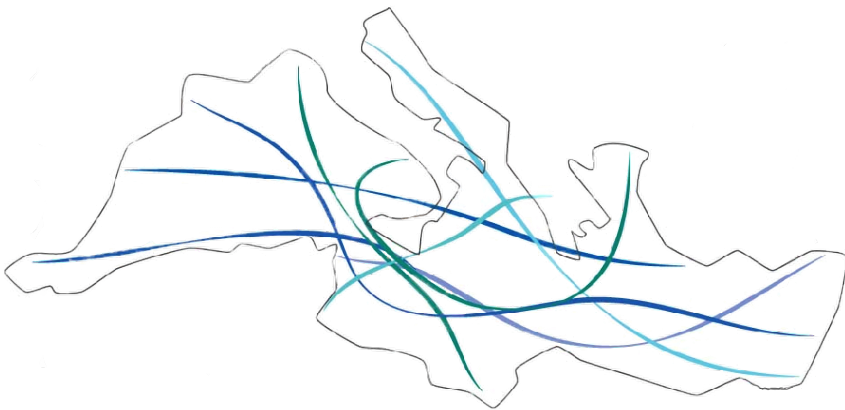


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## *Teresa Pàmies' letters of exile: from individual to collective memory*



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## *Teresa Pàmies' letters of exile: from individual to collective memory*

### Abstract

Since the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the violence practiced against the *vencidos* by Franco's troops imposed the displacement as a way of life on so many Republicans, among whom there was the young activist Teresa Pàmies.

Teresa Pàmies was a Catalan speaking Spanish writer. She was a left-wing feminist militant. Her abundant work (she wrote about fifty books, a large number of articles for newspapers, magazines and radio programmes, essays and novels) is closely related to her experience as a political exile in Latin America, USSR, Czechoslovakia and France. During her long exile, Pàmies started writing to recover historical memory, intertwining it with the collective one, made up of ordinary people's memories.

She used to incorporate both real and fictional letters in her novels, to preserve memory, or to (re)construct it. This narrative device gives authenticity, intimacy and immediacy to her writings. Pàmies' epistolary represents a biographical and literary itinerary, a journey to other countries and even to another continent for a new beginning, far from her native homeland, that she had to abandon when Franco's troops entered Barcelona.

Keywords: Teresa Pàmies, Exile, Epistolary novels, Individual memory, Collective memory.

## *Las cartas del exilio de Teresa Pàmies. De la memoria individual a la memoria colectiva*

### Resumen

Desde el final de la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939), la violencia ejercida contra los vencidos por las tropas franquistas impuso el desplazamiento como forma de vida a tantos republicanos, entre los que se encontraba la joven activista Teresa Pàmies.

Teresa Pàmies fue una escritora española de habla catalana militante de izquierda y feminista. Su abundante obra, (escribió una cincuentena de libros, un gran número de artículos para periódicos, revistas y programas de radio, ensayos y novelas) está estrechamente relacionada con su experiencia como exiliada política en América Latina, URSS, Checoslovaquia y Francia. Durante su largo exilio, Pàmies empezó a escribir para recuperar la memoria histórica, entrelazándola con la colectiva, formada por la memoria de la gente corriente.

Ella solía incorporar letras reales y ficticias en sus novelas, para preservar la memoria o para (re)construirla. Este dispositivo narrativo otorga autenticidad, intimidad e inmediatez a sus escritos. El epistolario de Pàmies representa un itinerario biográfico y literario, un viaje a otros países e incluso a otro continente

para un nuevo comienzo, lejos de su tierra natal, que tuvo que abandonar cuando las tropas de Franco entraron en Barcelona.

Palabras clave: Teresa Pàmies, Exilio, Novelas epistolares, Memoria individual, Memoria colectiva.

### *Le lettere dall'esilio di Teresa Pàmies. Dalla memoria individuale alla memoria collettiva*

#### Sinossi

Al termine della Guerra civile spagnola (1936-1939), la violenza praticata contro i *vencidos* dalle truppe franchiste costrinse all'esilio molti repubblicani, tra cui la giovane attivista Teresa Pàmies.

Teresa Pàmies è stata una scrittrice spagnola di lingua catalana, militante di sinistra e femminista. La sua copiosa produzione (ha scritto più di cinquanta libri, un gran numero di articoli per giornali, riviste e programmi radiofonici, saggi e romanzi) è strettamente correlata all'esperienza di esule politica in America Latina, URSS, Cecoslovacchia e Francia. Durante il lungo esilio Pàmies iniziò a scrivere per recuperare la memoria storica, intrecciandola con quella collettiva, fatta dei ricordi delle persone comuni.

