represented a distinctly criollo person, whose main attribute was sexuality, thus their unexpected poses and expressions of pleasurable acquiescence. (*Vanguardia Painters* 121)

Enriquez, by detailing the masculine power of the *mambises* and the eroticism of the *mulatas,* has assembled the historic stereotypes of prostitution, race, and white male dominance into a post-colonial, modernist, Cuban context. Here, the symbol of Cuban nationality becomes enigmatic: the national symbol of power and revolution (*los mambises*) becomes asserted against the feminized national symbol of *mestizaje* (*la mulata*). The image, in this way, reminds viewers that the history of national discourse in Cuba is not necessarily compatible. Rather the historic ideals of liberty symbolized by the *mambises* is at the same time the sexual yoke of the *mulata*. In this single image, sexual, gender, and racial stereotypes are all seen intimately tied to Cuba's national discourse. Stated plainly, the *mulatas* in the image are raped by the *espíritu* of Cuban independence and, at the same time, there is an incredibly sexualized *atmósfera* promoted out of the violence. Both Cuba's *espíritu* and *atmósfera* are seen as unavoidably qualified through the historic discourse of the nation.

The second interpretation is based on an old tradition of romantic courtship in Cuba whereby the husband would "abduct" his bride as part of a marriage ritual and carry her off on horseback. Enríquez, in this way, combines classical and greek myths of abduction represented in traditional European art with Cuban folklore. In any case Enríquez, as Martínez states, "recasts the legendary guajiro practice of romantic courtship into an act of sexual aggression" (*Vanguardia Painters* 122). What is revealed, then, is a mythical scene of violent abduction that perverts the Cuban tradition of romantic abduction. The image immediately qualifies a mixed emotion in the Cuban audience, one which looks upon a scene mythically recalling rape yet traditionally recalling romance. Furthermore, the national symbol (*la mulata*) is being raped by Cuba's national heroes (*los mambises*). Heroic icons, racial bodies, and national landscape become connected through an ambiguous and obscure scene of violence and sexual aggression.

The audience, therefore, looks upon a scene where romance is perverted in order for nationalism to be instigated, a love of country that was formed from an abuse of love.

El rapto de las mulatas fuels the stereotype of the "tragic *mulata,*" the erotic dark-skinned woman that is victimized at the hands of white males. As mentioned above the intensity of this image is immediately qualified into an ambiguous set of emotions that cause the viewer to feel sympathy for the tragic *mulatas* and the sexual violence conducted against them. Anger and even possible feelings of revenge may set in. Where is the *mulata's* agency, her protection, her salvation? At the same time the viewer must confront the national allegory of the image that boldly claims *mestizaje*—the foregrounding of Martí's claim for independence—as the result of rape and violence, not only from the Spanish colonialists but from the Cuban *criollos* as well. One's emotional drive to feel pride for the nation is not without its shame and sadness for the *mulata.* Emotionally, the *mulata* is as ambiguously charged as her racial complexion, captured in the dialectical emotions of both love and hate, pride and shame, hope and despair. Enríquez, in this manner, reveals the *mulata* as a formidable catalyst of the "circuit of affect" that has, since the beginning of the twentieth-century, qualified Cuba over and over again as either the national *espíritu* or the exotic *atmósfera.* The ambiguous connection between the two—like Enríquez's image—remain "captured" in an unavoidable conflict filled with violent-inducing stereotypes of sexual, racial, and gender identities.

II. The Body-Locale: The *Mulata* as Exotic.

Although Enríquez does not use the term *"mulata*" in the title of his images for another nine years, it is clear that the *mulata* still became a key protagonist of his paintings during that time. Following *El rapto de las mulatas,* Enríquez begins to expose the eroticism of the *mulata* in his works as a way to connect what could best be termed as "bare *mestizaje*" (*mestizo* coloured

skin laid out nude for the viewer) to the physical embodiment of the nation visualized in its tropical environment. This is seen, for example, in his work *Trópico* (1945) that displays one of his most erotic images of a nude *mulata* with pointed breasts sitting down surrounded by lush and pastel-coloured tropical vegetation. In such images Enríquez exploits an already laden *atmósfera* of Latin American culture—the exotic *locale* of Cuba—that associated tropical symbols such as palm trees, green rolling mountains, lush vegetation, and fruit with erotic dark-skinned bodies. Similar to Manuel García's *Gitana tropical* painted sixteen years prior, the tropical land is evidently not the central figure of his *Trópico*. What is "tropical," more so than the palm trees and vegetation is the erotic, almost pornographic, image of the *mulata*.

Figure 1.7 *Trópico,* (Tropics), ca. 1945, oil on canvas, 30 x 24 inches. Collection: Museo Nacional de Cuba, Havana. Present location unknown. Photo of image taken from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (p. 190, 2010).

Interestingly, the landscape in *Trópico*, although Caribbean, is likely not Cuban. In 1945 Enríquez, following the stead of Cuban artistic elites like the poet Nicolás Guillén and the

novelist Alejo Carpentier, travelled to Haiti where, in January of that year, he participated in a collective exhibition at Port-au-Prince's new *Centre d'Art.* It was during his time in Haiti that, as Martínez explains, Enríquez "returned to the representation of the mulatto woman and Afro-Caribbean religious themes" (*Carlos* 86). This was, no in doubt, influenced from his new relationship with the *mulata* Germaine Lahens, a well-off Haitian elite from the city of Gonaïves. Married in 1945 at his old Havana country-house, known amongst colleagues and friends as "El Hurón Azul" [The Blue Ferret], Germaine became his third wife following the French intellectual Eva Fréjaville (married in 1940)—a formative subject in many nudes he painted in the early 1940s—and his first wife, Alice Neel (married in 1925), an American student of his that he met at a summer program in 1924 while at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. His new relationship with the *mulata* Germaine sparked an aesthetic return to his fascination with the *mulata* body that seemed to have been superseded in the early forties with his preoccupation to paint nudes of his white wife Eva.

In a burst of renewed interest in the *mulata* Enríquez, along with his work *Trópico,* painted an impressive array of *mulata* nudes in 1945, the same year that he married Germaine. Works included a nude photo entitled *La Haitiana* revealing a nude *mulata* sitting with her arms crossed over her legs, her large exposed breasts dominating the centre of the image; two nude *retratos* of his new *mulata* wife, both entitled *Germaine*; and his work *Odile* that depicts two nude *mulatas* that seem to absorb the blue shade of the water they sit beside. His painting *Cortadoras de Caña*, completed around the same time (ca. 1945-1946), shows three nude *mulata* women in the midst of a sugarcane field wielding machetes. The image beckons Fernando Ortiz's seminal study of Cuban ethnology *Contrapunteo cubano de tobáco y azucar,* written five years earlier in 1940, where he claims Cuban culture to be created out of African and European

migrations symbolized in the economic properties of "white" sugar and "brown" tobacco. That Enríquez juxtaposes the white quality of sugar, symbolized in the cane fields, alongside the exposed brown skin of the *mulatas* generates a clear image of what Ortiz terms, in the same work, *transculturación* [transculturation]. It is an image of cultural ambiguities, delicate and exposed dark-skin amidst a formidable and tough "white" crop. Here the natural, exposed beauty of the *mestiza* cuts through the historic symbol of slavery and oppression— opposing elements "transcultured" into a single image.

Seven years after Enríquez's experimentation with Haitian subjects in his art, the *mulata* returns again in his work *Mulata a la luz de la luna* (1952) [Mulatto Woman Under the Moonlight]. However, in a very odd and unfamiliar manner the *mulata* is, for one of the first times in his paintings, fully clothed. She is depicted wearing a thin, bright cherry-red dress while strolling in the country-side. A handful of palm trees are visible in the background, each one plugged into Enríquez's iconic depiction of green rolling hills. As per the title of the image, a bright white moon hangs in the far right corner of the frame above the *mulata* woman who, with a peaceful expression on her face and eyes closed, has both her hands lifted upwards over her shoulders, palms tilted outward with her fingers extended apart.

Figure 1.8 *Cortadoras de caña,* (Women Sugar Cande Cutters), ca. 1945-1946, oil on canvas, 24 x 18 inches. Private Collection, Miami, Florida. Photo of image taken from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (p. 194, 2010).

Figure 1.9 *Mulata a la luz de la luna,* (Mulatto Woman Under the Moonlight), 1952, oil on canvas, 29 1/4 x 24 inches, Private Collection. Photo of image taken from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (p. 22, 2010).

What calls attention to the image is Enríquez's abnormal choice to clothe the *mulata.* The viewer, however, is not to be fooled. Even when clothed, the eroticism of this image does not disappear. In this case, the erotic remains visible in the details. What may initially seem to be a detour from a history of erotic imagery is, in fact, a rare experiment of Enríquez to switch the role of bodies, the physical body of the *mulata* with the physical body of the *patría* visualized in the natural environment. If, in previous works of Enríquez, it was the *mulata* body that was exposed and the tropical landscape that covered the image, then in this painting it is the natural body of land that is exposed and the *mulata* who is covered. Two details point to this erotic inversion: the shape of the palm trees and the odd colouration of the moon. Firstly, unlike the thin, twig-like palm trees in the background of images such as *El rapto de las mulatas,* here the palm trees are robust, curved like the hips of a woman that Enríquez has painted numerous times

before. The evidence is particularly obvious in the right of the image where the trunks of two palm tree's meld together, forming what appears to be the long feminine legs of someone walking. Here, the palm tree is personified as the *mulata* walking while, *al revés*, the dressed *mulata* embodies the figure of a tree, arms extended outwards like branches, fingers spread out like palm leaves. Where then can we say is Enríquez's true *mulata*?: in the curved torso of a woman-like tree or in the clothed figure of a tree-like woman?

The final detail is small, hidden like an obscure clue in his paintings. At the pinnacle of the white moon, Enríquez has faintly painted a reddish tip, a "nipple" on the moon, thus creating a visual metaphor of a woman's breast hanging in the sky. Ironically, if the *mulata's* breasts are covered, then here Enríquez has undressed even the moon, eroticizing once again the natural environments of the island around her. In a playful exhibition of creativity, therefore, Enríquez reinforces his connection between the nature of the body and the body of nature, between *la* m*ulata* and *la patría.* Indeed, for Enríquez, whatever way the *mulata* is visually qualified, even if clothed, the exotic will be uncovered eventually.

III. The Body-Locus: The *Mulata* as Mother

Martínez has claimed that, according to Enríquez, "the land or *patría* was not a mother, but a lover" (*The Vanguardia Painters* 122). This is hard to argue against seeming as Enríquez's work often romanticizes the Cuban landscape, an act Martínez observes to be influenced by the poetic interpretations of land from writers such as José María Heredia who described palm trees as "deliciosas" or José Martí who who once stated that "las palmas son novias que esperan" [Palm trees are fiance's who wait].[14] One could add to this list the nineteenth-century poet

[14] See José María Heredia's poem "Al salto de Niágara," originally written in 1824, found in *José María Heredía: Poemas* (2018) and Martí's essay "Por Cuba y para Cuba," originally written in 1891 by José Martí, found in Liliana Viola's *Los discursos de poder* (2000).

Miguel Teurbe Tolón (1820-1857) who claimed that "la brisa en los palmares/ suspira cantos de amores" [the wind amongst the palms/ whispers songs of love].[15] What does occur in Enríquez's work, however, is a maternalization of the *mulata* who, at the same time, symbolizes the Cuban *patría*— an ambiguous state where the maternal body also symbolizes the paternal body. If the *patría,* for Enríquez, is the romantic lover who woos the nation with "his" tropical flair, then the *mulata* is the maternal figure who gives birth to *nuestra América mestiza.* No where is this more clear than in Enriquez's painting entitled, rather fittingly, *Mulata* (1947). Similar to his work *Trópico,* this image reveals the figure of yet another nude *mulata* standing in front of a tropical green back drop with her right arm supporting her swollen breasts. The right breast displays a pattern of blue veins extending to the nipple— an obvious sign of motherhood. Her right hand holds the veined breast, directing the nipple forward as if offering it to the viewer. The image is clear: the *mulata* is the mother figure of the nation, the source of national and cultural nourishment, *el mestizaje*.

By inducing the image with both the romantic gesture of *la patría* and the maternal gesture of *la mulata,* Enríquez qualifies the *mulata* affect in an very ambiguous, yet visually effective manner. He draws the viewer beyond the *atmósfera* of Cuba that idolizes the exotic and erotic image of the *mulata.* Instead he forces the viewer into a different position, one in which nudity exposes the maternal body rather than the exotic body of the *mulata.* In other words, Enríquez visually draws attention to the "body-locus" of the *mulata.* She is the mother who has given birth to *nuestra América mestiza,* the physical locus of *mestizaje.*

[15] The quote comes from Miguel Teurbe Tolón's poem "El Pobre Desterrado," originally printed in a compilation of key nineteenth-century poetry entitled *El Laud del Desterrado* (1858). See Matías Montes-Huidobro's critical edition *El Laúd del Desterro* (1995).

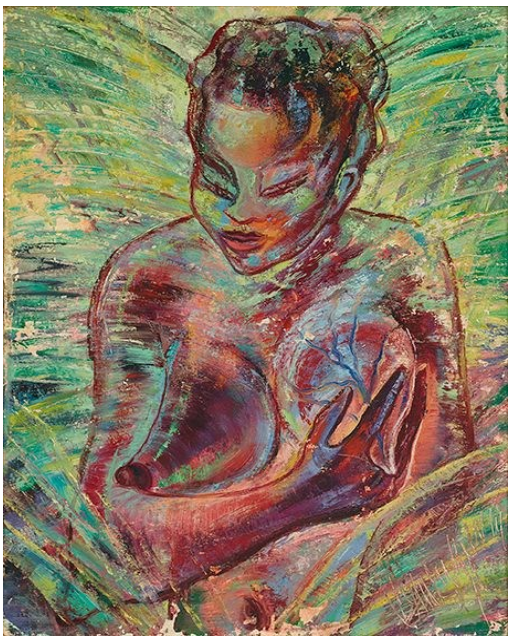


Figure 1.10 *Mulata,* (Mulatto Woman), 1947, oil on canvas, 19 1/8 x 15 5/8 inches. Collection: Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, Florida. Donation from the Cuban Museum of the Americas. Bequest of Rafael Casalins' Estate. Photo of image taken from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (p. 22, 2010).

As a "locus" of *mestizaje*—a physical place of origin and power—the *mulata* body in this image compounds maternity with nationality. Two relationships are created. Firstly the land enters into relationship with the woman, *la patría* united with *la mulata.* Enríquez visually narrates the ambiguous romance of this relationship, which is convoluted between dialectical qualifications of emotions such as love and hate and conditions such as romance and war. This is, of course, a result of the ambiguous history of colonial struggle settled only in the trans-cultured, familial unity of indigenous, European, African, and *criollo* cultures. Otherwise said the relationship between the lover and the mother is one of both violent deaths and peaceful births. This ambiguous position between lover and mother, as revealed in *El rapto de las mulatas,* is one qualified in both past abduction and future liberation. In this way, the maternal

mulata who was romantically pursued by the *patría* is, in fact, better said to have been "abducted." It is an ambiguous relationship of romantic violence qualified in the dialectical emotions of both guilt and relief, pain and promise.

The second relationship is what is birthed out of the prior. From out of the ambiguous romance between the *patría* and the *mulata* arrives a "son" who inherits the national genetics passed on to him. The figure of a son recalls what José Martí calls his "hijo de alma," an expression of his own love for his son José Francisco Martí y Zayas-Bazán, known informally as Ismaelillo.[16] In this case, Martí's own family dynamic between himself (the father) and Ismaelillo (the son) becomes a familial metaphor of the nation that Martí attempted to "father" into being. Indeed for Martí, the biological son becomes a living metaphor for the national offspring who is born with an affective potential to qualify further the national becoming of *nuestra américa.* This is, evidently, a masculinized metaphor, a "son" instead of a daughter. Similar to the horses of Enríquez, it is the male *hijo* who, qualified by patriarchal traditions, is the one who inherits the family fortune and acts as the "protector" of the family estate. According to the poetry critic Gene M. Hammit who analyses the figure of the son in Martí's poetry, Martí often implies the son to be "el apoyo y el sostén de su padre" (76) [the help and support of his father]. This same father-son relationship can, resultantly, be transitioned into the context of Enríquez's *Mulata* painting. The son, the *mestizo* offspring of the *mulata,* becomes the protector of Martí's *mestizo* claim for independence and the pillar to uphold, govern, and sustain the national Republic. If the *mulata* is the future "affect" of Cuban offspring then the son—a role to be assumed by Cuban citizens—becomes the national "effect" of her physical intercourse with *la patría,* birthed into the world and qualified as the "alma" of the nation, the protector of the Republic.

---

[16] Martí's poem "hijo de alma" was included in a short poetry compilation dedicated to and named after his son *Ismaelillo.* See Esther Allan's edited and translated volume *José Martí: Selected Writings* (2002).

IV. The Body-Syncretic: The *Mulata* as Ritual

Following Enríquez's trip to Haiti in 1945 his renewed fascination with the *mulata* body also became tied to a renewed fascination with Afro-Caribbean religious themes and folklore, a theme that was present in his paintings since the late thirties (i.e. *Diablitos* [Devilish Figures] 1936, *Limpieza de elementales* [Spiritual Cleansing] 1936). Haiti had that effect on artists. The small island, romanticized as a land filled with African magic and voodoo had, for example, inspired Alejo Carpentier to explore the magical qualities of the Americas in his writings— a phenomenon he coined as *lo real maravilloso* [the marvellous real]. This same "marvellous" culture of Haiti likewise motived Enríquez to explore further the syncretic traditions of the religion *Regla de Ochá* in Cuba and the enchanting traditions of Afro-Cuban music, in particular the role of the *mulata* as the exotic rumba dancer. Two works of his come to mind, both completed in 1956: firstly his work *La danza de la mulata* (The Dance of the Mulatto Woman), which casts the *mulata* as the national figure of the *rumbera* (the female rumba dancer) and, secondly, the painting *El despojo* (The Cleansing of Evil Spirits), which depicts a nude *mulata* partaking in a religious ceremony of spiritual cleansing. Both paintings are characterized by Afro-Cuban rituals, one musical, one religious. Furthermore, in both paintings it is the *mulata* body that acts as the protagonist of Afro-Cuban rituals. Her affect is syncretic; the *mulata* body is qualified through the rituals of music or spiritual cleansing and, at the same time, qualifies the rituals through her bodily performance in the act. The two ideological bodies of Cuba—the national and the exotic—are therefore syncretized in both images as well. Like many artists of the time Enríquez captures the artistic movement of *afrocubanismo* by visually exploiting the *mulata* body as an Afro-Cuban spectacle of both nationalism and cultural exoticism. In other

words, the two paintings in question qualify both the national *espíritu* through the display of Afro-Cuban culture and the exotic *atmósfera* through the display of the nude *mulata* body.

Left to right: Figure 1.11 *El desposo* (The Cleansing of Evil Spirits), p. 264, 1956., oil on canvas, 30 x 20 inches. Private Collection; Figure 1.12 *La danza de la mulata,* (Dance of the Mulatto Woman), 1956, oil on canvas, 26 3/4 x 22 inches. Private Collection, Coconut Grove, Florida. Photos of images taken from Juan A. Martínez's *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads* (2010).

In the painting *La danza de la mulata* the national music of Afro-Cuban rumba is exemplified in the rounded objects of bongos and a guitar that are juxtaposed alongside the curved body of a *mulata* who dances with her moving hips. Near the bottom of the image her hips meld into what appears to be the white-washed splash of ocean waves. The image, in this way, fuses together the *mulata* body with the performance of Afro-Cuban dance and music. The clash of the *mulata* skin with national symbols creates something along the lines of what the

musicologist and ethnographer Robin Moore has called a "nationalization of blackness;" the image becomes both racialized in her skin and nationalized in her dancing at the same time.[17]

It is evident that the *mulata* affect in this image is centred on the *rumbera's* body. Indeed, for the *mulata-rumbera* the movement of her body is qualification in motion; within her hips exists affect, the potential for bodily information to be represented either nationally or exotically. If we consider, as the dance critic Melissa Blanco Borelli claims, that the dancing *mulata* body "signifies and embodies history, religiosity, resistance, and pleasure" (6) then what Enríquez reveals in this image is the connection between bodily movement, nationalism, and exoticism. Following in the stead of other artists like Eduardo Abela and Mario Carreño, Enríquez qualifies the *mulata-rumbera* as a visual testament to the ideological, political, and social movement or "rhythm" of the Cuban Republic. Indeed nationalism and music in twentieth-century Latin America was already a pair in the making, both easily qualifiable under the same image. Carpentier, for example, had once described the Americas as a "continente de simbiosis, de mutaciones, de vibraciones, de mestizajes" [a continent of symbiosis, of mutations, of vibrations, and of miscegenations] ("Lo barroco" 123), a description that seemed to provoke a musical image of the nation. The nation was seen sounding a claim of independence and artistic renovation like the syncretic clamour of the rumba, a symbiosis of various percussion and cultural influences heard vibrating in the air alongside the *rumbera's* erotically swaying hips.

The painting *despojo* highlights the syncretic function of the *mulata* body in a religious context. A large cross, for example, is visible in the background of the image emphasizing the religious syncretism of the ritual that mixes both Catholic and African religions. Like *santaría's* union of both Catholic saints with Yoruba *orishas,* here the syncretic religious practice is

[17] As per the title of his work *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (1997).

juxtaposed alongside the *mulata's* already racially syncretized body. This painting, however, is different that *La danza de la mulata;* here the *mulata* changes positions. Instead of a *rumbera* dancing on her feet the nude *mulata* is shown prostrate, helpless on her back. In front of the syncretic cross lies the nude *mulata,* eyes closed, while a masked figure performs a spiritual cleansing ritual over her by waving a branch of herbs above her head. Artistically, the cleansing of evil is made visual in the white mist-like wave exiting the head of the *mulata*. It is an image that immediately calls to attention the defenseless and powerless position of the *mulata* who is completely at the mercy of the masked figure kneeling over her naked body.

The strange carnavalesque figure in the image is, what is known as, a *diablito* [little devil], also described in Afro-Cuban religions as a *ñáñigo* or *ireme*. Traditionally a *diablito* would dress in a cone-shaped mask and striped costume and would dance with a broom (an object of cleansing) and a staff (an object of protection). Furthermore, the origin of the *diablito* arrived from a male based Afro-Cuban society known as the *Abakuá* that was made up of slaves and slave descendants from the Calabar region of Africa (today part of south-eastern Nigeria and south-western Cameroon). As for Enríquez's depiction of the *diablito,* such an image immediately recalls the early depictions of the figure in the nineteenth-century paintings by Victor Patricio Landaluze Uriarte (1828-1889), one of the most acclaimed practitioners of *costumbrismo* art in Cuba. The *diablito,* as qualified in Landaluze's paintings, was a key participant in Afro-Cuban processions where, once a year during the celebration known as *El día de los magos* [Three King's Day], various slave fraternities of the Abakuá known as "*los cabildos"* were permitted to parade through Cuba's city streets performing traditional dances and musical performances. As demonstrated in various paintings of Landaluze (i.e. *Día de Reyes en la Habana* [n.d.]; *Diablito* [n.d.]), the *diablito* motif in Cuban art, over time, had resultantly

become an artistic symbol of Afro-Cuban music, carnivals, and Afro-Cuban spirituality throughout the island. Furthermore, the *diablito* had become symbolic of both the spiritual performance of Afro-Cuban culture and Afro-Cuban resiliency—historically exemplified by the *cabildos*—to hold onto cultural traditions within a colonial Christianized society.

According to the art director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Nathalie Bondil, the *diablitos* are ″a highly symbolic part of a ritual representing nature, and they stand in for the spirit of their forebears. Though they see and hear, they do not speak, but rather express their emotions through choreographed gestures" (*Cuba Art and History* 67). The *diablito*, in other words, traditionally qualifies affect through bodily movement rather than through words. Emotions—the pent up expressions of traditionally marginalized slave societies—are qualified through choreography rather than through speech. There is, therefore, an evident discrepancy in Enríquez's image that differs from the traditional depiction of Landaluze's *diablitos*: here the *diablito* is *not* dancing in the streets. In fact, neither is the *mulata* who along with the *diablito* represents one of two of the most symbolic personas of Afro-Cuban dance and music. In this image there is no emotional qualification through movement. Rather, the affectivity of the painting has changed from the liberating bodily movement of the *diablito* during a *cabildo* celebration to the paralyzed submission of the *mulata* body during a ritualistic ceremony. What is traditionally a ceremony of dance, in *Desposo,* becomes an image of ritual stagnancy. The *diablito* performs a role more indicative of a priest exorcising demons than a *diablito* dancing in a rumba procession. Whether this arrives from Enríquez's own ignorance of *Regla de Ochá* rituals or was presented on purpose is unknown. What is clear, in any case, is that the prostrate *mulata* body is what is being cleansed of evil. The *mulata*, in this scene, is not cast as an innocent woman nor an agent of bodily subversion through movement, but rather as the devious

and erotic embodiment of sin and submission. Furthermore, like Enríquez's *El rapto de las mulatas,* she is abducted in the image, taken over by a masculine figure symbolizing the powerful and historical discourse of the nation through syncretic acts. However, if the previous image of *El rapto de las mulatas* symbolized the physical syncretism of *mestizaje,* here we are witness to a form of spiritual *syncretism,* the marvellous real being exposed through the national *espíritu* found in Afro-Cuban religious rituals. This is, evidently, a representation of a *espíritu* that must submit and bare itself before the male *diablito* in order to be "cleansed" from its sinful past.

After-Thought: Towards the Dance Floor

What Enríquez reveals through his paintings is one of the early visual qualifications of the *mulata* affect in Cuban culture. This affect began with sexual and racial stereotypes laden in the figure of the *prostituta* but become bound to the transformed cultural image of the Cuban Republic in the twentieth century. The affect continues although the image changes; racial and sexual stereotypes are repeated under different qualifications. Like the author Benítez Rojo theorizes, this process reveals Cuba to be like a "repeating island" whereby the struggle for cultural identity consistently folds over itself and bifurcates into ambiguous qualifications rooted in the racialized and politicized images of bodies. It is a powerful image, which is to say that its affect holds great "potential." In the early twentieth century, this was the potential of a national becoming, a proto-typical body of the Cuban Republic.

The erotic body of the *mulata,* as imaged in the paintings of Enríquez, was a visual testament of Cuba's national becoming. Her erotic body was the aesthetic image used to accomplish this. Martínez has, respectively, noted that Enríquez's paintings provide a "sensual-sexual theme to express a conflation of self and national identity" (*Vanguardía Painters* 123). To

say this another way, what becomes "conflated" in his images is the physical "body" of the *mulata* with national identity. The sensual-sexual theme of Enríquez's work, achieved in the realist expressions of nudity and exotic tropical environments, tends to qualify the *mulata* body both racially and politically. Her body is politicized in these images because her *mestiza* skin is flaunted as a national symbol of *mestizaje,* an ideological tool rooted in the works of José Martí that was used in the early twentieth century to promote the *espíritu* of Cuba. Her body, in this way, becomes a proto-type of sorts for the Republic, a physical embodiment of what the new nation stands for. Her body also represents a qualification of emotion, an emotional drive of the Cuban Republic to promote a sense of national "pride" and racial/physical belonging in a nation historically subdued by colonial powers, African slavery, and its concurrent socio-economic hierarchies structured by race and gender status. The result is both ambiguous and dialectical since race, the qualification of difference used by colonialists to maintain a structure of power in the island over bodies, becomes the supposed tool for the post-colonial "liberty" of bodies. Once race is involved as a tool for differentiation the affect can only be qualified ambiguously and is bifurcated between the ideal of freedom and the captivity of the body. Inevitably then, the *mulata* body is racialized in the Republic, cast once more as a differentiated symbol used to draw out a "new" discourse of Cuba's national and cultural identity. Only this time, rather than a dark-skinned *prostituta* she is qualified as an exotic dark-skinned figure of the nation. Her body is objectified in a different way, not for sexual pleasure, but for political ideology, not for a man, but for the nation. Patriarchy, in this way, remains rooted in Enríquez's paintings, the male gaze (and male brushstrokes) dominating her body, drawing out its limbs, eroticizing its figure, colouring the skin, curving the buttocks and breasts, and exoticizing the environment around her.

At the same time, however, the *mulata* escapes the male dominated representations of

Enríquez's images through the memory of embodied performances (the repertoire). In every image she is clearly represented, but at the same time she is never fully "captured." Her image remains ambiguous and her identity in flux, thereby assuring new potentials and options for bioremediation. As a result, the *mulata* affect evidently does not stop at the *vanguardía.* Enríquez's images of the *mulata* only represent the beginning of the *mulata's* bioremediated journey through artistic expressions. Take, for example, the author Megan Daigle's observation that the sexual and racial stereotypes initiated in the paintings of Enríquez are seen to return over fifty years later in figure of the *jinetera.* Referencing Enríquez's most famous painting *El rapto de las mulatas* Daigle explains:

> [Enriquez's] construction of mulatas as the willing objects of (white) masculine desire, and the counterpoint to proper (white) feminine virtue, helped to configure the lascivious mulata as the paradigmatic Cuban woman of color, a construction that endures in the jinetera [...] It also laid the ground-work for what would come later: that is, more overt pathologization and criminalization of female sexual permissiveness" (40)

According to Daigle, then, the *mulata* is the symbolic counterpoint between Cuba's national discourse and the latter discourse of *jineterismo* arriving in the 1990s. Her affect is bioremediated from one image through to another. There was, of course, over thirty years existing between Enríquez's final paintings and the birth of the *jinetera* image in the 1990s. During this time, there were other qualifications of the *mulata* affect that occurred.

So by the time Enríquez painted his last works in 1957 the image of the *jinetera* had still not yet been born. It was, however, well under way thanks to the dialectical formations of Afro-Cuban culture perceived on one end as important to the national image and on the other end as promotional to the touristic gaze. Indeed the first half of the twentieth century had spawned an ambiguous image of Afro-Cuban culture and tourism, the *mulata* being the rope that both connected and pulled between the two. It was, in the end, the growing popularization of the

tourism industry in the country that began to qualify the *mulata* under a new premise. Her image was beginning to be seen beyond a conflation of the body and the nation. The emphasis on politically promoting the national *espíritu* for political ends was quickly being paralleled by the promotion of the Cuban *atmósfera* for economic ends. By the 1930s, the exoticism and "marvellous" character of Afro-Cuban culture, music, and rituals continued to be valuable to the growing national character of Cuba and, through the rise of the tourism industry, had become economically profitable as a form of touristic entertainment. *Mestizaje* now had a dollar sign beside it and it was the *mulata* who would embody its value.

CHAPTER TWO

The Commercialized Body: The *Rumbera* and the Graphic Art of Conrado Massaguer

Bailan las negras rumberas
con candela en las caderas.
Abren sus anchas narices
ventanas de par en par
a un panorama sensual...
— Emilio Ballagas,
"Comparsa Habanera"

From *Mulata* to *Rumbera*: A New Stage, An Old Body

The growing spectacularization of the *mulata* during the early twentieth century can be said to have contributed to the birth of an Afro-Cuban subculture. The exotic spectacles of Afro-Cuban music and dance were no longer hidden expressions of a "secondary" class, but rather had become the overweening expressions of *cubanidad.* Afro-Cuban expressions were now "cultural" (representing the national *espíritu*) rather than marginal and, furthermore, could now be "sellable" abroad. A historian on Cuban tourism, Rosalie Schwartz, affirms that Cuban patriots "located *cubanidad* in the Afro-Cuban subculture, seeing its music and literature as the essence of a unifying culture. Tourism promoters exalted sensual and mystical qualities of Afro-Cubans for purposes of profit, and foreigners saw Cuba as an erotic, exotic island devoted to their pleasure and entertainment" (87). The result was that Cuba found itself at a catch twenty-two: the *mulata* remained, at once, the ideal candidate for national artistry such as *arte nuevo* and, at the same time, the idealized candidate for sex-tourism. Her affect was being qualified as nationally constructive, economically productive but, as a result of tourism and the exotic imaginary, also sexually exploitative.

Sexual stereotypes clung to the erotic spectacle of Afro-Cuban culture, and in particular, the image of the *mulata* body. Charged with a history of erotic images it was the *mulata* who was often anticipated as both the protagonist of Afro-Cuban entertainment and of sexual promiscuity. This was, no in doubt, promoted through a new image of the *mulata* body—one already seen in paintings such as Enríquez's *La danza de la mulata*—that begun to be heavily qualified in the 1930s: *la rumbera.* As a dancer and entertainer, the *mulata* began being cast as the figure of touristic entertainment who, as Blanco Morelli describes, "hypnotizes and blinds the [viewer] with the lights of the stage and the sequins of the moving, curvaceous body" (62). Like the earlier qualification of the *mulata* body*,* symbolizing both the history of the *patria* and the *puta,* Afro-Cuban culture as a whole, by the the beginning of the 1930s, had became a sub-culture known for both its patriotism and its promiscuity that "hypnotized" both national and touristic audiences through the dark-skinned dancing *rumbera*. The *vanguardía* image of the *mulata* body was quickly bioremediated into the new image of the *rumbera* body. As it was, the new developments of colour printing and graphic advertising arriving in the early twentieth-century would lead the way for this new commercial image of the dancing *mulata*, abducting the previous *vanguardía* image, strapping it over the national horse and riding away with it.

From the 1930s to the 1950s the popularization of Afro-Cuban rumba music and dancing propelled the image of the Cuban *mulata* into something more internationally exotic than nationally esoteric. As seen in the previous chapter, *arte nuevo* had qualified the *mulata* as a national symbol that combined her exotic physical *mestizo* beauty with the beauty of the tropical landscapes of the country. The cultural image of the *rumbera* repeats the ambiguous position of the *mulata* caught between national and exotic qualifications, however the environment changes. Same *affect*, different *effect*. Rather than a *mulata* strategically framed around the tropical

landscape of the *patría* there is a dark-skinned *rumbera* released onto the exotic stage of the cabaret night clubs. The importance of visual images, however, did not disappear with the arrival of rumba, but on the contrary became all the more important as a way to visually advertise the new spectacle of the *mulata* who now wore a low-cut ruffled dress, high heels, and moved her hips erotically to one of the most exotic, eclectic, and unique sounding rhythms in the Caribbean. The period between the early 1930's to late 1950's was therefore marked by one of the largest outpours of artistic and ethnographic works in the island's history that targeted Afro-Cuban culture as the entertainment specialists and exotic heart of the Caribbean. As a result, art—from the commercial to the popular to the highbrow—took its cues from a new sexualized relationship between the tourist and the *rumbera*. This included the onset of new visual techniques such as graphic illustration that capitalized on the dance and music culture in Cuba.

In this chapter I discuss how graphic arts transmitted the *mulata* affect by visually qualifying the *mulata* body through commercialized images of the *rumbera.* Furthermore, I argue that these images were used as an advertising tactic for both tourism and entertainment industries throughout the island, thereby pointing to a transition away from a national appreciation of the *mulata* body towards a commercial appropriation of her body. My interest here is not to analyse the vast genre and history of graphic arts in the island, but rather to specifically focus on the drawings of the *mulata* by one of the earliest and most acclaimed graphic artists of the first-half of the twentieth century, Conrado Walter Massaguer, most known for his editorial and illustrative work in the popular magazine *Social* (1916-1938). Spread across the pages of tourist advertisements and magazine covers Massaguer's graphic drawings can be said to have bioremediated the *mulata* affect through the eroticized drawings of dark-skinned *rumbera* dancers. Indeed, by as early as the late 1920s, the *rumbera* had become commercialized, an

image valuable to draw tourists and party-goers alike to the booming industry of cabaret dance clubs and night life entertainment venues throughout the island. The tourism industry had found its rhythm in the exotic movement of the *rumbera*. Massaguer's graphic images of dark-skinned *mulatas* performing as exotic *rumberas* in short, elegant, ruffled, vibrantly coloured dresses comes to exemplify one of the greatest forms of tourism advertising for the island and, resultantly, one of the greatest promotional images for the exotic *atmósfera* of Cuban culture that spread locally and internationally throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, as Pérez Firmat wittingly describes, the success of tourism in Cuba at that time depended on the savoury notions of "rum, rumba, and romance" (10), all elements found in the cabarets and likewise promoted throughout the various graphic drawings of Massaguer.

The popularity of rumba can be said to have really taken off in the 1930s and to have peaked in the 1940s and early 1950s. In the words of the musical ethnographer Robin Moore this was a time known as the "rumba craze" (166) in Cuba. Commercialism took the form of tourism advertisements and coloured magazine images that showed off Afro-Cuban traditions of music, dance, festivities, and spiritual rituals throughout the island. The use of magazines as a media outlet for culture, fashion, art, politics, and social news was particularly popular at the time. Many of the most well-known magazines during the 1930s and 1940s such as *Social, Bohemia,* and *Carteles* acted as an advertising outlet for the booming businesses in art and design, fashion, culture, tourism, and entertainment. To draw public attention, these magazines depended on catchy cover images that could entice curious onlookers through colourful and exotic images. What better way to do this than with the erotic and sensual image of a dark-skinned *rumbera*? The result was that graphic arts played an important role in visually exposing rumba in Cuba—and the exotic *mulata*—thereby pushing Afro-Cuban culture into both the national and

international spotlight. This was, of course, aided by other emerging arts such as the music industry and national cinema. The latter, in particular, while relying on co-productions with Mexico, created its own sub-genre of film starring *rumberas* known, fittingly, as *rumbera* or *cabaretera* films. By the 1930s, then, Graphic arts were simply putting to image what music was already putting to sound and what cinema was already putting into motion.

The growing artistic displays of the erotic *rumbera* had brought Cuba into the global spotlight as a culture readied with beautiful women, tropical environments, and exotic spectacles of Afro-Cuban entertainment. Moore has, in this light, recognized the popularization of *rumba* in Cuba as "the globalization of marginal culture" (167). No longer was rumba solely the ritual of a sub-cultural group of Afro-Cubans. It had become the spectacle of a national performance celebrating an exotic, transcultural, and sensual expression of bodily movement. In this chapter I argue that the popular image of the *rumbera* found in Massaguer's graphic arts addresses the continued bioremediation of the *mulata* body in the first half of the twentieth-century. The affect of the *mulata* body is made aware in the repetition of racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes inherited in the *rumbera's* body. The *rumbera*, in this respect, plays an important role in the affective circuit of the *mulata* image. Indeed, one cannot deny that music is an extremely affective medium of expression. In his compilation of essays *Music, Dance, Affect, and Emotions in Latin America* (2017), Pablo Vila connects affect theory with music, describing music as a "structure or container for feeling" (31). That is to say that the affect of emotion is easily qualified and transmitted through music, and inevitably then, to dance as well. And if, as Vila says, "music mobilizes bodies through affective transmission . . . [and] is always involved in a web of forces, intensities, and encounters that produce subjectivities, bodily capacities, and, at the same time, identifications" (31), then it makes sense to see the *Mulata* affect carried through

the medium of rumba and its concurrent expressions in the graphic arts during the first half of the twentieth century. Music and dance create a sensual orchestra of sounds and movement that are liable to evoke emotional responses out of its listeners and viewers. Rumba, for this reason, proves to be an incredibly powerful, or better said "intense," qualification of the *mulata* affect because it expresses, through sound and motion, the socio-historical discourse of the *mulata* including the racial, gender, and sexual prejudices that have been transmitted through her image since colonial slavery.

Bodily movement points to a bodily history. Through the rumba, the *mulata* is thereby qualified beyond the visual depictions found in the *vanguardía* paintings. Rumba evokes senses beyond the eyes: it is movement, sound, and touch. In this way, rumba becomes one of the most intense sensual outlets, an emotional catalyst of the *mulata* affect during the first half of the twentieth-century. Here the *mulata* affect becomes qualified both in the physical moving body of the dark-skinned *rumbera* and in the musical body of the rumba itself. Through its musical body of rhythms and its rhythmic music of the body, rumba points to a history of transculturation as well as to a history of racial and gender prejudices so often associated with the *mulata* by tourists and audiences abroad.

Historically, the bioremediated body of the *mulata* has always been most intensely qualified in Cuba where both the political and the imagined—the national *espíritu* and exotic *atmósfera*—are united and visualized in the same image. Such was the case, for example, with the *mulata* image in Carlos Enríquez's erotic and patriotic paintings. Following the mode of the *mulata* body in art, this chapter posits that, by the 1940s, there existed no environment more intense than on the dance stage and no body more intense than that of the *rumbera* that could accomplish the circuit of the *mulata* affect by drawing together both the national *espíritu* and

atmósfera under one image. Consequently, it was through the image of the *mulata-rumbera* that, once again, Cuba's *espíritu* qualified in her *mestizo* skin and Cuba's *atmósfera* qualified in her erotic performance continued to charge and rotate the gears of Benítez Rojo's so-called *máquina caribe.*

The Ins and Outs of Affect

One must remember that when we talk about the bioremediation of the *Mulata* affect we are always talking about how the affect is transmitted both into and outside of the *mulata's* body, both "in" towards the *espíritu* and "out" towards the *atmósfera*. To cite the affect theorists Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, with affect "a body is as much outside itself as in itself—webbed in its relations—until ultimately such firm distinctions cease to matter" (3). In our context, we arrive at a predicament then of bodily movement and bodily manipulation: What happens when the distinctions between the affective movement occurring *within* the *rumbera* body and the affective manipulations of Cuban culture occurring *outside* of her body supposedly "cease to matter?" Questioned another way, what happens when the *rumbera's* moving body that, according to Blanco Borelli, "exists as a rich site of embodied knowledge" (13) becomes convoluted, at the same time, with an eroticized body thus associating her "with tragedy, veneration, or vilification in the history and cultural imaginary of Cuba"? (5). The answer to this question leads precisely to the same ambiguous situation of the *mulata* that was qualified in the past through the *vanguardía* and even earlier through the colonial image of the *prostituta*: the *mulata* body is qualified both racially and politically, bifurcated between the national *espíritu* and the exotic *atmósfera.*

On the *inside* of the *mulata* body we are presented with affective knowledge, that is, a discourse of socio-historic and corporeal information qualified, not through speech, but through

movement. It is here, on the "inside," where the national image (*el espíritu*) is qualified. The pride of the nation is celebrated in the *rumbera's* body, especially in her hips that Blanco Morelli describes to "subsume language and its problematic assignment of meaning" (15). Through her hips the *rumbera* celebrates and alludes to a complex social history of *mestizaje, transculturación,* and *cubanidad.* Meanwhile, on the "outside" of her body, we are presented with an affective imagination, a manipulation of sorts that distorts the physical image of transculturation into the erotic image of desire. Here the male gaze—often associated with tourists—qualifies the bodily movement as an erotic performance more in tune with the stereotypes of an overtly sexual woman looking to release herself on a dance floor with a choreography indicative of sexual conquest. In this case the movement of her body is interpreted rather than experienced; on the outside her body does not transmit a *discourse* of socio-historic knowledge, but rather an *intercourse* of the eroticized imagination.

