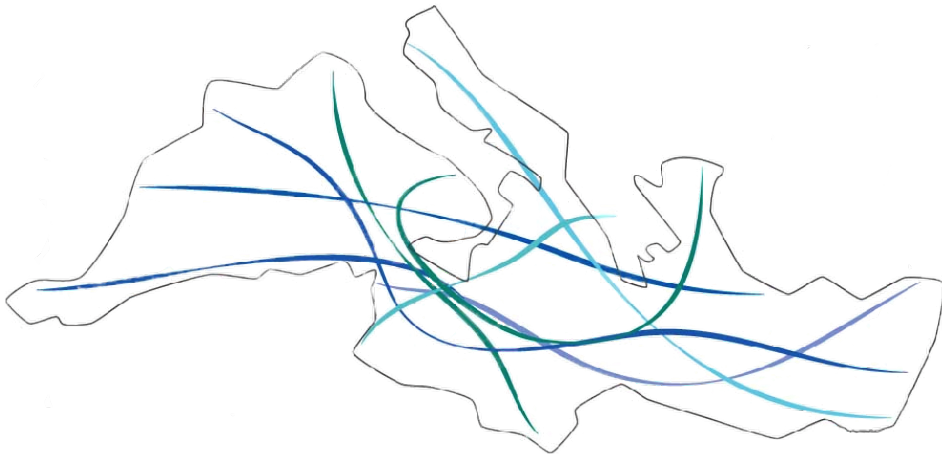


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THEMES AND PERSPECTIVES



Exile

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Introduction. Political exile in the 20th and 21st centuries

Abstract

An introduction to the current issue of the *Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge* in which the guest editors highlight their vision of the concept of exile and, at the same time, focus on exile for political reasons and with a temporal delimitation centred on contemporary times (20th-21st centuries) that they have wanted to give to this volume; an approach also adopted by the authors of the nine articles and the review presented.

Keywords: Exile from and to the Mediterranean area, 20th and 21st centuries, Migrations

Introducción. El exilio político en los siglos XX y XXI

Resumen

Una introducción al presente número de la revista *Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge* en que las editoras invitadas destacan su visión del concepto de exilio y, a la vez, hacen énfasis en el exilio por razones políticas y con una delimitación temporal centrada en la contemporaneidad (siglos XX-XXI); un enfoque adoptado también por las y los autores de los nueve artículos y de la reseña aquí presentados.

Palabras Clave: Exilio desde y hacia el área mediterránea, Siglos XX y XXI, Migraciones

Introduzione. L'esilio politico nei secoli XX e XXI

Sinossi

Un'introduzione al numero attuale della rivista *Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge* in cui le curatrici evidenziano la loro visione ampia del concetto di esilio e, allo

stesso tempo, si soffermano sull'esilio per motivi politici e con una delimitazione temporale centrata sulla contemporaneità (secoli XX-XXI); un approccio adottato anche dalle autrici e dagli autori dei nove articoli e della recensione qui presentati.

Parole chiave: Esilio da e verso l'area Mediterranea, Secoli XX e XXI, Migrazioni

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Introduction.

Political exile in the 20th and 21st centuries

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Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted.

(Edward Said, *Reflections on exile*)

Quien se mueve de su patria pierde la voz, pierde el color de los ojos, ya no se llama igual, y aunque logre afortunarse tampoco ya es el mismo; tiene otro color de piel, y de noche, y aun de día, sueña siempre un mismo sueño que le está recordando alguna cosa dulce y perdida.

(Héctor Tizón, *El cantar del profeta y el bandido*)

1. Sadness and hospitality

Individual or collective displacements have characterized the history of the Mediterranean: over the centuries, countless people have had to leave their countries to save their lives. Wars, dictatorships, famines, natural catastrophes, all kinds of persecution have pushed human beings to seek spaces in which to live with dignity and peace.

Exile, asylum, migration, expatriation... are terms that are closely related and whose conceptual borders move according to the theoretical, historical and cultural perspectives with which they are viewed.

The issue 6(2) of the Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge focuses on the role of exile in the history of the Mediterranean, on its effects and its limits, with particular attention to the politically

motivated exile of the 20th and 21st centuries that involve Mediterranean countries both as places of departure and as places of reception.

This is a moment in history when the *Mare Nostrum* has become a grave for so many migrants fleeing hunger or violence, when borders have become violent barriers for those who seek to save their lives and those of their loved ones. Now we seek to recover the political force of the notion of exile, encompassing with it various types of migrations forced by the circumstances of the places of origin.

Imposed or voluntary, exile is two-faced: condemnation and salvation at the same time. Poets have sung about this throughout centuries. The same pain joins Ovid in *Tristia*, III (“Look what I’m wearing: you will see nothing here, only sadness ...”¹), with Edward Said, Héctor Tizón and María Zambrano (“I cannot conceive of my life without the exile that I have lived. Exile has been like my homeland, or like a dimension of an unknown homeland, but once it is known, it cannot be renounced.”²).

The volume that we present today weaves Mediterranean and transoceanic networks: of violence and solidarity, of loss and remembrance, of inflexible laws and saving embraces. It is just, we know, an outline of a complex map, real and symbolic, of movements that during the 20th and 21st centuries have marked our history and the multiple territories that we inhabit. It is also a map of ethics and affections that opposes “hospitality” to intolerance and death, understood as proposed by Emmanuel Lévinas as “love (affection or kindness) to strangers”.

2. The current issue of the Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge

The nine articles that are included in this issue of JMK are extremely diverse. However, all of them propose new approaches and new interpretations of some of the main exiles of the 20th

¹ “Inspice quid portem: nihil hic nisi triste uidebis”.

² María Zambrano, “Yo no concibo mi vida sin el exilio que he vivido. El exilio ha sido como mi patria, o como una dimensión de una patria desconocida, pero que una vez que se conoce, es irrenunciable” (cit. in Abellán 2001, p. 54).

century and up to the present time linked to the Mediterranean countries.

To organize it in this brief introduction, we have decided to start from those referring to more distant times until we reach the present.

In this sense, we highlight as a starting point the texts dedicated to the Spanish Republican exile, the topic with the greatest presence in this corpus.

We begin with the article by Paula Simón, “The ‘Ethics of Care’ in the Testimonial Narrative of Spanish Republican Exiled Women”, which focuses in particular in two testimonials of women exiled in 1939, *Sola* (1954), by María José de Chopitea, and *Los diablos sueltos* (1975), by Mada Carreño.

These were written by women who survived the exodus through the northern border of Spain after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the subsequent experience of concentration camps located in the south of France, and the exile to Mexico.

Based on the notion of “ethics of care” by Carol Gilligan and on Todorov idea that women are “more susceptible to helping each other and building spaces of solidarity and collective support”, the author works on the importance of female voices in the process of social remembrance.

In Daniela Natale’s article, “Teresa Pàmies’ letters of exile: from individual to collective memory”, the main path passes, as in the previous case, through the reflection on the importance of female literary voices in the construction of the remembrance of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism.

Natale uses the works of the Catalan writer and activist Teresa Pàmies. 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 her historical memory, and that of common people with their common lives. She used to incorporate both real and fictional letters in her novels, to preserve memory, or to (re)construct it.