Era solita incorporare lettere sia autentiche che immaginarie nei suoi romanzi, per preservare la memoria o per (ri)costruirla. Questo dispositivo narrativo conferisce autenticità, intimità e immediatezza ai suoi scritti. L'epistolario di Pàmies rappresenta un itinerario biografico e letterario, un viaggio in altri Paesi e in un altro continente per un nuovo inizio, lontano dalla sua terra natale, che dovette abbandonare quando le truppe di Franco entrarono a Barcellona.

Parole chiave: Teresa Pàmies, Esilio, Romanzi epistolari, Memoria individuale, Memoria collettiva.

# *Teresa Pàmies' letters of exile: from individual to collective memory*

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## *1. Correspondence from exile*

The letters written by Republican exiles have been occupying the attention of researchers in recent years, so much so that a good number of letters and many studies on them have been published. For literary historiography, this material is an especially rich source, both for describing the production of Spanish literature, and the countries through which the refugees dispersed, and for reflecting on the tensions that their works imposed on that writing of history referred to national contexts. The letters between the exiles and the homeland have been used to create a map of the memory of Republican exile, given their status as the largest spontaneous work of collective memory in the 20th century history of Spain.

The wealth of information contained in the refugees' letters facilitates the reconstruction of the ties with those they had left behind, individuals who had not physically abandoned their homecountry but that experienced an "inner-exile"<sup>1</sup> under the long dictatorship, lasted from 1939 to 1975<sup>2</sup>. Their letters provide a picture of cultural, social and political events which took place both during and after the exodus, started at the end of the Civil War (1936-1939). Personal memories and perspectives provide a contrast to historical narratives which focus on the role of the state, military events, ideology or political parties.

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<sup>1</sup> As it was defined, in 1980, by Paul Ilie in *Literature and Inner Exile: Authoritarian Spain, 1939-1975*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Francisco Franco's dictatorship lasted 39 years and ended when he died, at the age of 82, on 20 November 1975.

Until the mid-twentieth century correspondence dominated communication practices, so it represents an especially valuable window into the lives, ideals and experiences of ordinary people, who related those dramatic moments of separation, like war, emigration and imprisonment, which help historians to reconstruct the Republican experience of exile.

The violence practiced against the *vencidos* by Franco's troops and also by different nations (for example the imprisonment of the Spanish refugees in the French concentration camps)<sup>3</sup>, imposed the displacement as a way of life on many Republicans, in search of a safe host country. Among them there was the young political activist Teresa Pàmies (Collins, Stewart, Stanley & Vosburg, 2016).

## 2. Teresa Pàmies' exile and counter-exile

Teresa Pàmies i Bertran (Balaguer, 1919 - Granada, 2012) was a Catalan speaking Spanish writer. She was a left-wing feminist activist. Her abundant work (she wrote about fifty books, a large number of articles for newspapers, magazines and radio programmes, essays and novels) is closely related to her experience as a political exile in France, Latin America, USSR, Czechoslovakia and France again.

In his essay "The sun and the self" (1990) the exiled writer and literary critic Claudio Guillén proposes two models of exiles: the Ovidians, marked by nostalgia, lament, complaint, and on the other hand, those with a cynical-stoic spirit, closer to the figures of Epictetus and Plutarch, who consider that their homeland, more than a territory or a specific place, is the world.

Guillén coined the term "counter-exile"<sup>4</sup>, to define that attitude of openness to the world, that we can find in Teresa Pàmies' experience.

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<sup>3</sup> Republican exiles who escaped to France were not free from imprisonment or death. Many were held in concentration camps by French authorities for months under harsh conditions.

<sup>4</sup> Guillén differentiates between "literature of exile" and "literature of counter-exile". The former focuses on "an autobiographical conveyance of the actual experience of exile itself", whereas the latter refers to writers moving beyond their

In 1939, when Franco's troops entered Barcelona, the young Teresa had to abandon her country like thousands of other Republican women, men and children. Pàmies was only twenty when crossed the French border on foot, together with half a million people who were fleeing bombing, persecution and repression.

During her long exile, which lasted more than thirty years, she started writing to recover her historical memory, and that of common people with common lives, defined *intrahistoria* by Unamuno.