In her work *The Transmission of Affect* (2004) the feminist theorist Teresa Brennan discusses the inside-outside *effects* of affect to be a key characteristic of its transmission. In other words, she sees the transmission of affect to always be dialectical and divisive, transmitted both inside and outside of the body. For Brennan the transmission of affect is therefore always captured in a way that is both biological/physical and social in nature; affect is always qualified on the *inside* by how it "feels" physically (biological effects) and on the *outside* by how it "feels" socially (imagined effects). Brennan explains: "The origin of transmitted affects is social in that these affects do not only arise *within* a particular person but also come from *without*. They come via an interaction with other people and an environment. But they have a physiological impact" (emphasis added; 3). It is also for this reason that the *rumbera* became the leading subject of the *mulata* affect for almost thirty years ranging from the 1930s to the 1950s. Rumba was a perfect

medium for transmission: it was both a source of bodily interaction and a suitable "tropical" environment. Much like the tropical backgrounds of Enríquez's paintings, the rumba was found in the rather "tropical" and exotic environments of the cabaret dance clubs. Is it any coincidence that, by 1939, the most famous cabaret in Cuba was established, fittingly entitled "La Tropicana?" Tropicality had moved indoors. The rise of rumba had put a short ruffled dress on the once nude *mulata* of Enríquez's paintings and put walls and dance floors around Enríquez's once open-ended tropical environment. The *mulata* image had changed, been bioremediated into the *rumbera,* and the image of the tropical *naturaleza* had moved into the "tropical" *cabaretera*.

That the inside-outside affect of the *mulata* was transmitted or "bioremediated" from the political/national images of the *vanguardía,* exemplified in the paintings of Carlos Enríquez, towards the commercial image of the *rumbera,* exemplified in the graphic illustrations of Conrado Massaguer, forms the key premise of this chapter. I argue here, as well, that the bioremediation of the *mulata* affect does not refer to a renovation of the *mulata* body, but rather to a repetition of sorts. The *mulata* affect changes images but repeats a common pattern throughout history that bifurcates the *mulata* body between its inside and outside qualifications, the *espíritu* qualified within her body and the *atmósfera* qualified outside of it. The *rumbera*, in other words, is a bioremediation of a previously divided body. There may be a new image (*la rumbera*), but one that is bioremediated out of a previous body or "archive" (*la mulata*). As it was, Massaguer's graphic art became one of the great visual testimonies of this affect being qualified in Cuban culture during the first half of the twentieth century. However, before analysing specific examples of his artwork, it is worthwhile to first clarify the important connection between Cuban identity, otherwise said *la cubanidad,* and the popularization of rumba that was taking place in Cuba at the time.

Rumba and *Cubanidad*

Rumba music and dance are rooted in Afro-Cuban traditions stemming from traditional Congolese or Bantu dances and musical rhythms. However, although mostly African in origin, rumba is a pertinent historical symbol of *mestizaje* in the island. The term itself is derived from the Spanish word for *rumbón* that, according to the anthropologist Yvonne Daniel, "refers to a collective festive event, a gala meal, a carousal, or a high time," and is "synonymous with some Bantu and other West Central African words used in Cuba, such as *tumba, macumba,* and *tambo,* meaning a social, secular gathering with music and dancing" (17). Historically, there were two forms of rumba or "*rumbón,*" a social gathering that involved more talking than it did dancing, and a musical party engaging with at least one of several rumba dance styles. Both events originally developed in the 1850s and 1860s as a festivity where free blacks gathered to socialize, share, and artistically express their class struggles. Following the abolition of slavery in 1886, poor Afro-Cubans and poor whites who found similar work near the port areas of the cities participated together in these social rumba gatherings. They would also create new forms of "rumba" that were no longer isolated solely within the poor black neighbourhoods of Havana known as *solares.* As Daniel explains poor Cubans, "both dark- and light-skinned, created a music and dance of their own, neither totally African nor totally Spanish, that utilized singing, drumming, and dancing in specific configurations and within specific rules" (19). Historically then, *rumba* has represented both the place of social connection and the act of artistic collaboration between light-skinned and dark-skinned Cubans. The rumba has always been the meeting place of *mestizaje.* For this reason, in Cuba, *rumba* is consistently qualified as an important national symbol similar to the *mulata* body. If the *mulata* personified the mixture of African and Spanish culture, then the rumba represents the meeting place and "movement" of

this new *mestizo* culture. The *mulata* may embody *mestizaje*, but it is the *rumbera* body that puts *mestizaje* into performative motion.[18]

There is a common misperception that *rumba* refers to a single dance and music style when, in fact, there exists various subgenres of rumba, the most popular types being the *Yambú*, *Guaguancó*, and *Columbia*. Although similar in aspects, each style of the rumba represent slightly different rhythms and movements. What tends to characterize all forms of rumba is the polyrhythmic percussion of instruments such as *la clave* (two wooden sticks that are hit together), and a series of conga drums including the lead drum known as *el quinto* (the highest pitch), *tres dos* (middle pitch), and the *tumba* or *salidor* (lowest-pitch). Other percussion instruments such as *maracas*, *güiro*, and *cajones* are often used as well. Beyond the percussion, rumba also demands the enchanting *rumbera* who, at times with a male *rumbero*, moves with quick and striking steps drawing attention to her colourful dress and the shifting motions of her hips. It is a vividly sensual dance that highlights the curvature and movement of her body. Certain sub-genres of the dance, as Robin Moore elaborates, even involve "couple interaction in what is essentially a ritualized enactment of sexual conquest" (168). That is to say that sexuality and romantic conquest is a thematic centrepiece to the rumba dance. As such, the dance seems to anticipate the masculine gaze in both its performativity seen in the *rumbera's* low-cut dresses and their sexual choreography. During the early Republic, therefore, there was no greater spectacle to gaze at than a *mulata* in a rumba dress. Add the exotic movement of the *rumbera* to the already eroticized body of the *mulata* and you get the single greatest spectacle Cuban culture has ever produced: the *mulata-rumbera.*

[18] For further discussions on Rumba's origin see Fernando Ortiz, *Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba* (1951; 443), Martinez-Furé, "La Rumba" (1982, 114-117), Yvonne Daniel, *Rumba* (1995; 17-20), Robin Moore, "The Rumba Craze" in *Nationalizing Blackness* (1997; 168-171), and Delia Poey, *Cuban Women and Salsa* (2014; 13-15).

Rumba was formed out of a cultural mix of both rhythms and ideologies. For the most part, its popularization as both a national art and a touristic advertisement was due to the growing appreciation and influence of Afro-Cuban music as a spectacle alongside the growing desire to consolidate a national culture rooted in Afro-Cuban traditions. Artistically there was a clear shift in Cuban culture towards both an appreciation and promotion of Afro-Cuban music such as the son, mambo, danzón, trova, and of course, the rumba. Motifs of music were consistent in artistic expressions throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Paintings such as Antonio Sánchez Araujo's *Musico Negro* (1925), Carlos Enriquez's *Los tocadores* (1935), Amelia Peláez Del Casal's *Pianista* (ca. 1940s), Roberto Diago's *Pianista* (ca. 1940s), Oscar García Rivera's *Comparsa* (ca. 1940), and Manuel Mesa Hermida's *Rumba Callejera* (1955), amongst other works of the time, seemed to infuse the national tone of art with motifs and scenes of Afro-Cuban music and dancing.[19] Indeed, by the 1940s, Afro-Cuban music had quickly become one of the most recognizable national and cultural symbols of Cuba, a loud and monumental performance of *mestizo* traditions and rhythms sounding out the claim of *cubanidad*. As a result, the decade between 1945 and 1955 saw Afro-Cuban music become a key symbol for Cuban nationalism expressed in literature. Literature, especially poetry, seemed to either directly or indirectly affirm the national appreciation of rumba throughout the island. Two of the perhaps more important works included Alejo Carpentier's *La música en Cuba* (1946) and Nicolás Guillen's poetic compilation *El son entero* (1947). Carpentier's work remains one of the most recognized and cited works on Cuban music to this day. As for Guillén, who had already published five sets of poetry by the time *El son entero* came out, the theme of music continued to be proliferated through his poetic words. Guillén, leaning on the rhythm and influence of *son*

[19] For a description of musical themes in modernist art work and images of these works, see the curator Juan A. Martínez's work *Cuban Art and Identity: 1900-1950* (2013) from the Vero Beach Museum of Art in Florida.

music, proves himself as a musical-poet in a similar vein to his American contemporary and friend Langston Hughes who had mastered the art of Blues Poetry in the United States. Beyond the musical poetry itself, *El son entero* also provides a compilation of sheet music composed by well known musicians of the time such as Eliseo Grenet Sánchez, Emilio Grenet, Alejandro García Caturla, and Silvestre Revueltas. Interestingly enough, Carlos Enriquez had collaborated with Guillén in this work by illustrating the book with various drawings. Each of his drawings are clearly reminiscent of his earlier painting styles. As seen in these drawings, similar themes of Enriquez's artwork such as tropicality and eroticism are drawn alongside Guillén's themes of Afro-Cuban music. What may seem at first to be an inconsequential connection between art and poetry demonstrates, in fact, the important unity between *vanguardía* artists, both painters and writers of the time, to highlight the fundamental influence of Afro-Cuban music in Cuba's cultural identity.

Figure 2.1, 2.2, & 2.3: Three of Carlos Enriquez's illustrations found in Nicolás Guillén's *El Son Entero* (1947). From left to right: pages 19, 41, and 51. Photos by author.

Idealizing a cultural identity beyond racial identification was a task that was taken on further in the works of the ethnographer Fernando Ortiz. One of his most important works was

presented during a lecture at the University of Havana in 1939. What would later be published as the essay "Los factores humanos de la cubanidad" [The Human Factors of *Cubanidad*] was arguably one of the most nationalistic writings to have been produced in the island since José Martí's *Nuestra América.* It is here, in this essay, that Ortiz advocates for the existence of *cubanidad,* the cultural condition and identity of Cubans. It is also here that Ortiz highlights one of the most impacting characteristics of *cubanidad,* which can otherwise be described as a form of "raceless nationalism." Basically, by advocating for a common cultural identity, Ortiz pulls from Martí's claim in *Nuestra América* that "no hay odio de razas, porque no hay razas" (138) [there is no hate of races, because there are no races]. Likeminded, Ortiz claims that with cubanidad "no hay raza cubana. Y raza pura no hay ninguna" [there is no Cuban race and there is no pure race] (2). Rather than "racialized" the Cuban individual is metaphorically understood to be like "un crisol de elementos humanos" [a pot of human elements] (78), or in other words, a single national persona that reflects various shapes, sizes, and colours. Evidently, Ortiz thought that this metaphor of a pot ought to be "filled" with something. He goes on, then, to describe Cuba as an *ajiaco,* a popular soup concoction in Cuba filled with different roots, vegetables, and meats. Like the mixture of races and cultures in Cuba, the *ajiaco* is made up of many foods yet all within the same pot and all contributing to the same dish (*lo cubano*). As Ortiz declares: "Cuba es uno de los pueblos más mezclados, mestizo de todas las progenituras" (83) [Cuba is one of the most mixed people groups, *mestizo* from all its progenitors].

It is evident that Ortiz left an important mark on the negotiations of Cuban culture in the twentieth century that were, in turn, vital to the national appreciation of Afro-Cuban dance and music such as the rumba. The metaphorical image of an *ajiaco*, for example, proves incredibly influential to the popularization of rumba as a national symbol. This is because rumba is like an

ajiaco in motion, a living symbol of the musical, rhythmic, and corporeal components of Afro-Cuban and European traditions that are transcultured together into a single artistic dance—different rhythms, same pot. Rumba, that is, became qualified as one of the greatest artistic displays of transculturation and one of the greatest performances of the Cuban *ajiaco*. However, as a result of the attempt to "de-racialize" the Cuban image through the ideal of raceless nationalism, Ortiz's metaphorical depiction of a cultural *ajiaco* tends to polemicize an already ambiguous relationship between the Republican state and Afro-Cuban culture. For at the same time that Ortiz advocates for the Afro-Cuban culture as part of *cubanidad* (part of the *ajiaco*) he also adheres to Martí's ideology of a nation without race. He wants to eat his *ajiaco* of many parts, but describe it as a single flavour. The question then arises: how does an Afro-Cuban culture exist without race? Furthermore, how then does the rumba, an overtly Afro-Cuban expression, become seen as a national symbol void of race? As Devyn Spence Benson notes in her work *Antiracism in Cuba: The Unfinished Revolution* (2016), this is the issue with "Cuban ideologies of raceless nationalism and the promises of equality for all in the new republic." Such ideologies, she continues, inevitably "handcuffed national debates about race in the early twentieth century by limiting how Afro-Cubans could challenge persistent discrimination" (13). Therefore, at the same time that the *ajiaco* celebrates the Afro-Cuban presence in Cuban culture, it attempts to ignore its African coloured "flavour." It is an ideological ambiguity built on racial ignorance.

If we consider Martí as the father of Cuba's so-called "raceless nationalism," then Ortiz is without doubt the son, carrying forth the ideal of a *raíz del patría* [roots of the Homeland] rather than a *raza del pueblo* [race of the people]. His metaphor of an *ajiaco*, in this way, falls into the similar rhythm of *arte nuevo,* rumba, and even the early poetic works of Guillén that all

capitalize on the *mestizo* style and transcultured "rhythm" of their art. These are, however, all artistic expressions built around the racial polemics of Afro-Cubans, especially the *mulata* who is, resultantly, qualified as the raceless "mother" of the Cuban nation. Ambiguously such works highlight racial images in Cuba while advertently promoting the essentialist vision of national solidarity where, as Ortiz explicitly claims, "el negro criollo jamás pensó en ser sino cubano" ("Los factores" 98) [the black creole never thought of being anything but Cuban]. With such an ideology, the *mulata* cannot be thought of as "black," only Cuban. To avoid the differentiation of race, her body is attempted to be qualified politically rather than racially. However, because affect is a matter of potential, her race nonetheless remains affectively charged, ready to be qualified in a way that asserts the differentiation of race against the national claims of racelessness. That is to say that, by asserting an ideology of raceless nationalism onto any *mulata* or Afro-Cuban image, one guarantees it an ambiguous and dialectical qualification that repeats a system of racialized power, which Ortiz wanted, in the first place, to eliminate through racial ignorance. Resultantly, even as part of the rhythmic *ajiaco* the *mulata-rumbera* could not be fully "digested." The *mulata* affect, along with all the racial, gender, and sexual ambiguities and prejudices previously laden into the *mulata* body, erupted out of every movement of the *rumbera.* Her body, along with the resounding rhythm of the clave, performed race in a nation that wanted to sell it as a celebration of a national culture void of racial distinctions. Rumba, therefore, exposes the ambiguity of raceless nationalism. The *mulata*-rumbera, in this sense, guaranteed Martí and Ortiz's ideology of raceless nationalism an affective turn from nationalism to exoticism. With every movement, the *rumbera's* body exposes the erotic and racial prejudices hidden by the nation.

The continued polemical situation of the *mulata* in Cuban culture—a mixed-race women ambiguously representing a so-called "raceless" nation— was already evident by the late 1930s. The *rumbera* body began to be qualiied, therefore, in a way that leaned more to the exotic gaze of her body that exploited her racial features rather than to the national gaze of her body that attempted to ideologically cover them up. Ortiz later observes this issue in his work *La Africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* published in 1950. Ortiz recognizes the negative interpretations of the *mulata* that commercialization and popular culture was asserting against Afro-Cuban culture and music, in particular that the *mulata* was being qualified as an erotic spectacle sold for a profit. Consequently, he observes that Afro-Cuban music had fallen under the workings of a social phenomenon he calls "*dinerismo*" (138)—literally "money-ism"—which, in other words, implies an industry where creativity was controlled by commercial interest rather than national interest. For Ortiz, the solution was ideological. Cubans had to see Afro-Cuban music on the historical-national plain rather than the popular; music had to be understood as classical rather than exotic.

In basic terms, Ortiz was hoping that the exotic effect of Cuba's *atmósfera* could be extinguished by the Cuban *espíritu.* With this goal in mind, he therefore urges Cubans to recognize Afro-Cuban music as a genre of classical folklore that not only impacted the musical traditions of Cuba, but the overall nationalization of Cuban culture. As Ortiz explains, there was a need in Cuba to liberate music "de la relajación y de las infecciones degenerativas, de la vulgaridad como del menosprecio" (*La Africanía* 141) [from the relaxation and degenerative infections and from the vulgarity of disparagement]. Otherwise said, Ortiz saw the need to address the "vulgar disparagement" of the *rumbera* that had been associated, stereotypically, with Afro-Cuban music and, specifically, with the *mulata*. That the *atmósfera* of Cuba, even

today, remains imaged in the stereotypical figure of a sexy dark-skinned *rumbera* represents Ortiz's evident failure to inspire a solely nationalistic qualification of rumba music in the island. Ortiz wanted the "in" without the "out;" he wanted rumba as the national *espíritu* without the exotic *atmósfera*. As it was, the *mulata* affect was unable to do this; the *mulata* would never be able to be qualified on one side without the other. For, as Brennan claims, the "atmosphere" of affect "literally gets into the individual. Physically and biologically, something is present that was not there before" (1). What Ortiz then sees to be an issue of representation, that is an issue of how the audience chooses to view or "qualify" the *rumbera* is, in fact, an issue of affect, a question of what is already both "inside" and "outside" of the *rumbera's* body. One cannot not simply represent the *rumbera* how they choose to see fit, as solely nationalistic or solely exotic, and expect that image to monopolize all other images. This is impossible because there exists opposing potentials already qualified, that is laden, within the *mulata* body. Otherwise said, the agency of the *mulata* body is consistently being limited by the way that men, specifically, are bioremediating her image. Ironically, Ortiz seeks to limit the representation of the *mulata* body through a national lens, but is unable to because the *mulata* affect is always charged with the potential for other qualifications. This is where the theory of affect opens a door that was already closed before Ortiz even got to it. What Ortiz witnesses as a failure of the audience's ability to appreciate the *espíritu* of rumba, in the end, points to the scholar's inability to limit the sexual and eroticized *effects* of the *rumbera* that, especially through graphic arts, continued to qualify Cuba's *atmósfera* via the *mulata* body. Ortiz's desire for national appreciation was no match for the lust of the exotic *atmósfera.* Ironically he was trying to both close and open the same door at the same time. That is, he was trying to re-represent a body that was, effectively, already

"captured" or represented as a sexual stereotype through the body's archive. He was trying to close down one representation by opening up another.

Unlike Ortiz, his contemporary Alejo Carpentier proved to be more tolerant for the "atmospheric" effects of Cuba's entertainment industry. Taking a different approach than Ortiz Carpentier did not shy away from admitting and celebrating rumba as an artistic and cultural *atmósfera* that went beyond national interpretation and control. He was, as such, one of the first writers to really admit and describe rumba to represent an *atmósfera* of Cuban culture. While describing the rumba in his now classic work *La música en Cuba* (1946) Carpentier explains:

> De ahí que la *rumba* sea, aún hoy, un género indefinible y, sin embargo, presente. Todo cubano reconoce una *rumba* al paso . . . Y es que la *rumba*, como lo decíamos antes, es una *atmósfera*. Póngase una mulata a mover las caderas al alcance coreográfico de un bailador, y todos los presentes producirán los ritmos adecuados, con las manos, en un cajón, en una puerta, en la pared. . . Es significativo el hecho de que la palabra *rumba* haya pasado al lenguaje del cubano como sinónimo de holgorio, baile licencioso, juerga con mujeres del rumbo. (243)
>
> So we can say that the rumba, even today, is an undefined genre and yet quite present. Any Cuban recognizes a rumba without blinking . . . And it is because the rumba, as we said before, is an *atmosphere.* Put a [mulata] out there moving [her] hips with the choreographic reach of a dancer, and all of those present will produce the adequate rhythms, with their hands, a box, a door, or on the wall . . . It is no small wonder that the word *rumba* has passed into the language of Cubans s a synonym for noisy partying, licentious dancing, boogying with loose women. (*Music in Cuba,* 226)

As seen here, Carpentier alludes to two important paradoxes of rumba music that contribute to its "atmospheric" affect. Firstly rumba is not one specific style of music but many, yet each style is immediately recognizable within a single genre of "*la rumba*." This implies that the dance is not defined by a specific style, but by a certain performativity. It is qualified not by its different components, but by its overall "*atmósfera*." It is a dance representative of what Carpentier later defines as the New World Baroque art, which in general terms, refers to the eclectic expressions of Latin American artists using both stylistic and cultural elements from Indigenous, European,

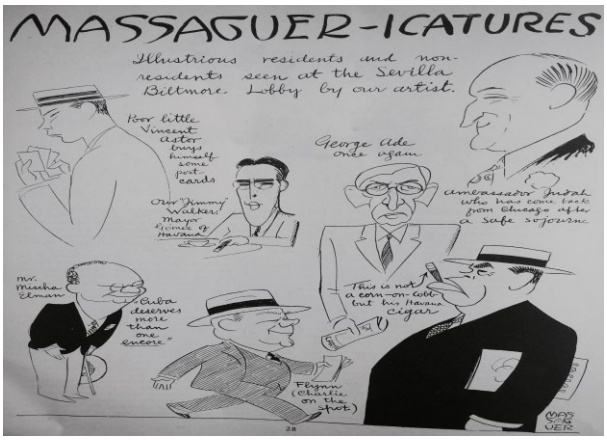
and African traditions. Carpentier, in fact, describes the New World Baroque—in the context of Havana's architecture—to be defined by "un estilo sin estilo" ["style without a style"] ("Ciudad" 63). Similarly, rumba is "a style without a style." Its conventions are so broadly defined that it has no singular definition; it has eclectic forms without any singular heritage, thus evoking both a curiosity concerning its origin and an almost "mystical" property to its rhythm. Secondly, rumba has passed beyond stylistic definitions and into cultural semantics. Here, Carpentier's phrase "mujeres del rumbo" takes on the masculine form of "rumba," meaning literally a "course" or "route." It is, however, at the same time a synonym in Cuba for "loose women" (according to Alan West-Durán's translation seen above) or "female prostitution," as translated by Delia Poey who further alludes the term to "low-class Afro-Cubans" (14). In this way, Carpentier emphasizes the ambiguous *rumbo* of *rumba* in Cuban society. On one hand rumba is a metaphor for Cuba's *mestizo* culture designed as a "style without a style," and at the same time it is semantically qualified in a term signifying a history of promiscuity, prostitution, and licentious behaviour stereotyped to women of colour. Rumba, that is to say, is an *atmósfera* rather than a style. It is an ambiguous art form that, like the *arte nuevo* images of the *mulata,* is ambiguously charged with both national pride and sexual stereotypes. Inasmuch as it has been envisioned as the *mestizo* rhythm of the nation, the *rumba* became qualified as the festive "*rumbo*" of Afro-Cuban communities. Over time, then, the exotic performativity of the *rumbera* became easily misconstrued as the sexual pervasiveness of the *mulata.* Sixty years later the term "*jinetera*" would also be built on this same exotic imaginary of the *mulata* bioremediated through the images of the *rumbera* that began flooding popular culture in the 1930s.

Conrado Massaguer: Drawing out the Atmosphere

Graphic images in the first half of the twentieth century consistently qualified Cuba to be more like a rumba "stage" rather than a real place. The tourism industry, directed and promoted in the first half of the twentieth century by the Instituto Cubano del Turismo [The Cuban Tourism Commission], sought to advertise Cuba as an exotic atmosphere, a paradise for foreigners rather a political nation for Cubans. One of the early graphic design artists of the era, Conrado Walter Massaguer (1889-1965), can be acknowledged for the success of these images in promoting both tourism and rumba in Cuba. As a result of new technologies such as the photogravure (the image production from a photographic negative) and two-colour printing in the early twentieth century, the distribution of illustrated magazines became a key medium for commercial and cultural advertising. The most popular magazines such as *Social, Bohemia,* and *Carteles* led the way by displaying colour images of costumed women and exotic Afro-Cuban *rumberas* to both local and tourist audiences. These magazines also represent one of the earliest media venues used to publically promote Cuba as an *atmósfera* of rumba and romance, of carnivals and cabarets. Massaguer took the lead as the principle editor and designer of his first magazine *Gráfico* (1913-1918) and later, along with his brother Oscar, his most popular magazine *Social* (1916-1933; 1935-1938), both of which became two of the earliest magazines in Cuba to utilize coloured graphic art as a medium for advertising.

By the onset of the magazine *Social,* Massaguer had entered a career in graphic illustration that was, for the most part, unmatched by any others during the early twentieth century. Including his editorial work with *Gráfico* and *Social* he was the artistic editor of at least five Cuban newspapers, he was an established artist who contributed to various art expositions including the first *Sálon de Bellas Artes* in 1913, he was the editor of a short English run magazine titled *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1929-1930), and he was the artistic director for

Cuba's most popular magazine of the time *Carteles.* Furthermore, over the course of his career he was also heavily involved in both Cuba's art culture and commercial business. By 1910 he had established, along with his colleague Laureano Rodríguez Castells, his first advertising agency known as Mercurio. This was followed, later on, with his establishment of the Unión de artes gráficas [The Union of Graphic Arts] in Cuba along with another advertising agency known as Kesevén Anuncios in 1916. By the early 1930s Massaguer had, therefore, already established himself as the island's foremost artist of graphic illustration. It was, however, primarily through the magazine *Social* that his caricature-style of art gave him the reputation of an artist who could deconstruct political and social tensions through wit, humour, and satire. As one reviewer comments in the 1923 article in the *New York Times* Massaguer has an uncanny eye for the vulnerable spot, which makes him a real—and welcome—menace" ("Massaguer's Caricatures"; Jan 14, 1932). Being that Massaguer's work was internationally represented with at least six American magazines— including popular reviews such as *Life, Cosmopolitan, Vanity Fair,* and *New Yorker*—his graphic illustrations also left Cuban culture with a certain reputation abroad. In the words of a 1958 article written for the U.S. policy and politics magazine *Americas* all Cubans, based on the illustrations of Massaguer, were considered to "delight in seeing golden idols toppled, in taking a worms-eye view of the universe, in giving pomposity a hotfoot" ("Nothing Sacred" 20). Massaguer's graphic illustrations were making a "pompous" reputation for himself and for Cuban culture as a whole.



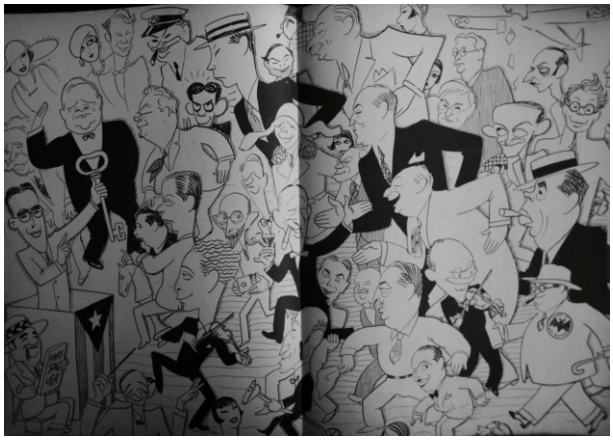


Figure 2.4 and 2.5: Examples of caricatures by Massaguer. Left: "Massaguer-icatures" shows a compilation of famous individuals seen in the Sevilla Biltmore hotel in Havana. Right: Illustration of a tourist festival in Cuba. Both images found in *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba.* January 1, 1929. Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Photos by author.

Through his caricatures, magazine cover images, and tourism advertisements Massaguer introduced Cuba to a performance-based and commercial form of artwork. By introducing colour images on the covers of magazine issues he was able to strategically promote the work of graphic design while serving to advertise the magazine and its contents to potential buyers. This was, at the time, a novel strategy that incorporated graphic art with typography. Both image and text worked together as a discussion of cultural events and news in the country. According to the art critic Luz Merino Acosta, Massaguer's specific work in the magazine *Social* had, in this respect, intertwined both commercial and artistic functions:

> The intention was to raise the standard of advertising message and to show that art could also be a marketing tool, blurring the distinctions between illustration and commercial art. The possibility of one influencing the other did not eliminate disputes between them; on the one hand, the advertisers wanted to increase their sales, while on the other, artists wanted to create, innovate and incorporate new artistic approaches into their advertising work. (112)

Combining together the fields of visual texts—illustrations, caricatures, advertisements, and photographs—Massaguer's work became a key influence in other graphic artists such as his contemporaries Jamie Valls (known for his art in *Bohemía* and *Carteles*) and Andrés García

Benitez (known best for his cover images in *Carteles*). Together such artists brought Cuba into an era of commercial artwork that, Merino Acosta asserts, held a twofold objective:

> The intention was to raise the standard of the advertising message and to show that art could also be a marketing tool, blurring the distinctions between illustration and commercial art. The possibility of one influencing the other did not eliminate disputes between them; on the one hand, the advertisers wanted to increase their sales, while on the other, artists wanted to create, innovate and incorporate new artistic approaches into their advertising works. (112).

Graphic illustrators like Massaguer were therefore able to expand the operating potential of Cuban arts from solely an aesthetic property to a commercial one. Art needed no longer to be hung on a wall within a frame for the passer-by, but could be the propaganda within pages of magazines and posters to be purchased by anyone. This would prove extremely influential in the next generation of graphic designers in the 1960s who would use similar artistic strategies to promote Cuban cinema and revolutionary culture.

The twofold strategy of Massaguer's graphic art—innovation and advertising—represented a new aesthetic environment in the early twentieth-century. Respectively, in an analysis of Massaguer's graphic arts entitled *Las Bellas Artes en Cuba* (1928), the then president of the National Academy of Arts and Letters in Havana, José Manuel Carbonell y Rivero, describes Massaguer's art as "una evolución derivada del cambio de ambiente" (287) [an evolution derived from a change in the environment]. That is to say that Massaguer's caricature style of art arrived during both a new political and artistic environment or, better said *atmósfera*, in Cuba. Massaguer, for example, was very politically opposed to the Machado government and even lived for six years, from 1931 to 1937, as a political exile in the U.S. Throughout his lifetime, Massaguer lived to see the fall of the Machado regime, the onset of the Batista dictatorship in the country, as well as the Cuban Revolution in 1959. The unsteady political atmosphere of his life shaped a great deal of his work, which was used, on many occasions, as a

form of socio-political commentary. The politics of Cuba was, however, not the only atmosphere that was changing. The artistic atmosphere was changing as well, becoming more and more disinterested with nationalist motivations and becoming more enchanted with commercial values promoted through the tourism and entertainment industries. The *rumbera*, specifically, became a valuable image to qualify this new *atmósfera* of Cuban art and culture.

Illustrating the *mulata-rumbera*

In the plight of creating a commercial and touristic brand of illustrations, Massaguer also became one of the first graphic artists to illustrate the *mulata* woman. One of the first examples is found in a 1925 edition of *Social* where Massaguer drew an image of a *mulata* dancing rumba with a black man with a subtext reading "Los precusores de Jazz" [the Precursors of Jazz]. In this particular image Massaguer claims rumba as a precursor to the popular movement of Jazz arriving to Cuba in the 1920s. Jazz, of course, was rooted in African American traditions in the U.S. which reflects a common pattern in Massaguer's work to compare Cuban culture with that of the U.S. In this case, Cuba comes first. As implied by Massaguer, before there was the movement of jazz music, there was the bodily movement of the *rumbera.* Cuba is depicted as the roots of African American music and therefore the *mulata* body as the catalyst for African American musical rhythms and traditions. This is also a rare image in the twenties that, in the stead of *arte nuevo*, exploits *mestizaje* through graphic illustration. In her informative photo essay "Massa-Girls" (1999) K. Lynn Stoner observes, in this image, that "Massaguer acknowledged racial admixture with this drawing of a *mulata* with a black man." She continues by explaining that music and dance "were acceptable arenas for the races to come together, but Massaguer could not depict a white woman dancing intimately with a black man. He preferred not to comment on white men with women of colour" (44). What we are witness to, then, is a

rather ambiguous strategy of Massaguer to embody the racial constructions of both national pride and tourist desire contained in the body of the *mulata-rumbera.* The *mulata* that dances with a black man as a symbol for *mestizaje* is also exploited later in his career for the voyeuristic desire of the white North American tourist. Massaguer will not depict a white woman dancing with a black man, but will nonetheless capitalize on the desires of white tourists to dance with a *mulata*. Ambiguously, Massaguer attempts to protect the national image by avoiding certain racial qualifications, yet at the same time exploits race as a strategy to promote tourism.

It did not take long for Massaguer to make the shift from the national qualification of the *mulata* to the commercial qualification of the *rumbera*. In 1931, only six years after his initial depiction of the *rumbera* on the cover of *Social,* Massaguer begins to advance the image of the *mulata-rumbera* as an commercial spectacle for the male viewer. While partaking in an art exhibition at Delphic Studios in New York, Massaguer exhibits an illustration entitled "Después de la rumba" [After the Rumba]. As explained in the title, the image presents the after-math of a rumba performance. A *mulata* dancer wearing a white ruffled shirt, bracelets, a bandana and large hooped earrings is erotically shown with the front of her shirt completely undone, breasts exposed. A glass is placed on the right to quench her thirst with the iconic rumba fan laid in front of her and two branches of a palm tree visibly extended across the back of the frame. Her hands rest seductively on her tired hips as she looks contently into the distance, providing an expression of both relief and satisfaction. Her dance is finished, the performance is over. The viewer is now privy to the "real" *rumbera* behind the dress: the erotic and seductive *mulata.* Like *arte nuevo,* palm trees infuse the image with a tropical environment juxtaposing the natural body of Cuba with the physical body of the *mulata.* Massaguer's work has, in this way, bioremediated an old tradition of the *mulata* body into the figure of the *rumbera.* The context has changed, the body

has not. It was this version of the *rumbera* as the erotic, exotic, and seductive *mulata* that would later inform Massaguer's advertorial work with the Cuban Tourism Commission in the 1950s.

Figures 2.6 and 2.7. Left: Massaguer's Cover image of *Social* vol X, Nr.9, September 1925: "Los Precursores de Jazz." Image found on the *Internet Archive,* public domain in Collection "Cuban Magazines and Newspapers." Accessed Mar 8, 2018: https://archive.org/details/SocialVolXNo9Septiembre1925. Right: "La exposición de Massaguer en New York." Visible top right is Massaguer's illustration "Después de la rumba." Image taken from page 29 in *Social* vol XVI, Nr. 12, Dec 31, 1931. Image found on the *Internet Archive,* public domain in Collection "Cuban Magazines and Newspapers." Accessed Mar 8, 2018: https://archive.org/details/SocialVolXVINo12Diciembre1931

The illustrations of the *mulata-rumbera* seen above were not original to Massaguer's work. Before he began targeting the *mulata* as a commercial image, Massaguer's focus had been on the bourgeois culture of white fashion and society in Havana. Many of his early illustrations of women, for example, are images of "flappers," basically a western generation in the 1920s of young, slim white women who wore short skirts, had elaborate hair styles, listened to jazz music, and challenged the traditional notions of the time for "acceptable" behaviour. However, by the 1930s and the onset of his works like "Después de la rumba" Massaguer had begun to transition

his elegant and exotic illustrations of white flappers touted on the covers and illustrations in *Social* towards an image of a darker-skinned *rumbera.* In this sense, one can trace a cultural shift of racial qualification in Massaguers work from the exotic depictions of the white westernized flapper to the exotic dark-skinned image of the *mulata-rumbera.* What is, in truth, being traced here is a shift of commercial images: the image of the flapper that was sold in the late twenties and early thirties eventually transitions to the *mulata-rumbera* that becomes a strategic commercial image in the thirties and onwards.

There were little rules or structure for Massaguer as he shifted his images of flappers to *rumberas.* Graphic illustration provided him a unique aesthetic tool that could depict reality without becoming too "real." After all, it was not a photo, but an illustration; it was not a genuine depiction of reality, but rather a genuinely unrealistic cartoon. Massaguer loved, in this respect, to push the boundaries of art with his satire and humour. Take for example, his caricature of a *mulata-rumbera* drawn for a room in the Cuban Pavilion at the world fair in New York in 1939. The drawing details a *mulata-rumbera* dancing on a stage while surrounded by voyeuristic politicians, some gawking at the dancer while others, including the New York mayor of the time Fiorello Henry La Guardia, playing instruments to the *rumbera's* dance. The cartoon could easily be interpreted as a political dig at U.S. politics considering that the mayor and his maracas, politician Grover Whalen and his guitar, governor Lehman and his drums, and even the president Frankelin D. Roosevelt on the bull fiddle appear to be performing along with the *rumbera* for the likes of Mussolini and Stalin whose caricatures are displayed in the audience. The performance of the rumba seems to allude to New York's political performance where politicians are scoffed at in enjoyment by fascists and communists alike. Yet, according to a *New York Times* article: "The Mayor said that he saw nothing objectionable in the cartoon" ("Mayor Approves," Jun 7,

1939; 12). Massaguer, as it seems, had developed an ideal artistic expression that could be critical of politics while avoiding any overt criticism from politicians. As such, Massaguer had entered an artistic environment where, really, anything could go; there were little formative boundaries limiting how Massaguer chose to present his image of the *rumbera,* Cuban culture, or other Cubans for that matter. What mattered was not the verisimilitude of the image, but rather the curiosity or witty satire that the image could evoke. His commercial images, in this manner, represent a shift from the realism of *arte nuevo* towards the cartoon-like fantasy of *arte gráfica* where the *atmósfera* rather than *espíritu* is qualified in the image. Massaguer's commercial art tends, therefore, to not imitate the realities of what Cuba is, but rather to provoke the imaginations of what Cuba is like.

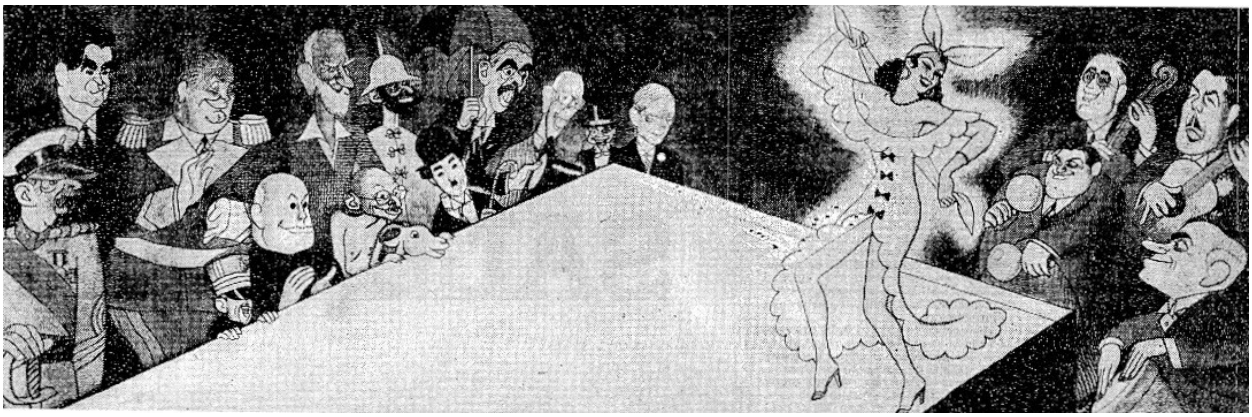


Figure 2.8: Massaguer's drawing of a *rumbera* dancing on stage for politicians at the Cuban Pavilion in New York. Image found in the article "Mayor Approves Cuban Caricature," *New York Times,* June 7, 1939, p.12. Article retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed March 8, 2018: https://search-proquest-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/102957132?accountid=14474

Interestingly, even the writer Alejo Carpentier made mention of Massaguer's "unreal" depictions of Cuba. Referencing a comment by his friend and colleague Emilio Roig—also a key writer and contributor to the magazine *Social*—Carpentier cites that Massaguer, when inventing caricatures of Cubans, "no logra nunca dar con un personaje cubano" [he never achieves to give them a Cuban character] ("Un acenso" 152). As Carpentier clarifies: "Sus hacendados, sus banqueros, parecen españoles, parecen miembros de la directiva del Banco de Bilbao; sus

guajiros parecen los guajiros que pudiera ver de paso, rápidamente, un dibujante turista que hubiera hecho un paseo al campo en una escala del barco" [his farmers, his bankers all appear Spanish, appearing like members of the Bank of Bilbao directive; his peasants look like they ones you would see in passing, quickly. He was like a tourist-cartoonist that would have taken a stroll in the country while from the view of a boat] ("Un ascenso" 152). Massaguer was therefore seen to be an artist of the tourist imagination rather than the Cuban reality. One way to describe his work is that his images were considered Cuban in culture, but not necessarily Cuban in character.