We know that among the Latin American countries that opened their doors to the Spanish exile, Mexico occupies a special place,

both for the number of people who arrived and for the symbolic weight they have had in Mexico, both in a cultural and academic scene. However, this recognition has been much less or almost non-existent in the case of female writers who have been marginalized from the canon, as Ileana Olmedo highlights it in her article “Historiographical Exclusions: Female Spanish Writers in Exile within the Literary Mexican Field”. Based on the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu and Harold Bloom, as well as feminist theory, especially Lillian Robinson, Susan Gubar and Toril Moi, Olmedo’s paper seeks to answer the following questions: Who draws up the canon and by what means? What are the criteria that the critic and the literature scholar use to select authors? Who determines the authority and who legitimizes this authority in Mexico? Is literary quality a historiographic criterion, how and by whom is it established? What interests does it respond to? Furthermore, it focuses on the literary creation of Mercedes Pinto, who at her time was influential in the Mexican cultural field but whose works have been unknown and ignored for many years.

An interesting case in terms of reflection on the European and the American sides of the Atlantic is the one presented by Irene Jones in “Cultural options of transatlantic exile: Rosalía de Castro’s image as conjured up by Galician Day commemorations on the two shores”.

Starting from the celebration of Galicia Day, it analyzes the figure of the writer Rosalía de Castro as a symbol that brings together the Galicians who live in her land and those who migrated to Buenos Aires. The context in which this bridge was built in the 1950s is that of the profound impact that Francisco Franco’s dictatorship had on the ways the poet was conceived. It could be said to have been a turning point in the social representation of the poet and in the process of canonization that she went through over the years following her death.

The article by Carmen de la Guardia Herrero, “The Price of Refuge. Spanish Republican Exiles in the US Cultural Cold War”, also talks about the 1950s. It explores the importance of the collaboration of the different groups of European exiles in the United States, after the rise of totalitarianism, in the construction of open and covert American diplomacy at the height of the Cold War. And this, in one sense, was logical. Refugees knew well the languages and traditions

of their home nations and many shared their strong ideologies of anti-totalitarianism with the US government; there were synergies between both parties.

In addition, de la Guardia analyses the link and then the confrontation on the part of one group of those European exiles in the US: that of the anti-Franco and anti-Stalinist community of Spanish republican exiles in New York, to American policies and interests during the nineteen forties and fifties. Especially from 1953 with the Madrid Pacts and the recognition of the Franco's regime by the US.

In the same cycle of texts linked (also) to the republican Spanish exile, there is Mariela Sánchez's analysis of a contemporary television series, *Vientos de agua*, which bridges the gap between migrations and exiles from Mediterranean countries, especially Spain and Italy, to Argentina in the first half of the 20th century and the later displacements of many Argentinians³ to Spain. It also focuses on the situation of women from other countries (Colombia, Senegal...) who have sought refuge in Spain at the beginning of the 21st century and how it is dealt with in this series. With the title "Women's Migration to and from some Mediterranean Countries in *Vientos de agua* by Juan José Campanella", Sánchez points out the importance of the particular features that migrant women show in *Vientos de agua* (Water Winds), 2005. Women who fled from Mediterranean Europe to America, moving away from fascism in different Mediterranean latitudes, and women who, years after, seek in Spain a subsistence not guaranteed in their places of origin, share similar miseries in the process of leaving homeland. Sánchez's article gives account of their vulnerabilities and the reason why is relevant to focus on them.

A different European political situation, located in the first half of the 20th century, is that of exile about which Matteo Macinanti speaks in "Music in exile: Russian émigré composers in interwar Paris and the mission of Russia Abroad's musical creativity after the 1917 revolution". This essay provides historical and sociocultural

³Argentina, that of the 1976-1983 dictatorship, is also the starting point of Nora Strejilevich's exile and of her excellent literary elaboration in *Un día, allá por el fin del mundo*, reviewed in this same issue by Griselda Zuffi.

coordinates to the reality of Russian émigré composers' community based in Paris within the milieu of the so-called Russia Abroad. This cultural category has been the subject of many studies in the last decades. These latter have thoroughly underlined the literary expressions of the Parisian émigré ambient in the light of the links with the homeland, the pre-revolutionary culture and the expectation of the return to Russia. Features that may be summarized in the concept of the *Missija russkoi emigratsii* whose principal domain is to be found in the "free creative work" characterized by a twofold outlook: on the one hand it is aimed at providing continuity to pre-soviet Russia's traditional culture and, on the other hand, it is intertwined with the development of new languages, forms and aesthetics, inextricably bound with the contemporary artistic achievements of the host metropolis, the *Ville Lumière*.

"From the Mediterranean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, the exile of Algerian prisoners in the penal colony of New Caledonia. An analysis of their descendants' identity processes", by Rachid Oulahal, approaches the issue of exile through the study of case of descendants of Algerians in New Caledonia. The first Algerians to arrive in this territory were sentenced by the French colonial administration, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, to punishments they had to serve in New Caledonia. Most of them will never be able to go back to their home country.

The article highlights the current impact of this exile on the Algerian descendants in New Caledonia but also at the Mediterranean area level through the way this historical fact is dealt with by both France and Algeria in the contemporary period. Among other things, the debate about possible independence - and, in this context, also the very recent referendum - has revived "the theme of territorial membership and national identity".

And we close the article sections of this issue with a Human Right's approach to the European response to the migratory crisis that the world experiences today: "The 'Immediate Protection' Status under the New Pact on Migration and Asylum: some remarks", by Rossana Palladino, addresses painful and dubious points of the European Union's migration policies.

Responses to the crisis of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), after a long period of impasse, currently lie in the New Pact

on Migration and Asylum (European Commission, 23 September 2020). Palladino in her essay focuses on the Proposal for a Regulation addressing situations of crisis and force majeure as part of the Commission package of proposals following the New Pact, and especially on the “immediate protection” status envisaged therein, concluding that, regrettably, “the proposed Regulation presents some highlighted issues that makes the provision on immediate protection status a too weak positive element, without a general paradigm shift”.

3. Conclusions

It is clear to everyone that the reception of people forced to leave their country is, sadly, anything but a priority in European policies. In this sense, and remaining close to the themes covered by most of the authors of this volume, we like to recommend a recent film by Luis Cintora, *Un viaje hacia nosotros* (ESP 2021), which has just been released: in it the actor - and also co-writer - Pepe Viyuela, the grandson of a Spanish refugee from the Civil War, guides viewers on a journey which combines the memory of the painful past of the Republicans who were victims of the “Bando nacional” and of Francoism with the present of those who seek refuge from other countries and clash with the cruel myopia of many decision-makers and much of the European public opinion, while also encountering - when the conditions of the journey are not fatal - the solidarity of many individuals and activist organisations.

These aspects have also been highlighted recently by Nanni Moretti in his film *Santiago, Italia* (ITA-FRA-CHL 2018), in which the hospitality given by Italy in 1973 - when Pinochet led the coup d'état that began the long, bloody period of the Chilean dictatorship - is compared with the current closure, with the egoistic blindness to the suffering of those who try to cross the land borders or the Mediterranean to reach the European Union.

In this regard, it is illustrative that Enrico Calamai - one of the few Italians who worked to save lives in Argentina during the last dictatorship, author, years later, of the indispensable book *Niente asilo politico* (2003), is also one of the founders of the Committee

“Nuovi desaparecidos”⁴, which seeks “truth and justice for the new desaparecidos of the Mediterranean”.