In her work titled *Los que se fueron* (1976) she tells of the border crossing and the refugees' illusions, that she shared, giving voice to the silenced, in order to to rewrite history from the point of view of the conquered:

The mass of the civilian population followed a collective impulse, some thought that in France they would find their husband, their son, their father, their brother; that after the storm they would return together to start life as a family again, although some were missing, killed in the trenches, in the bombings or, simply, disappeared in the swirl of war<sup>5</sup>.

Separated from her family, she was interred in French concentration camps. As it was reported by Patricia Green (2000, pp. 100-107), after the escape from the Magnac Laval refugee camp, that Pàmies recounted in *Quan érem refugiats* (1975), she made her way to Latin America. She lived in the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Mexico<sup>6</sup>, where she studied journalism. Until then she had a limited access to formal education.

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experience of exile "toward integration, increasingly broad vistas or universalism". Triumphant over "the separation from place, class, languages, or native community", the literature of counter-exile, according to Guillén, offers "wide dimensions of meaning that transcend the earlier attachment to place of native origin" (1976, p. 272).

<sup>5</sup> "La masa de la población civil seguían un impulso colectivo, pensando algunos que en Francia encontrarían al marido, al hijo, al padre, al hermano; que pasada la borrasca retornarían juntos a empezar de nuevo la vida en familia, aunque faltasen algunos, muertos en las trincheras, en los bombardeos o, sencillamente, desaparecidos en la vorágine de la guerra" (1976, pp. 12-13). The English translation of all quotations from Pàmies' novels is mine.

<sup>6</sup> The Republican exile in Latin America has not always been considered an encounter between two different cultures. This is largely due to the idea according to which Spain and Latin America are part of the same Hispanic community. This

In 1947, longing to live in a Communist country, Pàmies moved to Prague, where she reunited with her father. She lived in the Czech capital for approximately 12 years, employed by Radio Prague as an editor of their Spanish and Catalan language broadcasts. It was then that she witnessed one of the most brutal examples of Stalinist terror, the Slansky trials held in Prague in the early 1950s.

In 1959 the odyssey of the exile took her to France again, and finally, in 1971, back to Catalonia.

### *3. From individual to collective memory*

Teresa Pàmies' writings embrace events both temporally and geographically distant, as the Spanish Civil War, the Second World War, the Stalinist purges of the 1950s in Eastern Europe, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the protests of May 1968 in Paris, and the transition to democracy in Spain. The events that she narrates are intermingled with what happens daily, among anonymous people, that never appears in the record of officially recorded history.

Writing from her experience, in autobiographical form, Teresa Pàmies used to incorporate both real and fictional letters in most of her novels, to preserve the memory of everyday life, or to (re)construct it. This narrative device gives authenticity, intimacy and immediacy to her writings, as Carmen Riera states in her essay "Grandeza y miseria de la epístola".

The use of epistolary fiction is especially suited for expressing feelings, together with the psychology of characters, by granting them a great amount of control in the narration of a story. Riera argues that epistolary fiction is a form of dialogue that binds both the letter writer and their interlocutor together in a "constant swing from a first person singular narrative voice to a second person

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idea is present in many discourses of identity from both sides of the Atlantic. The Spanish philosopher and refugee José Gaos, Ortega y Gasset's favourite disciple, in his essays "Los 'transterrados' españoles de la filosofía en México" (1949) and "La adaptación de un español a la sociedad hispanoamericana" (1966), defined the Spanish Republican exiles in Mexico as "*transterrados*," creating a neologism that means "resettled" or, quite literally, "transplanted".



singular one, from the writer subject to the reading subject” (1989, p. 155)<sup>7</sup>, as we can detect in Pàmies' novels.

In the prologue to *«M'agrada escriure. M'agrada rabiosament». Cartes (1938-2002)*, a selection of personal letters published posthumously on the occasion of her birth centenary celebrations, her youngest son, the journalist and novelist Sergi Pàmies<sup>8</sup>, states that she kept carbon paper copies of the letters that she wrote. She recorded most of her personal and bureaucratic exchanges: “The mother wrote letters, always with copy (charcoal paper and onionskin paper), so she recorded almost all her personal and bureaucratic exchanges” (2021, p. 9)<sup>9</sup>.

Teresa Pàmies' letters detail her everyday life, made up of great miseries and struggles, as well as her emotional life as a mother of four children and wife of the Communist activist Gregorio López Raimundo. She supported her diasporic family all alone, while her husband lived clandestinely. In spite of this, she had the ability to devote herself to her vocation of writer, between the preparation of family meals and political militancy.