Advertizing the *rumbera*

No where is Massaguer's "tourist-cartoonist" art more evident than in his illustrations of *rumberas* during his advertising work for the Cuban Tourist Commission (Instituto Cubano de Turismo) in the 1950s. In what could be considered his most well-known image of a *rumbera* Massaguer advertises a dark-skinned *mulata* dancing with an emphatic smile. She is, however, not the normal looking *rumbera* one would expect to find in a cabaret. Her image is dramatic rather than realistic. She is displayed wearing a pair of white baggy Spanish-style bell-bottom pants and a sash wrapped around her waist indicative of Spanish bull-fighting dresses, long drooping flamenco-like sleeves, a sombrero decorated with the Cuban star, and, in her hands, she grips two maracas— all in all an eclectic assortment of Hispanic styles. The same year, on the front cover of a tourist guide designed by the Cuban Tourist Commission, Massaguer designs yet another exoticized image of the *rumbera.* In this drawing, entitled "Welcome to Cuba," a blond haired tourist in a white suit drops his suit case and pipe while being greeted and kissed by a dark haired *rumbera* wearing a red and white polka-dotted dress, Spanish gypsy-like gold hooped earrings, and a matching bandana reminiscent of the traditional WWII propaganda ads of Rosie

the Riveter created by the U.S. government to encourage American women that "We can do it!" Massaguer's image is essentially as close to home for U.S. tourists as it is far; the *rumbera* exhibits all the ideal feminine traits the male American tourist could "dream" of: the hard working bandana of a confident and hard working woman matched with an exotic-looking dress fit around her provocative and athletic body.

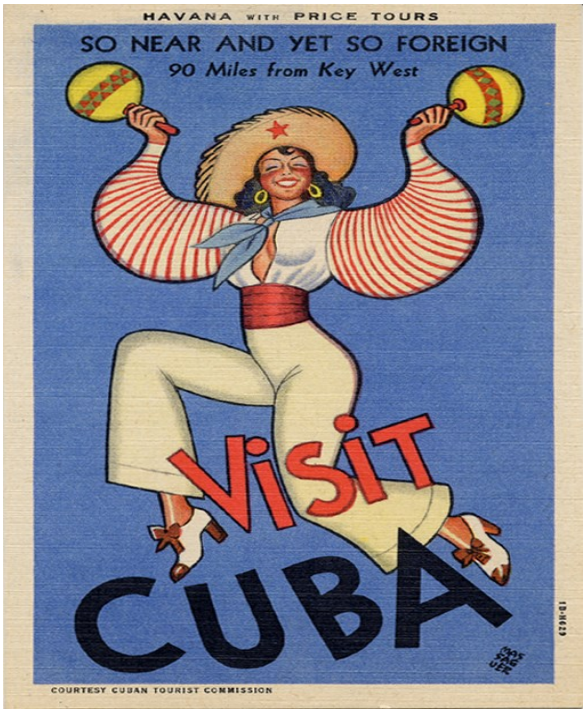


Figure 2.9: Cuban Tourist Commission Post-Card advertisement, Visit Cuba: Havana with price tours; "So near and yet so foreign, 90 miles from Key West," illustrated by Conrado Massaguer. Ca. 1950. Wolfsonian-FIU library collection, accession number XC2002.11.4.17, donated from the Vicki Gold Collection.

Figure 2.10: "Welcome to Cuba,"1955 Cuban Tourist Commission Guidebook Cover, by Conrado Massaguer. Photo of image taken from Vicki Gold Levi & Steven Heller's *Cuba Style: Graphics from the Golden Age of Design* (2002), p.40.

Similar to what Carpentier observed in Massaguer's work both these images direct the viewer away from an authentic Cuban character and, instead, present a tourist-cartoonist's characterization of an invented exotic culture represented first and foremost by the exotic *rumbera.* It is obvious that both images appeal more to the tourist's imagination than to the Cuban reality. To sell this image was, all in all, a commercial challenge that depended on

balancing the potential of distance with the potency of *atmósfera*. To sell the "exotic" image of Cuba the illustrator needed, therefore, to promote the *atmósfera* of Cuba as something both attainable (they could travel there easily) and experiential for the viewer (guaranteed entertainment). This was Massaguer's specialty, an artistic and commercial strategy that he perfected through years of experience as a magazine editor and artistic director for graphic design advertising. Case in point is with the slogan found in the first image shown above: "Visit Cuba: So Near and Yet So Foreign, 90 Miles from Key West." Such a phrase sounded out the tourism industry like a siren call to travellers abroad who were able to realistically reconcile their travel to Cuba in such a short distance (only ninety miles) while, at the same time, dream of the rather superfluous depictions of what Cuba entailed. Most likely, Massaguer adapted this exact phrase from its original use in one of the earliest and most well-known travel guides to Cuba at the time entitled *Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans* (1941). In this guide the authors Consuelo Hermer and Marjorie May confirm Cuba as a place that is "so near and yet so foreign" (46) and go on to describe Havana as an "atmosphere that engulfs you," and its culture as an "alien way of life [that] has continued placidly so near our bustling American shores" (47). Other travel guides of the time imitated this claim. The Cuban Tourist Commission's 1953-1954 tourist guide *Cuba: Ideal Vacation Land,* for example, once again emphasizes the "atmosphere" of Cuba. As described in the introduction to the tourist guide:

> Cuba's nearness to the United states makes it of easy access for the residents of that country—a circumstance which makes the expense of transportation quite low. Besides, Cuba has always been a favorite vacation land because of its ideal climate in winter and summer, its natural beauties which make it a photographer's paradise and its distinctly *foreign atmosphere* coupled with all modern advantages and conveniences. (Emphasis added, 3).

Early tourism in the twentieth century therefore promoted Cuba as a "foreign atmosphere"—both of adventure and of climate—that was also close in proximity. This became a key advertising

philosophy for Massaguer who developed his commercial images in such a way to eliminate distance and augment desire. The idea was to sell the image of Cuba as an experience within reach rather than a geographical place beyond borders. Cuba was to be seen as a quick transition from monotonous to adventurous, from quotidian to foreign, from winter to summer, from American to *Americano*.

The phrase "so near yet so foreign" became one of the most common advertising slogans of the Cuban Tourist Commission during the 1940s and 1950s. The development of this phrase, however, had begun quite a bit earlier in Massaguer's work, particularly evident during his short two-year stint with the English written and tourist-centred magazine *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* (1929-1930). Years before the Cuban Tourist Commission grabbed a hold of this phrase as an advertising strategy, Massaguer had been including various advertisements in his magazines that targeted the close proximity of Havana to the United States. Various travel advertisements found in his magazine *Havana*, for example, begin advertising Cuba as a tourist destination within reach from both Florida and New York. Ninety was, once again, seen as the key number of miles from Florida while thirty-nine was the key number of hours from New York. An exotic adventure, in other words, lay merely ninety miles or perhaps only thirty-nine hours away, so close you could be there the next day, yet so "foreign" that you would remember it forever. The idea, then, was to create an advertisement that could provide people the "comfort" of home along with the adventure of something new and exotic. In both 1929 and 1930 issues of the magazine *Havana*, for example, Massaguer advertises the upcoming beach and tourist area known as "La Playa" which is declared to only be 39 hours from New York. In one edition, La Playa is advertised as the place "Smart America discovers." The tourist is invited, like a neo-colonial Columbus, to discovery a new exotic land readied with "golf before the sea bath . . . One

thousand bath houses, capable attendants, fine music and excellent cafeteria service . . . an afternoon of excellent racing . . . dancing and gaming at the Casino Nacional." It is foreign enough to "discover," yet "American" enough to to enjoy. A 1929 realty advertisement in *Havana* took the idea of proximity a step further emphasizing that a trip to the exotic city is also a quick change in climate, "just a step from winter to summer." This is, all in all, an affective strategy of advertising that fuses together geographical proximity with physical differentiation. What is advertised must "feel" possible and, above all, promote a desire to "feel" different— it must be felt or, better said *affected*, as something that is both near geographically and foreign sensationally.

Figure 2.11: Front Cover image of *Cuba Ideal Vacation Land: 1953-1954* by the Instituto Cubano del Turismo [Cuban Tourist Commission). Photo by author.

Figure 2.12: Havana Tourism advertisement for "La Playa" resort centre, "La Playa: 39 Hours from New York." Image found in Massaguer's *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* January 10, 1930 issue. Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Photo by author.

Figure 2.13: Advertisement for "La Playa" resort centre, "Smart America Discovers La Playa: 39 Hours of New York." Image found in Massaguer's *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* January 1, 1929 issue. Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Photo by author.

Figure 2.14: Havana Biltmore Realty Company advertisement, "Just a Step from Winter to Summer: 39 Hours from New York." Image found in Massaguer's *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* March 16, 1929 issue. Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Photo by author.

Weak Exoticism

By blending together proximity with foreignness, Massaguer's advertisements create what Pérez Firmat has described as "weak exoticism," that is, "diversity without distance. . . the opportunity [for the exotic seeking traveller] to satisfy his or her wanderlust, to move out in space and go back in time, without having to wander . . . [thus offering] the tourist pleasure without peril, adventure without surprises" ("Pirates" 67-69). Exoticism is promoted, but in such a way that is "weak" enough to make Cuba feel comfortable to the tourist and within reach. That is to say that the "potential" or affect of the Cuban *atmósfera* is, in turn, empowered by distance. Affect holds a greater intensity when geographical distance is shorter or "weaker." The tourist is able to "feel" or qualify the *atmósfera* in a greater capacity when its proximity is within reach;

one is most able to qualify, through their imagination, what they can reach within their grasp. The *mulata* affect is therefore clearly at work in weak exoticism: the intensity, or what Pérez Firmat describes as the "pressure" of weak exoticism, "is defined as much by the expectations and fantasies of their real or imagined visitors as by their physical and cultural characteristics" ("Pirates" 70). That is how the Cuban *atmósfera* functions: it promotes something physical within reach that you can see and something physical within your imagination that you can desire; it is both physically and imaginatively affective. Consequently, when the *rumbera* later becomes the focus of Massaguer's tourist ads in the 1950s she becomes a physical embodiment of weak exoticism. The *rumbera* image thus draws the proximity of lands into a proximity of bodies. Ninety miles from Florida means only a short distance separating the tourist body from contact with the exotic *rumbera*; geographical distance is sublimated with bodily distance. This bodily distance is reconciled in two ways: through dancing and through sex, both sexual-affective acts inevitably tied to one other through the Cuban *atmósfera.* The *rumbera*, in this manner, is the connecting thread of weak exoticism with the *mulata* affect, weaving the touristic desire into the sexual and racial prejudices historically qualified *within* and *outside* of the *mulata* body.

Weak exoticism is all about affection, qualified in both feelings and desire. Proximity, both spatial and corporeal, empowers the qualification of the *mulata* body around the imagined desires of tourists. Her physical body becomes "atmospheric" while the viewer of her body physically responds to the image that they imagine. It is through weak exoticism, for example, that the tourist is able to "feel" Cuba both physically and abstractly. The tourist may justify distance through cognition for example. They may come to a conclusion in their mind that agrees with the advertising and believe that 90 miles (a visual reference) is, in fact, not too far. They

make a cognitive decision to open their mind to the image's affect. This is, of course, physical in the respect that their mental processes of perceiving the image is qualified through physical reactions in the brain. It is "imagined" or abstract insofar as they are cognitively processing a "place" outside of its location. This leads to the second event: the tourist may "feel" through their desire. They may imagine Cuba as a place of positive or "exotic" differences that distinguish the notion of Cuba from the real spaces they live in. Through weak exoticism the tourist can practically *feel* the warm climate (as different from their cold environment), they can *feel* the bustle of city nightlife (as different from the mundaneness of their workplace), they can *hear* the rhythmic sound of rumba filling the *cabaratera* (as opposed to the dull radio they listen to in their car), they can *taste* the strong rum in Cuban cocktails (as opposed to another cup of bland coffee); they can *envision* the movement of a *rumbera* as she glides erotically across the dancefloor (as opposed to another colleague in a suit handing them a pile of paperwork to complete). The tourist body or affect is therefore qualified with a variety of feelings and sensual encounters—both physical and imagined— that flow out of the desire to differentiate Cuba's *atmósfera* from their own reality. This was, all in all, the potential and intensity of the *mulata* affect when bioremediated into Massaguer's graphic art during the early twentieth century.

Rumba in *Havana*

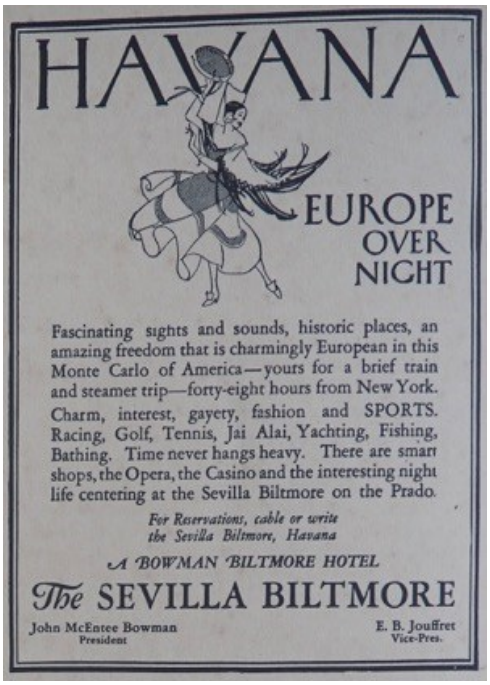
The graphic illustrations of Massaguer had borrowed the themes of sexuality and tropicality found in *arte nuevo* and packaged them into tourist advertisements. As seen in the images above, one of the greatest examples of this is found in Massaguer's tourism advertisements found in the English written magazine *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba*, a short two-year run magazine dedicated to English expats and tourists on and off the island. During the magazine's exploits Massaguer, in his autobiography *Massaguer su vida y su Obra:*

Autobiografía historia gráfica anecdotario, had described the magazine *Havana* as "un gran éxito [donde] en Europa y los EE.UU la clarificaron como la mejor revista turística del mundo" [a great success where it was claimed as one of the best tourist magazines in the world in Europe and the U.S.] (57). He also mentions that "en 1931 por obvias razones tuve que suspender la bellisima publicación" (57) [in 1931, for obvious reasons, I had to suspend the beautiful publication]. The "obvious reasons" Massaguer refers to was his political exile due to a rebellious stance that he took against the Machado government in the late twenties. This began with his involvement with a group of like-minded artists and intellectuals of the time known as the *Grupo minorista,* a group largely credited with inspiring the *vanguardía* movement in Cuba. In 1927 the group boldly signed a statement known as the *Declaración del grupo minorista* which spoke against the ongoing corruption of the Machado government and which was subsequently published by Massaguer in both *Carteles* and *Social*. Consequently, by the end of 1931, Massaguer was threatened to be imprisoned for his political insubordination and was forced to go into exile for six years in New York. While there, Massaguer continued his graphic artwork through the resources and exhibitions available at Delphic Studios and, furthermore, disseminated many of his illustrations to various magazines and periodicals throughout the U.S.. *Havana*, as a result, would never see another issue. Nonetheless, the short-run magazine left a permanent impression on the tourism industry in the 1930s and, consequently, became a precursor to various advertising strategies utilizing Afro-Cuban rumba, festivities, and, of course, feminine eroticism that still remain in use in Cuba's tourism industry today.

Although not all advertisements found in *Havana* were illustrated by Massaguer, the magazine nonetheless exemplifies Massaguer's intention, as an editor, to commercialize the exotic *atmósfera* of Havana for North American tourists. Likely due to the Anglophone targeted

audience in the magazine, this was a publication that advertised the *atmósfera* to a greater extent than other Spanish written magazines such as *Gráfico* and *Social.* Consistently, throughout the pages of *Havana,* Cuba is advertised as a setting for tourism and unbridled American pleasure qualified in slogans that describe country as "the land of good cheer," the "exquisite island of delight," and "Europe over night."

Figure 2.15: Tourism Advertisement illustration, "A toast to the land of good cheer, excellent cigars and beautiful ladies," illustrated by Walt Munson. Image found in the February 19, 1929 edition of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba.* Museo Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Author's photo.



Figures 2.16 & 2.17: Left: Cuban National Tourist Commission advertisement, "Cuba exquisite isle of delight," promoting Havana's Sevilla Biltmore Hotel (currently known as the "Hotel Mercure Sevilla Havane"), found in the March 16, 1929 edition of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba.* Museo Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Author's photo. Right: The Sevilla Biltmore Hotel Adverisement, "Havana Europe Over Night," found in the February 19, 1929 edition of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba.* Museo Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Author's photo.

Other tourist advertisements found in *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba* evidently qualify the *rumbera* as an erotic spectacle for the tourist gaze. A March 1929 edition of *Havana,* for example, includes a two-paged illustrated tourism advertisement, courtesy of New York's "Vanity Fair" magazine, titled "A Compact Guide to Cuba: Den and Denizen's of Our Sister Republic's Vacation Playground for Arid Americans." Here Massaguer includes illustrations that derogatively over-emphasize the large lips and physical features of the Afro-Cuban musicians and the *rumbera.* The Afro-Cubans appear as exotic and estranged performers on "stage" for the white American voyeur. The *son* orchestra, for example, is advertised as a "fashionable evening event along the Havana water-front" where a concert is played "by black boys with their primitive African instruments, the bongó, timbales, guïro, maracas, and claves, to the static of which they chant." Meanwhile another image portrays the rumba dance, titling it the "dansé nègre," and describing it as "a spirited dance-duet in which the swarthy Bombo portrays the capture of his lady love with strutting step and swirling scarf while she, writhingly appreciatively, indicates that she won't hold out much longer." Here the use of the word "bombo" is directed at the male *rumbero* who dances to the rhythm of the *bombo criollo*, an African style drum used in rumba music. Whether unintentional or not the term is used incorrectly and is read as racially derogative in its intent. Anglicised, the term "bombo"—the correct term being "*bombero*"—is used to describe the male *rumbero*. The term itself has nothing to do with music other than its similar sound to "bongo." Rather, as Fernando Ortiz clarifies in his *Glosario de afronegrismos* (1924), "bombo," is originally a term used to describe certain plants that have rotten or gone bad. Like the uselessness of rotten plants, the term colloquially took on the meaning for someone who could be described as: "Tonto, inhábil, chapucero" [dumb, incompetent, clumsy]. The feminine version of the noun—its most common context beyond the

interpretations of "dumb, incompetent, and clumsy"—refers to the "fruta bomba," the Caribbean term for the papaya fruit. Colloquially, however, the term was originally used by colonizers to refer to "el órgano genital femenino" (61) [the female's genital organ], a sexual connotation of the fruit that exists in the island to this day. No matter how the grammatically incorrect version of the term "bombero" is used here, the etymology of the term therefore guarantees it a sexual, racial, and stereotypical meaning. To implicate the *rumbero* as a so-called "bombo," then is to label the black man and woman as "dumb, incompetent, and clumsy" and, indirectly, is to define his feminine counterpart "la bomba" according to her vagina. The illustration, in this respect, has qualified both the *rumbero* and *rumbera* derogatively through racial stereotypes and, in particular, has qualified the woman according to her body. By putting language to her movement the image has emphasized the most sexual signification of her body.

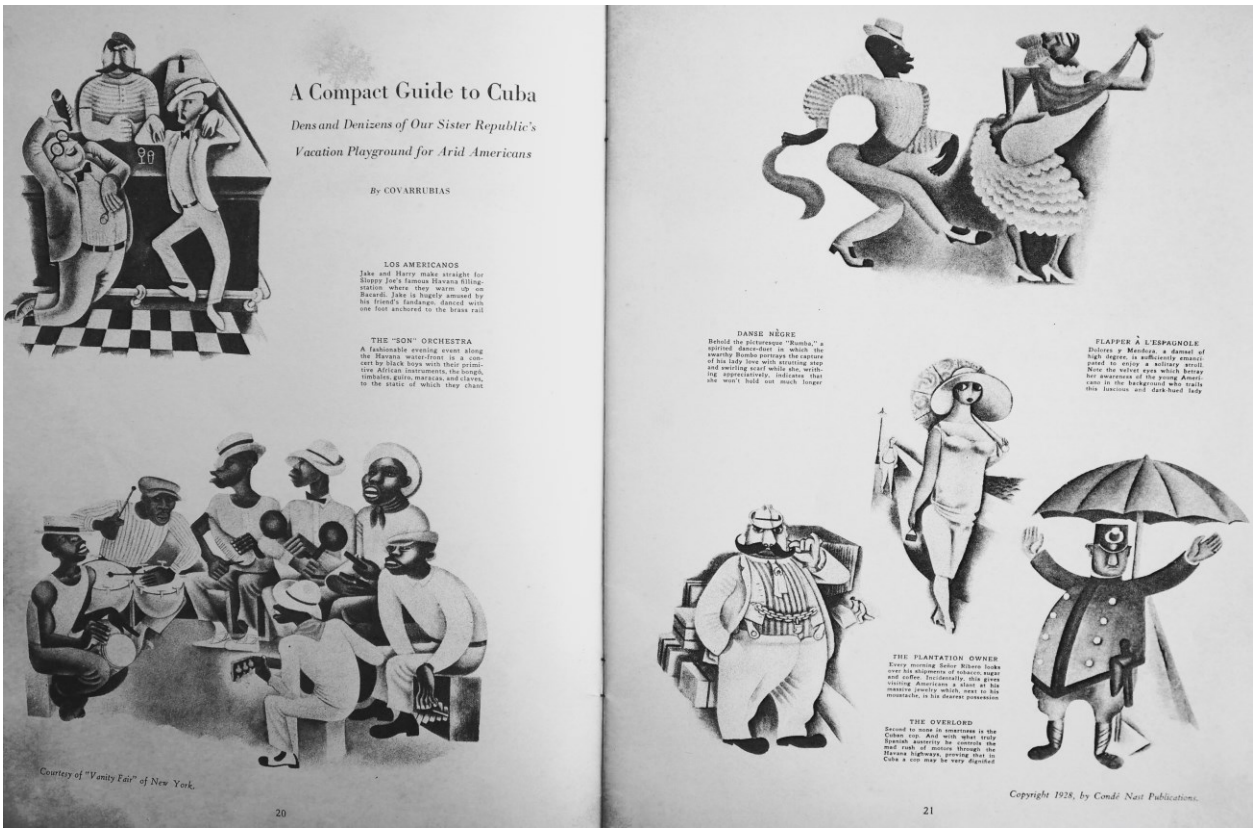


Figure 2.18: Vanity Fair tourism illustration by Condé Nast Publications, in March 16, 1929 edition of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba.* Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Author's photo.

The workings of the *mulata* affect are evident in the above images. Here gender and racial stereotypes of the *rumbera* are signified, publicized, and exploited. The *rumbera's* "spirited" dance is contrasted with the *rumbera's* sexually "spirited" character. She is stereotyped as a sexually available woman who is "writhingly appreciative" of the fact that she is pursued by the man and so unable to control of her own sexual impulses that she can no longer "hold out" her sexual aggression and must perform it through her movement. Indeed in this *danse nègre*, the "bomba" is without control. Her affect is, in this way, qualified as an absence of agency; her body is represented as seductive and without limits. The voice of the *rumbera's* image is, evidently, white, masculine, and chauvinistic. The objective of these advertisements is to direct the tourist gaze (clearly the male gaze) to the body's erotic appearance. The sensual and racial image of the rumba is therefore misconstrued by the foreign imagination to represent the erotic seduction of the *rumbera*.

Figure 2.19: Cropped image of the "black boys" son orchestra. Photo by author.

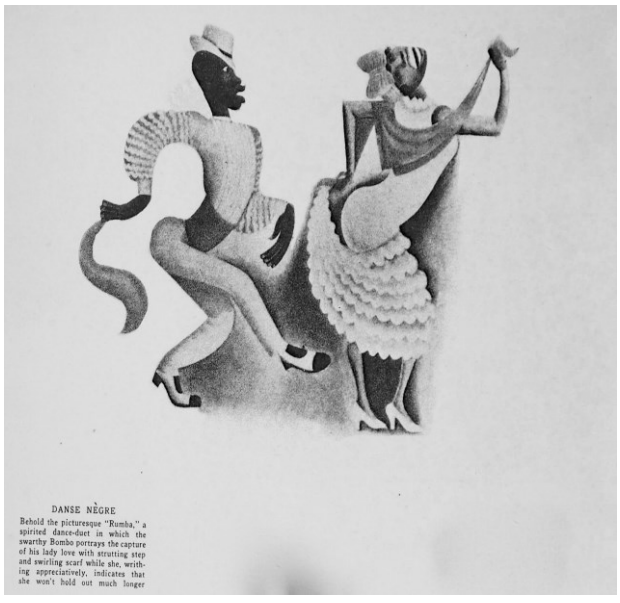
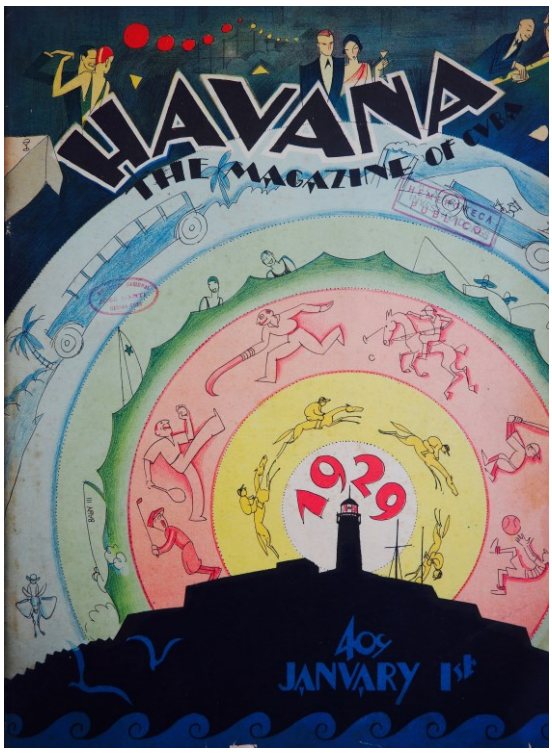


Figure 2.20: Cropped image of the "bombo" and the "writhingly appreciative" *rumbera*. Photo by author.

Exotic Covers

In addition to tourism advertisements, it is Massaguer's cover images that establish the "exotic" theme solicited in the magazine *Havana*. The first January 1929 edition shows the silhouette of a lighthouse with colourful rainbow-like spiral in the background used to imitate a roulette wheel. Each colour of the wheel represents different scenes of entertainment: a convertible driving beside palm trees; an ocean scene of sailing, swimming and boating; a scene of various sports being played; and a scene of horse racing. Above the image there is a romantic scene in a dining room where couples are shown dancing. Another January 1929 edition shows the image of a female swimmer barely covering her chest with the wavy ocean behind her. A march issue of the same year shows a *guajiro* [a Cuban farmer] in the Cuban countryside posing for a female tourist—a "flapper"—who snaps a photo while in her high heels. A year later a January 1930 edition shows a woman in a yellow rumba-like dress making a cocktail. The various bottles of alcohol in front of her are labeled, not as brands, but as tourist activities: "races, jai alai,[20] tennis, opera, motoring, dancing, golf, swimming, fishing, and yachting." The image, in this way, relays the message that Havana is a place to swallow and digest pleasure, adventure, and fun. Two other 1930 editions show a display of horse racing and an image of a woman in a ballroom dress holding a carnival mask with floating balloons in the background. The image of the magazine is obvious enough: Havana is the tourist's paradise for gambling, drinking, dancing, and partying. Many of these images would set the tone for Massaguer's later work on travel advertisements in the 1950s and, specifically, his adoption of the *rumbera* as the embodiment of Havana's exotic culture.

[20] Jai alai, a popular sport in Havana during the early twentieth century, is a similar sport to racket ball that involves a ball being tossed against a walled area by a scooping device called a *cesta.*


HAVANA
THE MAGAZINE OF CUBA
1929
40c
JANVARY 1st


HAVANA
THE MAGAZINE OF CUBA
JANVARY 26, 1929
40c


HAVANA
THE MAGAZINE OF CUBA
MARCH 16, 1929
40c


HAVANA
january 10th
1930
the magazine of cuba
25c

Figures 2.21-2.26: Six cover images of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba,* 1929-1930. Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Photos by author.

There is one cover image of Massaguer's *Havana* that is particularly noteworthy. It is one of the earliest examples of a *mulata-rumbera* to be found on the cover of one of Massaguer's magazines. Here on the cover of the February 19, 1929 issue Massaguer portrays a rather fantastic image of a *mulata* wearing a ball-room style dress with a bikini top transformed into the figure of eyes. The image seems to prefigure the *vanguardía* artwork of the Cuban painter René Portocarrero. Arriving sixteen years later in his painting *Brujo,* Portocarrero paints a masked "sorcerer-like" character blended with a colourful mosaic of mythical African symbols. To the left is an animalistic figure of a woman whose breasts, like the drawing of Massaguer, are transformed into the images of two yellow beady eyes. Both Massaguer and Portocarrero's depiction of breasts-as-eyes directs the gaze of the viewer towards the *mulata's* sexualized body. Furthermore, both portraits are inserted into a background of colour and chaos. The background of Massaguer's image details a carnivalesque horror-show with colourful images of sinister

looking performers, costumed jesters, and sombrero-wearing characters. Using both the depictions of an Afro-Cuban carnival and the *mulata*, Massaguer's image seems to advertise the magical enchantment and magnetic sexuality of *Havana*, both the magazine and the city. The image incites curiosity and intrigue, thus encouraging the viewer to buy the magazine in order to inquire further within its mysterious pages and within Havana's exotic *atmósfera*. Similarly, Portocarrero induces his painting with a colourful scene, baroque in its attempt to fill space with various shapes and figures. His painting *Brujo,* however, is not an advertisement. Its too complex and abstract to grab the full attention of a customer at a magazine stand. Rather the viewer, when looking into the image, gets lost in the cultural *ajiaco* filled with African, European, and Caribbean symbols and images. Between these two works, then, we are provided a great example of the cultural polemics of the *mulata-rumbera* occurring in the early twentieth-century: on one side graphic artists used the *mulata* body to advertise the exotic appeal of Cuban culture while, on the other side, national painters used the image of *mestizaje* to advocate for the national claim of Cuban culture— same breasts, different eyes.

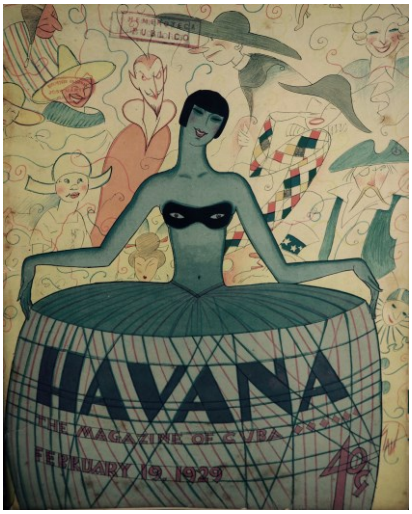


Figure 2.27: February 1929 Cover of *Havana: The Magazine of Cuba.* Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí. Photo by author.

Figure 2.28: *Brujo* (1945) by René Portocarrero. Collection of Sergio and Christine Delgado, in *Cuban Art and Identity: 1900-1950* (p.48), exhibited at Vero Beach Museum of Art, Oct 19-Feb 2, 2014.

After-Thought: Abduction, Adjunction, and Abjection.

There is at least one more image from Massaguer worth mentioning. It is a colour drawing of a Cuban *guajiro* straddling a horse while holding a chicken. Meanwhile a *mulata* in a rumba dress is sitting on the horse behind him, facing the opposite direction, and looking over her shoulder while waving a red fan in her right hand. Along the right side of the image is patterned a series of red banners hailing the Republic's lone white star with a caption that reads: "Visit Cuba At the World's Fair." Massaguer designed the image as a patriotic advertisement that was used to promote the Cuban pavilion at the famous international fair that occurred in New York from 1939-1940. Massaguer, who had visited the fair as a member of the Cuban High Commission, put himself to work advertising Cuba's pavilion, one of many countries represented at the fair. This particular image is noteworthy due to the message it attempts to send to a largely non-Cuban audience visiting what, to this day, remains one of the most expansive world fairs in U.S. history. Here Cuba is represented by a traditional pairing of a *guajiro* and *guajira* (dressed like a *rumbera*) riding on horseback together in the countryside. To visit the Cuban pavilion was like taking a trip to the Cuba countryside, to experience the country's traditions, visit its people, and most evidently, set eyes on the beautiful *rumbera.*

What from viewers perspective appears like a peaceful scene from everyday Cuban culture is, in fact, a rather inventive approach of Massaguer to transition the *mulata* image from a national icon to a touristic spectacle. By placing the *mulata* on horseback with a male *guajiro* Massaguer creates an inevitable allusion to Carlos Enríquez's violent depiction of the rape and abduction of two *mulata* women in the painting *El rapto de las mulatas* which was completed only a year prior. Obviously, Massaguer was smart enough to know that the abduction of a *mulata* was not a valid selling-point of Cuban culture to an international audience. Therefore, his

mulata on horseback is not being abducted violently by the *guajiro,* but rather is sitting peacefully, back to back with the male, smiling and fully dressed in her exotic rumba attire. Unlike Enríquez's image we see no nudity, no violence, no weapons, no abduction, no rape, no struggle. Massaguer's illustration has been tailored to the tourist imagination rather than to the national conscience. It is the commercial image of an international tourist fair rather than a national image of a historical transcultural affair.

Figures 2.29 & Figure 2.30. Two contradictory images of the *mulata* on a horse. Left: Carlos Enríquez's *El rapto de las mulatas* (see page 61). On the right: "Cuba at the World's Fair" by Conrado Massaguer, New York 1939. Image from Vicki Gold Levi Collection. Photo of image taken from Vicki Gold Levi and Steven Heller's *Graphics from the Golden Age of Design* (2002), p.153.

Rather than depict the *abduction* of the *mulata,* Massaguer's work can be said to have portrayed the *adjunction* of the *mulata.* The impression of Cuban culture is not one of trans-cultured chaos forming out of abductions, rape, and violence. Rather, Massaguer's image is a peaceful adjunction of the *guajiro* and the *guajira,* farming and the *rumba,* the natural environment and the *mulata.* The *mulata's* body is posited as exotic and enticing rather than violent and eruptive. The *mulata* is not victimized, but exoticized; she is all smiles. In a manner of speaking, this transition summarizes the direction of Massaguer's graphic illustrations, which

were paraded throughout Cuban magazines, exhibitions, and advertisements for over forty years and which would inspire a generation of other graphic artists and a booming magazine culture until the end of the 1950s. It was evident that, over the years, the *vanguardía* image of the *mulata* was seen to change throughout the images of Massaguer, which began valuing the *mulata* body, arguably, more for its commercial appeal than for its national zeal. This was, however, not merely a transition of images, it was also a transmission of bodies. The classical *mulata* image was seen to be bioremediated into the figure of the *rumbera*, but the affect remained the same. The intensity of the *mulata* body was still being qualified as either as a national celebration or an exotic exploitation, as rumba the festive expression of *cubanidad* or rumba the erotic outlet of the *mulata*.

The truth is that the vision of "selling" Cuba had eventually given rise to a national disapproval of the cultural image it had created. Massaguer's touristic mind-set for Cuban arts and commercialism was, by the 1950s, quickly becoming disregarded as a neo-colonial vision no longer expressive of the general Cuban population. In general, rumba dancing had taken on stigmas associated with Cuba's promiscuous night-life that continued to grow in American mafia controlled casinos, cabarets, and hotel businesses throughout Havana. As a result, sex-tourism had not disappeared with the Republic but was, in fact, an active and growing activity connected to the entertainment industry of cabarets and casinos. Beautiful women on stage and beautiful prostitutes became roles difficult to tell apart by tourists wanting to experience the so-called "land of good cheer" and "exquisite island of delight." The sexually objective gaze of tourists did not make clear distinctions. So by the late 1950s the Cuban desire for *cubanidad* hit a breaking point as Havana had turned into a playground for American tourists, business men, and gangsters. Massaguer's sales pitch of the *rumbera* had, in a manner of speaking, given rise to the

revolutionary pitch of the disenfranchised. The *mulata adjunction* with the tourist image was on route to a revolutionary *abjection* of political corruption and of Cuba's promiscuous night-life culture.

As Carlos Puebla's famous *trova* song "En eso llegó Fidel" describes, Cuba, during the 1940s and 1950s, was a place where the poor suffered under the *diversión* or the "enjoyment" of the rich. Disparity was rampant. Rumba, as a result, was no longer the *diversión* of a nation, but its embarrassment. The culture of rumba had, over time, imitated less and less the original *mestizo* gatherings and celebrations of the Cuban people and more so had become the privileged entertainment venue of rich tourists. But, as Puebla's chorus goes: "Se acabó la diversión. Llegó el comandante y mandó al parar." [The fun stopped. The *Comandante* showed up and ordered it to a hault.] Fidel's victorious entrance into Havana with the revolutionary forces did not mean an end to tourism nor to the *rumbera* performance. It did, however, urge Cubans to re-think how they understood their role within the national stage rather than the tourist stage. By the late 1950s the *rumbera,* that iconic figure of "*diversión,"* was therefore at a cross-roads between eroticization and revolution. Her stage was a political setting of *abjection* and disapproval for revolutionaries, yet her image remained an economic necessity for the continued promotion of the tourism industry. As it was, the Cuban Revolution cut the stage in half in 1959 and went to work re-drafting the Cuban image, which included a complete overhaul on the promiscuous stereotypes associated with the *rumbera* that were being promoted in the tourist-driven nightlife of Havana. The *mulata* affect, that is, was once again being bioremediated. There was a new dance that would take rhythm in Cuba— *la revolución.* The question remained as to whether this new era would truly revolutionize the nation or simply repeat previous discourses of the past, turning once more the gears of the *máquina caribe.*

CHAPTER THREE

The Revolutionary Body: The *Miliciana* and the Photography of Alberto Korda

Bajé de la Sierra
Para acabar con capitales y usereros,
con generales y burgueses.

— Nancy Morejón, "Mujer Negra"

From *Rumbera* to *Miliciana*

The fun stopped on January 2, 1959 when Fidel Castro's rebel forces led by his commanders Ernesto Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos entered victoriously into Havana. Along with the new year had spawned a new period in Cuban history that would eventually see a complete overhaul of government officials, the nationalization of businesses in Cuba, an embargo between U.S. and Cuban economies, the political claim of communism, and the onset of the Cold War. It is a story told in countless books and stories across the world. It is also a story told in images as seen in the work of Cuban photo-journalists who, throughout the decade of the 1960s, worked alongside revolutionary leaders to visually document their social work, political visits, speeches, and campaigns. What happened in that decade then was an inevitable blending of journalism with the visual arts. The photographs that were used to document the Revolution's becoming eventually transformed into one of the most iconic artistic expressions of the Revolution and would forever impact the discourse of visual arts in Cuba. That said, the *rumbera* was evidently not the protagonist of this new artistic expression. The commercial image of rumba and the exotic *mulata* that was once exploited in film, music, and popular magazines had been strategically replaced with photographs that did less to resemble Cuba's imagined exotic *atmósfera* desired by tourists and more so to resemble the "authentic" national *espíritu*

being revived through the Revolution. Therefore, rather than see graphic illustrations of exotic *rumberas* in dresses dancing on a stage, it became more common to see photos of bearded revolutionaries in fatigues speaking at a podium. Photographers began to target political leaders known as *los barbudos* [the bearded men] that included snapshots of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos attired with rugged beards and green fatigues. Included were numerous photos of soldiers and citizens partaking in parades, social campaigns, and military marches thereby infusing the Cuban landscape with an atmosphere of masculinity, militancy, and revolutionary vigour.

Even though the image of an erotic *rumbera* in art had transitioned towards a male-dominated, macho, and militant image of bearded revolutionaries, the *mulata* image still did not disappear altogether. Despite the prolonged roots of racial, gender, and sexual prejudices historically associated with the *mulata* body, photography still found an angle to bioremediate an image of her during the early Revolution and, consequently, to capture the *mulata* affect. The photographer responsible for this also happens to be the most acclaimed Cuban photographer of the century, Alberto Díaz Gutierrez (1928-2000), most commonly known by his artistic pseudonym Alberto Korda. Habitually in the 1960s Korda photographed dark-skinned *milicianas,* female militants who were often depicted wearing a beret, fatigues, and carrying a gun while marching in military parades. These photographs, I argue, draw the image of the *mulata* back into Cuban culture under a new guise, no longer as the exotic *rumbera* drawing attention to her erotic hips, but as the revolutionary *miliciana* drawing attention to her erratic gun. As such, these are images that boldly point to a shift in racial and gender performance from the tourist stage towards the national stage. In following with the genealogy of the *mulata* affect in Cuban arts—from the *mulata* of the *vanguardía* to the *rumbera* of graphic arts—the objective

of this chapter is, respectively, to analyse the bioremediation of the *mulata* image as a subject of Korda's photography and consequently to consider how Korda's role as a photo-journalist promulgated the circuit of the *mulata* affect in Cuba's newly established revolutionary culture.