If we have coordinated this monographic issue, accepting the kind invitation of the *Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge*, and if we are grateful to the authors of the texts presented here, it is also because we believe that all of us scholars have the duty to remember the need - in history and in the present - of so many human beings to leave their homeland in search of a better future; and we must accompany contemporary exiles with our work, helping them to be welcomed and, as far as possible, also working to put an end to the causes of their forced migration.

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The 'ethics of care' in the testimonial narrative of Spanish republican exiled women

Abstract

This article aims to study two works belonging to the testimonial narrative of the Spanish Republican exile of 1939: *Sola* (1954), by María José de Chopitea, and *Los diablos sueltos* (1975), by Mada Carreño. These testimonial novels were written by women who survived the exodus through the northern border of Spain after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the subsequent experience of concentration camps and other concentrationary places located in the south of France, and the exile to México. Based on his reading of the Shoah literature, Tzvetan Todorov argues that women were more susceptible to helping each other and building spaces of solidarity and collective support. This "ethics of care" that Todorov identifies can be observed in these works of exiled Spanish women. Therefore, this essay studies how the "ethics of care," following the concept of Carol Gilligan, is reflected in these stories with the objective of detecting certain specificities of the female experience of the Republican Spanish exile. Through this study, we will demonstrate that the voice of surviving women is essential to fully and deeply understand the process of territorial dislocation that the Republican community suffered after the Civil War, as well as to assess the contribution that these female narratives have made to the processes of social remembrance.

Keywords: Testimony narrative, Spanish republican exile, French concentration camps, Women

La "ética del cuidado" en la narrativa testimonial de las mujeres republicanas exiliadas

Resumen

El artículo se propone estudiar dos obras pertenecientes a la narrativa testimonial del exilio español republicano de 1939: *Sola* (1954), de María José de Chopitea, y *Los diablos sueltos* (1975), de Mada Carreño. Estas novelas testimoniales fueron

escritas por mujeres que sobrevivieron al éxodo hacia la frontera francesa al finalizar la Guerra Civil Española, luego al paso por el sistema concentracionario francés y más tarde al exilio en México. Basado en su lectura de la literatura de la Shoah, Tzvetan Todorov argumenta que las mujeres fueron más susceptibles de ayudarse a sí mismas y de construir espacios de solidaridad y sostén colectivo. Esta “ética del cuidado” identificada por Todorov se observa en las mencionadas obras de las escritoras exiliadas españolas. Asimismo, este ensayo estudia cómo la “ética del cuidado”, siguiendo el concepto de Carol Gilligan, se refleja en estas historias con el objetivo de detectar algunas especificidades de la experiencia de las mujeres en el exilio mexicano. A través de este estudio, demostraremos que la voz de las mujeres supervivientes es esencial para entender de manera completa y profunda el proceso de dislocación territorial que la comunidad republicana sufrió luego de la Guerra Civil, así como también valorar la contribución que estas narrativas de mujeres han hecho a los procesos de rememoración social.

Palabras clave: Testimonio, Narrativa, Exilio español republicano, Campos de concentración franceses, Mujeres

L'etica della cura' nella narrativa testimoniale delle donne repubblicane spagnole esiliate

Sinossi

L'articolo esamina due lavori appartenenti alla narrativa testimoniale dell'esilio repubblicano spagnolo del 1939: *Sola* (1954), di María José de Chopitea e *Los diablos sueltos* (1975) di Mada Carreño. I due romanzi testimoniali sono opera di donne sopravvissute all'esodo attraverso il confine settentrionale della Spagna dopo la guerra civile, alla successiva esperienza dei campi di concentramento e altri luoghi di reclusione nel Sud della Francia e all'esilio in Messico. Sulla base della sua interpretazione della letteratura della Shoah, Tzvetan Todorov ritiene che le donne fossero più disposte ad aiutarsi a vicenda e a costruire spazi di solidarietà e sostegno reciproco. Questa “etica della cura”, in base alla definizione di Carol Gilligan, si riflette in queste storie, con l'obiettivo di identificare alcune specificità dell'esperienza femminile dell'esilio repubblicano spagnolo. L'articolo mira a dimostrare che la voce delle donne sopravvissute è essenziale per comprendere pienamente e in profondità il processo di dispersione territoriale subito dalla comunità repubblicana dopo la guerra civile, così come per valutare il contributo che la narrativa femminile ha dato alla memoria collettiva.

Parole chiave: Narrativa testimoniale, Esilio repubblicano spagnolo, Campi di concentramento francesi, Donne

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The “ethics of care” in the testimonial narrative of Spanish republican exiled women

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Introduction

“Our life seems like an eternal journey” (Mistral, 1940, p. 37) says the narrator of *Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española*, and in this confession, we can guess the thought of its author, Silvia Mistral, who represents a generation of Spanish women marked by the tear of the exile from Spain in 1939, once Franco’s military troops defeated the Republican front. Exile is not a journey like any other; it is a decision not taken but imposed, which means a turning point in the life story. For this reason, those who go into exile tend to harbor this sensation of permanent transit for a long time, like a journey from which one never returns. The use of the first-person plural pronoun “we” is a constant in the accounts of the Republican exile of 1939, which is defined by its communitarian nature. It was an entire collective, united by the rejection of Franco’s regime, which had to escape and insert itself into a new space, the host country. Solidarity networks were, therefore, a necessary condition for this adaptation to take place, not only because many Spaniards sought the help of compatriots who had arrived earlier on Mexican territory, but also because within the exiled community, spaces of work and containment were built, such as publishing houses, newspapers and academic institutions that served to enable the continuity of their intellectual work and social life.

Out of all the literature produced by Spanish Republican exiles, this essay aims to study some works belonging to the testimonial narrative written by women who survived the exodus through the

northern border of Spain after the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939. In some cases, they were imprisoned in concentration camps and other places of concentration in the south of France. Subsequently, they were able to travel as exiled to other countries, especially in Latin America. In the case of authors such as María José de Chopitea or Mada Carreño, the departure from Spain, the journey to the host country, and the process of adaptation to the Mexican context were marked by the difficulties of being a woman. For this reason, solidarity towards others, or what we understand in this case by “ethics of care,” taking the notion coined by Carol Gilligan in the early 1980s, takes on a fundamental value in their testimonial accounts. In tune with this and based on her reading of the Shoah literature, Tzvetan Todorov argues that women were more susceptible to helping each other and building spaces of solidarity and collective support (2009: 84). These spaces of solidarity and collective support can be found in different ways in testimonial narratives written by exiled writers such as María José de Chopitea in *Sola* (1954) and Mada Carreño in *Los diablos sueltos* (1975). In this case, these two works are considered novels, although we can identify a strong testimonial or autobiographical basis that places them in the category of testimonial novels or “self-fictions.”