In her portrayals of Communist families, she brings to light how political activity changes the nature of public, domestic, and personal life, but also unveils the emotional and intellectual intensity of a life devoted to the advancement of Socialism through the militancy of Communist Party members.

Teresa Pàmies was a feminist, not because she questioned the social structures of her generation, but rather because her writing is always concerned with the experiences of politically committed women who lived at the margins of the Party leadership.

Through her novels heroines (mostly based on her own personal experiences, such as Perpetua Cadena in *La chivata*) or as the protagonist of her autobiographical stories, Pàmies communicates the perspectives of politically committed women in a culture dominated by men. But, as Mary Nash maintains in her book *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War*, the revolutionary

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<sup>7</sup> “Vaivén constante del yo al tú, del sujeto escritor al sujeto lector”.

<sup>8</sup> Sergi Pàmies is in charge of all the documents that belonged to his mother.

<sup>9</sup> “La mare escrivia cartes, sempre amb còpia (paper carbó i paper de ceba), de manera que va deixar constància de gairebé tots els seus intercanvis personals i administratius”.

climate of the time did not “imply the breakdown in patriarchal relations or a deep challenge to ‘male civilization.’”(1995, p. 180)

Janet Pérez, in her essay *Contemporary Spanish Women Writers*, argues that:

Her feminist concerns include male egotism, the oppression and exploitation of women and neglect of women and children, women’s sacrifice to support their families in order to allow their husbands to pursue political or other goals, the nonexistence of divorce in Spain (prior to 1983), and lack of access to contraceptives and abortion. She treats adultery, but not subtler problems such as sex-role stereotyping, and tends to idealize mothers and motherhood – along with their exploitation. While she excoriates masculine vanity and insensitivity, Pàmies gives little thought to feminine self-realization beyond marital relationships; even her female revolutionaries fall prey to masculine wiles. Like her own mother, Pàmies’ heroines are hardworking and uncomplaining, as is the heroine of *Dona de pres*, who complies with the expectation of concrete “daily abnegation, [and] constant resignation” (1988, pp. 373-374).

In spite of this, it is indisputable that she contributed to the construction of a new female identity during the exile, creating new female role models for women to follow.

Her epistolary represents a biographical and literary itinerary, a journey to other countries and even to another continent for a new beginning.

#### 4. The “des-exile”

Teresa Pàmies was fifty-two when she was allowed to return to Barcelona to receive the “Josep Pla Award” for her first novel, *Testament a Praga* (1971). Back to her country, after thirty-two years, she experienced a situation defined by Mario Benedetti as *des-exile*<sup>10</sup> (1984), that is she had to rebuild her life, learning to live again in the country that she was forced to leave and that became her new reality.

Following her return, Teresa devoted herself with her usual energy, to a career as a novelist. In the first decade, she published fourteen

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<sup>10</sup> Connected to the topic of return, Mario Benedetti in his essay *Desexilio y otras conjeturas* (1985), coined the term *desexilio* [*desexile*] to designate the complex and difficult process of returning to the country of origin.

books in Catalan and four in Castilian. This rapidity suggests that many of them must have been written wholly or partly in exile. In 1976 she started working as a journalist for the weekly news magazine *Triunfo* and then for the daily paper *Avui*. She wrote also for more conventional, nonfeminist magazines, such as *Hogar y moda*.

Her first novel, *Testament a Praga*, is a unique autobiographical collaboration with her father Tomás, a Communist activist who died in exile. Originally published in Catalan and later translated into Castilian by Teresa Pàmies herself, it is a “conversation” between Tomás’ diary and the letters his daughter wrote to his ghost in response. It represents the beginning of her commitment to preserve both the individual and collective memory.

Tomás Pàmies dedicated himself fully to Communist Party and political agitation through union work, in the Catalan region of Lleida. He was one of the leaders in the *BOC (Bloc obrer i camperol)*. He fought in the Spanish Civil War and spent the last years of his life in Prague, working as a municipal gardener. His daughter Teresa, who had held important leadership positions in the *JSUC (Joventut Socialista Unificada de Catalunya)* during the conflict, worked as a radio journalist for the party’s station, broadcasting in Spanish and Catalan for the refugee community, using the pseudonym of Núria Pla.