Korda's *Milicianas*

What becomes evident in Korda's photos of *milicianas* is the political message qualified through his subjects who are cast as political before racial. Nowhere, for example, is race explicitly mentioned such as in the titles of any photos claiming a "*mulata*" or a "*negra*." In fact, during the 1960s, photography seems to ignore racial classifications altogether, opting for an appearance of revolutionary unity and national racelessness. Obviously, however, the visual qualifications of race cannot simply disappear and it is evident, especially in Korda's photos of *milicianas,* that Afro-Cuban women (either *mulatas* or *negras*) are a repeated target of his lens. Case in point is Korda's most iconic image of a *miliciana*, a photo taken in 1962 during the May first parade in Revolution Square in Havana. The image depicts a close-up photo of a *mulata* wearing a beret and holding a submachine gun in her right hand. Her hair falls slightly out of her beret onto the left side of her head while the rest of her hair is camouflaged in the back of the photo behind the barrel of the gun that is tilted vertically across the left side of the photo. The background of the photo is blurred drawing the figure of the *miliciana* into focus. What particularly captures the viewer of this image, however, is the *mulata's* eyes. Her eyes do not stare back at the viewer, but remain tilted upwards, gazing intently towards the upper-right portion of the frame. That is, her gaze appears to be locked onto the future rather than onto the masculine gaze. Being that her focus is elsewhere, the viewer is evidently not invited into the image through eye contact. Neither is the *miliciana* posing for the camera in this image, but rather she is "positioning" herself in the moment. She is not readying herself for the viewer, but

for the Revolution. Consequently, the lack of relationship implied between the *miliciana* and the audience informs us, as viewers, that we have transitioned from a voyeur that participates in the image to a mere observer that must stand back in isolation and observe the event. As a result, the *mulata* is qualified less as an object of representation and more as a body of presentation; she is not an erotic object to be gazed at, but a militant soldier to be admired.

The gaze of Korda's *miliciana* imitates his most infamous photo, *Guerrillero heroíco* [The Heroic Guerrilla], that was taken two years earlier in 1960 during the funerals for the victims of a French freighter named the *La Coubre* that exploded in the Havana Harbour while transporting ammunitions. The photo depicts the now iconic face of Che Guevara looking intently upwards into the distance. Similar to Che, Korda's *miliciana* does not seek the attention of the viewer. Her focus lies beyond the frame: no promiscuity, only promise. In this respect, Korda's message is clear: we are witness to the beauty of the national body rather than the female body. The gaze no longer settles on past paintings of the *mulata* or on graphic illustrations of the *rumbera*, but on the revolutionary photograph of a *miliciana* who, in the same manner as famous revolutionaries like Che, does not look back, but rather towards the future. In this respect, Korda's *miliciana* does not strike a nude pose nor perform in a rumba dress. Much like Che, we see the *miliciana* from the shoulders up so we do not see her legs, hips, or breasts. Rather her body appears rigid and her expression stern. She a *revolucionaria,* not a *rumbera,* she marches before she dances, she draws attention to her rigid black gun, not her curved black hips.

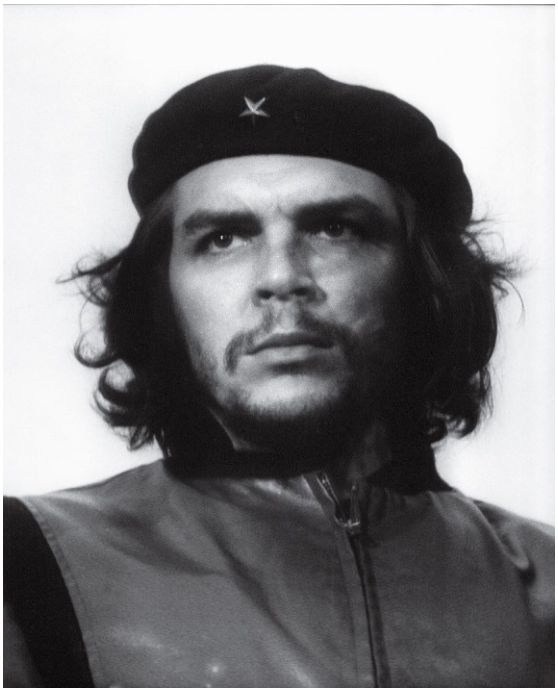


Figure 3.1: Alberto Korda. *Guerrillero Heroico* (portrait). [Heroic Guerrilla] (1960). Gelatin-Silver Print. 50.8 x 40.6 cm. Collection of Diana Díaz. Courtesy of the Couturier Gallery, Los Angeles. Image taken from Nathalie Bondil, *Cuba: Art and History From 1868 to Today* (p.128), an exhibition produced by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 2008.

Figure 3.2: Alberto Korda, *Miliciana, La Habana.* (ca. 1962) Gelatin silver print 35.6 x 27.9 cm. Collection of Diana Díaz. Courtesy of the Couturier Gallery, Los Angelas. Image taken from Nathalie Bondil, *Cuba: Art and History From 1868 to Today* (p.128), an exhibition produced by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 2008.

Korda reveals other images of *milicianas* that continue to point to a transition of the feminine image in Cuba during the early 1960s. Worth mentioning is that this was a transition of the feminine image, but not an elimination of femininity. Korda's objective was never to cover up femininity under masculine motifs, but rather to express a different "revolutionary" side of the Cuban woman that, similar to his photos of *barbudos*, remained inevitably linked to masculine virtues of ruggedness, strength, and stamina. Therefore, we see other photos that clearly juxtapose feminine symbols within military environments: Korda's image *Mujeres maquillandose,* for example. The photo reveals two dark-skinned women, arguably *mulatas,* dressed in army fatigues sitting down in Havana's Revolution Square and putting on make-up. Here the image of feminine beauty is juxtaposed with a military environment. The women

"prepare" their image in the same way as the Revolution prepares its own. Metaphorically then, these *milicianas* are displayed as the new "make-up" of the Revolution. In this respect, Korda's photo can be read as a meta-text: a photographic image of two women perfecting their physical image as a metaphor for the Revolution's attempt to perfect the national image. The photograph, at the same time, also carries over a generation of stereotypes relaying dark-skin as the ideal image of beauty and national ideals of *mestizaje* throughout the Caribbean. Korda reveals here, however, that rather than ignore the appearance of the women, their physical image has become integrated into the militant image of the nation. The militancy of the Revolution now transforms the past blemishes of a nation like make-up does on one's skin.

Another photo of Korda's shows a close-up of an Afro-Cuban woman during a parade in revolution Square, Havana on January 2, 1964. The woman wears a white bandana covering her long hair and stands in fatigues with an astute posture. Korda places her in the centre of the image with a blurred out crowd of people behind her. Just like the *Guerrillero Heroíco*, she stares intently towards the right side of the frame into the revolutionary distance. Unlike other *milicianas*, however, Korda has captured this woman smiling. She is happy and content thus acting like an affective symbol of the Revolutionary *espíritu*. Meanwhile, Korda's image of *milicianas* marching in Revolution square on January 2, 1961 during, yet again, another parade provides a far more stern and militant expression on the faces of a number of women, many Afro-Cubans, marching in column formation together. This is a stare that we see as well in earlier images of *milicianas* marching in Uvero, Oriente in 1967. Particularly evident on the face of the column leader in this photo, there is a violent expression filled with militant determination. Overall, then, what we see in these photos are qualified emotions of joy or indignation, happiness or seriousness. The Revolution is, through the emotional expressions of the *milicianas,* qualified

as both the joy that comes from liberation and the indignation that comes with the fight to achieve liberation.

Figures 3.3, 3.4, & 3.5: Left photo: Figures 3.3: *Mujeres Maquillándose* [Women putting on Make-Up] (ca.1960-1962). Korda took this photo at the Second Declaration of Havana, Revolution Square in Havana, Cuba on February 4, 1962. Image taken from Cristina Vives and Mark Sanders' *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens* (2008), p. 371; Centre photo: Woman in bandana, taken by Korda at the a parade in Revolution Square in Havana on January 2, 1964; Right photo: *milicianas* marching, taken by Korda during a parade in Revolution Square in Havana on January 2, 1961. Both images taken from Vives and Sanders' *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens* (2008), p. 364 and p. 376.

Figure 3.6: *Milicianas* in column formation, photo taken by Korda in Uvero, Oriente in 1967. Image taken from *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens* (2008), p. 375.

What remains the same in Korda's images of *milicianas* is the consolidation of the women with militant performances such as marching and revolutionary performances such as parades. The *miliciana,* in this way, is directly associated as both a participant and a supporter of the Revolution and the viewer is made privy to this connection. Neither does the gaze of each *miliciana* leave room for the erotic imagination. Her eyes remain transfixed on something greater and becomes, like the *mulata* of the first image, unreceptive to the viewer. The viewer is left looking at a non-erotic image of a woman who is, in turn, ignoring the viewer while looking towards something else. Indeed there is nothing quite like a military uniform and a gun to redirect the viewer away from the notions of bars, beaches, and bikinis. Korda does not display a holiday island full of exotic *rumberas* as advertised in first half of the twentieth century. Rather, through the *miliciana* photos, the Afro-Cuban woman can be said to have adopted an impenetrable image where the touristic gaze is now tunnelled into a new revolutionary vision rather than opened to an old erotic imaginary.

As per Korda's images of the *milicianas*, the female body becomes a political symbol, one of militancy and nationalism. Her body is presented as a biopolitical force of propaganda used to promote the Revolution rather than a commercial force of advertisements used to promote the tourism industry. This is indicative of the cultural shift occurring in the 1960s that transitioned images of Cuban identity away from the exotic *atmósfera* and, once again, towards the national *espíritu.* And if we are to consider exoticism, as the historian and philosopher Tzvetan Todorov has, as "a country whose only relevant characteristic is that it is not my own" (188), then the Revolution can be said to have attempted to "de-exoticise" the nation, drawing the national focus into something Cuba could once again—like Martí's claim of *nuestra américa*—call its own, that is, *la Revolución*. The Revolution, in this manner, immediately diverted

attention away from the commercial value of Cuba's entertainment industry and the cultural value of their performance for tourists and towards the socio-historical roots of the nation built on principles of independence and national unity. This was, of course, a transition that required a voice found in the boisterous speeches of Fidel Castro and an image, which fell to the responsibility of journalist photographers of the time such as Alberto Korda, Ernesto Férnandez, José Agraz, Osvaldo Salás, Roberto Salás, Raúl Corrales, and Perfecto Romero to name a few. Such photographers found themselves in a period of political transition looking for a way to visualize the Revolution and project its socialist values to a greater audience. They found the ideal image in beards and berets rather than in bars and cabarets.

De-exoticizing the Image

Korda, along with other key revolutionary photographers of the 1960s, is a man. His photos, consequently, tend to capture the Revolution through a male lens dominated by images of *machismo*, patriotism, and masculinity. This, of course, represents a different perspective than the gawking eyes previously set on *rumberas.* As for Korda, his photography of *milicianas* draws the male gaze from the previous erotic associations of the *mulata* body towards the national appropriation of the militant body— from the hips to the holster. In this sense, if the Revolution attempted to de-exoticize Cuban culture, Korda can be said to have attempted to de-exoticize the *mulata* body through his photography. Still, even though the *mulata* body in many of Korda's images is now dressed in fatigues and carries a gun rather than exposed in a provocative rumba outfit and carrying a fan, her body still remains captured under the lens of a male eye and, consequently as this chapter argues, remains a target for a *masculinized politics of affect*. By this I mean to say that gendered power remains in the "male" eye of the beholder. Even with the reversal of power—from the exotic gaze to the national gaze—the freedom of the *mulata* body is

only a repeated qualification, a recycled struggle to regain a sense of autonomy already lost. As Brian Massumi has clarified, the idea of freedom, even in the most deterministic system, "is not about breaking or escaping constraints. It's about flipping them over into degrees of freedom. You can't really escape the constraints [in the same way that] no body can escape gravity" (*Politics* 17). A masculinized politics of affect, then, implies that the male gaze does not disappear along with the erotic depictions of the female body; a new militant image does not mean that the *mulata* escapes the gender and racial prejudices already previously qualified in her body. Korda's photographs of *milicianas*, for example, merely "flip" the focus of the exotic *atmósfera* onto the national *espíritu,* but they do not guarantee the *mulata* body an autonomous position away from the gendered constraints of that image. This is because the power informed by the male gaze is not merely a question of eroticism but of politics or, in other words, governance. To eroticize an image is merely a single qualification of the image; it is only one potential *effect* of the *mulata* affect.

The potential to govern the image through gender and race— that is to politicize the image—still exists in Korda's work even though the *mulata* image has changed. Race is still evident in these photos. It is obvious that Korda has captured images of dark-skinned women, many arguably *mulatas,* and thereby has visualized the "racially-inclusive" environment of the Revolution. Within the same-coloured fatigues, the Afro-Cuban's different-coloured body symbolizes the conglomeration of races and cultures found in Ortiz's *ajiaco.* Therefore, whether *blanca, mulata,* or *negra,* the Revolution sees bodies dressed in the same uniforms, marching to the same rhythm, and fighting for the same cause. However, although the differences of racial and gender inequalities may be shrouded underneath national similitude, the *mulata* body is still not liberated from the racial and gendered power qualified in Korda's images. Rather, the *mulata*

affect continues in the photographs like it did in the *vanguardía* paintings of the *mulata* and the graphic illustrations of the *rumbera.* Once again the image is captive to the "*maquína caribe*" to borrow, yet again, Benítez Rojo's term (19); a "body's perpetual *becoming*" (original italics; 3) in the words of Gregory Seigworth and Melissa Gregg; the "temporality of affect" (209) to quote Patricia T. Clough; the "narrativizable action-reaction circuits" according to Massumi ("The Autonomy" 277); an "affective flow" (131) to cite the Latin Americanist Jon Beasley-Murray; etc.... There is, in other words, a change of the *mulata* image that occurs, but also a repetition or circuit of power that continues to *affect* the image. Her body is bioremediated into Cuba's revolutionary culture through a different media of photography, but the racial complications of her image do not disappear under her military fatigues. Her body still remains captured by the male gaze, only now she is qualified under political objectives of the revolutionary government.

In sum, the power that has changed in the *mulata* image, as qualified through Korda's photography, is political not corporeal— different politics, same body. And in the case of Korda's *milicianas* we can observe, in specific, two strategies that helped to transmit the *mulata* affect into this new political state of the 1960s. These strategies, which I now turn to, can be recognized as such: firstly, there is an *intensification* of the political field where potential qualifications of the national *espíritu* are encouraged through the visual "fashioning" of the Revolution. Otherwise said, the *mulata* affect is "fashioned" or strategically visualized through a revolutionary lens. Secondly, there is a concurrent *de-intensification* of the entertainment industry where potential qualifications of the exotic *atmósfera* are discouraged through the censorship of artistic expression. Entertaining images judged as promiscuous and exotic—such as those of Afro-Cuban dancing—were attempted to be censored from artistic expression, the most famous case being the 1961 censorship of the film *P.M.* that documented moments of a

night-club filled with Afro-Cubans drinking and dancing. The *mulata* body in the new revolutionary climate is, in other words, simultaneously qualified through an assertion of national politics and a desertion of exotic antics.

Korda's New Fashion

It did not take long after the rebels entrance into Havana for photographers to assume the role as the visual fashionistas of the Revolution. Castro personally wanted images that could both visualize the political campaigns in the country and, thereby, inspire the Cuban people to "fight" for the Revolution's ongoing efforts. In fact, during the first years of the Revolution, Castro is reputedly said to have lifted up a copy of the American branded *Life* magazine in front of some associates, exclaiming, "I want something like this" (Marien 2015, 317). It is obvious why he wanted "this." On January 19th, 1959, less than three weeks after the revolutionaries triumphant entrance into Havana, *Life* magazine had plastered an image of Fidel Castro on its monthly cover. The photograph shows him, dressed in a military cap and olive green military fatigues, exuberantly shouting in front of a microphone during one of his speeches in Havana with a caption that reads: "Castro in triumphant advance to Cuba."[21] *Life* photographers were doing Castro's work for him, promoting his image—and therefore the Revolution's image—to a greater audience than any other media platform at the time. Castro wanted a medium like that to help promote the Revolution locally within Cuba. And what the *comandante* wanted, the *comandante* got: the birth of the newspaper *Revolución* along with the military-focused magazine *Verde Olivo* and the promotional magazine for agrarian reform in the 1960s known as the *INRA* (Instituto nacional de reforma agraria). Also, by 1965 the newspapers *Revolución* and *Hoy* would eventually merge into the national newspaper *Granma,* which remains the most widely read

[21] Life Magazine, January 19, 1959.

newspaper in Cuba today. These, along with the already existent cultural magazine *Bohemía,* took on a specific objective to promote images of the revolutionary efforts throughout the country. Photography, as a result, had taken on a critical function of promoting the revolutionary movement both nationally and internationally. Photos were, in this respect, culturally intensifying the national *espíritu* through visual images of the Revolution. Meanwhile, *Carteles,* one of the last flourishing magazines still hitched to exotic commercial strategies fathered by Conrado Massaguer, was quickly overshadowed by the militant direction of the island and published their final issue in 1960. The exotic *rumbera* was no longer front cover news.

Although by the 1960s photography had long been in use, Cuban photographers like Korda were inarguably encountering a new style and platform of photography than ever seen before. In the writer José Quiroga's words, the Revolution marked a period of history that "was an ongoing process that moved in accelerated revolutionary speed, one that only stopped for the brief instant of the shot" (96). Every snapshot of the camera was history in the making, yet only for a brief period of time. Korda's most acclaimed photos, for example, were all taken during the 1960s after which Korda dedicated himself solely to scientific photography for the Department of Subaquatic Photography for the Cuban Academy of Sciences and later to travelling and presenting his 1960s photography in museums and galleries around the world where he also gave lectures at universities and conducted various interviews. For this reason the digital media curator Kristine Juncker describes Cuba's Revolutionary photography as "micro-historical" (160) since it sought to document a specific narrative of the Revolution rather than the overall epic narrative of Cuba's national history. Cuban photographers like Korda, that is, sought to condense Cuba's national narrative into the timeline, ideology, and political objectives of the Revolution.

Korda's principle work, in this way, represented only a single decade yet portrayed one of the most important eras of Cuban history.

Various terms have been used to describe this brief era of photography that dominated the Cuban visual landscape throughout the 1960s. For some it can be considered the antecedent of Cuba's "social documentary photography" first popularized by the American photographer Walker Evans who shot numerous photos in Cuba during the latter end of the Machado government.[22] Others have seen it as an off-shoot of "socialist realism," a form of imagery created in the Soviet Union in the early twentieth century that glorified communist values and ideologies.[23] This is, however, not to be confused with the genre of "Cuban photo-realism" (a brand of hyperrealism) that grew in popularity in Cuba during the 1970s and 1980s by imitating photo-like images through the medium of painting. Still, others have deemed it simply as "revolutionary photography," thus solidifying the photographer's role in developing the revolutionary vision.[24] It can also be considered as a form of socialist concept photography seeming as such work has, in one way or another, acted as a precursor to Cuba's conceptual photography movement seen in the more contemporary works of Rogelio López Marín, Abigail González, and René Peña to name a few. Likely the most common term, however, is the simple designation of "photo-journalism" or "photo-documentary" since the role of Cuban photography—influenced by the American examples found in magazines such as *Life* and *Time*—took on a journalistic role in its attempt to document events of the early Revolution. That the popular photographers of the time were often head-hunted to provide images for magazines

---

[22] See Maren Stange's work *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in the Americas 1890-1950.*
[23] According to Tim B. Wride, the Cuban photographer and historian María Eugenia Haya provided the label "socialist realism" in order to align her work with earlier photography styles seen in the Soviet Union. See Wride's essay "Three Generations: Photography in Fidel's Cuba" in *Shifting Tides: Cuban Photography after the Revolution* (2001).
[24] See *Fidel's Cuba* (1998). Here Roberto Salas describes Liborio Noval and his father as "*Revolución* Photographers" (116).

and newspapers meant that photography, as an art, was often directly linked to the career of journalism. For this reason alone, the era from 1959 to the early 1970s, has often been deemed as "the golden age of photojournalism in Cuba" (Wride 2001, 40).

It can be argued that this golden age of photography did more than capture historic moments of the Revolution, but rather it helped fashion the national image of the Revolution itself. I use the word "fashion" here with a specific purpose seeming as Korda's photography style was rooted in his earlier work as a well-known fashion photographer in Havana.
As a young man Korda had studied business in the 1940s and had come across photography as an amateur hobby. Business savvy, Korda eventually turned this hobby into his own company called *Studios Kordas* where, by the 1950s, he had gained a strong reputation as a fashion, publicity, and advertising photographer that had captured countless images, in particular, of white models. Many of his images were seen in popular magazines such as *Carteles, Romances,* and *La Mujer* where models were used to advertise important enterprises of the time such as Bacardi rum, fashion designer houses, tourist campaigns, and insurance companies.[25] Korda even ran an important fashion segment of *Carteles* titled *Cine Belleza* whose writer was the novelist Guillermo Cabrera Infante and whose images led to the future publicity of TV models and actresses.[26] Initially then, Korda's pre-revolution photography was characterized by many of the Americanized fads of the era: fashion, feminine beauty and sexuality, glamour culture, and commercial advertising.

[25] For examples of such images see Cristina Vives and Mark Sanders' compilation *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens* (2008).
[26] See Korda's interview with Mark Sanders in *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens* (2008).

Figures 3.7-3.9: Left: "¡exquisitamente MAS SECO!" A Bacardi advertisement modeling Norka, found in a 1968 issue of *Carteles*. Although Korda himself is not explicitly labelled as the photographer, this photo is knowingly attributed to Korda Studios. Centre: Korda's profile photo of Italian film actress "Silvana Pampanini" for a "Cine Personalidades" section in a 1959 edition of *Carteles* (año 40, no. 11). Right: Korda's photo of an actress in the "Cine Belleza" section of a 1960 edition of *Carteles* (año 40, no. 21). All photos of images by author. Courtesy of La biblioteca nacional José Martí, Havana Cuba.

From Models to *Milicianas*

One of Korda's most popular subjects in his early photography—as revealed above in the Bacardi advertisement—is his second wife Natalia "Norka" Menéndez, a Cuban model of the time known for her photos in glamour and fashion advertisements before the Revolution. In his early photos of Norka and other fashion models one can bear witness to the stylistic elements later passed on to Korda's photos of *milicianas.* At the same time, the differences between the two styles of photos—exotic fashion advertising versus revolution journalism—are striking. In one of his most famous photos of Norka, for example, she is depicted glaring at the camera over her bare white shoulders with evocative lip-stick, dark eye-shadow, and wearing an elegant black Renaissance-style hat with white feathers streamed along both sides. Another photograph from his pre-revolution glamour work shows the image of another white model, Nidia*,* with stylish hair, make-up, and long dangly earrings. She stares upwards to the left corner of the frame accentuating her neck and facial features. Both these images, like the previous photo of Korda's

miliciana discussed at the beginning of this chapter, are shot from the shoulder up. For Korda, fashion begins with the face before it does the body. As such, he often focuses on the subject's eyes as a way to direct the viewer to the product being advertised. This is done, for example, with fashion models like Norka whose eyes gaze intently at the camera drawing the viewer hypnotically into the world of fashion and design. Vives observes, in kind, that Korda's images of models make it "difficult to tell where the model ends and where the advertising of the garment she wears begins" ("The Women" 328). Her eyes seem to draw the viewer beyond the advertisement and towards the woman's body making the advertisement as much about the subject and her environment as the product that is being sold. The viewer consequently enters a space occupied by both person and product, body and business.

Figures 3.10 and 3.11: Alberto Korda. Left photo: Norka (ca. 1956-1958); Right photo: Nidia (ca. 1956). Photos of images taken from María de los Ángeles Pereira Perera's *Alberto Korda: Iconografía heroica* (2015, images no. 1, 2).

Clearly there is a distinction, and yet striking similarities, found in Korda's early glamour photos of white women and his later revolutionary photos of dark-skinned *milicianas.* In an

interview with the writer Mark Sanders, Korda clarifies an important connection between these two eras of his photography:

> A man who develops a work like mine is always dedicated to something he loves. I did that from the very beginning. I have loved the beauty of women as much as the beauty of the men who led the Revolution. The beauty of those men is not the only aesthetic but also moral. Loving, as I did, the work I made with men like Castro and Che Guevara, you can see the similarities between both types of photography. (429)

Certain stylistic elements therefore continue in Korda's work, but with a different perspective of "beauty:" bare shoulders are replaced with a collared military shirt; the pale white Norka with her renaissance hat is replaced by a *mulata* in a beret; a pale white Nidia looking upwards to draw attention to her flawless features is replaced by a *mulata* looking upwards to draw attention to the revolutionary future. As for the *rumbera* image of the past that held the gaze of tourists with her exotic body, there is now the *miliciana* of the present that holds a sub-machine gun and an anti-imperialist hatred with her forbidding stare. We are presented rifles not rumba, berets not bongos, fatigues not frivolity, yet still with the objective to "fashion" the image to an intended audience.

With respect to his work with fashion models Korda claims, during his interview with Sanders, that he knew that "if the image was beautiful in its concept it would sell anything" (429). It would appear that Korda, likewise, knew that if the revolutionary image was "beautiful" in its concept, it too, could be sold as an image throughout the nation. As such, Korda was using an old strategy of fashion photography, but with a new subject and a new purpose. One photo taken in the Sierra Maestra mountains in 1962*,* for example, shows a *miliciana* wearing fatigues and a *sombrero* while smoking a pipe. There is a stark contrast made here with yet another of Korda's previous glamour shots of Norka that shows his white-skinned wife in a low-cut polka-dotted dress, white gloves, long earrings, and elegant make-up smoking a cigarette at a bar

underneath a fancy chandelier. Between these two photos we see a transition in Korda's photography that has not only changed subjects, also a focus on socioeconomic classes. The two photos represent two different classes of women, the rich and rugged, the upper-class patrician and the lower-class patriot. Furthermore, the erotic feminine imagery exploited with past images of glamour models and *rumberas* vanishes here and is replaced by the masculinized motifs of Cuban tabaco and *guajiro* attire such as the *sombrero* and a baggy military shirt. Here, the *miliciana* smokes a hefty pipe filled with dark Cuban tobacco, not a quaint white American style cigarette. Her dark hair is matted underneath a simple straw-woven *sombrero* rather than curled, hair-sprayed, and illuminated underneath a shiny glass chandelier. The woman is, in this way, portrayed as both strong and rugged. She is the resilient female soldier of a new era, one that smoke pipes rather than cigarettes and works under the sun during the day rather than drinks under chandeliers at night.

Figures 3.12 and 3.13: Alberto Korda. Left photo: *Norka, La Habana* (ca. 1956-1958)*;* Right photo: Woman with a Pipe, *Sierra Meastra, 1962.* Images taken from María de los Ángeles Pereira Perera's *Alberto Korda: Iconografía heroica* (2015, images no. 4, 8).

So whether capturing images of models or *milicianas*, sexuality and the conceptualization of beauty were always at the roots of Korda's photography. In his interview with Sanders, Korda is not shy to admit that his initial attraction to photography was, simply put, "to meet the most beautiful women in Cuba" (428). The truth is that Korda was not a revolutionary in the making. He was simply a fashion photographer with a talent for capturing glamorous and invoking images of women. To cite Cristina Vives' question then: "How was it possible [for Korda] to change – overnight – the contents and the space that had been occupied before by a fashion model, only to be replaced by a pair of guerrilla fighters posing before a camera?" ("Studios Korda" 28). The answer seems to lie in Korda's keen ability to capture the popular gaze of society— from the popular expression of the corporeal body to the popular expressions of the national body. For this reason Korda's timeline of photography speaks to an important shift in Cuba's cultural outlook: the fashion of models, rumba, and the burlesque converted into the fashion of *milicianas,* rifles, and berets. It was also a question of connections and opportunities for Korda. One week after Fidel and his troops entered Havana, Korda was invited to join his old friend Raúl Corrales and other revolutionary photographers Osvaldo Salas and his son Roberto Salas during Fidel's initial trip as Prime Minister to Venezuela. The rest is history. As Korda claims during his interview with Sanders: "Fidel liked my photographs and at some point in 1960 he asked me to document his trips around Cuba and abroad, but I was never the official photographer. I never got paid for the work I completed with Fidel and I never received an official post, but I was perhaps ten years by his side all over the world" (429). Along with the Revolution, the masculine gaze in Cuba was changing focus and Korda's transition of the lens from the models to *milicianas* was a visual testimony of this. Resultantly, his most iconic photos—the photos that would forever define his career and legacy as a Cuban photographer—

were precisely those that fashioned the national image of the Revolution rather than those that attempted to revolutionize the exotic images of fashion.

Labour, Emotion, and the Camera

For Korda, the change from photographing models to revolutionaries can be understood as an aesthetic transition of social movement in the image. Whereas in his early work one sees stationary images of female bodies posing for the individual enjoyment of the spectator, his revolutionary photos reveal active images of militants and citizens working for the common good of the nation. Photo-journalists like Korda were also considered to be contributing to the common good. As the photography curator Tim B. Wride explains, for these photographers "image-making was a revolutionary act. The process of making photographs was as crucial to the success of the new social order as were the *labors* of those in the cane fields, the constructions of steelworkers, or the aspirations of teachers in the Literacy Project" (Emphasis added; 36). Although considered an art, photography was therefore being cast more as a form of "labour" that helped document other incidents of revolutionary work across the nation. Korda, Corrales, Salás, Romero, and Agraz respectively documented the speeches and political "labour" of key revolutionary figures such as Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos while other photographers such as José Alberto Figueroa, Ivan Cañas, Rigoberto Romero, and Enrique de la Uz captured the images of the everyday "heroes" in labour throughout the cities and the countryside. Images of elderly Cubans, *guajiros* working in the Sierra Maestra, and cane harvesters during Cuba's famous campaign known as "la zafra de los diez millones" [the ten million tons of sugar harvest] were heavily publicized. Particularly in the latter case, the harvest campaign sought to gather a record amount of sugar in 1969 as a revolutionary "offensive" against a weakening economy. Although the final harvest goal was, in the end, never achieved

the event became symbolized through its photos as a country-wide effort that consolidated a sentiment of national pride and collective participation in the Revolution.

By documenting the labour of both iconic *barbudos* and humble cane harvesters the Revolution was imaged as a collective movement of all Cubans, from military icons to farmers. While imitating movement and progression, every image thereby implicated something physical and in action. So from Corrales' photo of Che working in mud, or Fidel exhaling a cigar, to Pepé Agraz's famous shot of a dove landing gently on Fidel's shoulder while publically speaking in Havana, to Enriqué de la Uz's shots of cane-harvesters swinging machetes and sweating in the Cuban countryside, or to Korda's images of *milicianas* marching in unison, we see some form of action, motion, and movement. These photos thus become both physically reminiscent of the work being conducted *by* bodies for the Revolution and culturally reminiscent of the work being conducted *for* the national body of the Revolution. The photography of this decade, in this way, empowers images of Cuba with both a physical and emotional affection. Viewing the photos of Korda, for example, one is privy to the physical effects of militancy: the hard work, sweat, and resiliency of bodies. At the same time, however, one is affected emotionally through the new ideological, political, and economic qualifications of the *mulata* body that are presented militantly rather than commercially. Militancy, of course, implicates "harder" emotions such as anticipation, anger, and even fear. One could say that this was no longer the site for "weak" exoticism found in tourism advertisements, but of "strong" nationalism found in real-life images. Korda's photos, especially those of *milicianas,* provided the ideal physical and emotional effects to visualize, or better said to intensify, the laborious and nationalistic efforts of the Revolution.

Visual Wounds and National Healing

It is important to recognize that Korda's militarization of the *mulata,* although appearing to cover up her sexuality, does not eliminate the image's sensuality. Although sexuality and sensuality are inevitably bound together, there remains a vital difference between the two. Sexuality and sensuality, eroticism and touch, are different qualifications. The former is affect that is first qualified optically as an image while the latter is affect that is qualified through physical feelings or senses such as touch. One is optic, one is haptic. Sensuality, in this way, is always qualified first seeming as all sight begins with a very physical, or haptic, reaction to light. As for Korda, he never hesitated to admit the sensual *effect* of his work. While talking to Sanders, he describes all his photos—both fashion and Revolution— to be "very sensual but in a very delicate way" (428). Obviously, Korda's early fashion photography exudes sensuality in a less "delicate" manner than his photos of *milicianas.* This is because, with the *miliciana* image*,* the viewer no longer "feels" the photos through triggers of sexuality and eroticism. Rather the feelings, when gazing at the *miliciana,* are now directly tied to the historical and political context of the Revolution (a socio-political archive) rather than solely the physical context of the *mulata* body.

One must keep in mind that knowledge—be it historical, cultural, social, or political—can also be "felt" like the touch of a body because it is always, in some way, directly connected to the qualifications of other bodies. In one of the few studies on affect theory in photography, *Feeling Photography* (2014), Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu affirm that the physical and emotional function of photography expresses forms of knowledge by representing visual signs that focus on feeling. By focusing on "feeling the photograph," the viewer can begin to reimagine the complex relationship between images, power, and bodies. In their words:

> A turn to feeling in photography studies also enables new insights on the history of photography, the criticism that has attended this history, as well as the construction of photographic meaning. Photography provides a productive interface—as site where haptic and optic coincide and where a confluence of feelings, not to mention fields of inquiry, collide—for investigating the implications of the convergence of sensation and perception (21)

If we then understand sensuality to be connected to both the history and symbolic knowledge contained in a photograph, then what we "feel" in Korda's photos of *milicianas* can best be described as an "impact" of history that is seeped in feelings of nostalgia and future anticipation. In each photo we witness a power struggle to heal a historical wound by intensifying—that is bringing into focus—the revolutionized and masculinized nation rather than intensifying the eroticized feminine body. Otherwise said, the Revolution aimed to heal a cultural wound that consistently damaged black bodies with stereotypes, prejudices, and sexual violence by bioremediating the *mulata* body into a new image built on tropes of masculine and national power.

Viewing Korda's *milicianas* as a historical "wound" bandaged with military symbols of fatigues, berets, and guns allows us to reimagine the complex relationship of power, bodies, and the *mulata* subject following the Revolution. Evidently we must, in this respect, acknowledge Roland Barthes and his now famous account of photographic theory *Camera Lucida* (1980). "As a *Spectator,"* cites Barthes, *"*I was interested in Photography only for "sentimental" reasons; I wanted to explore it not as a question (a theme) but as a *wound*: I see, I feel, hence I notice, I observe, and I think" (My emphasis; 21). The photography critic Shawn Michelle Smith summarizes Barthes perspective best when he says that the scholar "felt photography" (29). Indeed, by viewing photography as a "wound" that can be felt Barthes opened up a strategy of visual criticism he entitles as "affective intentionality" (21). Essentially, affective intentionality refers to the intention of a viewer to qualify photos through both emotional and physical feelings.

This is different from what we may imposingly call "effective intentionality," which refers to the attempt to record the emotional qualifications or effects of the image by the viewer. Rather, as Smith claims, affective intentionality refers to "an affective mode of approaching the photograph . . . [it is the intent] to use affect as one of the lenses through which [one] sees and grasps an image" (30). To be affectively intentional is not to look for the effects of emotions (what we may call the record) inasmuch as it means observing the historical roots of these emotions (what we may call the requiem).

What I refer to here as the memory or "requiem" of emotions is, in other words, the knowledge of history and social contexts (the archive per se) that has empowered, or perhaps better said, "fashioned" the photograph. For Barthes, the knowledge or requiem stored in a photograph represents the first of two key elements that define photography as a visual art. Reverting to Latin, he calls this first element the photo's *stadium.* In his words, *stadium* is the "application to a thing, taste for someone, a kind of general enthusiastic commitment of course, but without special acuity" (26). In our context, Korda's *stadium* is precisely the historical drive of the Revolution, that requiem or archive of José Martí and the historic determination for Cuban independence. What led to the Revolution? Why was the Revolution needed? Why did the Revolution succeed? What ideologies influenced the Revolution? What did the Revolution symbolize? Such questions are all stored in Korda's *stadium.* On the other side is Barthes second element known as the *punctum,* or in other words, "this prick, this mark made by a pointed instrument . . . these wounds [of] many points" (27). For Barthes the *puntum* is beyond knowledge; it is not what the viewer understands, but rather what the viewer "feels" about the image in a "sharp" and forceful way. What shall we call Korda's *puntum* then? If we are referring to his images of the *miliciana,* then the felt "prick"—that dangerous *puntum* that incites the

viewer with haptic pain—is none other than the most ideologically ignored social construct of Cuban history: race. If, according to Barthes, the "*punctum* is that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)" (27), then what we see in Korda's images of *milicianas* is the sharp puncture of the *mulata* affect, that bruising and poignant qualification of racial tensions that has penetrated its way, prick by prick, through the *maquína caribe*.

If the *puntum* is what wounds the photo, than the emotional qualification of the image is always, to some degree, the viewer's attempt to heal the wound and seal the puncture. Indeed emotions always react to the image's wound, not the other way around. Like a physical wound, one first feels the pain and then exhibits emotional responses after; one reacts emotionally to what they first feel physically. Resultantly, the after-effect of the *puntum* (what I shall call the "pain" of the image) qualifies the photograph in a sensual manner while emotions then qualify the "pain" ontologically: *sentio ergo sum*. A crisis of identity therefore always arises in photography: the emotions take priority over the pain; how we qualify the pain now defines both the wound (the *puntum*) and the future process of healing or amending the image (to reconcile the *stadium*). If Korda's *miliciana,* for example, attempts to heal the painful history of racial tension in Cuba through nationalism and the injustices against Afro-Cuban culture, then the emotions of the viewer are likely to reflect the knowledge (the *stadium*) implied in the image, which can be interpreted as the ideological thrust of raceless nationalism symbolized by revolutionary militancy. The attempt at healing the image, of stitching up the *puntum*, of reconciling the *stadium* has begun. This requires the *puntum* of race to be qualified in an emotional response. The viewer, in this way, may exhibit feelings of pleasure and excitement as the painful history of racial differentiation seems to disappear subtly under the disguise of military uniforms. There is no *mulata,* only a *miliciana;* there is no racial differentiation, only

Revolutionary unification. To "heal" the image is therefore nothing more than a visual judgment or qualification of sorts; it is the act of resolving the image's context (the *stadium*) with the viewer's gaze. Every attempt to heal the image, then, is to enter into a state of power over the image and thus to politicize or govern that image in some way.

The image's wound always directs the photo further into the *stadium,* that is, deeper into the historical context and archive that extends beyond the image itself. In our case, Korda's *miliciana* points to more than a simple woman dressed in fatigues; she references a history of gender and racial struggles for equality. This image's wound —what Massumi would call the image's "intensity"—highlights what we may call the "pain threshold" of the spectator who, based on the level of pain (the intensity of the visual impact the image causes on the viewer), will strategize different ways to heal or resolve the emotional feelings conjured out of the image. But what exactly are these emotions? Barthes leaves us a clue. He describes affective intentionality as "a view of the object which was immediately steeped in desire, repulsion, nostalgia, euphoria" (21). Really what Barthes exemplifies are perhaps best described as drives rather than emotions, but nonetheless the affect remains the same. Korda's *milicianas*, for example, intensify the image with nationalist drives: a *desire* for revolutionary reform, the *repulsion* of American imperialism, the *nostalgia* for the *Nuestra América,* the nationalist "*hunger*" for the *ajiaco*, and the *euphoria* that comes with national unity and collective victory. The image qualifies each of these drives and the emotions that work within them such as hate (i.e. for imperialism), love (i.e for *la patría*), joy and happiness (i.e. for victory), anticipation (i.e. for the future of the nation), etc. All of a sudden, then, a simple photo of a *mulata* in uniform points to a complex visual field of affects and effects, of visual qualifications of cultural wounds

and national attempts at healing them through new subjectivities. Such was the power of Korda's photos in the 1960s.

Too Much Rumba in the *P.M.*

Within only three years of the Revolution Cuban society had arguably experienced a greater level of political, economic, and social changes than in the previous two decades. By the first year in power the revolutionary government passed a new social welfare legislation and an agrarian reform law that nationalized large landholdings and redistributed ownership of land to thousands of peasants, cooperatives, and the state. This was followed shorty after by the urban reform law in 1960 that eliminated the business of private renting, transferred rental properties to tenants, and prohibited mortgage taxes on all urban properties. The same year saw the nationalization of all U.S. businesses in Cuba and the consequential beginnings of the economic embargo against Cuba. By the end of 1961 Cuba had succeeded in its famous literacy campaign that eradicated illiteracy throughout the country, the military had defeated the American insurgency at the Bay of Pigs, the United States had broken complete diplomatic relations with Cuba, a new currency reform had nationalized all banks, and all education institutions were made accessible to the public. It did not take long, then, for the government to also start sinking their hands into the artistic industries of the country. An important strategy to promote these Revolutionary reforms was to utilize the images and aesthetic output of artists as a way to engage the public in the revolutionary efforts. Korda's photography, of course, represents one of the most impacting examples of this new image. Resultantly, the first four years of the Revolution, between 1959 and 1962, also included a massive institutionalization of the arts: numerous artistic magazines were published along with the establishment of the literary house and award institution Casa de las Américas, the state film institute ICAIC [Instituto Cubano de Arte e

Industría Cinematográficos] and the concurrent establishment of the Cinemateca de Cuba, the writers' and artists' association UNEAC [Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba], the Cuban Radio and Television Institute, the National Art School (ENA), the National Folklore Ensemble, the Academy of Science, the History Institute, the Nacional publishing house, the Taller Experimental de Arte Gráfica [Experimental Graphics Studio], and the record label EGREM. Never before in Cuban history had so many artistic institutions sprung to life in such a short period. The message was clear: art and the Revolution were in arms together. Inasmuch as the Revolution implicated the need for political reform, so too did it require the promotional backing of the arts. Artists, especially photographers like Korda, were therefore to become the Revolution's greatest paparazzi and their work the greatest form of revolutionary propaganda.