The objective of the essay is to study how the “ethics of care” is reflected in these accounts of women exiled in Mexico in order to detect certain specificities of the female experience of Republican Spanish exile. This study will demonstrate that the voice of surviving women is essential for a thorough understanding of the process of territorial dislocation suffered by the Republican community after the Civil War, as well as to assess the contribution that these female narratives have made to the process of social remembrance¹. The testimonial narrative produced by women recovers the chaotic

¹ This essay can be read as a continuation of my article published in *Diablotexto Digital. Revista de crítica literaria* under the title “Una memoria transatlántica de mujeres: la experiencia concentracionaria en la narrativa testimonial escrita por españolas republicanas exiliadas en México” (2020), in which I proposed, through the analysis of the testimonial works of Silvia Mistral, Cristina Martín and Mada Carreño, the need to recover the stories that make explicit the experiences of women in the French concentrationary system and in the journey to Latin American exile, as well as the spaces filled by them, which have usually been overlooked in the narratives produced by other writers (Simón, 2020, p. 109).

scenes experienced in border territory, as well as the arbitrariness with which some of them were assigned to different concentrationary spaces called reception centers, where their freedom of movement and action was significantly reduced, as it is the case of the protagonist of *Los diablos sueltos*, by Mada Carreño. The transatlantic journey to Latin American exile plays a significant role in these narratives. Although many women made it accompanied by husbands and children, some of them had to face it alone, as the protagonist of *Sola*, by María José de Chopitea. Both testimonial novels dwell on the different organizational strategies that women put in place in all those spaces associated with the departure from Spain, the French concentrationary system, and the host country in exile. Strictly women's experiences such as motherhood and upbringing are highlighted in these narratives, as well as the recounting of scenes associated with friendship, solidarity, mutual aid, and companionship, virtues that became instances of the recovery of social ties that the war and defeat had damaged.

We believe that knowledge about Spanish men and women in exile, as well as the experience of French concentration sites suffered by this community, is limited if female voices are not taken into account. In this sense, the testimonial narrative produced by women becomes a significant object to complete this knowledge, as well as to assess how women narrated their experience in a literary style.

1. The exile of Spanish Republican women: the departure from Spain, the time in the French concentration camp system, and the journey to the host country.

In 1997 Alicia Alted stated that in the literature on the 1939 exile "man is the central figure in historically significant events, both in books predominantly concerned with political issues and in those with a social and cultural projection" (1997, p. 225). Although in recent decades, this diagnosis has been significantly reversed by the emergence of relevant studies that deal with the literature of exiled women and their cultural intervention in the countries of exile², there

² Among the indispensable studies for a thorough understanding of the cultural production of exiled Republican women are *Exiliadas. Escritoras, Guerra Civil y*

is still much to be done in terms of the recovery and edition or republication of their works, as well as in terms of reflection on the specific and differential aspects of female memory, given the heterogeneity of identities that made up the collective of exiled women. In short, with regard to the recovery of the cultural memory of the republican exile, the literary production of exiled republican women is one of the objects of research that still demands attention and in-depth study by specialized literary and academic critics.

The year 2019 was significant because it marked the 80th anniversary of the Spanish Republican exile. Numerous cultural and academic activities were developed throughout Spain, as well as in the countries that received the exiles. In October of that year, the Cervantes Institute held the International Congress “Women in the Republican Exile of 1939”, whose main objective was to pay specific attention to the female collective constituted by very diverse profiles – from the elite of leading and professional women to those unknown and silenced –, as well as to know the places and sites intended for the Republican women, such as concentration camps, hotels, maternity homes or shelters where they shared time and hardships with a childhood also doomed to exile (Instituto Cervantes, 2019). These objectives diagnose the existence of a field of studies that still remains to be explored, since, as explained in a newspaper that promoted the congress, “if the defeated Spain was relegated to the ditches of silence, the female version of history suffered a double abandonment” (Baquero, 2020). Given that the reconstruction of the protagonists of the Republican exile has focused mostly on male personalities, the celebration of this congress and the motivations for its organization show the vacancy that still exists in the detailed study of the cultural production of the women of the Republican exile.

memoria, by Josebe Martínez (2007); *De Ciudadanas a exiliadas. Un estudio sobre las republicanas españolas en México*, by Pilar Domínguez Prats (2009) and *Mujer, creación y exilio* (España, 1939-1975), edited by Mónica Jato, Sharon Keefe Ugalde and Janet Pérez (2009). Meanwhile, to understand the roles and position of women during the Spanish Civil War from a gender perspective, it is essential to consult *Recuerdos de la resistencia. La voz de las mujeres de la guerra civil española* (1995), by Shirley Mangini.

The exile of Spanish women has its own particularities. To the urgency of leaving Spain, as Alba Martínez Martínez explains, was an added concern of "guaranteeing one's own survival and that of the family group" (2016, 65). This marked the experience of the exiles as they continued to carry out caregiving tasks which had been an important part of their role during the Civil War. Alicia Alted emphasizes this when she explains that during the conflict, women became key elements who had to replace "the recruited man in agricultural and industrial tasks" (1997, p. 223). In this way, Alted continues, in the rearguard, they carried out multiple tasks of care of the sick, children and the elderly; administration; educational work; economic maintenance of their families; information services (espionage, transport of weapons, liaison); displacements from one place to another in case of danger of bombings or attacks; evacuation in shelters; accompanying children on expeditions to other countries, among others (Alted, 1997, p. 224). This kind of multifunctional training continued in force during the exile for many of these women who, given the socioeconomic circumstances, had not only to attend to domestic matters but also to undertake work responsibilities outside the home in order to keep their families afloat. In the words of Alba Martínez Martínez,

the survival strategies developed by women during the first years of exile oriented gender mechanisms and practices towards roles that little had to do with the traditional discourse that confined women within the four walls of private space and conceived of public space as an exclusively male entity (2016, p. 80).

In the particular case of exile in Mexico, Pilar Domínguez Prats notes that the women integrated a plural and heterogeneous group in terms of age – the majority ranged between 25 and 40 years old –, marital status, socio-educational status – although the majority could read and write, only a minority were intellectual women – and occupations. Some had been active in political and trade union spaces during the Second Republic and later in the context of the Civil War. In contrast, others accompanied their husbands with political responsibilities. There were housewives, workers, professionals such as secretaries, nurses or teachers, intellectuals, and artists (Domínguez Prats, 1999, pp. 300-301). What is certain is that in exile, many women saw their functions and positions within

the family altered by the massive incorporation into the world of work outside the home. While those dedicated to domestic care tasks had to take on other jobs – linked, for example, to sewing or other commercial enterprises –, others who were professionals and intellectuals had to develop less qualified tasks. At the same time, only a minority could devote themselves to their previous professions as teachers, writers, or journalists (Domínguez Prats, 1999, p. 304). These situations highlight the impressive versatility and capacity for adaptation demonstrated by this group. Even under the conditions inherent to their gender, which led them to face difficulties when they wished to break into the public scene, their main objective was to overcome the difficult ordeal of exile. Moreover, that ordeal encompassed various aspects such as the reconstruction and maintenance of daily life, the support of husbands and children, and also the search for and fulfillment of personal challenges. As Alicia Alted states,

they were those who tried to rebuild in modest homes, mostly rented, in boarding houses or shared apartments, the world they had lost. They preserved the language, the cuisine, the customs of their country and, at the same time, naturally and quietly, incorporated the habits of the host country. They were a key element in the process of integration of their children, and at the same time, they made the permanent feeling of temporariness, the forced and endless exile of the men, more bearable. They did not usually participate in the men's political discussions. They listened and nodded. Their husbands had their *tertulias* in the café; women met in their homes, where they talked about their children, about how expensive life was... They were active protagonists in the collective cultural events and in the Sunday trips (*jiras*). In short, they were always present, but invisible in their rich and little known private world. (1997, p. 230)

Precisely in terms of this eagerness to survive, I am interested in highlighting a particular characteristic that exile acquired for women and that allows me to introduce the commentary on the texts that make up the present object of study. One of the strategies they used to arrive in the host country and integrate into the new environment was linked to the establishment of solidarity relationships. Thus, Domínguez Prats explains that in the context of exile in Mexico, relations of mutual help among women became essential:

Often, women exiles from the same village or from the same political organization shared sewing tasks, and some couples even shared housing in order to save expenses in the early years in Mexico City. The existence of these networks of personal relationships among women as a form of mutual solidarity encompassed many other aspects of exile life and it is a shared aspect with other migrations] (1999, p. 304-305).