When Tomás died, he left Teresa his diary, with explicit instructions that she should publish it without any editorial interference, as we can read in the first letter that opens the novel:

Prague, year 1958, 24 Ptrska Street

To my daughter Teresa asking her to type this for me when she has some time and recommending her to make two copies without touching anything, that is: not to put in her two cents. When she can’t understand my handwriting, she should skip that part, and if necessary, she shouldn’t hesitate to add a comma or a period; but, given her lively imagination, I do not want her to fix up her father but rather leave him as he is. Angels don’t exist on Earth or in heaven and man is nothing more than the product of circumstances (p. 11)<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> “Praga, año 1958, calle Ptrska, 24

A mi hija Teresa pidiéndole que me lo pase a máquina cuando tenga un rato y recomendándole que haga dos copias y no toque nada, o sea: que no ponga nada de su cosecha. Cuando no entienda mi letra, pase de largo, y si ha de añadir una coma o un punto, que no vacile; pero, dada como es ella a las fantasías, no quiero que arregle a su padre sino que lo deje tal y como es, que ni en la tierra ni en el cielo hay ángeles, y el hombre no es otra cosa que hijo de las circunstancias”.

But Teresa did not follow these instructions, she selected parts of her father's diary and interspersed them with a series of letters that she wrote in critical response to her father's biography of obstinate Stalinist, creating a posthumous dialogue between two opposite Communist generations. Her father's example of self-sacrifice served as the political model on which Pàmies forged her identity as a militant.

In a letter dated Paris, 1968 she pays homage to his legacy of progressive values:

Father, if they ever pay homage to you in Balaguer, it will not be with a plaque on a hotel door, but on the walls of the prison where you were locked up so many times for having dared to claim the land for those who work it, the nationalization of the properties of nuns and priests, the separation of the Church from the State, free lay schooling, women's emancipation, prostitutes' recovery, free love and so many other outrages that you dreamed about. And if it were necessary to write an epitaph, it could say: "Here lie the remains of a great dreamer". And this honors you (p. 52)<sup>12</sup>.

Father and daughter struggled over the meaning of their exile in Czechoslovakia, a country that suffered the Soviet invasion in 1968. The years spent in Prague led Teresa to a painful rupture with Sovietism. She obsessively revisited this theme in most of her books. Tomás remained faithful to Soviet Communism until he died, while Teresa, aware of the horrific nature of the Stalinist regime, undertook the work of re-establishing the past. She contributed, albeit within certain limits, to the necessary revision of that part of Spanish history related to the Civil War and the exile.

Pàmies spent much of her intellectual energy struggling against the legacy of Stalinism and searching for a renewed understanding of Socialism, free of the weight of the crimes of the past, seen as a future alternative to capitalism.

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<sup>12</sup> "A usted, padre, si alguna vez le rinden homenaje en Balaguer, no será con una placa en la puerta de un hotel, sino sobre las murallas de la cárcel donde tantas veces fue encerrado por haberse atrevido a reclamar la tierra para el que la trabaja, la nacionalización de las propiedades de monjas y curas, la separación de la Iglesia del Estado, la escuela laica y la gratuita, la emancipación de la mujer, la recuperación de las rameras, el amor libre y tantas barbaridades por usted soñadas. Y si hubiera que escribir un epitafio, podría decir: «Aquí reposan los restos de un gran iluso». Y esto le honra". All quotations are from the Castilian edition, *Testamento en Praga* (1980).

In her little epistolary book *Els anys de la lluita. Carta a la néta sobre el comunisme* (2001), she states that Communism is not just an ideology, but a way of life that can and should be passed on as a family legacy, to fight against the inertia of oblivion (p. 10). Once again she employs the epistolary genre as a form of dialogue between two generations, and as a literary aesthetic for challenging limited definitions of Communism, and the restriction of female roles in politics.

The only collection of her personal letters that she published was *Cartes al fill recluta* (1984). They embrace the year that her youngest son Sergi left home for his compulsory military service in Euskadi, from 3 September 1980, to 1 September 1981. In between, an extensive letter is inserted. We can read it in pieces, written between 23 and 25 February 1981, during the hours of Antonio Tejero's attempted military coup. The occupation of the Congress of Deputies in Madrid endangered the life of the political representative Gregorio López Raimundo, Teresa's husband and father of the recipient. This letter seems to have been written in a stream, out of necessity and like a balm, revealing the boundary that the writer herself had established between 'reality' and 'literature'. The mother, hooked on the radio, comments on all the news that is known, while remembering past experiences that come to her mind, and expresses worries about the safety of her two loved ones. Just like in the novel written with her father, her personal reflections are shaped by political events of the moment and of the past.