Acting as the revolutionary "paparazzi" was not a role easily adopted by all artists on the island. In 1960, around the same time Korda began his career as a photo-journalist, two young Cuban filmmakers, Sabá Cabrera Infante (the brother of the famous author Guillermo Cabrera Infante) and the camera man Orlando Jiméneaz Leal walked around a night club found just off of the Havana harbour with a hand held camera. Using a "free cinema" style, they captured various scenes of Afro-Cubans partying, dancing to *son* music, flirting, and drinking. Known as *P.M.* or *Post Meridian* this short thirteen minute and seventeen second documentary arrived to become the most nationally controversial cinematic work of the time, propelling a debate amongst Cuban intellectuals and politicians as to the role and the impact of artistic expression in Cuba's new revolutionary culture. The reason for the dispute was obvious enough: *P.M.* was expressing a far different image than, for example, what was seen in Korda's photography: an image of promiscuity during the night rather than nationalist labour during the day. If Korda's photography was working to de-exoticize Cuban culture and the image of the *mulata* then *P.M.*

was doing the opposite, reverting a male gaze to the exotic *atmósfera* of Cuba qualified through the image of Afro-Cuban bodies. The Revolution had come to a critical impasse: to what extent were the erotic and exotic portrayals of Afro-Cuban bodies to be permitted in a now-supposedly raceless, equal, and nationalistic Revolution? Such a question seemed to have motivated the artistic decisions of Korda who, later in his career, opted for a photo-journalistic approach to visualize the national Revolution rather than a commercial approach to visualize glamour culture and fashion models. Korda, in a manner of speaking confronted the same polemics of *P.M.*. He was at a crossroads: to the right he could capture the exotic *atmósfera* of Cuba or to the left the national *espíritu.*[27] Evidently Korda took to the left, choosing a new image of militant and "raceless" citizens working in the "a.m." rather than drunk, rumba dancing Afro-Cubans partying in the "p.m.." The film *P.M.* consequently brought to light the polemical environment of this choice in Cuba and, in particular, the ambiguous effect that racialized bodies can have when imposed upon by sexual desires and yet desired, at the same time, to be revolutionary. For this reason the impact of *P.M.* is largely considered as the single most important art expression of the decade to have pressured the revolutionary initiative to de-exoticize Cuban culture through the means of censorship, racial ignorance, and the bioremediation of a new "*mulata*-less" image.

At first glance *P.M.* is nothing special. The film begins with a ferry arriving to the Havana Harbour. During the rest of the film the camera shifts awkwardly between scenes of black Cubans in Havana bars and nightclubs drinking, dancing, flirting, and talking— and that's it. After nearly thirteen minutes of random night life scenes of drunk people dancing to *son* music, talking over the loud twangs of percussion, and flirting on the dance floor with their bodies the documentary ends with the ferry taking off at the end of the night with passengers in the same direction that it arrived. Yet, despite its simple plot, the film awakened a rather

[27] Left-Right political spectrum implied.

polemical issue in Cuban arts at the time. It is clear that the real issue, more so than the image of partying, is the image of race. Interpretations of the film began to revert to a prejudicial analysis of Afro-Cuban culture and Havana nightlife. As the film critic Carrie Hamilton mentions "black female bodies in the film have been interpreted as sex workers by viewers who watch the film through the lens of the long and strong association between prostitution and the figure of the mulata woman" ("Notches"). The exotic and erotic stereotypes associated with the *mulata* and the *rumbera* body therefore easily misconstrue the film as a leftover environment of *gangsterismo,* nightclubs, and capitalist indulgence. Basically stated, the documentary exposed the *mulata* affect during a period of time that was trying to erase the *mulata* image altogether. The ironic truth of the matter, however, is that there is little in the film that points to any explicit presence of prostitution, drugs, or sexual profanity of any sort. For better or worse *P.M.* simply reveals a common nightlife scene of a group of Cubans enjoying a bit of a rumba party— an activity many Cubans, black or white, are familiar with. Still, despite its success with being aired on television and receiving positive reviews in Cuban art magazines like *Bohemía,* the film drew a particularly hostile and negative review in the national film industry (the ICAIC), so much so in fact that it was denied any public screening throughout the island.

The ICAIC's censorship of *P.M.*, as the film historian Michael Chanan explains, was based on the premise that the images of night life "failed to register what was really in the air because it followed its chosen stylistic model both too closely and too uncritically" (135). It was, of course, *la Revolución* that was "in the air." The revolutionary victory of 1959 had brought about an atmosphere of change in Cuba, one of militant *revolucionarios* rather than licentious, disorderly *fiesteros.* Upon the release of *P.M.* the revolutionary environment of Cuba was especially thick considering that the film was banned only six weeks following the Bay of Pigs

invasion on the island as well as Fidel's public confirmation for the socialist character of the Revolution. More liberal voices in Havana—particularly those dominated by the intellectual group surrounding the newly established cultural magazine *Lunes de Revolución*—blatantly opposed ICAIC's decision. *Lunes,* which was founded the same year as the Revolution in 1959, happened to be lead by none other than the acclaimed novelist and writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante who was also the brother of *P.M.*'s director, Sabá Cabrera Infante. Obviously, neither of the brothers were pleased with the ICAIC's decision to ban the film. As a result, the film critic Ana M. López describes that the artistic community behind both *P.M.* and *Lunes*—the former led by Guillermo the later directed by Sabá—"cried out 'censorship,' while ICAIC maintained that the film was irresponsible to the revolution and that they had the right and authority to delay/prohibit its distribution" ("Cuban Cinema" 51-59). The censorship of the documentary had, therefore, created a large enough scandal that Fidel Castro himself stepped to the forefront of the debate between the ICAIC censorship and the liberal voices of *Lunes* who advocated for the film's release. In 1961, less than one year after *P.M.* was filmed, Fidel sought to resolve the question of artists' roles in revolutionary society based on the heated debates that erupted out of the *P.M.* affair. Out of this came his famous and extensive speech "Palabras para los intelectuales" [Words to the Intellectuals] where he encourages a "revolutionary" direction of Cuban art:

> Esto significa que dentro de la Revolución, todo; contra la Revolución, nada. Contra la Revolución nada, porque la Revolución tiene también sus derechos; y el primer derecho de la Revolución es el derecho a existir. Y frente al derecho de la Revolución de ser y de existir, nadie —por cuanto la Revolución comprende los intereses del pueblo, por cuanto la Revolución significa los intereses de la nación entera—, nadie puede alegar con razón un derecho contra ella. Creo que esto es bien claro. ¿Cuáles son los derechos de los escritores y de los artistas, revolucionarios o no revolucionarios? Dentro de la Revolución, todo; contra la Revolución, ningún derecho.

> [Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, nothing. Against the revolution, nothing, because the revolution also has its rights, and the first right of the revolution is the right to exist, and no one can oppose the revolution's right to exit. Insasmuch as the revolution embodies the interests of the people, inasmuch as the revolution symbolizes the interests of the whole nation, no one can justly claim a right to oppose it. I believe that this is quite clear. What are the rights of writers and artists, revolutionary or nonrevolutionary? Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, there are no rights.] (*Fidel Castro Reader* 220)

Over time, Fidel's phrase "within the revolution, everything; against the revolution nothing" has become a famous slogan of the Revolution's mandate on the Cuban arts. Arts were to "fashion" the Revolution through national images rather than challenge the Revolution through their exotic images.

P.M. to Padilla: One Affair to the Next

Following Fidel's words to the Cuban intellectuals it would still take a few years for the Revolution to assert its authority over artistic expression. For almost a decade various artists took Fidel's phrase "dentro de la Revolución, todo" as a challenge to test the boundaries of artistic expression in the Revolution. It was not until 1971 that the artistic boundaries challenged with *P.M.* would be once again be reasserted in an event known as the "Padilla affair." This was, yet again, another political controversy that, this time, led to the imprisonment of a poet named Heberto Padilla due to the supposed counter-revolutionary writing found of his poetry compilation *Fuera de Juego* (1968). In 1968 this same book had won the Julian de Casal poetry award from Cuban Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC), however it was published with strong scepticism. The UNEAC had even included a "*coletilla*" attached to the publication, which, in basic terms, was a "warning" statement about unfavourable publications during the early years of the Revolution that would interpret the news or text to readers through a

revolutionary perspective.[28] Interestingly, one of the UNEAC's reasons against Padilla's work, as stipulated in this *coletilla,* had to do with the poet's temporal awareness of "affect." According to UNEAC's reasoning in their *coletilla*: "[Padilla] has expressed his anti-historical attitude by means of exalting individualism in opposition to collective demands of a country in the midst of historical development and by also stating his idea of *time as a recurring and repeating circle* instead of an ascending line" (Emphasis added; 95).[29] That is, like Benítez Rojo stipulates twenty-seven years later in his vision of a "repeating island," Padilla's poetry implicated time to be repetitive rather than progressive, which is, of course, a key characteristic of affect theory. Indeed what Massumi calls "feedback" or "digression" ("The Autonomy" 283") implicates affect to be qualified through a series of emerging and fading effects that, without such a cycle, would render us a universe "without potential" (285). Repetition, that is, is the determinate "effect" of history and, incidentally, a pivotal element on the thesis of the *mulata* affect on Cuban culture. Padilla, in a manner of speaking, foresaw the cyclical potential of affective power throughout Cuban history and creatively presented this throughout his poetry.

Repetition was not the way the UNEAC wanted history to be represented. Why, however, was the idea of time being cyclical rather than linear so offensive to the UNEAC? One plausible reason for this was that the Revolution was consistently represented in "linear" terms: national progression, military marching, ideological drives, future visions, *patría o muerte, hasta la victoria para siempre,* etc. On the contrary, Padilla's poems in *Fuera de Juego* seem to critically examine the past rather than march towards the future or "*la muerte.*" His words in the poem "Oración para el fin del siglo" [Prayer for the End of an Century], for example, encourages the

[28] For a further critique of the UNEAC's *coletilla* see Luis M. Quesada's essay on the Padilla Affair "Fuera del Juego: A Poet's Appraisal of the Cuban Revolution" (1975).
[29] As translated and quoted in Luis M. Quesada's essay "Fuera del Juego: A Poet's Appraisal of the Cuban Revolution" (p. 95).

reader to search for the errors of the past: "en el día de hoy está el error alguién habrá de condenar mañana" [in today is the error that someone will condemn tomorrow]. The idea that history would "repeat" itself and birth "errors" that, once again, would need to be corrected was a dangerous perspective for the Revolution's image, one which was deemed to have permanently corrected and resolved Batista's political errors and the mistakes of permitting imperialist power to seep into the Cuban economy and culture. This was exactly why *P.M.* was censored a decade earlier. What the ICAIC saw was not a simple documentary creatively experimenting with a free-style camera approach, but rather a "repetitive" image of history that centred on previous notions of eroticism and frivolity connected to Afro-Cuban culture, dance, and celebration. The government wanted to eliminate the very repetitions of the past that had originally angered Cubans revolutionaries into action; they wanted to linearize history putting an end to the *mulata* affect. Resultantly, the artistic lines that were crossed with the *P.M.* affair were then "straightened out" with the Padilla affair. By 1971 the artistic community finally knew what "contra la Revolución, nada" implied.

Korda's A.M.

One way to describe the transition of Korda's photography styles, and of Cuban culture for that matter, is a shift from spectacularization to iconization. To a certain extent, this can be considered to be the key aesthetic impact of Cuban photography arriving during the 1960s. As seen in Korda's images of *milicianas,* the *afrocubana* went from being a touristic *spectacle* of feminine sexuality and Caribbean exoticism to a national *icon* of socialism and egalitarianism. The *miliciana,* then, becomes the icon of a militant *mestizaje,* a nation constructed out of racial diversity, yet defined by the socialist equality of the Revolution. Within such an environment Korda's photography became a visual advertisement with a different twist: socialist propaganda

rather than touristic propagation. This meant two things. Firstly, as discussed above, it meant a transition away from the spectacle of *rumberas* and the nightlife of the "p.m." towards the icons of Revolutionary leaders and gender "equal" images such as the *miliciana*. As the art historian Iliana Cepero Amador describes, the old figural types of both the *vanguardia* and the graphic illustrators began to drastically change during this time: "The former voluptuous woman now grasped a gun or donned the Cuban flag . . . Scenes of elegant nightlife gave way to a daytime world full of work to be done, political gatherings and calls to defend the country against any threat of attack . . . This change of protagonists and settings reflected the abolition of class divisions in Cuban society" (236). Whether he realized it or not Korda's photos were revealing Afro-Cuban women, the *mulata* included, as the protagonists of revolutionary work in the "a.m." rather than scandalous partying during the "p.m.". The *mulata-rumbera* of nightclubs was no longer shown on stage. Cuba had entered into a new dance: not the soliloquy movement of the rumba that gave birth to erotic imaginations, but the collective choreography of a nation giving voice to revolution and reform.

A second effect of Korda's iconic photography was the ideological elimination of the term "Afro-Cuban" and the adoption of the term "Cuban" or "revolutionary" as a replacement for any sub-cultural or ethnically-defined groups. As it was, the ideology of raceless nationalism that once fuelled the *mestizo* project of Martí in the revolution against Spanish colonialism had returned, once more, in the ambitions of Castro and the revolution against American imperialism. Reviving this ideology, photography replaced old images of the *mulata* with the *miliciana* image, the *negro* became imaged as the *machetero* (the cane cutter), and even *criollos* (Spanish mixed)—like Fidel, Raul Castro or Camilo Cienfuegos—became imaged as *barbudos.* The differentiation of race was thereby shrouded underneath revolutionary roles. Metaphorically the

focus had shifted from self-identification of skin colours to the national identification of "flag" colours. The *mulata* body had consequently been bioremediated into a historical period of racial integration in Cuban society rather than racial expropriation. The Martían principles of raceless nationalism, also promoted in the works of Fernando Ortiz and his metaphor of the transcultured Cuban *ajiaco*, were amalgamated into the revolutionary conscience. *La Revolución* meant the idealistic elimination of all differences, including the questions of race. One was, whether black, white, or *mulato*, no longer defined by colour, but by citizenship; one was no longer representative of a race, but of a Revolution. The result is that Korda's iconic photographs tend to redirect the distinctions of race and any concurrent issues of racial prejudice throughout the island towards a nationalist qualification of the *mulata* affect.

The ignorance of race, in one way or another, still demands a focus on race. For this reason Korda's photos of *milicianas* seem to juxtapose the *afrocubana* with the memories of her image prior to the Revolution— what I have previously identified as the image's "*stadium*" or archive. Her blackness, contextualized in a militant atmosphere, inevitably points to the political attempt to de-racialize the woman by emphasizing her presence as a revolutionary that is part of a national culture rather than as a black woman who is part of an Afro-Cuban culture. The irony of this is that the image of blackness or *negritud* remains, like Benítez Rojo's theory, "repeated" once again in Korda's photos of *milicianas,* only within a different context. Yes, photos of the *miliciana* transition the viewer away from the exotic and erotic images of the *afrocubana,* but unfortunately in the Cuban context this also includes a transition away from her *negritud* as well. The differentiation of race becomes repeated, in a manner of speaking, through its racial ignorance.

The big difference in Korda's photography versus the *mulata* image of the *vanguardía* and the *rumbera* image of graphic illustrators is that, this time, the *mulata* body qualifies the racial and cultural miscegenation of *la revolución* rather than *mestizaje*— same *ajiaco,* different flavour. Race, nonetheless, still remains the vital ingredient here. The *miliciana* claims a different appearance, but draws the national image she represents into an old-aged dilemma of racial diversity with national similitude. This time, rather than symbolize the culture of the newly formed Republic, the *mulata* is aggregated into the culture of the newly formed Revolution. State power becomes the mandate of masculine, white, fearless, and bearded leaders who, as seen with the *P.M.* affair, discourages the representations of Afro-Cuban images for fear of it repeating old stereotypes of an erotic and exotic Cuban *atmósfera.* As it did during the early Republic with the image of the *mulata* or during the rumba craze with the image of the *rumbera,* patriarchal power and national ideologies still control the thematic landscape of racial images. Following the Revolution this would continue beyond photography through various aesthetic contexts, genres, and mediums until the early 1990s.

The *Miliciana* and the *Mujer Nueva*

That there is a continuous resurgence of the revolutionary micro-narrative in Cuba is exemplified by the continuation of the *miliciana* image today. The state still uses militancy as a symbol for revolutionary unity and race is still overlooked in Cuba under the cultural identity of *cubanidad.* So despite the conceptual changes of art over time, the *miliciana* image continues due to an unyielding will by state organizations to characterize Cuba through the Korda-like images of militancy and patriarchy. Case in point is the *miliciana* image that continues to be visually represented through the women's organization known as the FMC (Federación de Mujeres Cubanas). Founded by Fidel Castro in 1960, the FMC was originally directed by Vilma

Lucía Espín Guillois (1930-2007), the revolutionary *miliciana*, feminist, chemical engineer, belated wife of the president Raúl Castro, and the first president of the feminist organization. Often known as the "revolution within a revolution" the FMC was directly involved with revolutionary initiatives in the 1960s and 1970s such as the Cuban Literacy Campaign (1961), the 1974 Maternity law that extended the period of maternity leave for mothers and guaranteed their medical care during pregnancy, and the 1975 Family Code that sought to improve domestic conditions and child care in order to provide more opportunities for women to enter the work force rather than remain in the home. Furthermore, the FMC is claimed to have established 838 child-care centres and to have supported 96,000 mothers as a result.[30] The FMC is also responsible for the publication of the magazines *Mujeres* and *Muchachas,* the former whose cover images are known to display popular photos of Vilma in her fatigues or groups of *milicianas* marching together.

In their work *Sex and Revolution: Women in Socialist Cuba* (1996) Louis M. Smith and Alfred Padula have exclaimed that the FMC, without fail, "served as the locus of women's power in revolutionary Cuba" (49) and evidently its operations therefore "paralleled that of the revolution" (56). As has been exemplified by the FMC, the notion of feminist movements in Cuba tend to co-exist alongside revolutionary campaigns for socialist equality. In the case of the FMC it was, respectively, the *miliciana* image that acted as a common testimony and symbol of this objective. Since its beginning the common logo of the FMC has imitated the traditional *miliciana* photos of Korda. Today the FMC logo displays a militant depiction of its first president Vilma Espín in the typical FMC blue fatigues, a green beret, and a rifle slung over her shoulder while looking earnestly into the "revolutionary" distance in a manner similar to Che's

[30] See K. Lynn Stoner's article "Federation of Cuban Women (FMC)" online at *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture.*

expression in Korda's *Guerrillero Heroíco.* The background imitates the outline of a globe implicating the FMC's struggle for female rights to extend beyond Cuba itself much like the impact of the Revolution. The previous logo of the FMC, until 2007, was a drawing of a white woman, also in a uniform holding a rifle. One difference between the two logos is that the prior *miliciana* is faceless and is shown holding a faceless baby thereby indicating that the woman in the image could represent any Cuban woman or mother— except, apparently, an Afro-Cuban. As evidenced in the earlier logo the so-called "feminist" symbol seems to toss women into a male and white dominated space rather than create a "room" of their own. Here a woman must be both a mother and a militant, taking care of both the home and the homeland. There is, of course, no alternative image of a *barbudo* holding a baby. That Espín now occupies the logo may have changed the faceless drawn image of a maternal *miliciana* to a photograph of an iconic *miliciana* but the image still remains, in the end, both white and visually allusive to the patriarchal and *machista* militancy birthed out of the 1960s.

Figures 3.14 and 3.15: Left image: Previous FMC logo until 2007; Right image: Current FMC logo with a photo of Vilma Espín. Both images found online at https://www.ecured.cu/Federaci%C3%b3n _de_Mujeres_Cubanas. Accessed, January 4, 2018.

From *Hombre Nuevo* to *Mujer Nueva*

It is evident that the *milciana* image of the FMC is deeply rooted in the patriarchal and militant ideology that was popularized through photo-journalism. Arguably one of the greatest philosophical influences of this image stems from Ernesto Che Guevara's 1965 Marxist manifesto "El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba" [Socialism and the Man in Cuba]. In this article Che introduces the world to the ideological "hombre nuevo" [the new man] who was supposed to represent the "new" communist citizen who would carry forth the revolutionary *espíritu* initiated by Fidel and the Cuban Revolution. In Che's own words: "Para construir el comunismo, simultáneamente con la base material hay que hacer el hombre nuevo" [In order to construct Communism, the new man must be created simultaneously alongside the material base] (11). The masculine tone of Che's writing is evident: it is the *hombre,* not the *mujer,* who takes precedence in the development of a Communist society. Interestingly, English translations of Che's article have translated *hombre nuevo* to the "new man and woman," thereby attempting to qualify the female in Che's vision, although the original Spanish remains less inclusive.[31] As it was, it took a long time for the *mujer* to catch up to Che's masculine vision in Cuba. Forty-five years later a 2010 article in the Cuban newspaper *Granma* presents the former FMC president Vílma Espín as the feminine version of Che's new man. The article's title reads: "La Revolución: Vilma y la mujer nueva en Cuba" [The Revolution: Vilma and the New Woman in Cuba"].[32] At last, the "*mujer nueva*" is recognized alongside the *hombre nuevo*, but is she truly "*nueva*" or simply cast within an old shadow? Indeed one could argue that the idea of a *mujer nueva,* as advertised by the FMC, still alludes nonetheless to the old communist teachings of an *hombre nuevo* created by a man often characterized as "chauvinistic" (Crompton 2009, 38) and

[31] See 2005 online English translation by Margarita Zimmerman, "Socialism and Man in Cuba," co-published by the Che Guevara Studies Centre and Ocean Press.
[32] Article written by Anneris Ivette Leyva, published in *Granma,* on April 7, 2010.

reminiscent of "macho archetypes" (Enrique Pérez 2009, 35). Furthermore, how egalitarian is this archetype of a *mujer nueva*? Cast as a feminization of Che's *hombre nuevo* this *mujer* is most commonly associated with only four revolutionary figures in Cuban history, all white women, that participated directed in Revolutionary efforts during the 1950s and 1960s: Vilma Epín (mentioned above), Celia Sanchez (politician, revolutionary activist, and close friend of Fidel), Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado, (a politician and one of the few women involved on the initial assault of the Moncada Barracks in July 26th, 1953); and Haydée Tamara Bunke Bider, better known as "Tania la guerrillera" (an Argentine born, east-German communist who fought alongside Che Guevara and died in Bolivia). All four of these women exemplify the ideal characteristics of *milicianas*: women of communist, revolutionary values who defended the Cuban Revolution by either politically advocating, physically fighting, or both. All four also represent one of the most recognizable periods for feminist movements in the country, during the 1960s, that attributed the fight for women's rights to coincide with the Cuban Revolution— a micro-narrative at best.

New Blancas, Old Negras

Vilma, Celia, Haydée, and Tania are socialist icons in their own right, but arguably do not remain accessible symbols to the majority of Cuban women today, especially *afrocubanas* whose image must live in the shadows of an old white *mujer nueva* during the a.m. while avoiding any spot light of the *mujer negra* during the p.m.. Racial identification remains ignored in the micro-narrative of the *miliciana,* which is perpetuated and repeated through the FMC logo as well as the national narratives that keep being told through visual propaganda seen throughout the country. Indeed there is a general lack of any female Afro-Cuban image seen in billboard advertising throughout Cuba, nor in any statues, busts, posters, or other revolutionary images

dispersed throughout the island. Discursively, visual representations in Cuba have tossed the Afro-Cuban woman aside as an old image—*una mujer vieja*—while white women have dominated the image of the *mujer nueva* and white *barbudos* have dominated the image of the *hombre nuevo.* As an old image the female Afro-Cuban is therefore stuck between censorship and decadence; she is representative of either a past exotic nightlife supposedly ridden in the 1960s or fixed on the micro-narrative of Korda's *milicianas,* once again set in the 1960s. In either case it has, today, been almost a century since the earliest representations of her in a rumba dress and nearly sixty years since Korda's depictions of her in fatigues. She is, all in all, anything but *nueva.*

The distinctions between an "old" and "new" *mujer* was, in fact, an old nationalist strategy in Cuba. Truth be told, it was, in fact, the *afrocubana* who was considered "*nueva*" far before Vilma Espín ever set foot in the Sierra Maestra, before Korda snapped his first photo of a *miliciana,* and before Che penned the ideological *hombre nuevo.* Before the "new" militant atmosphere of the Revolution swept over Cuba, the original image of a "*mujer nueva*" was something quite different thanks to, none other than, the acclaimed Afro-Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén. For Guillén, Cuba's *mujer nueva* was intricately tied to the racial identity of the *afrocubana* before it was ever considered a term to be used in reference to a white woman with a rifle. Without question, Che's appeal for an *hombre nuevo* and the later interpretation of the *mujer nueva* were both ideologically "raceless" and racially "white" at the same time, however Guillen's earlier depiction of the *mujer nueva* is very much black and points, uncompromisingly, to the *fiestas* of the p.m. rather than the *milicianas* of the a.m.. Found in his 1931 poetry compilation *Sóngoro cosongo* Guillén focuses on the verbal imagery of the Afro-Cuban *rumbera* in his short poem titled "*Mujer Nueva"* [The New Woman]:

Con el círculo ecuatorial
ceñido a la cintura como a un pequeño mundo,
la negra, mujer nueva,
avanza en su ligera bata de serpiente.

Coronada de palmas,
como una diosa recién llegada,
ella trae la palabra inédita,
el anca fuerte,
la voz, el diente, la mañana y el salto. (32)

Chorro de sangre joven
bajo un pedazo de piel fresca,
y el pie incansable
para la pista profunda del tambor.

[With the equatorial circle
tied around her waist like a little world,
the Negress, the new woman,
comes forward in her airy serpent
morning gown.

Crowned with palms
like a newly arrived goddess,
she brings unspoken words,
her solid loins,
her voice, her teeth, the morning and
her leap.

A rush of youthful blood
beneath a piece of skin that's fresh,
and tireless feet
for the deep rhythm of the drum.][33]

For Guillén, what is seen as "*nueva*" was later implicated as decadent and old-fashioned in the wake of the Revolution. The image of "solid loins" with "skin that's fresh" is precisely the type of erotic detail of dark-skinned bodies that led the revolutionary government to censor the documentary *P.M.* nearly thirty years later. The Revolution did not want—what Guillén describes as—a "rush of youthful blood/ beneath a piece of skin." Rather the government wanted

[33] See the English translation by Robert Márquez in "Selected Poems of Nicolás Guillén" found in issue 5 of *The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research.*

something more like a rush of youthful blood within a nation— nationalistic bodies that can work, not erotic bodies that can dance.

Looking at it this way, Guillén's poetic and exotic *mujer nueva* and the later militant interpretation of a *mujer nueva* appear quite different from one another, representing two different eras, two different women, two different qualifications of the *mulata* affect. However, from Guillén's image of the *mujer nueva* to the FMC, what we are witness to is, in fact, a *repetition* of a nationally constructed image rather than a *progression* of a "new" feminine image to a "newer" one. What is "*nueva*" in both cases is, in fact, nothing new at all. Indeed, one would be wise to consider the scholar Conrad James' hesitancy in accepting Guillén's *mujer nueva* as "an un-problematically redemptive presentation of black womanhood" (70). According to James, Guillén's erotic description of the *afrocubana* has "far more in common with the exoticized and often deformed female figures imagined and propagated by most white practitioners of negrista poetry than many early Afro-Hispanists care to admit" (71). If one is to accept Guillén's *afrocubana* as the "*mujer nueva*" then the only novelty about this 1930's woman is the manner for which she been transformed into a popular spectacle as the exotic *rumbera* by white males. In her case, what is "new" is the eroticization of the Cuban *atmósfera* rather than her womanhood.

Neither does the *mujer* become something "*nueva*" after the Revolution. Once again, what changes is the qualification of the *mulata* affect from erotic to militant, from the exotic *atmósfera* to the national *espíritu*. The conditions of the times and the imagined perspective of the nation may be something new, but the woman's body is not. Whether she is dressed up in a rumba dress and exclaimed poetically to be "crowned with palms" or dressed up in fatigues and exclaimed to be "a revolution within the Revolution,"[34] it remains only the national image of the

[34] As stated by Fidel Castro's during a speech delivered at the fifth national assembly of the FMC in Santa Clara on December 9, 1966.

woman that changes rather than the woman herself. In this case, the clothes do not make the woman. Realistically, then, each national qualification of the *mujer nueva* has hampered the gender and racial project of emancipation that it claims to have achieved. As James has observed in his critique, many readers and scholars see Guillén's *mujer nueva,* despite its erotic imagery, to be a testament to the racial agency of the *afrocubana.* Thus here "race trumps gender" (71) as James claims. With an earnestness to celebrate the African heritage of the woman the erotic imagery rooted in a colonial, white imagination of the *afrocubana* becomes ignored. In this respect, it makes sense that the reader ought to consider the celebration of Guillén's *mujer nueva* as an oversight in the same extent as the feminization of Che's *hombre nuevo*. For the former, erotic stereotypes are concealed under her racialized body; for the later, erotic stereotypes are concealed under her nationalized body. Yes, "*nueva*" appearances, but old habits.

In reflection, perhaps the acclaimed Cuban blogger Yoani Sanchez has merit when she says that the "verb emancipation is no longer used [in Cuba], reminiscent as it is of well-known failures and postponed dreams."[35] Emancipation—a truly *nueva* project—would require the *afrocubana* to be free of prejudices on a racial level while being, at the same time, free of erotic stereotypes on a gender level. Affect doesn't work this way. As has been the case, repeatedly, the national representations of the *mulata* body—be it *mulata* paintings*,* the *rumbera* illustrations*,* or the *miliciana* photos—have highlighted one side while ignoring the other. In the first half of the twentieth century racial equality was celebrated while gender equality was compromised; later, following the Revolution, gender equality was celebrated while race was ignored. The "novelty" merely repeats.

[35] See Sanchez' article "The Liberation of Women: Another Failed Dream of Cuba's Revolution" in the Huffington Post online.

After-Thought: Running out of Ammo

For almost the entire decade of the 1960s the *miciliana* had marched back and forth throughout the island waving sub-automatic machine guns in the air for crowds to adore the revolutionary image of an independent women in arms. The *mulata*, as visualized in many of Korda's photos, was front and centre wearing fatigues, a beret, and ready to defend the Revolution alongside Cubans of every colour, sex, and class. Or was she? By the 1980s, something started to change in Cuba and, arguably, it was around this time that her state-loaded clips of ideological ammunition began to run short. The mentality of a militant state was promoting a vision of national equality that proved difficult to match on a socio-economic level. Case in point is Castro's 1986 "Campaign of Rectification of Errors and Negative Tendencies" [*Rectificación de errores y tendencias* negativas] that sought to "rectify" errors—basically capitalist tendencies—in the economy that had been rooted in the 1975 Soviet (state-capitalist) model. The greatest impact of this was seen in the attempt to limit profiteering by ending the policy of free peasant and artisan markets. One could work freely, but only for the state; one could live and act freely, but only for the Revolution. One was equal to another, no matter their race or gender, but only if "fashioned" as a revolutionary— *para la revolución todo.* One of the direct consequences of state limitations on entrepreneurship was a reassessment of individual liberties from a socio-economic level to a socio-corporeal level. In other words where the lack of individual liberties existed in the market, they were found somewhere else, somewhere where the state inevitably had less control over: the body.

Affectively, the female body became a symbol of liberty living in a society of socialist control. In this respect, labour and sexuality became the liberties of socialism, but not without its sacrifices. Women were encouraged to "serve" the Revolution by working in state mandated jobs

outside of the home, yet were still battling old *machista* stigmas of the house-wife role. As Smith and Padula note, Cuban housewives tended to be "applauded only when they emerged from the home to participate in some collective task: factory or agricultural labor, volunteer work or service in the mass organizations, the CDRs, the FMC and its various brigades" (150). Indeed one cannot find a photograph of Korda iconizing a housewife. Therefore, with the ongoing pressures of serving the state as well as providing for the home the idea of motherhood became seen as a burden that would add yet another toil against the women's ability to progress in the work force and within a socialist society. Being a female in a socialist and militant state was, overall, a loaded task that, as Smith and Padula describe, "was often undercut by persistent traditional notions of women's role as well as by the pressing need for economic efficiency" (121). Add to this the refusal of religious representation in the communist party and the legalization of abortion and, eventually, Cuban birth rates drastically fell by the beginning of the 1980s while sexual relationships, now unhinged from Catholic morality, increased. As Yoani Sanchez has observed, the "great military and agricultural mobilizations [of the 1960s] led to a broadening of sexual relations, and virginity became a stigma rather than a virtue."[36] Women could now buy condoms without prejudice. Guns and condoms were okay, but babies and church less so. In this respect, old stereotypes of feminine sexuality may have been clothed over in the visual images of militants, but somewhere down the line the ideals of gender equality became confounded with new ideals of sexual liberty. Cuba had inadvertently become an environment of socialist mobilizations symbolized in the practice of sexual liberation. Realistically, however, the woman's body was free sexually but she was still under the state's roof. The irony, by the end the

[36] See Sachez's article "The Liberation of Women: Another Failed Dream of Cuba's Revolution" online in *The Huff Post News.*

1980s, was all too evident: bodies that were once censored as too promiscuous for the Revolution were now, ironically, given free reign to be "promiscuous" in their own right.

The free use of one's body does not, however, denote the free exercise of one's rights. Smith and Padula have argued that "the role of sexuality in a socialist society, according to the revolutionary program, is to provide a source of security and happiness for workers, which will allow them smoothly and efficiently to perform their duties and ultimately—and perhaps most important—produce a new generation that conforms to revolutionary expectations" (179). Sexuality, under this perspective, becomes seen as a "role" rather than a "right," a question of national function rather than personal agency. Yet, to say that this is how the perspective of sexuality has remained in Cuba is, to say the least, an unreasonable presumption. Smith and Padula recognize that a change, in fact, occurred with the understanding of female sexuality during the 1980s, namely, an enlightenment of female pleasure. To suggest that women "were sexual beings in their own right," as Smith and Padula exclaim, was "perhaps the most provocative venture of revolutionary sexual policy" (179). It came down to a question of female sexual agency. That women were seen to be agents of their own sexuality, as capable—and even more so— as expecting to receive pleasure from sex, was too close for comfort for "*machista* mores" (as Smith and Padula call it), which were quick to associate sexual agency with other liberating qualities of women such as education and economic independence. The freedom of the female body was, in this sense, not unshackled from the traditional chains of a patriarchal culture; the *mulata* affect was still tied to the male-operated gears of the *maquína caribe*. The result was an ambiguous sexual atmosphere in Cuba where sexual behaviour was taught and promoted by the state through sexual education policies developed by the National Working Group on Sex Education (GNTES) [El Grupo Nacional de Trabajo o Educación Sexual] (also

promoted by the FMC). Yet, at the same time, *machista* culture still favoured the traditional "housewife" role. The Cuban woman was pulled between the socio-sexual freedom she could conduct with her body and the cultural stigmas she encountered as a woman. Indeed the *miliciana* and her gun had not intimidated away the gender stereotypes of the past.

By the 1980s then, the stage had been set for the repetition of pre-revolutionary sexual ventures such as prostitution and sex-tourism along with the onslaught of gender and racial prejudices that are inevitably tied to such enterprises. Especially for the *mulata* the "new female eroticism" (177) of the 1980s, as Smith and Padula term it, was inevitably chained to an old history where her sexual behaviour was the siren call of the tourist. Even when, idealistically, sexual behaviour was attempted to be controlled through revolutionary health and awareness programs, the *mulata's* sexual agency could not escape the eroticized *atmósfera* that proceeded it. Furthermore, the Cuban economy, by this time, was already leaking into an informal market where by the early 1990's— following collapse of Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union—Cubans were pulled between a lack of resources found in lower valued peso markets and an overabundance of goods available in the higher valued dollar shops. Sex-tourism had been given all the ingredients needed to close-in this economic gap for women: access to tourists and their dollars, the nostalgic notion of an exotic *atmósfera,* and an already well-established socio-cultural leniency towards a women's independent sexual agency. Although the image of the *miliciana* remained in Cuba, her ammunition was running out. Cuba was entering a new battle fought by bodies rather than guns.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Economized Body:
The *Jinetera* in Daniel Díaz Torres' film *La Película de Ana.*

Que, de día, a la escuela
van las niñas con carteras
Y en la noche cuando salen,
ya las llaman jineteras.

— Yoendri Lafargue Navarro,"Mi Ciudad"

From *Miliciana* to *Jinetera*

Money changes image. So following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, when Cuba lost its greatest economic ally, the image of the *mulata* was bound to change, and it did. The revolutionary *miliciana* prepped for battle was not prepared for the decade of the 1990s, a period commonly known in Cuba as *El período especial en tiempo de paz,* or simply put the "Special Period." This was a decade marked down in the island's history as a time of incredible economic scarcity where verbs such as *resolver* [to resolve], *luchar* [to struggle], and *inventar* [to invent] became commonplace synonyms for the socio-economic perseverance of Cubans. In response to the economic crisis, the government reverted to an increased effort to expand and promote the industry of tourism that also included, against the original wishes of the revolutionary government, the necessary legalization of the American dollar in 1993. The dollar would later be replaced in 2004 by the equivalent but Cuban owned currency known as the *peso convertible* or CUC. While studying the literature of this era the scholar Esther Whitfield notes that the division between the CUC and the peso (known as *moneda nacional*) connected the higher currency with the globalized tourist industry while leaving Cuban citizens (whose salaries are paid in pesos) at the lower end of a disparity that played to the well-being and service of

foreigners. In a manner of speaking, one's service to the Revolution became quickly replaced with one's service to tourists. Whitfield explains:

> the dollar's superiority over the Cuban peso set a pattern for social inequalities that the revolutionary project had sought to eliminate: Salaries continued to be paid in pesos while material goods were sold in dollars, so that labour hierarchies were distorted and service work that could earn dollars (waiting tables, guiding tours, driving taxis, prostitution) was valued over specialist professions." (5)

It is also for this reason that Whitfield labels the CUC as the "tourist dollar" (6), seeming as tourism, since the Special Period, has grown to be the highest earner of foreign exchange in the country.[37]

The existence of the "dollar" economy in Cuba has created opportunities for Cubans to gain access to CUC paid jobs in an informal market that operates underneath State supervision and is, more often than not, connected directly or indirectly to the tourism industry. The connection between tourism and the informal sector tends to be marked by trades of hustling—which include ventures such as underground cigar sales, taxi services, food distribution, pharmaceutical drugs, and even tour guides—as well as the return of sex-tourism. Both activities, hustling and prostitution, have collectively been defined under the term "*jineterismo.*" Respectively, male hustlers have become known as *jineteros* while female prostitutes have become known as *jineteras.* The eytmology of these terms, which I will discuss in further detail, reflects a historical pattern of Cuban culture to qualify gender and race according to patriarchal structures of power that stem all the way back to the Cuban wars of independence where *jinetes* (jockeys) would charge against the Spanish army on horseback. Interestingly then, the term *jinetera* also points to previous twentieth-century stereotypes of the *mulata* such as those visualized by the vanguardía painter Carlos Enríquez who qualified the *mulata* as the "victim" of

[37] See Marguerite Rose Jiménez's article "The Political Economy of Desire." (2008)

Cuba's transcultured nation, abducted and taken against her will by the male *criollo* on horseback. Otherwise said, the rise of an informal economy marked by *jineterismo* has worked to reinsert previous stereotypes of the *mulata* body back into the new image of the *jinetera* arriving in the 1990s. I argue, in this respect, that the *jinetera* body, as qualified in Cuban arts, marks one of the most recent (if not the most recent) bioremediated image of the *mulata* body in Cuban culture and consequently reveals the perseverance of the *mulata* affect into the twenty-first century.[38] In addition, this chapter reflects on how, since the 1990s, the sexual-affective relations promoted through *jineterismo* have become inserted into cinematic narratives that have remediated the tensions, injustices, struggles, and experiences of a society historically qualified by the *mulata* affect and currently chained to what the scholar Amelia Cabezas describes as an "economy of desire."[39] The development of this economy of desire or what Cabezas clarifies as the "affective economies of sexualized tourism" (1) points to a capitalization of affective values in the island that have been produced through the circulation of racialized bodies and their emotional *effects* in the informal sector. This, as I will discuss, references the affect theorist Sara Ahmed's discussion of "Affective Economies" (2004) which, through *jineterismo,* is realized in the informal marketing and sexual labour of bodies in Cuba.