This practice developed in exile had been replicated since the departure from Spain and in the concentration camps, shelters, and other spaces of the French concentrationary system where the Republican women stayed. Jorge de Hoyos takes up the subject of the importance of the networks of affection sustained in exile for the configuration or reconfiguration of the identity of the Spaniards in the host countries. Thus, he mentions the solidarity that women professed to each other in various spaces of socialization, such as patios, parks, and stairways in which they shared experiences (de Hoyos Puente, 2012, p. 30). As it will be illustrated through the novels discussed, the testimonial narrative produced by women is prodigal in the recovery of scenes associated with the establishment of bonds with other women in pursuit of helping others and being helped from the moment of departure from Spain to the arrival at the exile destination.

2. The testimonial narrative about the French camps and exile produced by women.

From the beginning of the republican exile to the present day, it is possible to reconstruct a set of narratives with a strong testimonial imprint written by women. They are stories presenting different degrees of fictional and literary re-elaboration (ranging from more autobiographical forms such as memoirs to more self-fictional and novel-like forms). Usually, they include the sequence of the exodus from Spain, the period spent in France, in which many of them were confined in spaces associated with the French concentrationary system, and also the journey by boat to host countries, often Latin American and especially Mexico and Argentina. Until the mid-1970s, this narrative was published in exile, as in the case of *Éxodo...* (1940), by Silvia Mistral, which is also one of the first testimonies

published on the subject; *El incendio. Ideas y recuerdos* (1954), by Isabel del Castillo, published in Argentina by Americalée, or *Sola* (1954), by María José de Chopitea, among others.

In the final stages of the Franco regime, testimonial titles were published in Mexico on the female experience in the French concentration camp system and exile – *Éxodo de los republicanos españoles* (1972), by Cristina Martín, and *Los diablos sueltos*, by Mada Carreño (1975) –, but they also began to appear in Spain, at a time when some important publishing spaces were made available, even when democracy was still a long way off. Teresa Pàmies, for example, recounts in *Quan érem refugiats (Segona part de Quan érem capitans)* (1975) her time in the Magnac-Laval refugee camp, near Limoges. The last thirty years have been particularly prolific in publishing women's memoirs about French concentration camps and exile. On the one hand, an interesting example has been the publication of the memoirs of Luisa Carnés, *De Barcelona a la Bretaña francesa* (2014), which had remained unpublished for decades. Likewise, the recovery of the collaborations published in the Spanish press by Cecilia G. de Guilarte in the 1970s, *Un barco cargado de...* (2012), constitutes a relevant case of recovered texts written by influential women in Republican exile. On the other hand, memoirs about the female experience in the French camps and exile emerged in this last period, such as *Mi exilio* (2005), by María García Torrecillas; *Memorias del exilio* (2005), by Francisca Muñoz Alday; *Éxodo. Del campo de Argelès a la maternidad de Elna* (2006), by Remedios Oliva Berenguer; *Crónicas de una vida* (2009), by Benita Moreno García, among others, written by women who were not necessarily active in militant or intellectual and/or journalistic spaces in the host countries. In these works, they bring to light their experiences as republican citizens – workers, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters – who, after many years, decide to publish their works in order to participate in the recovery of memory.

In this last period, it is worth mentioning the publication of a volume in Mexico entitled *Nuevas raíces. Testimonios de mujeres españolas en el exilio* (1993) which brings together the stories of several women who went through different experiences in the context of exile. The compilation of this type of testimonies on intense experiences, such as those of concentration camps or exile,

is a form of collaborative writing that has also emerged in other countries as a way of recovering the experiences of women survivors. Such is the case of Argentina, where, for example, *Ese infierno. Conversaciones de cinco mujeres sobrevivientes de la ESMA* (2001), has been written by several women who came together to tell each other about their experiences in that clandestine detention center during the last military dictatorship (1976-1983). In the prologue of *Nuevas raíces*, it is explicitly stated that the materials come "from the collaboration of several women who were forced to leave their homeland of birth (AAVV, 1993, p. 10), which emphasizes that this publication was group-motivated. The authors, who are not professional writers, linger on the stories of friendship with other women, shared work and travel experiences, thus creating testimonies filled with friendship, solidarity, and comradeship.

It is also interesting the aforementioned volume *De Barcelona a la Bretaña francesa*, by Luisa Carnés, published in 2012. Although it is the autobiographical account of the writer and journalist from Madrid, it is interesting to note the importance of these chronicles to the women she encountered after leaving Barcelona and on her way through the south of France. From some workers who assumed tasks on the war front, such as Montserrat or Amparo Fernández, to an older woman and a nun from a Valencian convent with whom she lived moments of anguish in the borderlands, the predilection for referring to women's stories is noticeable, which reaffirms the intention of rescuing from oblivion the experiences of her peers, as well as the sites they passed through, such as the hostel of Le Pouliguen, in Brittany, mostly inhabited by women (Plaza Plaza, 2012, p. 42) and of which we have information thanks to the testimony of Carnés.

The two works that make up the present object of study – *Sola* (1954), by María José de Chopitea (1915-?), and *Los diablos sueltos* (1975), by Mada Carreño (1914-2000) – have some similarities. First, their authors are women who worked in cultural and intellectual fields, thus, as Domínguez Prats explains, "they had a more visible activity than most of the exiled women", since "they published in the Mexican press, edited books of autobiographical content or fiction and essays, but even so they were not studied and recognized for many years" (Domínguez Prats, 1999, p. 212).

Despite the constraints of their gender, both found in Mexico cultural and publishing spaces where they could develop intellectually.

Secondly, exile was, for them, a turning point in their narrative production. María José de Chopitea came from a bourgeois family from Barcelona and had received a high-quality education in Spain and Switzerland. However, it was not until she arrived in Mexico in 1946 that she collaborated in exile newspapers and participated in literary gatherings. Among other interesting tasks, she was secretary of Acción Democrática Internacional and one of the founders of the Mexican publishing house Premià (OG/JRLG, 2016b: 82). As for Mada Carreño, although she had begun her militant and journalistic work in Spain before and during the Civil War – she participated in the youth movement *Alerta* and wrote in publications of the *Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas* – it was during the Mexican exile when she achieved prestige in the literary and publishing world, and also intervened in other artistic fields such as drawing, theater, dance and singing (JB/SJ/EB/OG, 2016a, p. 520). The fact that the two works discussed have been published in Mexico, the country where the two authors were received, shows that the writing project of these women found a way to materialize out of the transatlantic crossing.