### *Conclusions*

Fighting oblivion, was what her father had done in *Testament a Praga*, explaining his political principles as an old man and the reasons of his actions, as a legacy and testament to his children but also to the future generations. In the last letter of the Second Part of the novel, dated 1962, he wrote:

As a dowry and testament, I will leave you this biography, in my memory, and I declare that it is based on real facts and, if I were a cartoonist, I would draw the protagonists, because I can picture them clearly in my mind. I ask you, Teresa, the sacrifice of copying it respecting the original, because I want everyone to know it.

Many times I made scripts, writing two or three pages a day, so I have ended up with all these folios. Don't think it is an old man's mania, because you have to kill time diverting yourself. Receive it with a good disposition and think that it is a request from your father. I would be satisfied knowing that you do not have despised this will of your father's (p. 212)<sup>13</sup>.

This constant of the guarded and transferred memory, is practiced again by the 81 years old Teresa towards her first grandchild Aliona, born in the Soviet Union to a Russian mother. In *Els anys de la lluita. Carta a la néta sobre el comunisme* Teresa declares her intents:

Actually, I am writing you this letter about my lost and won battles, thinking of your generation, who will one day also have their battles, very different from mine, neither more glorious nor more dramatic but, in any case, this written letter to my granddaughter, who is you, could guide and teach her (p. 39)<sup>14</sup>.

But Aliona is not the only recipient of the letter, addressed also to all of Pàmies' seven grandchildren: Sergio, Pere, Alex, Urko, Joan and Natàlia, that are named at the end of the long epistle (p. 84), giving the book the appearance of a family report, rather than of a political essay<sup>15</sup>. She dedicates this book to her father, Tomás Pàmies, who had guided her along the path of Communism, establishing a strong connection between the two books: "Al record del meu pare que m'orientà pel camí del comunisme"<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> "Por todo dote y testamento os dejo esta biografía, como un recuerdo, y afirmo que es realismo puro y, si fuera dibujante, dibujaría a los protagonistas, porque los tengo bien presentes en la memoria. A ti, Teresa, te pido el sacrificio de copiarlo y el respeto al original, porque quiero que lo sepan todos. Muchas veces hice guiones y después, a dos o tres páginas por día, me encuentro con todos estos folios. No penséis que sea manía de viejo, pero hay que matar el tiempo de la manera más distraída posible.

Recibidlo con buena intención y pensad que es un ruego de vuestro padre. Me sentiría satisfecho sabiendo que no habéis despreciado este gusto de vuestro padre."

<sup>14</sup> "En realitat t'escric aquesta carta sobre les meves batalletes perdudes i guanyades, pensant en la teva generació, que un dia tindrà també les seves batalletes ben diferents a les meves, ni més glorioses ni més dramàtiques, però, en tot cas, aquesta carta escrita a la meva néta, que ets tu, pot orientar-la i alligonar-la".

<sup>15</sup> As Mercè Picornell Belenguer states, Pàmies breaks down the boundaries between autobiography, memoirs and fiction, rendering her works difficult to classify (2002, p. 200).

<sup>16</sup> "In memory of my father who guided me on the path to Communism".

In all her works there is the strong desire to transmit not only memories, but also convictions, in this case the ideals of Communism. A Communism with a human face, without deaths or reprisals, with the capacity for self-criticism. She says it very clearly, from the first page, that there are many things she would not do again, but she would fight again as a Communist militant with all the hopes and disappointments she has found there, and she ratifies it again in her last piece of advice to young people, “do not go against Communism because it is still necessary for the battles that await you. Communism may have made many mistakes, but in itself it is not a mistake” (p. 84).

Some of her best works, especially those memoirs, like *Va ploure tot el dia* (1974) and *Amor Clandestí* (1976), that deal with life in the underground resistance, displacement, and political repression, explore what it felt like to be a Communist. Pàmies aspires to pass on to future generations those Communist ideals that had inspired and encouraged her during her long life as a left-wing militant.

*Els anys de lluita. Carta a la néta sobre el comunisme* is a farewell letter from someone who knows that her future ahead is very short: 11 years after this book, Teresa Pàmies dies. However, she passes away leaving behind a massive testimonial work, so her memories are not buried with her. Aliona, her privileged interlocutor, embodies the best virtues of an idealistic youth that she vindicated throughout all her life, keeping it burning until the last breath and even beyond.

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