Along with the rise of an affective economy in Cuba, images of *jineterismo* have been concurrently mediated through various art expressions. Cuban film has taken a leading role in this effort. Indeed the film industry did more than just survive during Cuba's most difficult economic years of the Special Period, but it emerged as one of the most critical yet receptive forms of cultural and artistic expressions across the island. Since the 1990s, film has become one

[38] In no way can I guarantee the *jinetera* as the most recent or final qualification of the *mulata* affect. If we are to acknowledge that affect works as a circuit, which implicates the consistent emergence of new images, then the *mulata* affect is liable to be qualified in new bodies in the present and in the future.
[39] See Cabeza's work *Economies of Desire: Sex and Tourism in Cuba and the Dominican Republic* (2009).

of the most impactful and expressive mediums of Cuban arts tackling controversial topics in its revolutionary culture such as homosexuality, migration, Afro-Cuban spirituality and, of course, *jineterismo*. In this chapter I exemplify how one film in particular, the dramatic comedy *La película de Ana* (2012) directed by Daniel Díaz Torres reveals, through the characterization of a *jinetera,* how Cuba's affective economy is riddled with racial and gender stereotypes that, since the Special Period, have been consistently challenged and subverted through bodily performance. In this film Díaz Torres strategically presents the *jinetera* in a way that revaluates the power structures of the *mulata* body in a globalized society. Here the image of the *jinetera* is qualified as a cultural and economic production of erotic desire designed out of the *mulata* affect or, in otherwords, the historical *maquína caribe* that, for a long time now, has rotated the gears of the racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes associated with the *mulata* body. As such, the *jinetera* is not depicted as the mere product of the Revolution nor of economic scarcity. Rather her body is seen as a subversion of state power arising out of a historical circuit of hegemonic practices that extend beyond the Revolution itself. By casting the *jinetera* in a cinematic role Díaz Torres enlightens the audience to Cuba's long-winded struggle between cultural performativity and national solidarity, a struggle qualified repetitively in the *mulata* body. I argue then that the *jinetera* embodies the verbs *resolver, luchar,* and *inventar* in the bioremediated image of film. At the same time that she removes the *miliciana* image of the female— stripping off her fatigues and laying down her gun—she exists on a new stage where a renewed form of affective power is "resolved," "struggled" against, and "invented" through the polemical performance of the *mulata* body on screen.

Origins and Etymology

While studying the history of sexuality in Cuba, the author Carrie Hamilton affirms that the overseas investment of tourism on the island during the Special Period caused "sexual politics and practices, like all aspects of Cuban life . . . [to] be intimately tied to Cuba's new place in the global economy" (45). Indeed the Special Period had guaranteed two things: firstly, the participation of Cuba's tourism industry with the globalized capitalist market and, consequently, a turn towards the commodification of bodies. Here the pre-revolutionary nostalgic exoticism of the *mulata-rumbera,* paid to dance and perform on stage, transitions into the exotic and presumptiously "dark-skinned" body of the *jinetera* who is paid for her sexual "performance" in the informal sector. The Special Period therefore marks an important transition in the *mulata* image. The *mulata* was no longer in the environment of the pre-revoutionary rumba craze highlighted by political corruption, *gangsterismo,* cabarets, and casinos. Rather, she was tossed into a very different and ambiguous environment where the *miliciana* was expected by the government to walk the state lines during the day and the *rumbera* was expected by the tourism industry to stage the streets at night; she was caught in a period somewhere between the touristic nostalgia of the 1940s and 1950s and the national fortitude of the 1960s. In other words, she was in an awry position between the Cuban *atmósfera* and the Cuban *espíritu.*

The Special Period had changed things. It was difficult for the *mulata* to act the part of the *miliciana* gazing upwards to the *espíritu* and future of the Revolution when so many questions about her basic needs seemed to stare her back. The "tourist dollar" market was a tempting option for both financial prosperity and social advancement. Some opportunities presented themselves: she could put on a sexy rumba dress and flaunt her curvaceous dark-skinned body during a performance at the cabaret. If this wasn't possible, another option was

intriguing: put on a rumba dress anyways, find a foreigner who would pay (in CUC) to experience Cuba's exotic and erotic *atmósfera*. This likely would imply that the foreigner take her out dining, dancing, and likely to the bedroom. If lucky, one night could be a means to an all-around more luxurious lifestyle where, just perhaps, the foreigner would build a relationship with her, maybe even marry her and take her out of the country where more opportunities for work and a more luxurious life were available. Assuming that this was an interracial relationship, then ironically "mestizaje [becomes] not a means of building the nation, but a way to flee it" as Nadine T. Fernandez describes in her work *Revolutionizing Romance* (2010). Any interracial relationship of a *mulata* with a foreigner during and following the Special Period therefore gives new meaning to the national symbolism of her body: she becomes less the symbol of the "mother" representing national growth and more so the symbol of the rebellious daughter representing national escape. Yet even in these circumstances she cannot be deemed a *prostituta* for she remains a citizen of the Revolution that, supposedly, had done away with such demeaning practices. Indeed, by the 1990s it had been over a century since there were any "tolerance zones" for prostitution in Havana. The word *prostitución* therefore seems to echo old colonial practices of the Spanish or the neocolonial practices of gangsters during Batista's reign. What the Special Period did do, however, was to create a new "tolerance" in the streets, a new form of bodily subversion to state power that could be performed within the informal sector while operating within the oversight of the revolutionary government. This has become known today as the cultural and economic phenomenon of *jineterismo.*

Popularized in Cuba's Special Period *jineterismo* is a complicated reference that is chock full of historical, social, political, economic, sexual, gender, and racial implications. Some writers, such as Rogelio Martínez Furé, have gone so far as to speak of a "*jineterismo cultural*"

("Modas y modos" 32) implying that *jineterismo* reflects more than the mere informal market of trading and hustling, but a whole cultural phenomenon throughout the island.[40] In every day terms, however, the word has come to be associated with the black-market or informal negotiations of the Cuban economy that are, most often, associated with the dollar economy and the tourism industry. The term is also extremely gendered. Generally a *jinetero* refers to a male hustler or a worker involved in illegal business (cigar selling, pimping, illegal foods or goods distribution, transportation services, etc.) whereas the *jinetera* has largely fallen under the stigma of the prostitute or the female sex-worker.[41]

Much like the *prostituta* in the colonial era, the *jinetera* has come to embody the old racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes of the *mulata.* In one of the more popular citations on the topic, stemming from the 1996 essay "Hustling for Dollars: *Jineterismo* in Cuba," the interdisciplinary artist and writer Coco Fusco exclaims:

> Even though not all of today's *jineteras* are actually mulata (although demographics indicate that Cuba's youth are majority mixed race due to greater population growth among people of color and higher immigration rate among whites), the stereotype still carries enormous power, so much so that to engage in sex work practically means to assume a mulata identity by association (155).

According to Fusco, the *jinetera* body can therefore be considered as a new repetition, a bioremediation per se, of racial and sexual stereotypes previously qualified in the *mulata* body. As such, the *jinetera* refers to more than simply a "*prostituta.*" Rather, she is the embodiment of previous racial, gender, and sexual stereotypes that have followed a historical trajectory of figures of the *mulata* such as the eroticised "tragic mulatta" of colonialism, the *prostituta* of the

---

[40] Robin Moore in, *Music & Revolution* (2006), discusses Martínez Furé's theory of *jineterismo cultural* in the context of Afro-Cuban commercialization in music. Aviva Chomsky also discusses the phenomenon in *A History of the Cuban Revolution* in the context of commercializing Afro-Cuban religion.

[41] For a variety of reasons the male prostitute has taken on the different name of "*pinguero*" rather than *jinetero* (see G. Derrick Hodge's article on "Colonizing the Cuban Body"). The distinction of meaning between the terms jinetero/jinetera points to a gendered and patriarchal syntax that remains shaped by masculine interpretations.

early Republic, the exoticised *rumbera* of *gangsterismo*, and the nationalized *miliciana* of the Revolution. Interestingly, inasmuch as the *jinetera* restructures a history of erotic, exotic, and nationalistic qualificaions of the *mulata*, she is often stereotyped to be the darker *negra.* For this reason the scholar Stephan Palmié describes the *jinetera* to be derived from a "metalanguage of race," which he explains to be "redolent with historical associations between social abjection, exotic otherness, and sexual abandon" (275). The *jinetera*, that is, is derived not only from economic factors, but from a history of racial politics in Cuba. Because the term *jinetera* is "meta-linguistic," her body also does not carry the same negative connotations that are often qualified with the racialized term *prostituta*. For as much as the *jinetera* has been represented as the stereotypical "low-life" and "black trash" women who sells her body for CUC currency, she has ironically also become something much more tolerated, accepted, and at times, even admired in Cuba for her subversive practices that promote her economic "independence" and "liberty" as a woman. For inasmuch as the *jinetera* has become the social dissident of the Cuban Revolution, she has also become the revolutionary figure of social dissidence.

The etymology of the term *jineterismo* reveals a theme of "liberation" associated with the *jinetera's* pursuit for economic independence. In his work *Habana babilonia: la cara oculta de las jineteras* (2008) Amir Valle—who was one of the first Cuban writers to conduct a sociological and cultural inquiry on the subject—explains that the term is rooted in the term *jinetes* (translated as "jockey" or "horse rider). The word is, in this respect, associated with the history of the cavalry soldiers during the Cuban war of independence against Spain. These *jinetes*— known as "*los mambis"*—were renowned for their persistent and tenacious fight for Cuban liberty. Satirically then, *jineterismo* has come to represent the "independence" or "liberty" offered by the dollar currency that male *jineteros* and the female *jineteras* aspire to gain through

"riding" their way through the economic battles of the Special Period and beyond. Summarizing the meaning of *jineterismo* nowadays, Valle clarifies the term to be associated with the informal sector: "el término *jineteros* se ha llegado a utilizar para todos los que intentan obtener dividendos en la complicada trama del comercio sexual, el narcotráfico y el mercado negro" (14) [the term *jineteros* has come to be used for all those who obtain dividends in the complicated trauma of sexual commerce, drug trafficking, and the black market]. Under such a context, the informal economy of Cuba's Special Period can be recogonized as a new "battleground" of these female "*jinetes."* This has also created a carnivalesque inversion of power where the revolutionary *miliciana* who used a gun to fight for her independence from imperialism converted to a *jinetera* who uses her body to "ride" her way to independence within socialism. Furthermore, it calls back the image of Carlos Enríquez's famous painting *El rapto de las mulatas* (1938) where the *mulata* rides the horse, but only as the abducted, nude, and violated woman under the power and control of the male *criollo.* The *jinetera,* in comparison, rides of her own free will. The horse—originally the national symbol of erotic power, patriarchal strength, and masculine stamina—is now ridden, controlled, and owned by a female body. As such, the *jinetera* is not abducted, but given; she is not raped against her will, but sold by her own desire. Evidently her body, like any form of prostitution, remains objectified and commodified by the masculine gaze, but the overall discourse of state power is subverted.

Mulataje **and the Jinetera Image**

During Cuba's Special Period the *jinetera* became an important motif of the Cuban underground and filmmakers began insertings scenes and images of *jineterismo* as a way to display the difficult reality of Cuba's informal sector. Setting the stage of *jineterismo* in film was, however, not a simple endeavour. Some changes needed to happen first. To start, there was an

insertion of more femine roles in film narratives that began nearly thirty years earlier during a the 1960's. This began with the nationalization of cinema and the establishment of the ICAIC immediately following the Revolution— *dentro de la revolución, todo*. In the same manner as photojournalism did with the *miliciana*, Cuban cinema began to use feminine roles as an allegory of national unity. In addition, the increase of female characters and protagonists in film following the Cuban revolution has often been understood as a political strategy to promote revolutionary equality across both gender and racial boundaries. The film critic and Cuban scholar Alison Fraunhar, for example, remarks that the *mulata* females in such films often performed "as markers of the nation, both as metaphors for large social movements and as individuals making and responding to social change" ("Mulata Cubana" 176). Along these lines the film critic Catherine Benamou has described the growing performance of females in such films to represent a "woman's wave" that "filtered the terms of the then-hot debates over gender equality . . . into plots that integrated women as historical protagonists into a 'master narrative' of the revolution" (88). That is to say that filmmakers in the sixties and seventies sought to advertise the cinematic presence of the *mulata* as a protagonist and symbol of the Revolution's successful social progression towards both racial and gender equality. Consequently, what we see following the Revolution is the emergence of films that tend to centre the narratives around hard-working and heroic Cuban woman who happen, in many situations, to also be *mulata*: Humberto Solás' *Lucía* (1968), for example, is plotted around the lives of three *mulata* women each named Lucía during different periods of Cuban history; the narrative of *De cierta manera* [One Way or Another] (1974) focuses on a school teacher, a *mulata* named Yolanda, and is also directed by the first Afro-Cuban film director Sara Gómez; *Retrato de Teresa* (1979) directed by Pastor Vega details the story of a *mulata* woman balancing between the responsibilities of her work, children, and

sexist husband; and, of course, *Cecilia* (1982), directed by Humberto Solás, is evidently based off of Villaverde's pre-independence novel *Cecilia Valdés*.

Following the Revolution, the *mulata* had therefore consolidated both her feminine and racial presence within Cuban film, albeit from an overwhelming male-dominated lens not including, of course, the films of the Afro-Cuban director Sara Gómez. Yet when the Special Period hit in the 1990s the "gender problematic" (88), to use Benamou's words, that once ideologized the role of women in film came to a critical impasse. The Special Period led to an inevitable transition away from the national discourse of film along with its previous attachment to images like the *miliciana* and the revolutionary heroine. As a result, the *mulata* presence in film did not disappear but rather—as the economic failures of the national government gave way to the liking of foreign investment—began to take on the old stereotype as the tropical "other." As Fraunhar argues the *mulata* body, since the Special Period, "has been reinscribed as a libidinal zone. . . circulat[ing] in the neocolonial discourse of globalization as a signifier of desire in the burgeoning sex tourism industry of Cuba" ("Mulata Cubana" 176). Both the production of a national cinema and the previous national productions of the *mulata* image had transitioned into a different period of history where the national struggle against foreign imperialism had ironically given way to a national tolerance for imperialist investment via tourism. That is to say that by the 1990's the stage had changed and the cinematic performance of the *mulata* was changing with it.

According to Fraunhar, the renewed focus on the *mulata* image in film can, in fact, be attributed to a historical tendancy of Cuban arts and culture to revert to the figure of the *mulata* as an exotic symbol. In her article "Staging the Mulata: Performing Cuba" (2015), Fraunhar defines this phenomenon as "*mulataje,"* which she describes as the "attributes and qualities

associated with the *mulata* . . . [who] embodies the notion of Cuba, the eroticized nation, in all its paradoxical glory" (123). In summary, *mulataje* refers to the sexual, gender, and racial stereotypes of the *mulata* that have been repeated over time in Cuban culture. In this sense, what Fraunhar refers to as *mulataje* is basically the historical stereotypes of the *mulata* body that have repeatedly been bioremediated through the *mulata* affect. If we are to consider *mulataje,* as Fraunhar does, to refer to the laden attributes and qualities associated with the *mulata* then, in this respect, the *mulata* affect may be understood as the circuit-driven cultural machine that has bioremediated *mulataje* from one image to the next: from the colonial image of the *prostituta* (as a strategy for colonial power), to the *vanguardía* paintings of the *mulata* (as a strategy for national power), to the graphic art of the *rumbera* (as a strategy for commercial power), to the photos of *milicianas* (as a strategy for revolutionary power), and henceforth to the cinematic screening of the *jinetera* (as a strategy for economic power). *Mulataje,* that is, is the conglomeration of all the attributes of the *mulata* body that have been visually qualified through Cuban media and arts and historically rooted in the biopolitical struggle for power. Referring back to Massumi's theory of affect, we could deem *mulataje* as the "potential" of the *mulata* affect.

The return of *mulataje* during the tourism boom of the Special Period reinserted pre-revolutionary social disparities inherent in an economy of leisure back into Cuban culture and, more specifically, back into the relational dynamics between the tourist's desire and the eroticization of both the *mulata* body and the black body. This colour distinction is important to note because the stereotypical image of the *mulata,* by the 1990s, is carried over to the overall image all *afrocubanas,* whether *mulata* or *negra. Mulataje*, in this respect, refers to the history of stereotypes previously qualified out of the *mulata* body but that have been prejudiciously

asserted against all Cuban women of colour. I can propose two theories for this. Firstly, is what we may recognize as *inverse differentiation.* Basically stated, this refers to the process of racially differentiating the "other," yet ironically with less of a "difference" than nationalistic claims on race. Cuba's exotic *atmósfera,* for example, does not implicate the same distinctions of race as its national *espíritu*: the Cuban will say "soy *mulata,"* while the North American tourist will say "She is *black*." That is, from a foreign perspective—one that has eroticized the imagined *atmósfera* of Cuba—dark-skin, no matter how dark, remains just as "different" or "black" from the foreigner's white skin. Whether *mulata* or *negra,* the Cuban woman of colour is judged by the tourist as simply black, erotic, exotic, and differentiated. A second reason, is what we may call *adverse similitude*, which reflects the nationalist approach to Cuba's racial classification that, in a different manner to the foreigner, makes a clear distinction between the *mulata* and the *negra.* The former has *mestizo* coloured skin that acts as a symbol of the national *espíritu,* while the latter has dark black skin that is ignored under the ideology of a *mestizo* and raceless culture. This represents a racial ignorance similar to what Frantz Fanon describes in his seminal work on race *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) as the "capitulation of man" (6) whereby ethnic and racial identification is surrendered in favour of common similarities. In Cuba race has been nationally "capitulated" against the national structures of the "Republic" or the "Revolution." The irony remains that the national ignorance of racial differences, in fact, carries more classifications of race than the foreign exposition of racial differences. Bring together the foreigner's *inverse differentiation* and the nationalist's *adverse similitude* and the *jinetera* thereby embodies foreign differentiation while accomodating raceless nationalism. Therefore, no matter what the colour of her skin, the very erotic and exotic performance of her body as a sex worker carries the cultural labels of the *mulata* along with the physical appeal of the foreigner— the two ingredients of

mulataje. Her body is thereby qualified in a history of stereotypical images empowered by the nation and, at the same time, promoted as an exotic image empowered by the tourism industry. The *jinetera,* that is, is a body qualified out of both national and exotic designations of race, the *espíritu* and the *atmósfera,* the nationalist and the tourist, the adverse and inverse gazes of history.

An Affective Economy

What is it that motivated the return of *mulataje* in Cuban cinema? The answer to this question concerns the "value" of the *mulata* body as a marker of the nation and as a commercial beacon of exoticism. Otherwise said, there is a value to the *mulata* body that has guaranteed its bioremediation from one art medium and historical era to the next. The *mulata* body has always been, in this way, a visual asset, a cultural investment per se, that has historically capitalized on its image as a way to market either a national identity or a touristic utopia. What we observe, then, to arrive out of the Special Period is an increased valuation of the *mulata* body and *mulataje,* which reflects what may be called the *economization of the mulata body*. This is accomplished when the spectator valuates the function of a body according to its potential to provide cultural and historical meaning (its use value) and secondly based on its ability to sell or create a profit from its image (its exchange value). Thinking in these terms, we can consider the *jinetera* to carry a specific cultural and actual monetery value inherented from the *mulata* image. Being, however, that the value of this image is based in a living body rather than an object, we are evidently dealing with an economic system that goes beyond a simple question of money. This is where affect theory becomes relevant: the valuation of the *mulata* body is first and foremost a question of affect. The *jinetera,* therefore, points to more than merely the commodification of a body-as-object in an informalized economy, but rather it points to the

actual economization of the *mulata* body based on its affectivity or, otherwise said, its potential to be qualified in an image. A turn to affect theory will help explain why the *jinetera*, as I argue here, references an "affective economy" in Cuban history.

To begin, when the affect theorist Teresa Brennan describes "judgement" (her synonym for affect) to have "less common *currency* than the notion of affects as surges of emotion or passion" (my emphasis; 5) what she has done, whether intended or not, is to *economize* the transmission of affect. That is, affect is presented as an economic system that stores judgments or "currencies" of an image—what Massumi would describe as an image's "potential"—that, subsequently, qualifies or gives value to feelings. Furthermore, these feelings, according to Brennan, "suppose a unified interpretation of [sensory] information" (5) thus guaranteeing the physiological and sensorial body as the key source of its value. Interestingly, Brennan chooses the term "currency" here as a way to clarify the greater value of an emotion (the interpretation of senses) over that of a judgement (a sensorial orientation to an object). This is comparable to what Massumi acknowledes as a gap between an image's "content" and its "effect" or, otherwise said, the *transmission* of affect (i.e. a judgement) versus the *qualification* of affect (i.e. an emotion). So whereas Massumi sees emotion as the "intensest (most contracted) expression of [affect's] capture" ("The Autonomy" 285) Brennan respectively sees emotions/feelings as the more common "currency" or valuation of affect. The important point here is that both Brennan and Massumi see affect to be valued or "judged" according to the overall intensity of its qualifications. Affect, in summary, functions economically. The more "intense" a qualification is (emotions in particular), the greater the value of "currency" that is put into circulation and, consequently, the higher its possible investment in (intensification of) its future image.

Why is it important then, expecially in the context of *jineterismo,* to view affect through an economic lens? For one reason, we can acknowledge *jineterismo* as its own form of an "affective economy." Doing so allows us to reevaluate the conditions of *jineterismo* beyond simply the illegal negotions of hustling and prostitution. Rather than view *jineterismo* merely as a series of capitalist black-market negotiations, an affective lens encourages us to see *jineterismo* as an economic system that is historically structured around the sexually-affective negotiations of bodies rooted in the historical qualifications of race, gender, and sexuality derived from the *mulata* image. *Jineterismo*, in this view, can be understood less as an informal "act" of simple prostitution and more so as an informalized economy deeply rooted and complicated by the history of affect and the circulation of qualified emotions over time (i.e. lust, desire, anticipation, joy, euphoria, sexual gratification, etc...). In the words of Cabezas, we are dealing here with an economy that runs on "sexual-affective practices [that] are produced, distributed, and consumed . . . [thus implicating] tourism as a process of extraction and transference of eroticized capital that is always already racialized and exoticized" (12). Two characteristics of this affective economy are therefore implied: firstly, *jineterismo* is an erotic-capitalist operation in that it circulates and produces goods, services, and bodies as forms of sexualized capital and investment. It is, furthermore, built on private negotiations—most often between tourists and Cubans—that operate outside of state control and are ruled by the desire to build profit margins in the higher CUC currency. Secondly, it is affective because the goods, services, and bodies of the economy are valued according to the circulation of feelings produced out of its relationships and the historical knowledge of the *mulata* body: exotic anticipation (valued as hope in the exotic encounter), lust (valued as erotic desire), euphoria (valued as pleasure in the exotic experience),

love (valued as acceptance by the exotic 'other'), joy (valued as the "fun" experiences within the exotic *atmósfera*), etc...

To better understand what is meant by the valuation of feelings discussed above I want to briefly turn to the feminist theorist Sara Ahmed's discussion of "Affective Economies" (2004). According to Ahmed, an affective economy is first and foremost an economy of emotions that involves "relationships of difference and displacement without positive value" (120). Three terms here need clarification: difference, displacement, and positive value. To begin, what Ahmed refers to as difference and displacement can be understood as key characteristics of an affective economy. To contextualize the first of these terms, *jineterismo* evidently emerges out of a circuit of cultural *differentiation* where race and gender are used to visually qualify an image of a different and exotic "other." Secondly, if we consider the *mulata* affect to be transmitted through the process of racial and gender differentiation then the qualified image of a *jinetera,* for example, represents an affective *displacement* of the *mulata* body. We can never, for example, "place" or locate affect in the *mulata* body because once the intensity of the affect is bioremediated into a new image (i.e. *la rumbera, la miliana, la jinetera*), it has consequently moved from affect into *effect,* thus displacing a judgment *towards* the body with a qualified image or judgement *of* that body. One good example of displacement, which will be discussed further, is seen when Díaz Torres casts a white woman in *La película de Ana* rather than the stereotypical *mulata* as the role of a *jinetera.* Here the *mulata* affect can be said to be displaced in a white body. The judgments of the *jinetera* body (i.e. "*mulata,*" "black trash," "promiscuous," "erotic," "exotic," "tragic victim") continues, only in a different image— same "body," different colour.

Lastly, there is no "positive value" to the *jinetera* image precisely because, as Ahmed asserts, "affect does not reside positively in the sign or commodity, but is in an affect of the circulation between objects and signs (= the accumulation of affective value over time)" (120). To clarify, Ahmed's assertion requires us to recognize the *jinetera* image as both a "sign" of sorts and a "commodity." If we then accept the *jinetera* to be qualified as a sign (a signifier), then her body must successively be qualified as a signified representation, which in our context, points to none other than the historical discourse of the *mulata* body *represented* in images. Secondly, and rather evidently, is the fact that the *jinetera,* by selling her body for sex or relationships, inserts her body as a physical "commodity" within the economy. In the words of G. Derrick Hodge, this points to "the commodification of desire" whereby the "ability to experience and explore [her] desires has been interrupted by [her] need to conform these desires to opportunities to make money, that is, to the needs of the market" (633).

Returning to Ahmed then, in no qualified form—not in the *jinetera's* qualified state as a "signifier," "signified," or "commodity"—is affective value found. There is no positive value in these representations of her image because they are, in themselves, only *effects* of the *mulata* affect and resultantly do not indicate any specific economic value apart from the historical context that they emerge from. Their true value is therefore not found in their "signs" or *representations*, but in the circulation or repetitive embodiments that have preceeded them and that, at the same time, will exceed their qualification as an image. As Ahmed claims "the more [signs] circulate, the more affective they become, and the more they appear to 'contain' affect. . . feelings [for example] appear in objects, or indeed *as* objects with a life of their own [i.e. *la jinetera*], only by the concealment of how they are shaped by histories, including histories of production (labor and labor time), as well as circulation and exchange" (120-121). Therefore,

what Ahmed provides us is a theory of how affect is economically valued, not through its emotional status as forms of qualified effects, but rather based on its circulation and exchange of emotions. We must then contextualize this theory one step further and ask: how has the *jinetera* been "circulated" or "exchanged" throughout Cuban history? Finally we arrive at the question that really matters, a question whose answer, reflects the premise of this dissertation. The answer, of course, is the *mulata affect,* which has been shaped by a history of cultural production on the island and, likewise, has been bioremediated throughout various periods of history while exchanging and interchanging information rooted in the racial differences and cultural displacement of the *mulata* body. This is, in respect, what the affect theorist and film critic Laura Podalsky means by the term "affective flows," implicating that there exists a circuit or flow of affective registers or an emotional "valuation"—in film specifically—that points "to ongoing psychic processes" and "historical and sociocultural situatedness of feelings" (13). These feelings, or emotions, that are then qualified out of the *jinetera* image do not become valued as accumulated capital, but rather point to the accumulated "flow" or circulation of affect. This is, in part, how *jineterismo* as a movement exposes the economization of affect in Cuba and likewise how the *jinetera* qualifies the *mulata* affect through the economic value of her body.

The circulation and exchange of affect is also why we can register the *jinetera* as something more economically affective than a simple *prostituta.* Her body is not a mere object of capital sold for profit, but is also a qualified image of affect that has been and is being accumulated over time. Through this affective lens we see that the *jinetera* has the affective "potential" to transmit her image beyond an objective value of the sex-tourist or the spectator. For with affect power is always circulated from one body to the next, thus holding the potential for new judgments and new qualifications or, otherwise said, new images. One way, in

particular, that this affective potential of the *jinetera* has been revealed is through the performativity of her body as demonstrated on the cinematic screen. Cinematic performance reveals the inability to locate or fix a gaze or visual judgement upon the *jinetera's* body-as-object. If, for example, we recognize an authentic object to be stagnant and vulnerable to the voyeuristic gaze and its representative judgments, then the inauthentic impression of the *jinetera* body—fooled through its performance—is always seen to be in motion, to be circulating truths and lies about the body. So once *jineterismo* is qualified on the cinematic screen, as I now turn to, the performative nature of this affective economy becomes all the more apparent. As revealed in *La película de Ana,* the *jinetera* image points to a startling realization that the entire affective economization of the *mulata*—all the emotions and drives that have historically "judged" or qualified her body—is all built on a historical performance of racial, gender, and sexual identities. *Jineterismo*, in this way, is qualified as an affective economy whose true "currency" or value is, in fact, only a spectacle on stage, a mere performance.

Staging the *Jinetera*

Concerning Cuban cinema the primary difference between the early Republic, the early Revolution, and the Special Period is a question of performance and political "stages." The performance of the dancing *rumbera* and the later marching *miliciana* had proceeded the "jockeying" *jinetera* of the Special Period. The foreign gaze towards the *mulata* had shifted from an outright exposition of exotic performances on a night-club stage to a de-exoticized view of the militant performer on the national stage, and then to the sexually explicit performance on the "underground" stage. Indeed, as the film scholar Enrique García claims, during the Special Period it seems "foreign audiences were more interested in watching the poverty of the island in that period as well as displays of Cuban sexuality, rather than being lectured about historical

materialism" (110). Although rumba remained a valid hook for foreign tourists and militancy remained an important historical image for the Revolution, Cuban cinema seemed more inspired by images of the poor and the marginalized *jineteras* in the worn-down streets of the Special Period. Resultantly, the insertion of the *jinetera* into cinematic narratives exposed an ambiguous environment surrounded by revolutionary billboards claiming Che's face and graffiti spouting off quotes from Martí yet, all the while, occupied by the carnivalesque underground setting of *jineterismo.* It was a cinematic stage like no other. And as for the *jinetera* she became a protagonist unmatched in her ability to represent revolutionary and socialist ambiguities and the difficult economic conditions of Cuba originating in the Special Period. Indeed, for Cuban filmmakers during and following the Special Period, to address the economic challenges of Cuba was almost unavoidable. To even point a camera at the Cuban streets filled with old cars, decrepit buildings, ratted clothes, and rugged beggars was, in one way or another, to symbolize the economic hardships of the time and allude to the difficulty of living in a society built on ideological promises yet confounded in economic turmoil. The compounding of economic scarcity and national spectacle was not an easy stage to manage. Filmmakers at that time were stuck in a predicament of various levels. A lack of funds obliged the ICAIC to take to heart its founder Julio García Espinosa's call "Por un cinema imperfecto" (1969) [For an Imperfect Cinema]. García Espinosa's original objective was to reject the modern Hollywood exhibitionism of cinema, advocating instead for a more nationalist approach whereby film was created to match sociological and economic projects rather than commercialist ones. During the Special Period, however, an "imperfect cinema" was more of an inevitable reality rather than a cinematic strategy. In fact, following the immense financial cuts to ICAIC, the so-called "imperfect cinema" in Cuba began to threaten an almost impossible cinema. New strategies were needed.

By the 1990s Cuba's cinematic stage was drowning in the challenges of both finances and government censorship. On one end film production was threated by a lack of funds while, on the other end, it was threated by a lack of government approval for certain themes that were considered "anti-revolutionary" or that promoted negative perceptions of socialism in a time where revolutionary vigour was crumbling alongside the Soviet Union. All this seemed to hit the fan when Daniel Días Torres' film *Alicia en el pueblo de Maravillas* (1991) was banned due to its overt parody of socialist bureaucracy and corruption. This immediately echoed the controversial affair seen in the 1960s with Sabá Cabrera Infante and Orlando Jiméneaz Leal's attempt to release *P.M.* or with the censorship of Padilla's poetry work *Fuera de juego.* Similarly, the censorship of *Alicia* led to a time of cinematic protest concerning the freedom of artistic expression in the country. Such protest was important since, as the film critic Michael Chanan explains, the reason that we can still talk of Cuban cinema today "is due to strong protests by Cuban filmmakers against the suppression of this film, which was seen as an act of censorship directed not merely against the film itself, but because of the accompanying threat against the film institute, against the right to free artistic expression" (457). Ever since the so-called "*Alicia* crisis," the challenges of finances and censorship has remained a thorn in the flesh of modern filmmakers. The financial cuts and currency division of the Special Period have challenged the national project of Cuban filmmakers, both past and present, placing them, as the film scholar Sujatha Fernandes states, "between a rock and a hard place, as they work within the political constraints imposed by the Cuban government while at the same time catering to the demands of international markets in order to secure coproductions and global distribution" (46).

It is specifically due to the tactic of coproductions that the outcome of Cuban cinema has, in the end, been perhaps more successful than other arts that were hit with the political and

financial pressures of the Special Period. Consquently, what may be considered as the "foreignization" of Cuban film during the Special Period became necessary due to the severe lack of national funding. Without such, Cuba would inevitably have seen a decrease in self-financed and home-based participation in cinematic production and would likely have become an idle profession without any means for improvement. In fact, according to the film critic Ana M. López, Cuba had officially "produced only twenty-six fictional feature films between 1995 and 2005, all of them collaborations between ICAIC and foreign producers" (188). This is comparable to the forty-five fictional features self-produced by the ICAIC in the decade prior. The film critic Michael Chanan observes that by 1993, the ICAIC was, in fact, barely making sufficient profits to cover their service-fee revenues and, as a result, was left "to pursue international coproductions with commercial partners in attempt to ensure survival" (480). Resultantly the ICAIC was at a crossroads where its nationalist desire to maintain self-financed production was threatened by the ongoing disillusionment with Cuba's economic crisis. Still, coproductions were not accepted without hesitation. Many Cuban filmmakers considered coproductions to be a risk to the cultural values of Cuban cinema seeming as international partners tended to seek films that, as Chanan explains, "exploited the island's exotic image, providing local color as a background for low-budget genre movies" (480). Cuban film production was therefore at a crossroads, a catch twenty-two of sorts, where foreign influences encouraged the return of *mulataje* fueled by stereotypes of the exotic "other," while the state encouraged a more nuanced approach to revolutionary and nationalist narratives.

Authenticity and Performance in *La Película de Ana*

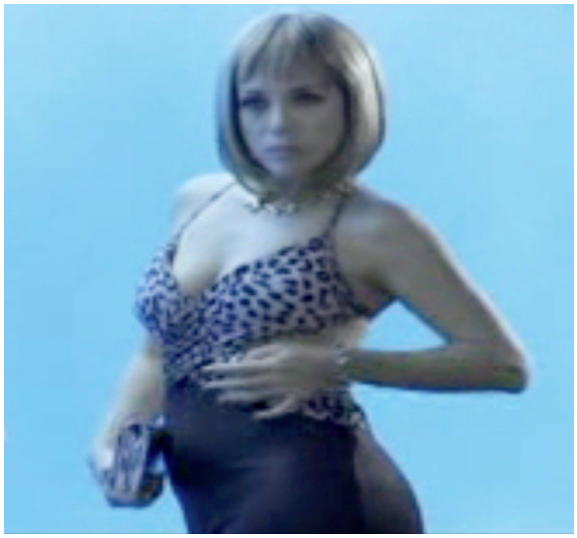
Díaz Torres' film *La película de Ana* (2012) is a great example of the challenge to produce Cuban cinema while touching on nationally sensative topics such as *jineterismo* while

also attempting to appeal to the desires of foreign coproducers. The whole film, in fact, is an allegory of this very dilemma: national representation with exotic performance. The film details the story of Ana (played by the actress Laura de la Uz), a *telenovela* actress in her forties who struggles to find work. With the little work she finds, she is often a supporting actress in mediocre roles that provide little room for her artistic creativity and is paid very little. Her life is similarly depicted in a state of mediocrity. Neither her nor her husband Vergara, a director of agricultural documentaries, are content with their work or home situation. They both live with Ana's sister and elderly mother in a run-down home where both the fridge and the air conditioner have recently stopped working. Costing an outstanding 450 CUC, they do not have nearly enough money between the two of them to buy a new fridge. Yet when the ex-husband of her sister Ricardo visits from Miami and offers to buy them a new fridge Ana, who despises the idea of owing anything to Ricardo, quickly rejects the offer against the wishes of her mother and sister. Ana's situation becomes complicated when she lies to her family by saying that she has been contracted for a new job as an actress with a multi-coproduction between France and Germany and, as a result, will be able to purchase the fridge herself without Ricardo's help.

Left desperate to find work and to buy a new fridge Ana turns to a neighbour of hers named Flavia who is played by the actress Yuliet Cruz. Flavia, a *jinetera* that was once married to a German foreigner who had abused her, is fluent in German and is contracted as an interpreter of a small Austrian film crew that is looking to create a short interview documentary about *jineterismo* in Havana. After a short debate, Flavia agrees to help Ana and introduce her to Helmut, one of the two Austrian directors, who is looking for an "authentic" *jinetera* to film. Flavia therefore works with Ana to help design an "authentic" image appropriate to the look of an exotic *jinetera* in the hopes of selling her fake identity to the directors as the "real thing." Ana,

utilizing her acting skills, puts on a blond wig, a tight dress, and bright lip-stick, accentuates her voice in a confident yet sensual manner, and takes on the pseudonym "Ginette." Helmut falls for Ana's act and contracts her for the interview paying her 500 dollars, sufficient enough to buy her and her family the new fridge.

The plot of the film thickens, however, when both the Austrian directors Helmut and Dieter return to Havana some time later with the hopes of transforming "Ginette's" previous interview documentary into a feature length film. This requires Ana to continue acting as Ginette, *la jinetera*. Flavia encourages Ana to continue the act that will pay an outstanding three thousand dollars for her part alone. However, out of fear that the Austrians will find out about her fake identity, Ana rejects their request to film her in her home and neighbourhood environments. To get around this she herself becomes a co-director of sorts when Helmut and Dieter hand her a hand-held camera and request that she then films her own "*ambiente*" [environment]. Obligated to play the part of Ginette Ana, who receives camera help from her husband Vergara, must then document her own life, family, and friends as an "authentic" part of her complicated, melancholic, and miserable life as a *jinetera.* Her reality then becomes intertwined with the fantasy she has created for a foreign audience, thus pointing to an ironic lesson in the ambiguous notions of reality, authenticity, and fantasy that are convoluted in the foreign gaze and stereotypes of the *jinetera* body.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2: A transformation of performance. On the left: Screenshot of the actress Laura de la Uz as "Ana". On the right: Screenshot of Ana (Uz) acting as the *jinetera* "Ginette."

The key theme that is touched on over and over again in *La película de Ana* is that of authenticity. The film urges the viewer to ask what it is that precisely makes Ana an "authentic" *jinetera*? To play the "authentic" role, Ana must depend on both her knowledge of Cuban hardships (her performance) and the exotic roles expected of her by the Austrian foreigners (her audience). The paradox becomes clear. She is authentic because the Austrian directors believe in her performance, yet she is "inauthentic" because she, herself, is not a true *jinetera* that sells her body on the streets. To this extent, Díaz Torres creates a film that oscillates between the real experience of Cubans (the "authentic") and the performed imaginaries of foreigners (the "exotic").

By contrasting the performance of acting with the role of the *jinetera,* Díaz Torres reveals that *jineterismo* is a similar discourse as cinema. He does this by revealing the performativity of the cinematic process through a meta-cinematic narrative. In other words we are witness to a film about a film. In this respect, we see the actual film *La película de Ana,* which is in reality a coproduction between Cuba and Austria that stars the actress Laura de la Uz acting as Ana,

centre around the plot of a coproduction documentary between Cuba and Austria that stars the character Ana acting as *la jinetera* Ginette. Here "real" people become "real" actors acting as "fake" people who are acting as "fake" actors. The ambiguous position between "real" and performative roles becomes a clear allusion to the performative nature of the *jinetera* who objectifies her body by performing or acting an exotic and promiscuous role designed out of the repertoire of *mulataje* in order to appease a foreign client who is in search of the "authentic" experience of the Cuban "*atmósfera.*" The quest for authenticity also becomes challenged by the representation of race in *La película de Ana.* Díaz Torres, uses the hard working woman Ana, a white woman in her forties, to represent a *jinetera* rather than a stereotypical depiction of a dark-skinned, young, and "trashy" *mulata* or *negra.* It would appear that the *mulata* Flavia, Ana's mentor into the *jinetera* performance, fits the *jinetera* stereotype better yet even she counters the "black trash" stereotypes through her intelligent and sympathetic appearances. She speaks two languages and carries a persona of a *luchadora* [a "fighter"] (a common label of *jineteras*) who previously escaped an abusive relationship and has, despite all odds against her, continued to be confident in herself and to live financially independent of men. In this respect, Díaz Torres attempts to disembody the racial and irrealistic stereotypes of *jineteras* existing in Cuban society. Indeed the very image of Ana as a *jinetera* challenges the racial stereotypes of the *jinetera* body. That Ana, a white woman in her forties, can play the part of a *jinetera* contradicts the foreign imaginary and obliges the viewer to accept that *jineterismo* is far more ambiguous than the stereotypes depict. The *jinetera*, in this manner, merely performs the stereotypes qualified with the *mulata* body, but does not necessarily embody her race. Instead, I argue in this context, that it is the "affect" of the *mulata* and not the skin of the *mulata* that is bioremediated onto the *jinetera* image. Ana's performance as a *jinetera* therefore opens up a conversation into the power of the

mulata affect and the hold of *mulataje* on Cuban society in the twenty-first century, a conversation that is far more than skin deep.

Overall, the objective of challenging the "authenticity" of the *jinetera* image seems to be the key objective of Díaz Torres in this film. During an interview with Jaisy Izquierdo of the online Cuban journal *Juventud Rebelde* Díaz Torres, in fact, connects the thematic focus of "authenticity" with the complex and ambiguous role of the *jinetera* in Cuban society:

> Intentamos que no se quedara solamente en los marcos de la llamada comedia de constumbres o que fuera una película cubana más sobre la realidad contemporánea. Este trabajo versa más bien sobre la autenticidad propia del individuo. El concepto de prostitución aquí no tiene que ver solamente con pagar intercambios sexuales, sino que abarca también otras cosas que alguien tiene que hacer y que no le gustan, a cambio de obtener algún beneficio determinado. Eso, de alguna manera, también es prostituirse, y lo quisimos reflejar. ("La película")
>
> [We attempted to not stay solely within the limits of the so-called "comedy of manners" or solely outside of the Cuban movie that deals more with contemporary reality. This work is more about the authenticity of the individual. The concept of prostitution here does not only have to do with sexual exchange, but also deals with other things that somebody must do that they dislike, a exchange of sorts for some determined benefit. That, in some way, is also to prostitute oneself and is what we wanted to reflect.]