Thirdly, and in relation to the above, it should be noted that the theme of exile is central in these novels. They allow us to learn about the circumstances experienced by women during the exodus, the passage through the French concentration camp system, and the journey into exile from a perspective that does not usually appear in the narrative produced by men. The individual experiences are intertwined with those of other women with whom they shared the experience; the solidarity and identification with a community of women are fundamental elements highlighted in these testimonies. In all the stations of this journey, there are episodes that show empathy and mutual help towards their companions, towards other women they meet along the way, in the field or on the journey, as well as allusions to gestures of solidarity from other women towards the narrators. In the same way, these narratives include female experiences associated with motherhood, childcare, mutual protection, the suffering of patriarchal oppression, and resistance to

social mandates that are not usually explicitly shown in male narratives. Through the restitution of these female experiences and subjectivities to the discourse on this chapter of the republican exile, it is possible to identify certain feminist practices exercised by these republican women, who carried in their cultural and political formation ascribed to republicanism, as well as in their professional trajectory, the germ of demands that are still on the agenda today.

3. Sola (1954) and Los diablos sueltos (1975): solidarity and “ethics of care”

In *Frente al límite (Face à l’extrême)*, Todorov associates the capacity for care with the maternal attitude of women in the Nazi concentration camps. Thus, he identifies that they survived better both in quantitative and qualitative terms and attributes this to the fact that “they were more practical and more likely to help each other” (Todorov, 2009, p. 84). Far from any gender determinism, it is true that in the narrative produced by exiled women, there are sequences associated with these gestures of protection towards others, but especially towards other women, as well as the importance in the stories of collective action to achieve common benefits, joint recreational activities in the concentration camps or in the means of transport that led them to the host country and even in exile, experience of friendship between women, motherhood and upbringing, often shared.

These themes are part of the usual repertoire of women’s narratives, thus configuring a sort of “ethics of care” reminiscent of Carol Gilligan's concept, who developed the idea that autonomy is illusory, and isolation has a very high price, so we must be aware of the value of interdependence and relationality (Gilligan, 2013, p. 45)³. Historically, Gilligan explains, justice has been placed alongside

³ In the volume *In a different voice* (1982) Gilligan vindicates care as a value that should be as important as justice – usually associated with rationality and, therefore, with masculinity, but which was not so because it was developed only in the private and domestic life of women. Thus, with the concept “ethics of care”, the author intended to universalize the obligations of care to the other and to

reason, the mind and the “self,” attributes considered to belong to the “rational man,” while care, along with emotions, the body, and relationships are qualities usually linked to women, idealized while belittled in patriarchy (2013, p. 54). The revision of this binary system invites redefining these roles because, in a democratic context, care should be understood as a behavior inherent to the human being, so that an “ethics of care” should not be read as feminine but feminist and, therefore, revolutionary or liberating. In line with Francisco Javier León-Correa, the fundamental element of the “ethics of care” is relationality, insofar as “the person is essentially oriented towards interpersonal, family and social relationships”. So, he continues:

The relationship is always essential for the human being, for his personal development – masculine or feminine –, and for the unfolding of his own possibilities in complementarity with the other, and this point serves as a dialogue with the positions of the philosophy of dialogue, of the “I-thou” relationship, and of the “reciprocity of consciences”, which is related [...] with the feminist ethics of care of the “concrete other (León-Correa, 2008, p. 58).

The novels produced by women about the Republican exile are prodigal in the selection of narrative sequences associated with this “ethic of care” understood not as an intrinsic feminine behavior, but as a survival strategy and a way of reconstructing the social ties that the war and the tearing of exile had produced at the community level. In this sense, we can consider them as vindictory discourses of “relationality” as a way of overcoming the adverse political conditions that were imposed on the Spanish republican community.

In *Sola* (1954), María José de Chopitea develops a peritextual fiction in which the dialogue between two women is the fundamental writing motor. In the prologue, entitled “Pórtico,” the author mentions her relationship with a certain Montserrat who, in the novel, turns out to be her own fictionalized version. The author declares that since childhood, the two were “dearly inseparable”, which is why friendship is the emphasized relationship between them and from which trust is generated so that the girl would confide her personal papers, which constitute the basis of the narration:

understand relationality as a human behavior, regardless of the burden associated with gender (Camps, 2013, p. 7-8).

I did not reject them nor did I dare, at any time, to interrupt her. She seemed hallucinated. I listened to her in silence with the greatest curiosity and respect, and in her stories, I discovered a Montserrat forged as metals are forged: with suffering and joy (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 11).

Thus, loving listening is the foundational action of this novel, which implies the clearly relational act that is at the basis of the concept of testimony. There is no testimony without the disposition of someone who listens. Therefore, as Gilligan explains, the first step in the re-establishment of broken social ties is the communalization of trauma, that is, "being able to tell the story to someone who listens with the certainty that you can trust the person to faithfully retell it to others in the community" (Gilligan, 2013, p. 15). This gesture originates from the "ethics of care" to which Gilligan alludes and becomes transparent in this peritextual fiction with which María José de Chopitea begins her autobiographical-imprinted novel.

Told in the first person, the novel delineates a Montserrat who defines herself as an independent and autonomous woman from the first pages. In Barcelona, before leaving the country, she worked as a telephone operator at the Hotel Majestic, historically identified as one of the gathering places for politicians and diplomats during the Second Republic. Towards the end of the Civil War, she establishes a love affair with a member of the Mexican diplomatic corps, with whom she finally flees Catalonia. The selection of images during the story of the messy and distressing exodus is linked to the experience of women from the identification of the protagonist herself as "one of so many Spaniards snatched away by the flood of defeat" (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 133). Thus, in the border chaos the narrator describes the episode of a woman giving birth at the side of the road: "In a ditch, at the side of the road, a woman was giving birth; others helped her. The passers-by, not stopping, watched, respectfully, the advent of a new life". It also refers to the desperate situation of another woman with a cadaverous face (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 136) who decided to throw her child into a van to be received by a *Mosso d'Esquadra* [member of the Catalonia's autonomous police force] and thus save his life amid the exodus and the danger of the bombardments.

The women's flight to the French border was marked by this type of extreme situation during which they were involved in the care of children, the care of the sick and elderly, and the self-preservation of their own lives, even in vulnerable circumstances such as pregnancy. In *Sola*, as in other women's narratives, these types of specific scenes of their experience are visibilized. An example is found in *Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española*, by Silvia Mistral, a less fictionally loaded story than María José de Chopitea's novel. The narrator – close to the figure of a chronicler – recovers episodes associated with solidarity among women, such as a group of women who robbed a truck with merchandise and distributed it among those passing by (Mistral, 1940, p. 26), as well as harsh experiences undergone by women, such as the suicide of a nurse, who could not tolerate the anguish caused by the chaotic situation of the exodus and threw herself into the river (Mistral, 1940, p. 39).

The vulnerability of a woman traveling alone, that is, without the company of a husband, is evident in the story right from its title. José Carlos, the diplomat with whom Montserrat is romantically involved, must embark to Mexico while they are in border territory. She does not have documentation, and separating from her partner causes her great insecurity, since if the authorities discovered her, “she would end up in a concentration camp without remedy” (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 161). Therefore, she decides to go to Geneva as soon as possible in search of a family that had taken her in some time before, during her studies in that city. There, the protective figure of a woman, Maman Suisse, who receives and contains her during those days, emerges. It is the relationship with a woman, in this case, a maternal one, that brings her security in these circumstances.

Montserrat's adventure continues until she manages to embark to Mexico from Bordeaux, thus initiating the account of the journey to the host country. The port cities from which one departs for exile are spaces strongly associated with transit. These are places where dislocated and wandering subjectivities circulate and see the materialization of uprootedness as well as uncertainty in the face of the newness generated by the imminent relocation. At the Central Travel Agency in that city, the protagonist meets a Japanese woman who is applying for free accommodation. The girl finds it difficult to

make herself understood in French and is clearly in financial trouble. Montserrat offers her company and the promise to put her up with her at the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), for which she has a letter of recommendation. She then comments: "As if we had always known each other, together we went to Notre Foyer, which was the name of that Association in Bordeaux" (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 276). It is interesting to note the comment about this social organization that was founded in the United Kingdom to offer assistance to women in vulnerable conditions and that Montserrat contacted to ask for shelter prior to her departure. Like the Red Cross, through, for example, the Elna Maternity Home, this association may have provided support to republican women through the intermediation of women from other countries who came into contact with them, as Montserrat describes after her encounter with the ladies in Geneva.

The ship voyage ended without major sorrow for the protagonist, who was relieved to start friendships with "transitory friends" such as the Japanese woman and two Filipino women. The conversation and recreation among the four of them mitigated the anguishing effects of the journey to exile. Having just arrived in New York City, Montserrat again experienced a feeling of insecurity before the unknown environment that was only reversed by expressions of help from other women, such as, for example, a stranger who invited her to take a room together in order to safeguard their savings (de Chopitea, 1954, pp. 288-289). Thus, the solidarity she had shown with the Japanese woman now returns to herself in the gesture of this stranger. The networks of mutual aid among women are invisible but active in this context of uprootedness and wandering. In that North American city, before leaving for Mexico, she makes contact with other members of the Y.W.C.A. who invite her to visit some of the city's tourist attractions.

Montserrat's arrival in Mexico is full of disappointments. Although she celebrates her reunion with José Carlos, the truth is that expectations have been much higher than reality. The relationship soon falls apart and, even worse, is filled with episodes of violence towards her. Scenes of jealousy, physical violence, and even death threats turn the relationship into a hell from which Montserrat cannot easily escape. Even so, she overcomes the adverse

circumstances and decides to look for work and stable housing. Doña Carmelita, the landlady of the establishment where she is staying, accompanies her with tenderness and attention. It is usually women's networks – friends, co-workers – who support her after the violent episodes that plunge her into deep crises and damage her health. Hence, at a certain moment she affirms: “Thanks to the courage that my new friends instilled in me, I was able to overcome that crisis of anguish and remorse” (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 418).

Although the protagonist of the novel does not manage to overcome the patriarchal mandates, since she comes to justify the gender violence that José Carlos exercises over her – sometimes due to his alcohol and drug excesses – and even agrees to marry him, the truth is that the ending can be read in the key of resistance. Montserrat makes a radical decision in the last part: she separates from José Carlos and moves to Arroyozarco, where she rebuilds her life with the rubble of dreams (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 463). There she assumes an active role as she commits herself to the indigenous and peasant community. She taught children to read and write. She quickly made contact with the women of the area, who reached to her “to write a letter to the absent relative; then, to seek advice”, and she adds: “that is how I entered not only into the homes, but also many times into the hearts of the families” (de Chopitea, 1954, p. 470). Her days are filled with social work and companionship to this rather neglected population in which she works as a teacher and counselor. Among all these people, she is particularly protective of Cecilia, whom she accompanies during the gestation of her son and whose upbringing she shares when they both end up settling in the Mexican capital.

From Montserrat's life story, the title of the novel admits two readings. Judging by the level of dependence exhibited by the protagonist in the first part, which corresponds to her departure from Spain and her landing in Mexico, it alludes to loneliness as the absence of male companionship, that is, of a man's protection of a woman. However, in exile, this protagonist becomes empowered and overcomes the adverse circumstances to which she was pushed precisely by the violent action of José Carlos. Therefore, a second interpretation allows us to vindicate the strengthening of this woman's independence who can rearrange her life in pursuit of

personal and professional goals with the help of other women and without the company of a man. From this point of view, loneliness does not have a negative significance, but rather reaffirms a woman's autonomy in a society whose threats are fought by the construction of solidarity networks of peers who act in pursuit of mutual help.

Solidarity among women is also a central theme in *Los diablos sueltos* (1975), by Mada Carreño, a novel in which, as in *Sola*, one can sense the fictionalized recreation of the author's experience. Born in Madrid in 1914, Mada Carreño was a writer, journalist, and translator. She participated in publications of the Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas and the newspaper *Alerta*. When the war ended, she managed to move to France with her husband, Eduardo Ontañón, and then embarked on the Sinaia in 1939 to Mexico. There she worked as a journalist in *Revista de Revistas*, the newspaper *Excélsior* and *Hoy y mañana*. She ventured as María José de Chopitea into the publishing world since, together with Ontañón and Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, she co-founded the Xochitl publishing house (JB/SJ/EB/OG, 2016, p. 520). She also devoted herself to poetry and children's literature, which, together with the romantic novel, was cultivated especially by exiled women, a literary source of work that allowed them, although with time limitations, to develop other cultural and literary activities.

Los diablos sueltos was published in 1975 by Novaro and was reprinted in 2019 by Josebe Martínez in Renacimiento publishing house. The novel is narrated in the first person by Marina, a journalist, and activist who lives in Valencia during the last stages of the Civil War after having left the party. The story focuses on her departure from Spain accompanied by her husband Ignacio, as well as on her stay in Ravissolet-sur-Pré, a border town where she is lodged. Together with other women, she lives there in a house prepared by the authorities for Spanish refugees. Thanks to her knowledge of the French language, Marina is employed in the home of a lady of the village. As in *Sola*, we perceive some autobiographical references that lead to establish a self-fictional pact between the novel and the reader.

The first important association between women arises at the beginning when Marina and her sister are living together in Valencia

after their retirement. Thanks to repeated flashbacks, it is possible to know part of their family's past. Raised in a traditional family, they were no strangers to patriarchal mandates. The older sister, Celia, was prevented by her parents from studying music because of the “dangers and terrible misfortunes” (Carreño, 1975, p. 21) that women could suffer in that field. The brother, León, was destined to continue his father's work in the bookbinding workshop. With a rebellious spirit, Marina managed to defy those mandates and decided to study and write in newspapers as part of her activist life, which provoked the respect and admiration of her sister (Carreño, 1975, p. 22). Marina is a strong and defiant protagonist, determined to challenge the preconceptions in vogue, strongly influenced by the model of the republican woman, with modern and progressive ideals, a regular participant in the intellectual and political circles of the Second Republic.

Even in retreat, she will exercise political and journalistic commitments alongside her husband Ignacio, from whom she must separate at the French border. Although they agree to meet again in Camprodón, Marina faces the road on her own, and the rest of the novel takes place with the desire for this reunion. Just as in *Sola*, this protagonist develops without the protection of a man in a moment of extreme vulnerability, such as the exodus. At the border, there are recurrent episodes in which she interacts with other women, either assisting or accompanying them. Once in Camprodón, although she does not manage to find her partner, she approaches a police station, where she finds a group of mostly women waiting for their husbands to come and pick them up. Amid an atmosphere of anguish and chaos, Marina intercedes in the care of her friend's daughter and organizes, together with three companions, the feeding of the children and the preparations to resume the journey (Carreño, 1975, p. 139). At different moments of the itinerary, the protagonist will act to bring order in the midst of confusing or disorderly scenes in which the role of women is fundamental for survival in the absence of their partners.