Díaz Torres asserts that the act of prostituting oneself is more complicated than a simple exchange of one's body for money. In a certain manner, he is emphasizing the complexity of *jineterismo* in Cuba that refers to more than simply prostitution, but is engrained into an informal economy based on the value and exchange of the CUC currency. However, rather than target the socio-economic complexities of *jineterismo* summarized in the varying negotiations of the informal market, Díaz Torres chooses instead to focus on the "performative" complexities of *jineterismo* summarized in the varying identities of the *jinetera.* What interests him is the authenticity of the individual performer rather than her performance of the *jinetera.* As a result, the question of an economized identity (the *jinetera* and her affect) is at play in this film more so than the questions of commodified objects. What interests Díaz Torres is how the performative

identity of the *jinetera* has been affected through the informal negotiations and relations with foreigners.

Affect and Intertextuality

What makes *La película de Ana* truly stand out as a critical piece on bodily performance and affect is the use of narrative cues within the film that point to various meanings, allegories, subtexts, and cultural references beyond the narrative itself. Traditionally this is known as the strategy of "intertextuality." I use the word "traditionally" here because I want to redirect the general notion of intertextual studies that is most often associated with the early twentieth century literary criticism of Roland Barthes, Roman Jacobson, Mikhail Bakhtin and, most of all, Julia Kristeva. Generally speaking such writers have presented intertextuality as a semiotic device to analyze the influences and effects of one literary text on another, much like one would a dialogue between people. In other words intertextuality tends to analyse the "conversation" of one text with another and the manners in which this relationship has been *represented* from one text to another. Affect theory, of course, attempts to revert away from the narrow criteria of structuralism and textual representation, opting instead for a theory of affective potential rather than signification. In film studies this implies a shift from questioning how film is perceived (what it represents) or how it is signified (what it means) to how the film affects (what it does). In this respect, what is important is not the interpretive *value* of the viewer, but the *valuation* of bodies in relation to the text. In the context of film this implies a transition from analyzing the screen through the voyueristic or scopophilic gaze towards a more *affective* participation with film through emotional experiences. Otherwise said, rather than critique how film may be *seen*, the affect theorist critiques how film is *felt*. What is important then, in our context, is not how Díaz Torres inserts intertexts in *La película de Ana* as a form of extra-textual representation, but

rather how these intertexts act as "unseen" gestures of the *mulata* affect that work to expose the viewer to their own participation in the affective performance of the *jinetera* body.

In her work *Feeling Cinema: Emotional Dynamics in Film Studies* Tarja Laine expands on the process of "feeling cinema." First and foremost, what is central to this affective approach to film studies is a focus on emotion. According to Laine, films "have an operational, intentional structure of their own that [she] calls the *emotional core* of the film" (Italics in original; 3). The emotional core of a film is essentially an affective quality of the cinematic image that is considered to be connected to the spectator's aesthetic experience of the film. What is important to Laine's notion of an emotional core is the idea that we, as viewers, already possess affective categories that allow us to be emotionally moved by film. Basically, the affective quality of a film is only apprehended by a spectator due to their preconditioned ability to qualify certain feelings out of the experience. If we draw in our topic of the *mulata* affect to this theory, then what Laine terms as the "emotional core" reflects, in the context of the *jinetera* image, the circulation of emotions historically qualified out of the *mulata* body. Indeed, the emotional core of *La película de Ana* is the same emotional core designed into the *mulata* affect: desire for the erotic "other," sympathy for the subjective "victim," hate for the objectifier, the love experienced in relationships, the euphoria of freedom, the pride in sexual conquest, etc.... The spectator is able to "feel" or experience these emotions due to an affective disposition. This disposition is, as Laine says, triggered by "an emotional event [that] is conditioned not only by its aesthetic system, but also by the spectators' view of the world, their sense of self, their valuation of phenomena such as love that are important for their own well-being, and their willingness to "accept" the film in general" (6). In other words, "feeling film" is not guaranteed to be

experienced in the same way by every viewer; viewers will not always qualify the *jinetera* image equally.

The ambiguity of "feeling film" becomes extremely evident when, in our context, the *jinetera* image is revealed as a performance of *mulataje* throughout Cuban history. How then, we may ask, is the spectator to "feel" a film like *La película de Ana* that is, through a meta-performative narrative, unable to be "captured" or qualified in one specific way? I propose that the answer to this question is not found in the subjective performances encountered *inside* the film itself (i.e. representations of the performance by the viewer), but rather in the intersubjective inferences affected outside of the text (i.e. the relations of the viewer with the performance). To clarify what I mean let us consider Laine's discussion of film as an "emotional event":

> In my consideration, a film is not an immutable system of representation that is meant for one-way communication, but an agential participant in the cinematic experience as an emotional event. This means that cinematic emotions should not be considered in terms of what we see on screen, but in terms of how the film *directs our attention toward what cannot be seen, that which can only be detected by means of intersubjective sharing of experience*. As one dialogically engages with the film as a co-participant in an analytical discussion, the film becomes a "partner" that contributes in scholarly production. (My emphasis; 4)

To acknowledge, as Laine does, that a cinematic image can direct the viewers attention beyond the gaze, that is, to something that is not visible directly on screen, is a critical point of departure for "feeling film." To bring this back to our film in question, I argue that Díaz Torres' use of intertexts helps to shape the intersubjective experience of film that Laine describes as "the impassioned interaction between films and their implied spectators" (8). This is because the various intertextual clues Díaz Torres provides throughout *La película de Ana* draws the viewer away from Ana's visible performance as a *jinetera* in the film and towards the "invisible" performativity of *jineterismo* being allegorized beyond the film. In doing so the viewer is led away from the *jinetera's* representation on screen and towards their own stagnant position as a

blind spectator. This is an important step to "feeling" film because one cannot recognize the workings of affect without first acknowledging their position as a viewer or, as quoted above, their "intersubjective sharing of experience." Until the viewer is separated from their gaze the emotional connection they experience to the film will be rendered back onto the film itself. For example, a film may be deemed as "entertaining" simply because it has qualified a positive emotion in the viewer. What this represents, however, is the viewer's tendancy to interpret the film based on its *effect* rather than its *affect*; the value of the film is *representative* rather than *affective*. In this case there is only a one-way form of communication: the viewer qualifies the film and not the other way around. What intertexts allow is for the viewer to step outside of this perspective and begin to look at the intersubjective relationships going on between themselves as spectators and the film as spectacle. Specifically, I want to focus on three examples of intertextuality that Díaz Torres utilizes in this film: a subtext (a textual clue that points to an important theme in the narrative), an epitext (an cinematic epigraph of sorts that draws the viewer to previous knowledge or "archive" traceable throughout the text), and a metatext (a textual reference that draws attention back to the film itself).

By choosing to acknowledge the subtext, epitext, and metatext that Díaz Torres weaves throughout the film narrative, the viewer must also therefore acknowledge their own participation with the *jinetera* performance. This is because to acknowledge these intertexts requires a form of participation with the film and an active response to the broader issue of relationships embodied in the sexual-affective economy of *jineterismo.* In other words, Díaz Torres' uses these intertexts to draw the viewer's attention from the cinematic performance towards a broader issue of cultural performativity valuated by the tourist's gaze towards the *jinetera* body and the state's gaze away from her body. Furthermore, the viewer is exposed as a

key player in authenticating the *jinetera* performance. Indeed, the *jinetera* can only perform if there is someone to provide an audience. And if we recognize *jineterismo* to be an affective economy then any participation in the image also implies an economic responsibility on the part of the viewer. By this I mean that the viewer, when drawn outside of the text, must consequently acknowledge the role that the spectator plays in the valuation of the *jinetera* body. This is, overall, the primary intention of Díaz Torres for creating a meta-cinematic narrative that exposes the performance of *jineterismo* through the cinematic performance of a *jinetera*. Turning now to the three intertexts (subtext, epitext, and metatext) in the film, we can see how Díaz Torres has used such intertexts as a method to expose the performance of the *jinetera* body and consequently to direct attention to the intersubjective experience of the spectator who is affectively engaged in the performance as well.

The Subtext: Stripping Naked

One of the more evident examples of intertextuality in *La película de Ana* occurs through a subtext that is first revealed during a conversation between Flavia and Ana. Flavia inquires as to whether Ana has ever been nude on film and confesses that for her "nunca me dio pena encuerarme." The phrase itself is more complicated in English and can be translated in few ways. Firstly it refers to the act of "stripping naked" (*encuerar*): "I've never been ashamed of stripping naked." At the same time, the phrase can be translated in a more general sense as "I've never felt sorry for myself." Flavia is therefore expressing, in this single phrase, both a confidence in her sexual identity as a *jinetera* and in her personal identity as a woman. For her, the exposition of her body does not affect her identity as a person. Otherwise said, she has learned to sell the image of her body without losing the image of herself; she maintains a sense of agency despite being objectified. The subtext arrives when Ana responds to Flavia's statement by quoting the

proverb "actuar es encuerar el alma" [to act is to undress the soul]. The proverb alludes to the actress Laura de la Uz's own philosophy on acting and likewise acts as a subtext for the performance of the *jinetera*. For example, during a colloquium following the viewing of the film on March 3, 2017 the actress Laura de la Uz discusses the process of constructing a character with the renowned Cuban director Fernando Pérez. During the discussion with Pérez she explains:

> Actuar es desnudar el alma, es crecimiento y descubrimiento de uno mismo. Cada personaje es una nueva puerta a un universo desconocido, un salto al vacío y un encuentro profundo con otra realidad. Lo primero que aflora es el sentido intuitivo. Observo mis sentimientos con la primera lectura del guión, las emociones que me produce. Me dejo llevar por eso. Nunca hago nada que no siento.
>
> [To act is to undress the soul, it is the growth and discovery of oneself. Every character is a new door to an unknown universe, a leap over a gap and a profound encounter with another reality. The first thing to surface is the feeling of intuition. I observe my feelings with reading of the script, the emotions that are produced. I get carried away by that. I never do anything that I don't feel.]

What becomes evident throughout the *La película de Ana* is that the proverb "Actuar es encuerar el alma"—which acts a subtext for Uz's personal philosophy as an actress—is respectively imitated by the acting philosophy of Ana as a *jinetera*. Notice also how Uz emphasizes her role as an actress as a production of feelings: of "intuition," "feelings" with reading, and "emotions" produced from that reading. To act or to "undress the soul" is, in this way, to qualify affect emotionally during a performance. In this respect, Uz cannot act the part of Ana and likewise Ana cannot act the part of the *jinetera* Ginette without first *feeling* out the role. Both Uz and Ana, in other words, rely on affect for their performance. To "feel" out a performance—to qualify the affect of an acting role—is always a transition away from one's false self (the body) and yet at the same time is an exposing or undressing of one's true self (the soul). Ironically then, even in a performance such as Uz's role as Ana or Ana's role as Ginette, the body cannot be fully

covered. For where performativity hides the body, affect will undress it. The implications of this paradox are especially relevant for the context of *jineterismo.* For if the *jinetera* performs for the tourist who uncovers her performative body with their eyes then affect guarantees the uncovering of her true body or "soul" with feelings. The foreign gaze, in this way, can never define or fully represent the *jinetera* since it only gains access to the performative body rather than the embodied "soul."

The subtext is continued near the end of the film when the Austrian director Dieter arrives at Flavia's apartment where the *jinetera* "Ginette" (Ana) is pretending to live. Of the many international souvenirs and portraits located throughout Flavia's apartment, the first thing Dieter notices is a small wooden wall-hanging with the subtext "Actuar es encuerar el alma" written on it. He asserts its validity: "¿Muy cierto, no?" [Very true, isn't it?]. Dieter's interpretation of the proverb, however, shows another "truth" to its significance. While previously in a bar, Dieter had witnessed a short clip of a *telenovela* with Ana performing in it. Ana's act as "Ginette" was blown. Knowing now of Ana's "true" identity as an actress rather than as a *jinetera* Dieter shows up at Flavia's apartment and confronts her. He offers her an outstanding two thousand dollars to have sex with him and therefore prove herself as "una puta real" [a true whore]. Being that she is not, in fact, a "puta real" Ana obviously rejects the offer. In response, Dieter proceeds to angrily assault her and throws her down on the couch until her husband Vegara enters and is able to save Ana from being sexually violated. For Dieter "acting to undress the soul" becomes interpreted corporally rather than ontologically. He seeks to "undress" both Ana's lie and her physical body as a way to get revenge on the "real" truth that she has covered up. For Dieter, "encuerar el alma" is an act of violence to undress the true character of the performance rather than a performance that enlightens the true character of the

person. In either case the truth Dieter seeks is ironized when the "true" Ana is revealed to the Austrian film crew shortly after Dieter's assault. Ana, while handing over the tapes that she and Vergara have filmed on her false life as a *jinetera,* secretly inserts the videotaped footage of Dieter assaulting her. The "truth" has been reversed. Dieter is now exposed to the rest of the Austrian crew as a violent assaulter while "Ginette" is exposed as "Ana," the actress. Both their true selves, Dieter and Ana, have been exposed. In doing so, Díaz Torres attempts to subvert the power of "truths" cast between the foreigner (that of Dieter, the Austrian) and the local (that of Ana, *la cubana*). Truth unveils the objective of Dieter to seek an "exotic" reality only found in a performance. When this is not found, he turns violent and attempts to force the erotic role upon Ana. The *jinetera* performance, in this way, is cast as a "role" tragically caught between either bodily subversion or bodily violation. Ana's agency takes the former, as a performer who is able to subvert the violence against her by unveiling her "true" identity.

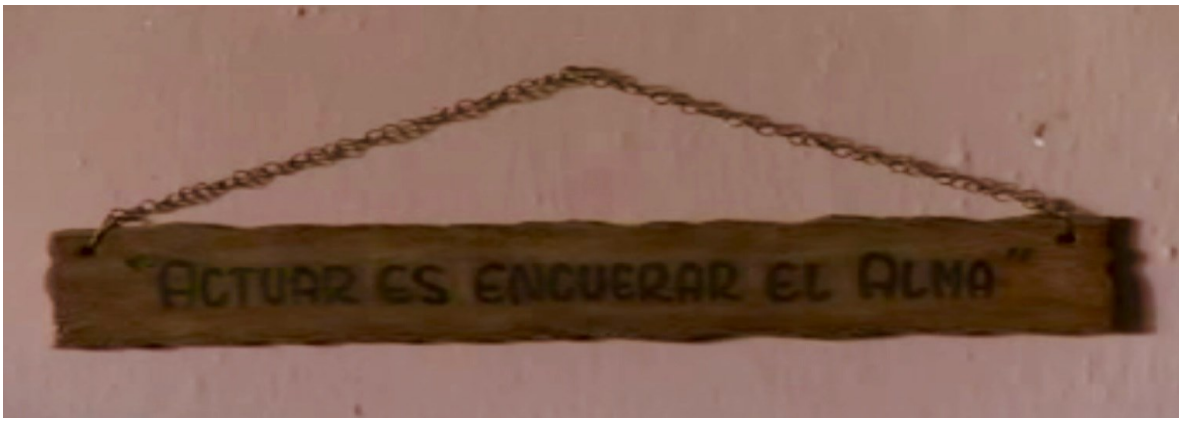


Figure 4.3: Screenshot of wooden wall hanging "Actuar es encuerar el alma" in Flavia's apartment.

It becomes evident over the process of the film that the subtext "actuar es encuerar el alma" is an allusion to *jineterismo*. The *jinetera* is caught between roles, that of cultural performativity that plays to the exotic appeal of the foreign imaginary and the violent oppression of her body. Nonetheless, the *jinetera's* performance, in the same way as an actress, is seen to

convert their body (the lie) yet reveal their soul (the truth). As a result, the whole *jinetera/*foreigner relationship is built on a performance that is not fully a lie nor fully a truth. Rather it is something along the lines of what the affect and feminist theorist Lauren Berlant calls "cruel optimism." Like the phrase itself *jineterismo* is cruel in that it is always, in some way or another, built on a lie as the performative body is undressed in the *exotic* performance:

> "Cruel optimism" names a relation of attachment to compromised conditions of possibility whose realization is discovered either to be *im*possible, sheert fantasy, or *too* possible, and toxic. What's cruel about these attachments, and not merely inconvenient or tragic, is that the subjects who have *x* in their lives might not well endure the loss of their object or scene of desire, even though its presence threatens their well-being . . . Cruel optimism is the condition of maintaining an attachment to a problematic object *in advance* of its loss. (Italics in Original; 94)

As Berlant addresses, the cruelty of attachment—in our case Uz's attachment to Ana, Ana's attachment to Ginette, and our attachment to both performers—is that the object of desire is inevitably bound to be lost. Such is the reality of the *jinetera* performance. Ana never intends to play the role of Ginette forever. She has a goal to earn her paycheque for the performance and later return to her life as Ana. The loss associated with the reversal of roles is therefore unavoidable and "cruel." The Austrians also become "cruelly" fooled by the performance: Dieter is offended by the deception and Helmut, who falls in love with Ginette, must later be rejected by Ana. Helmut's "loss" is particularly escalated due to his romantic attachment to Ana's performance as the *jinetera* Ginette. He, in fact, goes as far as to confess his love to Ana declaring: "Para mí tú eres una mujer valiente y honesta y digna" [For me, you are a brave, honest, and dignified woman]. His declaration reflects his earlier description of "Ginette" that he professes while presenting the idea of a feature length film: "Tú eres una mujer vital y orgullosa, asumes lo que eres, hay sentido de justicia en tus palabras. No culpas a tu país ni a la Revolución." [You are a prideful and lively woman, you accept who you are, there is a sense of

justice in your words. You don't blame your country nor the Revolution.] These words reflect on yet another subtext later in the film when, while having a final dinner with Helmut, Ana cites a phrase of Martí: "La queja es una prostitución del carácter" (88) [Complaint is the prostitution of character].[42] Respectively, Ana's performance as a *jinetera* is one without complaint. In doing so she reveals an important message about *jineterismo* justified by Cuba's own revolutionary apostle: the prostitution of one's body is separate from that of character. What is implied, in this respect, is that "Ginette's" "trashy" performance as a *jinetera* does not define her true character in the same way that *jineterismo* does not define Cuban culture. She remains, as Helmut claims, "brave, honest, and dignified," yet within a performative role. The *jinetera* may be an act, yet her character remains void of "complaint." As a *jinetera* she does not blame the Revolution for her actions nor, as Flavia tells Ana, does she accept "shame" for her situation. Rather the *jinetera* subverts power through her body by transforming her bodily objectification into the unspoken revolutionary mandate that arrived during the Special Period, that is, *resolver, luchar,* and *inventar*— three verbs that act almost like antonyms of the verb *quejarse.*

Still, the "resolve," the "struggle," and the "invention" of the *jinetera* is caught in a cruel and yet optimistic performance where her true identity must be covered in the mask of exoticism and shrouded in the commodification of desire. Therefore Ana's final response to Helmut's declaration of love simply summarizes the cruel engagement of a "false" desire within an "true" performance: "A veces es tan díficil" [At times it's so difficult]. What is difficult and cruel is, of course, the revelation that Helmut's desire has been misdirected. For, as Helmut's confession implies, he has fallen in love with "Ginette" and not with Ana thus revealing once more the foreign ignorance of the *jinetera* performance. Like the character of Ginette, Helmut's love is

[42] The citation can be found in a letter written by José Martí to the periodical *La Nación* in New York on August 12, 1885. See his letter "El general Grant" found in the compilation of Martí's periodical writings *En los Estados Unidos: Periodismo de 1881 a 1892.*

therefore fake. He is in love with the exotic performance, not with the "true" character; he has only uncovered the body, not the "soul." Consequently, when the truth of Ana's performance is revealed we see cruel optimism at work. The affect of Ana's performance becomes qualified in emotions of loss: Dieter expresses a violent anger to Ana, Ana and Flavia express anger and frustration to the Austrian film crew, Vergara responds in violence and anger to Dieter, and Helmut expresses a gesture of sadness in his rejection. What Díaz Torres then seems to imply through Ana's cruel optimism is the emotional hardship associated with *jineterismo*. Both the *jinetera's* body and "soul" may be stripped naked but all this is not without an inevitable, cruel, and painful loss of both relationships and identities.

The Epitext: "Eye" See You

A second intertextual relationship that can be seen in *La película de Ana* is the use of what we may call an epitext, which in literary studies, is at times also called a "paratext." In our case an epitext occurs through the form of an epigraph that, near the beginning of the film, takes over the screen with bright calligraphic letters that reads: "Aunque el cuerpo sea irrespetado, el alma no se mancha si no acepta ni consiente al mal" [Although the body be disrespected, the soul remains unstained so long as you do not consent to evil]. The epigraph is a quotation from the Catholic Santa Lucía [Saint Lucy], the patron saint of the blind. Supposedly this epigraph belongs to the introduction of one of Ana's *telenovela*s, but it can also be read as the epigraph to *La película de Ana*. Similar to the subtext discussed above, the spiritual motif of the "soul" is continued here. *Jineterismo*, as Díaz Torres implies, is not only about selling the physical body, but is also about the resolve, the struggle, and the invention of one's "soul" or character in the process. The struggle of the soul is alluded to in the history of Saint Lucy. For example, the "consent to evil" as cited in the epigraph is a clear reference to the temptation of one's eyes (the

"consent" to look erotically at another). As a Catholic Saint, Saint Lucy (known as Lucy of Syracuse) is known as a Christian martyr who died in the year 304 during the Diocletianic persecution of Christians by the Roman Empire. The figure of eyes is the key symbol in her story. According to tradition, Lucy opted to dedicate her life to God by donating the family dowry that was meant for a possible husband to the poor thereby obliging herself to a life as a virgin. In one account Lucy's plan is found out by Pachasius, the governor of Syracuse, who orders her to burn a sacrifice to the emperors image. When she refuses she is thereby condemned to work in a brothel. Refusing this as well, she is consequentially martyred.[43] In later accounts, Lucy supposedly was punished by Pachasius by gouging out her eyes while other accounts recall how Lucy, in order to avoid the gaze of a man attracted to her, gouged out her own eyes so that he would no longer be able to look at them.[44] In either case she is known for the miraculous restoration of her eyes while her body was being prepared for burial.

What is particularly interesting about the epitext of Saint Lucy is the religious connection to Afro-Cuban syncretism. As is common in Cuba, the enunciation of a Catholic Saint points to a double significance as both a traditional character venerated in the Catholic Church and a syncretic identity of an Orisha in the traditions of *santaría*. In this case, Saint Lucy is, at the same time venerated as a Saint in the Catholic Church and syncretized, most commonly, with the Lucumí orisha god "Aguemo Yema."[45] According to one online writer, in *santaría* the eyes of Santa Lucia "are a representation of protection against all dark."[46] ("REL2011 Megan Project"). For this reason "ojitos" [little eye] pendants are a common item in participants of Santaría as

---

[43] See online article at *Saint Lucy's Church*, "St. Lucy's," found at http://www.stlucy-church.org/stlucy.html, accessed Aug 30, 2017.
[44] See online article "St. Lucy" at *Catholic Online.*
[45] See Ota Omi/ Olo Oshun's syncretic designations of Catholic Saints in *Pataki of Orisa and other Essay's: For Lucumí Santaría Volume I* (2009).
[46] See online article "Los ojos de Santa Lucía" as part of the *Wordpress* document REL2011 Megan Project.

symbols of spiritual protection, both of physical safety and against physical temptation.

Díaz Torres is obviously aware of the connection of Saint Lucy with both the topic of prostitution and the symbolic threat of "eyes." The motif of "eyes" and their symbolic connection to the voyeuristic gaze is evident throughout the film narrative, drawing attention to what Laura Mulvey has so infamously discussed as the "male gaze [that] projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly" (19). This is most evident when Flavia discusses her previous marriage to a German foreigner with Ana explaining that she almost lost her eye after being hit by him. Interestingly, Flavia also claims St. Lucy to be "la patrona. . . de cineastas" [The patron saint. . . of filmmakers]. Accordingly, Flavia hands a photo of St. Lucy to Ana's husband Vergara, the documentary filmmaker, who is attempting to authenticate their footage to make Ana look like a "real" *jinetera.* Sure enough, while getting in a brawl in a brothel Vergara himself is hit in the eye. In yet another incident near the end of the film Ana is hit in the face by Dieter who attempts to rape her and Vergara shows up just in time to save her. Vergara is, therefore, able to succeed in filming the "authentic" *jinetera* "Ginette" and save both himself and Ana from losing their own "eyes" in the process. In this way Vergara is able to authenticate the performance for the eyes of foreigners and, at the same time, is able to protect their own eyes from the foreigners. The protection from St. Lucy is therefore reserved for both the physical safety of the performer, *la jinetera*, and the successful realization of the performance by the filmmaker. The performer's eyes are needed to exotically gaze back at the audience yet are, at the same time, threatened by the gaze of desire that confronts them. In this respect, Díaz Torres, through the image of Vergara, implicates himself as a film director on the same plain as the *jinetera.* Both the *jinetera* and the director are working to project a "believable" performance and both require a form of security from the threat of the foreign "eye."

Figures 4.4 and 4.5: On the left: Screenshot of Flavia's glass eye. On the right: Screenshot of Flavia handinga Vergara a photo of St. Lucy for good luck and protection.

When Flavia holds up the fake eye to Ana she visually exposes Díaz Torres' theoretical allusion to the disembodiment of the eye or, otherwise said, the spectator's ignorance of their gaze. While discussing the cinema as a form of "eye" the film critics Thomas Elsaesser and Malte Hagener affirm that disembodiment "was celebrated as a strong illusion of power and omnipotence . . . [engaging] the idea of not having to take responsibility for one's bodily presence in a given space or at a given time" (85). The idea of responsibility or agency, in this respect, is key to disembodiment. With no "eye," for example, there is no referent of the gaze and therefore no responsibility for what is *represented* or interpreted through the gaze. Under this premise, like Mulvey says, the female figure is "styled accordingly" (19), that is, she is represented and shaped by the male gaze. In this case there is only *representation* without *association*. All feminine agency is lost in the ignorance of the male eye. In opposition, this may be contrasted with the *embodiment of the eye,* which would draw attention to the spectator's participation in the event of "seeing" the cinematic image that, as Laine clarifies, is always an "emotional event" (4). For to recognize that one sees is to, at the same time, attach *feeling* to the body; to ignore what one sees is to *forget* one's bodily feelings. So, by recognizing the body the

gaze refers back to the viewer's eyes—and resultantly to their emotions—rather than refer only to the object itself. This diverts the gaze from the visual represention of the object to the "unseen" recognition of one's own body that interacts with the object; it is a divergence from *effective* visual transmission to *affective* visual recognition.

In retrospect, by inserting the intertextual clue of Saint Lucy's "eyes" Díaz Torres attempts to reveal the dangers of the disembodied eye in the context of *jineterismo.* Furthermore, if we acknowledge the myth behind the epigraph—that Saint Lucy gouged out her own eyes to divert the attention from the eyes of her onlookers—then Díaz Torres can be said to reveal the figurative eye of Flavia as a way to draw attention away from the eyes of the ignorant *voyeur*. What Díaz Torres exposes then is the oscillation between embodiment and disembodiment, between Ana and Ginette, between the real eyes of the present body and the fake eye gouged out of Flavia's violent past. In this way, Díaz Torres uses a meta-cinematic narrative to ensure that the viewer of the film must acknowledge who is seeing what and what is being seen. Eyes are everywhere in this film flunctuating through various gazes, views, and perspectives that are all convoluted with performance. As a result, any attempt to "disembody" or ignore one's eyes—and therefore avoid any responsibility in the image—is made almost impossible. The intertextual symbol of eyes obliges the viewer to acknowledge their own gaze: both the qualified effect of their eyes on the image and, vice versa, the image's qualified effect on their eyes. This, of course, depends on the ability of the image to break the fourth wall, or otherwise said, expose the audience's participation in the image— a point that leads to our next example of intertextuality in the film.

The Metatext: Breaking the Fourth Wall

The third example of intertextuality in *La película de Ana* is what we may consider a

"metatext." Basically stated, a metatext can be considered as an unspoken text or object within the film that exposes the film making process. In the case of *La película de Ana,* for example, we are exposed to the cinematography of cinema: "La película de Ginette" (an Austrian/Cuban coproduction) is represented within *La película de Ana* (also an Austrian/Cuban coproduction). Likewise we see a meta-performance where Uz performs as Ana while Ana performs as Ginette— a performance within a performance. One consequence of a metatext is the breaking of the performative convention of the fourth wall or, otherwise said, to expose the supposedly "invisible" audience in the film. The cinema scholar Rosanne Welch affirms the connection between a metatext and the fourth wall. "Metatextuality," as she claims, "happens when a character breaks the fourth wall with an aside to the audience, thereby acknowledging that someone, the audience, is watching and admitting they know they are playing a character in a fictional world" (82). Being that the narrative of *La película de Ana* is metacinematic there are, in this respect, two fourth walls liable to be broken: the fourth wall in the film of the *jinetera* Ginette thus exposing Ana's Austrian audience and the fourth wall in the film of Ana thus exposing the actress Uz's audience (us as viewers of the film). Ana's performance as Ginette breaks the fourth wall to a greater extent since we, the audience, are consistently exposed to a clear division between Ana's performance as Ginette and her Austrian audience throughout the narrative.

Díaz Torres inserts various metatextual cues throughout the narrative by including a metaphorical representation of a "screen" in the *mise-en-scène.* Evidently, by recognizing the metaphorical screen we are made aware to a clear distinction between the audience and the performance, thereby breaking the fourth wall of Ana's performance in the film. This is exemplified when Ana is first introduced by Flavia to the Austrian director Helmut. The three of

them meet at a fancy restaurant with a massive aquarium holding dolphins in the background. At one point a scuba trainer, who is seen swimming in the aquarium with the dolphins, appears to be looking at both Ana and Flavia through the glass of the aquarium. In this moment the glass becomes transformed into the "screen." Even the dolphins become issued as "spectators" while Ana and Flavia, *las jineteras*, become the objects of their gaze. The fourth wall is broken in Ginette's performance since we, the audience, can clearly distinguish the symbolic walls between the audience behind the glass and Ana's performance as a *jinetera*.

While in the restaurant the narrative oscillates between humour and social criticism. At one moment in the conversation, for example, Ana (pretending to be Ginette) declares to Helmut: "Aquí las obreras del colchón estamos con la Revolución" [Here the labourers of the bed are for the Revolution]. Her response is immediately followed by a sarcastic look by the Cuban waiter who walks by shaking his head. In one of the few critical pieces written on *La película de Ana,* the film critic Karen Genschow sees this humorous scene as an example of how *jineterismo* has been viewed by the Cuban state:

> Y en aún otro sentido, esta escena es decidora en relación al contexto cubano específico —en el que el jineterismo está 'mal visto', pero muy visible— porque el acuario parece ilustrar, en un sentido muy literal, la vigilancia estatal a la que están sometidas las jineteras (pero también los ciudadanos en general), siendo de esta manera constantemente objetos de la mirada. (71)
>
> [And yet in another sense, this scene is relevant in relation to the Cuban context in specific—in that *jineterismo* is "seen poorly', yet extremely visible—because the aquarium seems to illustrate, in a very literal sense, the state oversight for which the *jineteras* are subjected to (but also citizens in general), being in this way constantly objects of the gaze.]

What Genschow observes then is how the metatext can be read as a critique on the power relations between the state and the *jinetera.* She is observing, in this manner, the performative relationship between the socialist government and *jineterismo.* The *jinetera,* like the dolphin

trainer gazing through the glass, is the target of desire and, like the reactions of the waiter, is at the same time the "shame" of the state. The *jinetera* is the audience of both forms of masculine eyes, one that lusts and the other that condemns— libidos and licenses.

Figures 4.6 and 4.7: Screenshots of Ana and Flavia in the restaurant where Ana is meets the Austrian director Helmut. On the left: The dolphin trainer peers through the glass at them. On the right: All the dolphins' eyes are fixed on Ana and Flavia.

In another segment of the film Díaz Torres exposes a metatext by reprenting Vergara as a spectator who, watches a scene of Ana's role in a *telenovela* on a small television set. A fourth wall is broken when we see Vergara, as a spectator, watch Ana act on television when, at the same time, we are watching the actress Laura de la Uz play the role of Ana who is, also at the same time, acting the role of Ginette. Broken walls are everywhere. At the same time all the walls are connected through affect. Case in point is the emotional qualification of "melancholy" that characterizes the various performances going on throughout the film. One example is in the short segment of the *telenovela* that Vergara watches. In the *telenovela* Ana acts as a woman in the early nineteenth century who, in dispair, tears off her traditional dress while addressing the hardships of her life. As she undresses herself a dark spiral-like cloud appears rotating in the middle of her chest. Her nudity is covered by a "black hole" over her heart while the word "Melancolía" [melancholy] drifts slowly across the screen. Here Ana performs a melancholic role in a *telenovela* that reflects her melancholic performance as Ginette, which incidentally, also

implicates the melancholic performance of the *jinetera.* Melancholy, in this way, acts like a metatextual subtitle to both the life of a *jinetera* and the acting career of Ana— both melancholic in their own ways. Indeed, while explaining this scene to Vergara, she describes her acting role as "una luchadora por los derechos de la mujer" [a fighter for the rights of women], a phrase that immediately echoes the role of a *jinetera* who is similarly considered a "*luchadora*" in the streets. As implied in the metatext then, the undressed self exposes the melancholic reality that one lives in while under the oppression of the masculine gaze. Nowhere is this more evident than when Ana reviews her documentary footage of "Ginette" and watches a scene in a small brothel known as "la cueva" [the cave] where Flavía is shown topless with another woman who dances with a man. Flavia sits on the side of the bed staring at the camera with a melancholic expression of despair. For a brief moment she has broken out of her erotic performance and is seen nude, alone, and vulnerable. Without hesitation, a man's hand grabs her and pulls her up to her feet and she begins dancing once again. The show must go on.

Figures 4.8 & 4.9: Screenshots of a melancholic metatext. On the left: Ana is shown on the television playing a role in a *telenovela* with a subtitle "melancholía" on the screen and a "black hole" covering her nude chest. On the right: Ana talks to her husband Vergara who is watching her *telenovela* role on a small television screen.

Ironically the same melancholic life of a *jinetera* becomes, for Ana, the escape from her own mediocrity. By playing the *jinetera* she is able to buy a new fridge and escape from her poverty through the dollars provided by the Austrians. Even more so she is able to escape from

mediocre acting roles in *telenovelas* and is able to unleash her creative and dramatic potential through her new acting role as Ginette. Both sides, the melancholic escape as a performer and the mediocre reality as a performer point to the "cruel optimism" of Ana's predicament; her escape from mediocrity is cruelly mediocre. Ana's "cruel" position between melancholy and mediocrity becomes clear during an important argument that occurs between her and Vergara. Vergara condemns Ana's act as a "lie" (a fake reality) while she attempts to defend it as a "fiction" (a real performance) that has helped her escape her mediocre life of poverty:

> Vergara: Vamos Anita, que tú y yo sabemos que esto es un invento para salir . . . con dinero, es una mentira. [Come on Anita, both you and I know that this is an invention to get out. . . with money, it's a lie.]
> Ana: ¡Una ficción! [A fiction!]
> Vergara: Lo que sea Ana, lo que sea. Ya, en definitivo, lo que quiero decir es que esto no es nada serio. [Whatever Ana, whatever. In any case, what I mean is that this is nothing serious.]
> Ana: Voy a decir que esta personaje es lo mejor que yo he hecho. Al menos es lo único que me ha ayudado salir de la mediocridad. [Let me tell you that this is the best character I've ever made up. At least it's the only one that's helped me get out of the mediocrity.]
> Vergara: Sí, es verdad. Y si bien sabe, es bastante triste . . . y coño ¿quiere que te digo una cosa? Al final, a mí parece que tú no estás haciendo de puta, sino que la puta esa, es la que te está haciendo a tí, de verdad. [Yes, it's true. And as you well know, it's rather sad . . . and fuck, you want me to tell you something? In the end, it seems to me that you aren't playing the whore, rather it's that whore who's playing you. That's the truth.]

The dialogue between Vergara and Ana reflects the different stances taken on the topic of *jineterismo* in Cuba. On one side the *jinetera* is a "*luchadora*" who struggles through a performance, but in the end successfully escapes a mediocre life. On the other side of the spectrum, the *jinetera* is seen as a "*mentirosa*" [a liar] who lives a melancholic reality built on the "sad" act of exoticism. In either case the escape of mediocrity leads only to the qualification of melancholy while the escape of melancholy leads only to mediocrity.

The most drastic example of a metatext in *La película de Ana* occurs at the end of the

film when Ana assumes the figure of a "director." This occurs when she points an imagined camera towards a group of tourists driving alongside the *malecon* freeway in Havana. The scene is artistically staged and begins with a long-shot of Ana walking down a dimly lighted and worn-down corridor outside of a building. As she nears the camera we see her alone in an exotic dress, high heels, and carrying a purse. Her image fuels the stereotypical appearance of a beautiful *jinetera* strutting along the rugged Havana streets. Before she reaches the columned arches of the corridor— where she then exits onto the street—we hear a group of tourists shout out *piropos* [flirtatious remarks] in German. The camera then shifts right onto the street and closes in on the tourist-filled convertible that passes slowly along the malecon. The tourists continue to whistle at Ana and motion her to come join them. Irritated by their perversity she responds by flipping them the finger. Slowly, however, her middle finger motions into the squared figure of a camera lens with both hands— the insult becomes insidious. From the emotional qualification of anger stems a new attempt to *resolver*, *luchar*, and *inventar* the power of the gaze. The scene ends with her, on the other side of an imagined camera, acting as a director who now films the foreigners. A graffiti image of the Cuban flag stands boldly behind her. The message is clear: Ana subverts the position of power by redirecting the tourist gaze. Like the male foreigners whose cameras once gazed at her exotic performance as a *jinetera,* it is now Ana whose camera gazes at the performance of male foreigners. In doing so the role of the performer has also been reversed. The viewer is left to question who truly is the "authentic" person of the relationship: the *jinetera* or the foreigner? For is the foreigner not "acting" in a certain role as well?

Díaz Torres ensures that we, the audience, do not escape Ana's subversive lens in the final scene. Therefore, immediately after Ana sets her imagined camera on the tourists, the final shot of the film breaks the fourth wall once more. This time, however, rather than break the

fourth wall of the audience watching Ginette Díaz Torres breaks the fourth wall with us. The camera shifts angles from a side view of Ana gazing back at the male tourists to a straight view of Ana whose imagined camera is now staring directly at the Díaz Torres' camera, that is, at us. For a short second we, the audience, are now placed in the line of Ana's symbolic camera. The lens has shifted and we are exposed in the same way that Ana's gaze exposes the tourists; our "invisible" performance is now made visible. The final scene, in this way, leaves us a challenge to consider our own role and performance as spectators when looking inward to the sexually-affective performance of the *jinetera* in Cuba.

Figures 4.10 and 4.11. Screenshots of the last scene of the film. On the left: A close-up of Ana redirecting the "camera" to a group of foreigners driving by and whistling at her. On the right: A long shot of Ana directing the "camera" to us as the audience. She wears a exotic dress and the image of a Cuban flag is seen beside her.

After-Thought: The "Folkloric Whore"

While referencing *La película de Ana* in her essay "Staging the Mulata," Alison Fraunhar explains that "commodified feminine desirability and availability are enacted through the performance of the repertoire of *mulataje*" (136). As Fraunhar observes we are dealing here with the promiscuous "performance" of the *mulata* body that capitalizes on the exotic imaginary of foreigners. She explains further: "For many young *Cubanas*, even today, the embodiment (looking like a sexy *mulata*) and performance (flirting, dancing well, etc.) of these characteristics

is a template for personal and professional success" (136). This is why Díaz Torres can use Ana, a white woman in her forties, as a way to subvert typical assumptions of what a *jinetera* looks like. Despite her race and age Ana is able to create the "template" of a *jinetera.* Even Ana herself recognizes this and exposes the exotic myth during her initial interview as the *jinetera* Ginette. While sitting on a stool on the top of a sunny rooftop in Old Havana, Ana gives an incredible performance in front of the Austrian film crew on the hardships of living during the Special Period, a discourse that even leaves Flavia—the only one privy to the fact that she is "acting the act"—in tears. At one point she practically yells at the camera man exclaiming:

> yo no hago ilusiones, yo sé que ahora vienen aquí, me filman a mí, la puta exótica, folklórica. Y después irán allá, exhiben lo que filmaron y hasta se ganan unos buenos billetes. Y, mira, después ojos que te vieron, ni me acuerdo.
>
> [I don't make illusions, I know that you all come here and film me, the folkloric, exotic whore. And after you'll all leave and exhibit what you've filmed until you've earned a good enough amount of money. And look, after all that, all the eyes on you, I won't even remember.]

Her very ability to play the "folkloric, exotic whore" points to an important objective of the film that I have acknowledged in this chapter as the performativity of race. That the dark-skinned *jinetera* is just as capable to be the pale-skinned woman in her forties is only possible due to the performative "folklore" of *jineterismo,* an act rooted in the sexual-affective agency of the *mulata* body. As this chapter has posited *jineterismo*, therefore, is not built on *la raza* [race], but on *las raices* [roots]. And as *La película de Ana* reveals, the *jinetera* unveils the prejudices found in the "roots" of Cuban history, those "dark" lies of *mulataje* that have for so long connected race with performance, "black" with the exotic.

Figure 4.12: Screenshot of Ana as she acts out the testimony of Ginette, the "folkloric whore," on a rooftop in Havana in front of the Austrian film crew.

Alison Fraunhar's notion of *mulataje*, in a manner of speaking, acts as a blueprint to the *mulata* affect. That is that *mulataje*, the sequenced return of *mulata* stereotypes (both racial and gender), can be seen bioremediating itself through different qualifications of the *mulata* body throughout Cuban history. Even the *miliciana* image of the 1960s, an image that attempts to counteract the cultural impact of *mulataje,* becomes reliant on racial images to do so. Either stereotypes create the image, or the attempt to eliminate stereotypes, creates a different image. In either case, *mulataje,* present or ignored, *affects* Cuba's cultural image and in turn has been *affected* by other cultural images. The performance of the *jinetera* confirms this— the exotic and erotic notions of the *mulata* body could not be eliminated by revolutionary ideologies. Cuba's national *espíritu* and exotic *atmósfera* became engaged yet again in the fight over the *mulata* body and her affective power.

Can we say that *mulataje* ends after the Special Period? How far, exactly, does the Special Period's influence in Cuban culture and artistic representation extend? Can the Special Period still be considered "special" today? If it is indeed over, then we ought to acknowledge

Díaz Torres' film *La película de Ana* as reminiscent of a past era rather than a current reality. If, however, this is not the case, then we may claim the influence of this film to extend beyond the Special Period of the 1990s and early 2000s and to speak to the continued "special" conditions of the present. We would be wise to consider the ethnomusicologist Moshe Morad's words: "There is no clear answer and there is no official declaration of the end of the Special Period" (3). Morad examines that some researchers have thought the Special Period to have ended in the early 2000s, while others have considered it to extend into the global economic crisis pronounced in 2009 to 2010. Still, as Morad claims: "Even if economically some consider the Special Period over, this is definitely not the case socially and socio-psychologically. In fact, from a social point of view, the 'Special Period' signalled a conceptual change in values and perception—a revolution within a revolution, triggered by the economic crisis and fuelled by postmodernism and globalization" (3). What is certain then is that the Special Period introduced the island to a new circuit of the *mulata* image through the informal economy of *jineterismo.* What is also certain is that *jineterismo* not only continues to this day, but is flourishing, perhaps now more so than ever. The obvious connection to the rise of *jineterismo* is the paralleled increase of tourism to the island. Cuba's increased global reliance on the tourism industry is, without doubt, tied to the growth the informal economy that began in the Special Period. Economically Cuba may find itself in a better position than the 1990s, but the social impact of the Special Period via *jineterismo* has most definitely carried over into the present day.

As long as the *jinetera* exists in Cuba so too will the repeated qualification of *mulataje* within Cuban culture. The old Republican dilemma caught between the image of the national *espíritu* and the image of the exotic *atmósfera*—a polemical circumstance initiated by the racial differentiation of colonialists from Afro-Cubans—inevitably remains integrated in the industry

of sex-tourism in the country. And so long as the *mulata* continues to carry the brunt of racial stereotypes, *jineterismo* will remain a socio-economic issue affecting most heavily the identity formations of Afro-Cuban culture throughout the island. This is, of course, what Díaz Torres attempts to disengage by representing a white woman rather than a black woman as a *jinetera.* By exposing the racial, cultural, and economic performances of *jineterismo* in Cuban society he reveals the façade that *jineterismo* is an "Afro-Cuban issue." On the contrary, it is not a racial or ethnic "issue" at all, but rather a racialized performance that has been repeated over time. It does emerge out of Afro-Cuban culture, but from a history of *mulataje* that is performed through various qualifications of the *mulata* body designed out of both national and touristic imaginaries. Still, as has been revealed in this project, the *mulata* affect remains a powerful influence on Cuban culture that has survived colonialism, the birth of the Republic, the Revolution, and the Special Period. In this sense Díaz Torres is not exposing the beginning or end of a new era in his film, but rather the continuation of a long-winded, repetitive, and sexually-affective history that has been part of the island for centuries.

CONCLUSION

The After-Affect:
Re-envisioning the *Mulata* Image

Vision I: *Mulata* In a Bottle

One of Cuba's most popular rum brands that has continued to occupy the shelves of stores across the island since 1944 is entitled "Ron Palma Mulata de Cuba." On the label of rum bottles and packages appears a well-known image throughout the country: a headshot of a *mulata* with long black hair and hooped earrings. Her gown, which is cut off from the image, is low-cut and tailors off at the upper portion of her chest where a chain of sunflowers wraps from one shoulder to the next. Similar to many of the *vanguardía* images of the *mulata,* the natural beauty of flowers are paralleled with physical beauty of the *mulata.* In addition, the top portion of the label, where the *mulata* image appears, is arched thus resembling the oval-style portraits of women found in classic Cuban cigarette and cigar lithographs. The image, in this way, points to the history of the *mulata* as a national "brand" and a sexual symbol. The latter characteristic is confirmed in the anecdote found on the back of the bottle casing: "Vivir cuba con lo auténtico cubano: De la seleción de las mejores mieles de caña de azúcar, los maestros roneros cubanos claboraron este ron: fuero, atrevido, ancestral...magico, sensual...." [Live with the Authentic Cuban: From the selection of the best sugarcane honey, the master Cuban rum makers collaborate together to bring you this rum: strong, daring, ancestral...magical, sensual...]. The sales tactic is clear: the viewer is encouraged to purchase the real "taste" of Cuba—"*lo auténtico cubano*"— and to experience the strong, magical, and sensual "taste." Like a genie in a lamp granting wishes this rum is advertised like a *mulata* in bottle satisfying desire. For those wanting

to "taste" *la mulata,* she is there, available, waiting for you the store shelf. Neither does she seem to be going anywhere fast: she's too "intoxicating" and too economically profitable.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2: On the left: A cropped photo of "Palma Mulata de Cuba" rum bottle label. On the right: A cropped photo of the anecdote written on the back of the rum bottle container. Both images by author.

Today, can we really say that this image of the Cuban *mulata* has changed? Has the *mulata* image moved beyond the label of a bottle? With the onset of *jineterismo,* the increasing popularization of the tourism industry, and the many store front windows selling the enchanting "*mulata* in a bottle," will her image ever truly be liberated from the labels and *representations* stuck to her? Reflecting on this study, if the answer to such questions are still not clear then my direct response here will sound emphatically sceptical and pessimistic: no. No, the *mulata* image remains, ever since colonialism, labelled with sexual and gender stereotypes and this is not likely to change. The *mulata* image still remains "bottled" with power struggles and stereotypes operating between national and exotic interpretations of her body that are used as a source for capital gain. Otherwise said, the *mulata* image, as detailed in Carlos Enríquez's *El rapto de las mulatas*, remains "abducted" in one way or another by patriarchal power and the male gaze. The violent galloping horse keeps riding in circles. Change is not likely because, in this case, we are

dealing with the mechanics of archival memory that repeats in the *mulata* image, an image that has been textually and visually woven into the national and cultural fabric of Cuban identity. Furthermore, as this study reveals, this archive is bioremediated from one image to the next over time. Although the value of the *mulata* body changes in each image, the assertions of power over her body continue and the stereotypes always re-emerge in the inevitable globalized processes of cultural, racial, economic, and social differentiation.

This is not a pessimistic view of the *mulata* image, it is a realistic one. The archive cannot change; it has already been put into motion through a body that cannot "change." To ask, then, how can we can change the *mulata* image? is, all in all, the wrong question to ask. To ask such a question is, yet again, to revert to a *re-representation* of the *mulata* image. It is to fall into the poststructuralist pattern of *representation.* One evident reason for this is that we are dealing with the transmitting image of a "body." To change this image is to ask, in this respect, for a change of the body as well; it is to ask for the stereotypes engraved into the *mulata* biology to be removed and, in the process, to leave only a new "image." The issue is, obvious enough, that we cannot separate the image from the body and, resultantly, we cannot separate the stereotypes from the image. Consider, for example, the images discussed in this study: *la mulata* of Carlos Enríquez, *la rumbera* of Conrado Massaguer, *la miliciana* of Alberto Korda, or *la jinetera* of Daniel Díaz Torres. In each image the artist attempts to subvert previous representations of the *mulata*, oscillating from images of the national *espíritu* within the island to the exotic *atmósfera* outside of it. The *mulata* moves from the proto-political construct of the nation *within* the island to the exotic advertisement of tourism *outside* of the island to the revolutionary symbol *within* the nation and then to the economization of her body through capital brought from *outside* of the

island. The *mulata's* "escape" is, in fact, never achieved within the image itself. Rather she escapes the image elsewhere, which is where we ought to turn our attention.

As per the premise of this study what is needed is not a new manner of *representation,* but rather a turn to *affect*. Rather than ask how we may change the image, what we ought to ask—and what this study implicates—is a double inquiry of affect: What is the image "doing" to us and what are we, as participants, resultantly "doing" with the image? Otherwise said, how does the *mulata* image *affect* us and how do we consequently continue to *affect* the image and other's qualifications of that image? Incidentally, the issue at play here becomes less about the inevitable projection of an image itself and more so about uncovering the responsibility one has towards the image. The key phrase, in this respect, is *affective recognition.* Inevitably affective movement and effective qualifications occur whether we notice them or not. A different "potential" or "process of intensification" occurs, however, when we begin to *recognize* the workings of affect— the mnemonic movements and qualifications of both the archive and the repertoire. To recognize affect, therefore, is to understand that the archival *image of the mulata body* is unchangeable, but that the "repertoire" of the *mulata body-as-image*—that is the affective circulation of embodied performances—is, on the other hand, consistently undergoing a process of change and affective transmission. One is stagnant, the other is moving. One is "captured," the other holds the potential for "escape."

Affective recognition first and foremost requires us to acknowledge that the *mulata*—whether in a painting, an illustration, a photo, a video, or any other medium of artistic expression—is always in a state of performance. We must furthermore acknowledge that the manner for which the *mulata* image attempts to be represented is not necessarily the way the body performs. Enríquez, for example, may attempt to represent the *mulata* as a national

becoming yet she performs various roles through her body: the victim, the exotic, the mother, and a site of ritual; Massaguer may attempt to represent the *mulata* as a commercial advertisement yet she performs, through the image of rumba, the embodied knowledge and complex social history of *mestizaje, transculturación,* and *cubanidad*; Korda may attempt to represent the *mulata* as the "raceless" and militant image of the revolutionary equality, yet she performs as the embodied "*puntum*" or punctured wound of racial differentiation; and Díaz Torres may attempt to represent the *jinetera* as the racially ambiguous performance of a *mulata* yet she performs the "cruel optimism" of the meta-cinematic performance itself. All in all, the performative body of the *mulata* affects the way the archive is *represented*. Although the stereotypes remain in the archival image, the repertoire redirects the attention away from these stereotypes and the powers of representation through the embodied knowledge qualified in the *mulata* performance. The *mulata* affect—the potential of the performance itself—is always informed by the archival stereotypes of her body, but is never restrained, limited, or—perhaps better said—"bottled" by them.

Vision II: Virtual Beyoncé

In the beginning prologue to this study I recalled a warning I received from a stranger as I departed for my first trip to Cuba urging me to "be careful" of those *mulata* women. That was early in 2009. Only four years later, one of the most infamous "mulatta" women— the American pop-singer and songwriter Beyoncé Knowles—visited Cuba alongside her husband, the rapper and business man Shawn Carter, aka. "Jay-Z." For the first time in Cuba's history the face that pops up on Google images when you type in "*mulata*" had become the most popular face in Cuba. Neither was this a face to fear or to be wary of. Rather, in Cuba Beyoncé was a face to celebrate, anticipate, and rejoice in. There was no "warning" in her image. Indeed Beyoncé was

not seen as a "dangerous" *mulata* stereotyped by the past, but rather as an acclaimed "mulatta" advocating for the future.

Beyoncé symbolized, obvious enough, a different *mulata* image in Cuba, one that seemed to promote positive change coming from the North rather than further negative stereotypes stuck in the south. Indeed Beyoncé and Jay-Z's arrival to Havana foreshadowed a turn in the previously bleak and politically sensitive relations between the U.S. and Cuba. Their entrance into the island was clearly a risky publicity stunt that attempted to insert American popular culture into the centre of the ongoing issue of the U.S.-Cuban embargo. Stateside, their presence in Cuba inevitably flooded the news with legal allegations of their taboo travel while, within the island, their presence seemed to inspire Cubans of future change in the near horizon. This change, of course, was confirmed only a year later in 2014 when President Obama met with President Raúl Castro to begin a process of normalizing Cuban-American relations, an event that has come to be known as the "Cuban-Thaw." Obama's trip to the island in 2016 furthered the commitment to "thaw" out a history of tense relations. Despite the efforts, the so-called "thaw" lasted a mere three years before President Trump froze the deal over again, rescinding the Obama administration's efforts with Cuba thereby making it next to impossible, yet again, for American companies to enter into business negotiations, partnerships, or expansion in Cuba and for Americans to travel leisurely to the island. Beyoncé's face-time with Cuba was short-lived.

I see Beyoncé's trip to Cuba as an ironic metaphor of the *mulata* struggle, one that has tossed and turned between U.S. and Cuban perspectives and the unavoidable politicization of the *mulata* image. We see this time and time again in images of the *mulata*. Enríquez's *mulatas* promotes nationalism yet her nudity and seductive poses, as Megan Daigle describes, laid the ground-work for the "overt pathologization and criminalization of female sexual permissiveness"

(40) that was promoted through tourism. Massaguer's commercialized images of the *mulata* capitalized further on the sexual pathology of the *mulata* through the figure of the *rumbera.* Meanwhile Korda's photos of *mulata* and black *milicianas* attempted to displace the U.S./tourist centred perspective of exoticism promoted before it while the birth of *jineterismo* in the Special Period drew attention back, yet again, to the sexual pathology of the *mulata*. There has always been, in this respect, a northern-southern tension over the *mulata* image. For this reason I see Beyoncé's trip to Cuba as a metaphor for the north-south political tensions played out in the *mulata* image. In this case we see the infamous "mulatta" walk in freely from the "outside" and advocate for political reconciliation and change through her image. The north and south, in the end, see different views on the issue and close the small gaps that had been deterministically pried at in the attempt to crack open the heavy borders. Consequently, however, the *mulata* image tragically foreshadows the change that doesn't come. Yet, at the same time, one is left to consider what would, in truth, occur with such a change? What real difference would the resolution between U.S. and Cuba cause for an image such as the *mulata*? Evidently there would be more tourists to the island, more foreign investment, a greater foreign presence, and an overall greater financial outpour into the tourism sector. Indeed this was already occuring after Obama's meeting with Raúl. But how would such political changes alter the *mulata* image when the rise of tourism would, at the very least, encourage the already existing stereotypes? The neoliberal and global tendencies of tourism will always assure the *mulata* an image that is differentiated through race. For the *mulata,* new potentials are consistently "captured," but at a catch twenty-two.

Does this that mean that change will never come? In my opinion, this is not a question resolved by affect theory, nor is this a question answered in this study. Instead, affect theory

draws us to consider further how the repetitions of power are structured and how they continue to, in fact, promote change and, yet, not change images at the same time. Thinking on this, although I use Beyoncé's travel to Cuba merely as an allegory—for the repetition of political tensions between the U.S. and Cuba and incidentally as the "tragic mulatta" narrative—what this story does emphasize, beyond the allegory itself, is the power of image to repetitively promote change and, at the same time, the power of political governance to limit it. All representation eventually falls victim into the hegemonic limitations of power; upon every image is painted a border. Yet, by turning to affect, we begin to question what lies beyond these borders or limits of power. Affect, for example, is not about analyzing an image bordered within the frame, but about *recognizing* how the inside image is *affecting* the outside. On the inside politicization may continue, the power-struggles may repetitiously emerge, and the image may consistently be represented. Indeed Beyoncé's efforts for national reconciliation is shrouded over by political power and neoliberal realities. Still, there is always the potential, the hope, for news changes and images arriving from the outside. There is always affect.

One way to understand the potential of affect—which I have purposefully avoided throughout this study—is through the term "virtual." Where possible I have attempted to avoid the term "virtual" because the term itself is so often misconstrued as an antonym of "reality." This may, in turn, lead to confusion between the so-called "virtual world" versus the "real world" when, in fact, affect is not a question of "worlds" or imagined spaces at all. Rather, we are talking about the very real process of affective relations. Massumi keenly avoids this issue by emphasizing that the virtual—"the pressing crowds of incipiencies and tendencies . . . a realm of *potential*" (Italics in original; 280 "The Autonomy")—is always co-existent with the actual. This implies that the virtual, in fact, acts as a significant part of how real experiences are achieved.

Basically, what is "really" going on is always, at the same time, virtually being constructed; what is *effective* is always, at the same time, *affective*. The virtual, in other words, is the site of actual "hope." It is the birth place of potential, a library of repertoires. Therefore, just like Beyoncé's popular "mulatta" image was symbolic of a new political reality—one in which Americans were unrestrained from travel and business in Cuba—so too may we consider the *mulata* image to be symbolic of a potential reality where the labels and stereotypes rooted in her archival memory are not always "seen" as the whole picture. Focusing on that "virtual Beyoncé" reminds us of what, potentially, exists outside an image. This does not answer whether changes will come or guarantee the type of changes that an image may experience. It simply reminds us of a virtual presence of affect where the potential for change exists.

Vision III: "Mulatitudes"

Years ago, while in Santiago de Cuba I was downtown amidst a frenzy of music, food, and partying occurring during a street *fiesta*. Intending to make my way home, I began to cross the street towards the bus terminal when my Cuban friend grabbed my arm and held me back: "Oye, quédete de este lado, hay demasiado negro por allí" [Hey, stay on this side, there's too much black over there]. I was surprised at his rather racist remark especially considering that my friend, himself, was an Afro-Cuban. Trying to emphasize the irony of his statement I responded satirically: ¿En serio? ¿Pero... también eres negro no? [Really?... But you're black too aren't you?] to which he astutely responded "No asere, soy mulato" [No, man, I'm mulatto]. For a Canadian who had always grown up in a society that distinguished African and European heritage according the simple colour structure of "black" and "white," his response seemed all at once humorous and absurd. Nonetheless my friend had, in that moment at least, clearly and emphatically assumed the racial identity of a *mulato* rather than a *negro.* He had, in effect,

internalized the identity of a *mulato* as a strategy to place himself on the "safer side" of the racial spectrum. In his eyes I, the naïve white *yuma*, was better off avoiding the other side of the street where it was just a little "too" dark for comfort.

Affect theory reminds us that, in the context of race, we are dealing with something more like an *attitude* rather than an *attribute*. That is, race is always an effect of visual differentiation that is inevitably qualified in attitudes and emotions. For my friend, he was dealing with what we may call a "mulatitude" (a specific attitude of being a *mulata/a*) thus exemplifying a context similar to Fraunhar's discussion of *mulataje*. That is, he was exhibiting a racial identity formulated by a certain attitude, which in this case, was that of superiority. In this case, rather than exhibit the sexualized condition of the *mulata,* he exhibited a masculine condition of being "advanced" (superior to the *negro*) and more accepted, acclaimed, and celebrated in Cuban culture. His "mulatitude" was an attitude of racial superiority that, over time, had become internalized into his identity through social classification. In a society where female *mulatas* are stereotyped as overtly promiscuous, he had subverted the masculine label of *mulato* by using old colonial schematics of race to "advance" and classify his identity and worth. The effect is surprising, especially to a foreigner, because it divides race into a tripartite system where what one "sees" becomes very specific to the particular identifications of skin pigmentation. A simple "black and white" scenario now becomes something far more ambiguous, complex, and obscure.

An attitude is a learned behaviour. This means that an attitude is passed down or taught from other's actions, but it also means, at the same time, that there exists the potential of reinterpreting what is taught. One can always change their attitude. My friend's "mulatitude," for example, was obviously taught to him in some way; his identity as a "mulato" was assumed rather than inherited. He may have indeed inherited a lighter brown-colour of skin from his

parents, but as for the differentiated claim that he, as a "*mulato*," was to be considered safer than a *negro* has nothing to do with his genetics. Rather his words point to a prejudice that was learned and internalized within his identity as an attitude of superiority. One of the goals of affect theory—and likewise what this study attempts to reveal—is that such attitudes are what viewers project onto an image, but they are not definitive of the image itself. Attitudes may be used to *represent* an image, but they do not *define* the image. Indeed a definition of an image is not so simple. An image cannot be defined by one's "attitude" towards it. Instead, to define an image, as Diana Taylor's work reminds us, is an action that depends on unveiling both the mnemonic details of the "archive" and the "repertoire." Every image of the *mulata* is a compilation designed out of both forms of memory. The "mulatitude" that still exists today in Cuba has been "taught" through the archival memory of racial classification and racial prejudices in Cuban society. But it is liable to change through the affective performance of the *mulata* repertoire.

In the context mentioned above my friend's "mulatitude" was used to exhibit, or better said to "perform," a position of racial superiority under the premise of "safety." In the case of the images we've seen throughout this study the "mulatitudes" of artists and participants towards the *mulata* have similarly been *represented* through various images. Furthermore, we are talking about attitudes that, in this study, are all represented by white male artists. This means that a "mulatitude" is never guaranteed to be governed specifically by the "*mulata*" herself. We are dealing, rather, with an attitude of the *mulata* body that has been influenced by the creative formulations of the white male gaze. Whether through art, illustration, photography, or film the *mulata* tends to perform her "mulatitude" in two ways: either as the stereotypical and economized representation of the overtly promiscuous woman or as the politicized and

revolutionary symbol of the *mestizo* nation. Her performance, however, is not limited to the attitudinal influence of one or the other. Instead, a turn to the potential of affect reminds us that an image may always "escape" the power of its attitude. It is, of course, only within that virtual state of potential where the *mulata* body is capable of performing and subverting the attitudes and the conditions of the past. It is there where the potential for a different image may be qualified through new attitudes, new performances, and new repertoires. Such is the potential of the *mulata* affect.

Bibliography

Ahmed, Sara. "Affective Economies." *Social Text.* 22.1 (2004): 117-139.

Allan, Esther. *José Martí: Selected Writings.* New York: Penguin Books, 2002.

Allen, Jafari. *¡Venceremos!: The Erotics of Black Self-making in Cuba.* Durham and London: Duke UP, 2011.

Americas. "Nothing Sacred." *Americas*, vol. 10, no. 3, Mar. 1958, pp. 20-21*, ProQuest*, http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/1792717007?accountid=14474.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wáng, 1981.

Beasley-Murray, Jon. *Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Benamou, Catherine. "Cuban Cinema: On the Threshold of Gender." *Redirecting the Gaze: Gender, Theory, and Cinema in the Third World.* Eds. Diana Robin and Ira Jaffe. Albany: New York State UP, 1999. 67-98.

Benítez-Rojo, Antonio. *La isla que se repite.* Barcelona: Editorial Casiopea, 1998.

———. *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective, Second Edition.* Trans. James E. Maraniss. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1996.

Benson, Devyn Spence. *Antiracism in Cuba: The Unfinished Revolution.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Bergson, Henri. *Matter and Memory.* Trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1962.

Berlant, Lauren. "Cruel Optimism." *The Affect Theory Reader.* Eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2010. 93-117.

Blanco Borelli, Melissa. *She is Cuba: A Genealogy of the Mulata Body.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016.

Bolter, Jay David and Richard Grusin. *Remediation: Understanding New Media.* London: MIT Press, 2000.

Bondil, Nathalie, Ed. *Cuba: Art and History from 1868 to Today.* Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2008.

Brennan, Teresa. *The Transmission of Affect.* New York: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Brown, Elspeth H. and Thy Phu. Eds. *Feeling Photography.* Durham and London: Duke UP, 2014.

Brown, Sterling Allen. *The Negro in American Fiction.* New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Cabezas, Amalia L. *Economies of Desire: Sex and Tourism in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2009.

Cabrera, Lydia. *El monte: igbo finda ewe orisha, vititi nfinda: notas sobre las religiones, la magia, las supersticiones y el folklore*

Carbonell y Rivero, José Manuel. *Las Bellas Artes en Cuba: Vol. XVIII Evolución de la cultura cubana 1608-1927.* Havana: *El siglo XX, 1928.*

Carpentier, Alejo. La ciudad de las columnas." *Tientos y diferencias.* Barcelona: Plaza & Janés Editores, 1987. 40-48.

———. *La musica en Cuba.* México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946.

———. *Music in Cuba.* Trans. Alan West-Durán. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

———. "Un ascenso de medio siglo." *Obras completas de Alejo Carpentier volumen 14: Conferencias.* México DF: Siglo XXI, 1991. 138-180

Castro, Fidel. "Discurso pronuciado por Fidel Castro Ruz, Presidente de la República de Cuba, en la clausura de de la V plenaria nacional de la FMC, en el estadio "Sandino" de Santa Clara, Las Villas, l 9 de diciembre de 1966, 'Año de la solidaridad.'" Departamento e versiones Taquigraficas del gobierno revolucionario, http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1966/esp/f091266e.html. Accessed 5 Jan, 2018.

———. "Fidel Castro: ¡Es espíritu de nuestra revolución! *Radio Rebelde.* Audio. http://www.radiorebelde.cu/noticia/fidel-castro-espiritu-nuestra-revolucion-20171114/. Accessed March 18, 2018.

———. *Palabras a los intelectuales.* México D.F.: Ocean Sur, 2011.

———. "Words to Intellectuals." *Fidel Castro Reader.* Eds. David Deutschmann and Deborah Shnookal. Melbourne, New York, London: Ocean Press, 2007. 213-239.

Catholic Online. "St. Lucy." Web. *Catholic Online.* Accessed Aug 30, 2017. http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=75

Cepero Amador, Iliana. "Myths and Realities: Cuban Photography of the 1960s and 1970s." Cuba: Art and History From 1868 to Today. Ed. Nathalie Bondil. Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2008.

Chanan, Michael. *Cuban Cinema.* Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2004.

Chomsky, Aviva. *A History of the Cuban Revolution. Second Edition.* Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2015.

Clough, Patricia. "The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedia, and Bodies." *The Affect Theory Reader.* Eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2010. 206-225.

Crompton, Samuel Willard. Che Guevara: The Making of a Revolutionary. Pleasantville: Gareth Stevens Publishing, 2009.

Cuban Tourist Commission. *Cuba Ideal Vacation Land Tourist Guide: 1953-1954.* Havana: Instituto Cubano del Turismo, 1953.

Daigle, Megan. *From Cuba with Love: Sex and Money in the Twenty-first Century.* Oakland: California UP, 2015.

Daniel, Yvonne. *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1995.

Díaz Torres, Daniel. *La película de Ana.* Dirs. Daniel Díaz Torres and Eduardo del Llano. Cuba/Austria: ICAIC/SK Films/ Jaguar Films S.A./Ibermedia, 2012.

———. "La película de Ana tiene su historia," interview with Jaisy Izquierdo, *Juventud Rebelde.* December 15, 2012. Accessed Sept 1, 2015. http://www.juventudrebelde.cu/cultura/%202012-12-15/la-pelicula-de-ana-tiene- su-historia-/.

Eakin, Marshall C. *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil.* Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2017.

Enrique Pérez, Daniel. *Rethinking Chicana/o and Latino/a Popular Culture.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black skin, White Masks.* Trans. Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2008.

Fernandes, Sujatha. *Cuba Represent: Cuban Arts, State Power, and the Making of New Revolutionary Cultures.* Durham: Duke UP, 2006.

Fernandez, Nadine T. *Revolutionizing Romance: Interracial Couples in Contemporary Cuba.* New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2010.

Fernández Robaina, Tomás. "The Brothel of the Caribbean." *The Cuban Reader: History, Culture, Politics.* Eds. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2003. 257-259.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction.* London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Fraunhar, Alison. "Mulata Cubana: The Problematics of National Allegory." *Latin American Cinema: Essays on Modernity, Gender and National Identity.* Eds. Lisa Shaw and Stephanie Dennison. Jefrerson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland and Company, 2005. 160-179.

———. *Mulata Nation: Visualizing Race and Gender in Cuba.* Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2018.

———. "Staging the Mulata." *What Postcolonial Theory Doesn't Say.* Eds. Ana Bernard, Ziad Elmarsafay, and Stuart Murray. New York: Routledge, 2016. 121-140.

Freyre, Gilberto. *Masters and the Slaves* [Casa grande e Senzala]. Trans. Samuel Putnam. Berkeley, Los Angelas, and London: California UP, 1986.

Fusco, Coco. "Hustling for Dollars: *Jineterismo* in Cuba." *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition.* Eds. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge. 151-166.

García, Enrique. *Cuban Cinema After the Cold War : a Critical Analysis of Selected Films.* Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2015.

Garcia Espinosa, Julio. "Por un cine imperfecto." Web. *Programa Iber Media.* April 18, 2016. Accessed 1 Sept, 1017. http://www.programaibermedia.com/nuestras-cronicas/julio-garcia-espinosa-por-un-cine-imperfecto/

Genschow, Karen. "Cómo hacer cine hoy en Cuba: Prostitución y coproduccción en La Película de Ana." *Romanische Studien.* 3.1 (2016), 61-83.

Guevara, Ernesto Che. *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba.* La Habana: Ocean Sur, 2007.

———. "Socialism and Man in Cuba (1965)." Trans. Margarita Zimmerman. *The Che Reader.* Aleida March, Che Guevara Studies Center and Ocean Press, 2005, https://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1967/che-reader/che-reader.pdf. Accessed 5 Jan, 2018. 212-230.

Guillén, Nicolás. *El son entero.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1947.

———. "Mujer Negra." *El Son Entero: Suma Poetica 1929-1946.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1947.

———. "The New Woman." Trans. Robert Márquez. "Selected Poems of Nicolás Guillén." Robert Márquez and Nicolás Guillén. *The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research.* 3.5 (1972): 50-53.

Grossberg, Lawrence. "Affect's Future." *The Affect Theory Reader.* Eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2010. 309-338.

Guevara, Ernesto Che. *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba.* La Habana: Ocean Sur, 2007.

Hamilton, Carrie. "Sex, Race and Censorship in Cuba: Historicizing the P.M. Affair." *Notches,* 4 Nov, 2014, http://notchesblog.com/2014/11/04/sex-race-and-censorship-in-cuba-historicising-the-p-m-affair/. Accessed 5 Jan, 2018.

———. *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba: Passion, Politics, and Memory.* Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 2012.

Hammit, Gene M. "Función y Símbolo del Hijo en el *Ismaelillo* de Martí." *Revista Iberoamericana.* 31.59 (1965): 71-81.

Hermer, Consuelo and Marjorie May. *Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans.* New York: Random House, 1941.

Hodge, G. Derrick. "Colonizing the Cuban Body." *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Eds. Chomsky, Aviva, Barry Carr, and Pamela María Smorkaloff. Durham: Duke UP, 2006. 628-634.

Ivette Leyva, Anneris. "La Revolución, Vilma y la mujer nueva en Cuba." *Granma,* 7 April 2010. http://www.granma.cu/granmad/2010/04/07/nacional/artic01.html. Accessed 5 Jan, 2018.

James, Conrad. *Writing the Afro-Hispanic: Essays on Africa and Africans in the Spanish Caribbean.* London: Adonis and Abbey Publishers, 2012.

Juncker, Kristine. "Revolutionary Photographs: El Museo de la Revolución, Havana, Cuba." *Photographs, Museums, Collections: Between Art and Information.* Eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. 127-139.

Laine, Tarja. *Feeling Cinema: Emotional Dynamics in Film Studies.* New York: Continuum, 2011.

Lezama Lima, José. *La expresión americana.* Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, S.A., 1969.

Levi, Vicki Gold and Steven Heller. *Cuban Style: Graphics from the Golden Age of Design.* New York: Princeton Architectural, 2002.

López, Ana M. "Cuban Cinema in Exile: The 'Other' Island." *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media.* 38 (1993): 51-59.

Manthei, Jennifer J. "The Brazilian *Mulata*: A Wood for All Works." *Negotiating Identities in Modern Latin America.* Ed. Kraay, Hendrik. Calgary: Calgary UP, 2007.

María Heredia, José. *Poemas.* Barcelona: Red Ediciones S.L., 2018.

Marien, Mary Warner. *Photography: A Cultural History.* London: Lawrence King, 2010.

Martí, José. *En Los Estados Unidos: Periodismo De 1881 a 1892.* Eds. Roberto Fernández Retamar and Pedro Pablo Rodríguez. Nanterre Cedex, France: Allca XX, 2003.

———. *Nuestra América.* Ed. Edgar Páez. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayucucho, 2005.

———. "Por Cuba y Para Cuba." *Discursos de Poder.* Ed. Liliana Viola, 2000. 21-39.

Martínez, Juan A. *Carlos Enríquez: The Painter of Cuban Ballads.* Coral Gables: Cernuda Arte, 2013.

———. *Cuban Art and National Identity: The Vanguardia Painters, 1927-1950.* Gainesville: Florida UP, 1994.

Martinez-Furé, Rogelio. "La Rumba." *Folklore Cubano I, II, III, IV.* Eds. Chao Carbonero and S. Lamerán. Havana: Editorial Puebo y Educación, 1982. 114-117.

———. "Modas y modos: Pseudofolklorismo y folklor." Interview by Evangelina Chio. *Revolución y Cultura 5* (1994): 32-35.

Massaguer, Conrado Walter. *Massaguer su vida y su obra: Autobiografía historía gráfica anecdotario.* Havana: Impresores Úcar, García, S.A. 1957.

Massumi, Brian. *The Politics of Affect.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015.

———. "The Autonomy of Affect." *Observing Complexity: Systems Theory and Postmodernity.* Eds. William Rasch and Cary Wolfe. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000. 273-297.

Merino Acosta, Luz. "Graphics and Visual Culture." *Cuba Art and History from 1868 to Today.* Ed. Nathalie Bondil. Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2008.

Montes-Huidobro, Matía, ed. *El Laúd de Desterro.* Houston: Arte Público Press, 1995.

Moore, Robin. *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba.* Berkely, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006.

———. *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940.* Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh UP, 1997.

Morad, Moshe. *Fiesta De Diez Pesos: Music and Gay Identity In Special Period Cuba.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

Mulvey, Laura. *Visual and Other Pleasures.* New York: Palgrave, 1989.

Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes la Habana, Cuba: Colección de arte cubano.* Ed. Sonia Maldonado González. Havana: Mueso Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2013.

New York Times. "Massaguer's Caricatures shown." *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, Jan 14, 1932, pp. 18*, ProQuest*,http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/99738616?accountid=14474.

———. "Mayor Approves Caricature." *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, Jun 07, 1939, pp. 12*, ProQuest*, http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/102957132?accountid=14474.

Ortiz, Fernando. *Contrapunteo Cubano Del Tabaco Y El Azúcar.* Caracus: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978

———. *Glosario de afrocubanismos.* Havana: El Siglo XX, 1924.

———. *Los Bailes Y El Teatro De Los Negros En El Folklore De Cuba.* 2a ed. Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1981.

———. "Los factores humanos de la cubanidad." *Ensayo Cubano del siglo XX.* Ed. Rafael Hernández and Rafael Rojas. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002. 74-99.

———. *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba.* Havana: Editora Universitaria, 1965.

Oshun, Ota Omi/ Olo. *Pataki of Orisa and other Essay's: For Lucumí Santaría Volume I.* Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2009.

Padilla, Heberto. *Fuera de juego.* Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1998.

Palmié, Stephan. *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Traditions.* Durham and London: Duke UP, 2002.

Pereira Perera, María de los Ángeles. *Alberto Korda: Iconografía heroica.* Madrid: La Fábrica, 2015.

Pérez Cisneros, Guy. *Las estrategias de un crítico: Antología de la crítica de arte de Guy Pérez Cisneros.* Ed. Luz Merino Acosta. Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 2000.

Pérez Firmat, Gustavo. "Pirates of the Caribbean: Soft Exoticism and the Aesthetics of Diversity." *Essays: Exploring the Global Caribbean.* Ed. Susan Roberson.

———. *The Havana Habit.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2010. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. 62-86.

Pérez Jr., Louis A. *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture.* Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 1999.

Poey, Dalia. *Cuban Women and Salsa: To the Beat of Their Own Drum.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.

Podalsky, Laura. *The Politics of Affect and Emotion in Contemporary Latin American Cinema: Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and Mexico.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Posner, Helaine. "Utopia/ Post-Utopia." *Utopia/Post-Utopia: Conceptual Photography and Video from Cuba.* Eds. Helaine Posner and Eugenio Valdés Figueroa. New Paltz: Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art and State University of New York, 2003. 13-18.

Puebla, Carlos. "And Then Fidel Arrived." *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics.* Ed. Aviva Chomsky et al. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2003. 337-339.

Quesada, Luis M. "Fuera de juego": A Poet's Appraisal of the Cuban Revolution." *Latin American Literary Review.* 3.6 (1975): 89-98.

Quiroga, José. *Cuban Palimpsests.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Raimon, Eve Allegra. *The Tragic Mulatta Revisited: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Antislavery Fiction.* New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers UP, 2004.

REL2011 Megan Project. "Los Ojos de Santa Lucía." Web. *Wordpress.* Accessed Aug 31, 2017. https://relclass.wordpress.com/2016/04/13/los-ojos-de-santa-lucia/

Rose Jiménez, Marguerite. "The Political Economy of Desire." *A Contemporary Cuba Reader: Reinventing the Revolution*. Ed. Brenner, Philip. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008. 146-155.

Rubiera Castillo, Daisy. *Reyita, sencillamente: testimonio de una negra cubana nonagenaría*. La Habana, Cuba: Prolibros, 1997.

Saint Lucy's Church. "St. Lucy." Web. *St. Lucy's Church: The Mother Italian Church of Dioce of Scranton. Home to all! Ministered to by Saint Francis Xavier Cabrini.* Accessed Aug 30, 2017. http://www.stlucy-church.org/stlucy.html.

Salas, Osvaldo and Roberto Salas. *Fidel's Cuba: A Revolution in Pictures.* New York and Hillsberg: Thunder's Mouth Press and Beyond Words Publishing, 1998.

Sanchez, Yoani. "The Liberation of Women: Another Failed Dream of Cuba's Revolution." *The HuffPost News,* https://www.huffingtonpost.com/yoani-sanchez/the-liberation-of-women-a_b_623002.html. Accessed 5 Jan, 2018.

Sanders, Mark. "Alberto Korda: Interview by Mark Sanders." *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens.* Eds. Cristina Vives and Mark Sanders. Göttingen: Steidl, 2008. 428-341.

Seigworth, Gregory J. and Melissa Gregg. "An Inventory of Shimmers." *The Affect Theory Reader.* Durham and London: Duke UP, 2010.

Schwartz, Rosalie. *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba.* Lincoln and London: Nebraska UP, 1997.

Simoni, Valerio. *Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016.

Sippial, Tiffany A. *Prostitution, Modernity, and the Making of the Cuban Republic, 1840-1920.* Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 2013.

Smith, Louis M. and Alfred Padula. *Sex and Revolution: Women in Socialist Cuba.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Smith, Shawn Michelle. "Photography Between Desire and Grief: Roland Barthes and F. Holland Day." *Feeling Photography.* Eds. Espeth H. Brown and Thy Phu. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2014. 29-46.

Sollars, Werner. *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature.* Cambridge and London: Harvard UP, 1991.

Soto y Sagarra, Luis de. *Esquema para una indagación estilística de la pintura moderna cubana.* Havana: Universidad de la Habana, 1945.

Stange, Maren. *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography In America, 1890-1950.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Stoner, Lynn K. "Cuba's Massa Girls." *Hemisphere: Magazine of the Americas.* Vol 9.1 (1999): 35-47.

———. "Federation of Cuban Women (FMC)." *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture,* 2008, http://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/federation-cuban-women-fmc. Accessed 5 Jan, 2018.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought.* Trans. Catherine Porter. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993.

Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas.* Durham and London: Duke UP, 2003.

Thacker, Eugene. "What is Biomedia." *Configurations.* 11.1 (2003): 47-79. John Hopkins UP and the Society for Literature and Science, 2004.

Uz, Laura de la and Fernando Pérez. "Coloquio de la Película de Ana." Web. *Casamérica cine.* March 14, 2017. Accessed Sept 1, 2017. http://www.casamerica.es/cine/coloquio-la-pelicula-de-ana

Valle, Amir. *Habana babilonia: La cara oculta de las jineteras*. Barcelona: Zeta Bolsillo, 2008.

Vásquez Díaz, Ramón. "The School of Havana: Between Tradition and Modernity." *Cuba Art and History from 1868 to Today.* Ed. Nathalie Bondil. Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2008.

Vila, Pablo. *Music, Dance, Affect, and Emotions in Latin America.* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017.

Villaverde, Cirilo. *Cecilia Valdés O, La Loma Del Angel: novela de costumbres Cubanas.* La Habana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1977.

Vives, Cristina. "Cuban Photography: A Personal History." *Shifting Tides: Cuban Photography After the Revolution.* Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Merrell Publishers, 2001. 82-129.

———. "Studios Korda." *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens.* Eds. Cristina and Mark Sanders. Göttingen: Steidl, 2008. 11-50.

———. "The Women." *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens.* Eds. Cristina and Mark Sanders. Göttingen: Steidl, 2008. 325-380.

Vives, Cristina and Mark Sanders, Eds. *Korda: A Revolutionary Lens.* Göttingen: Steidl, 2008.

Welch, Rosanne. *Why the Monkees Matter: Teenagers, Television and American Pop Culture.* Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2016.

Whitfield, Esther Katheryn. *Cuban Currency: The Dollar and "special Period" Fiction*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2008.

Winters, Lisa Ze. *The Mulatta Concubine: Terror, Intimacy, Freedom, and Desire in the Black Transatlantic.* Athens, GA: Georgia UP, 2009.

Wride, Tim B. *Shifting Tides: Cuban Photography after the Revolution.* Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Merrell Publishers, 2001.