At another point along the way, in Molló, the protagonist goes to a hospital to look for her friend Oliva, who was pregnant and had been taken to the hospital as a result of an indisposition. Overcrowded with women, children, and sick people, the hospital

served as a shelter, and it is there where the protagonist perceives for the first time the uneasiness before the impossibility of leaving, as the soldiers who stood by the entrance warn her. Overcrowding, confusion, lack of supplies and insufficient personnel are part of the scenario. Amid the chaos and in the absence of a doctor or a nurse, Marina herself assists the laboring woman (Carreño, 1975, p. 164). The hospital experience, although negative, shows her that the company of other women is a form of survival. Therefore, once she recovers her calm, she decides to rest and chooses to approach a group of women who sleep in the precariousness of that space and who constitute for her a safe shelter:

I get as close as I can to my neighbor, who is wrapped from head to toe in a dark blanket. I press myself against the softness of her flesh, against her sour smell, until a delicious warmth begins to invade my knees (Carreño, 1975, p. 166).

After a few days, Marina manages to get on a truck with republican women and sets off for a new shelter located in Ravissolet-sur-Pré. Upon arrival, she quickly intercedes as a translator between her companions and the local authorities. Thus, her knowledge of French positions her as a representative of the group and brings her some advantages. Although the narrative does not delve into the living conditions in the shelters, it does highlight Marina's participation in the tasks of intermediation with the authorities and the organization of the cleaning and care routines. Through her intervention, she manages to improve certain material aspects of her companions' daily lives, such as food and clothing. She even manages to get a second house set up for the group's comfort.

An interesting aspect of the novel is how the refugee women bond with their neighbors in the village, which shows that some shelters of the French concentration camp system had very permeable borders through which these exchanges were possible. During the first days in the village, the refugee women circulate in the streets and meet their local peers, who invite them to have coffee or lunch in their homes. Unlike the men in the concentration camps, the Spanish women enjoy a kind of freedom, although conditioned by the continuous surveillance of the authorities. On one occasion, Marina meets Mme. Talebot and succeeds in being employed in her house, where she has access to much more

convenient lodging than in the two houses where the authorities accommodated the other refugees. Mme. Talebot makes her protégée, and it is there that she gains access to newspapers and news about other refugees. She also overhears conversations between the house owner and other women, through which she learns that a group of Republican women had arrived in the neighboring town and, less fortunate than her and her companions, had been imprisoned (Carreño, 1975, p. 225).

From a position that could be considered privileged, Marina continues her fights to improve the living conditions of her companions in the shelter. She asks the mayor for an improvement in the food supply and then gets the mayoress to organize, with the help of other women from the town, a donation of clothes for the refugees. The bonds of solidarity between them grew stronger as the days went by. At the same time, she organizes a visit to a women's shelter located in a nearby town, Revel. There she intends to make contact with possible acquaintances. The women there do not enjoy the freedom of circulation that they have in Ravisolet. She, therefore, tries to influence the authorities of this village through the mayor and thus amplifies the bonds of solidarity with her community of reference. Establishing ties, which we can read as gestures of "relationality", permeates the actions of the protagonist, who assumes that in order to adapt to this new situation in France it is necessary to strengthen community ties both with her peers and with the French ladies of the town, and eventually with other republicans in similar conditions.

The novel concludes when Marina finally manages to reestablish contact with Ignacio and also with her sister Celia. The last scene at the station shows the protagonist waiting for a train that takes Ignacio to Paris. Unfortunately, she does not manage to see him, and with some desolation, she sets out on her way back to the Talebots' house. Again, the train station contributes to the sense of transience that surrounds all these women who, like Marina, have left Spain and for whom the state of wandering consolidates as the days go by.

Final comments

The feeling of tearing runs through the pages of the two novels we have discussed in this opportunity. In both protagonists, Montserrat and Marina, we can guess the background of the experience lived by two women, María José de Chopitea and Mada Carreño, who found in Mexico publishing opportunities to make known their literary work and became spokespersons through their pen of a whole generation of Spanish republican women marked by exile. Hence, in addition to the possible autobiographical correspondences that allow us to consider these stories as self-fictional, there is a powerful testimonial intention registered in these novels insofar as they speak out against the oppression experienced by women during those episodes of the departure from Spain, the time spent in shelters, hospitals and other spaces that were part of the French concentrationary system, the journey and the settling in the host country.

It is not arbitrary that in different moments of the exile – one in the mid-fifties, the other twenty years later – the themes selected by these authors stand out for recovering the experience lived particularly by women and the conflicts they suffered while visibilizing the areas through which they passed in that period marked by the confusion and disorder of the flight from Spain in 1939, all aspects that were not mentioned in the testimonial narratives produced by other writers. Although the novels suggest that these women felt vulnerable and unprotected in the absence of their companions, many of whom were imprisoned in other concentration camps, the fact is that, for the most part, the different types of women who appear in these pages show strength and autonomy to face the extreme situation they were going through. Moreover, they mainly establish bonds of solidarity, companionship, and mutual help with other women. They accompany one another during the exodus, organize and protect each other. As they carry their children, they count on the collaboration of others to keep them alive and healthy. They help each other in extreme situations such as childbirth and violence against them. When they come across the elderly and the sick along the way, they make their knowledge and their bodies available to assist them. In the shelters they reach, they replicate organizational strategies they practiced during the war and the departure from Spain. They share food and

clothing and organize educational and entertainment activities. They delimit tasks and collectively think about how to overcome economic obstacles. These narrative sequences and many others associated with the women's experience are compiled in these novels, which differ from those written by men, as they prioritize the theme of caring as a necessary element for survival. Hence, we identify in them the configuration of an “ethic of care” that rejects individualism as a valid form of survival. On the contrary, the option for survival is based on preserving or reinventing community relations in unfavourable scenarios.

In *Strangers Knocking at the Door* (2016), Zygmunt Bauman believes that, in the face of the international economic crisis, responsible for the emergence of millions of migrant individuals who live in conditions of extreme precariousness and who are continually rejected in first world countries where they seek to improve their living situation, the only answer is solidarity among human beings, since there is no other way to overcome this crisis (Bauman, 2016, p. 24). More than 70 years ago, for these Spanish Republican women, protagonists of an experience analogous to that of so many refugees who are currently in incessant transit, solidarity became a fundamental tool to resist the threat of a totalitarian power that expelled them from Spain, as well as to build a new home for themselves in the host country. From their memory, captured in the pages of these novels, we can extract pieces of lessons to improve our own ways of inhabiting the world we live in.

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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.

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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"¹ under the long dictatorship, lasted from 1939 to 1975². 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.

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

² 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)³, 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"⁴, to define that attitude of openness to the world, that we can find in Teresa Pàmies' experience.

³ 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.

⁴ 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 war⁵.

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 Mexico⁶, where she studied journalism. Until then she had a limited access to formal education.

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).

⁵ "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.

⁶ 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

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)⁷, 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 Pàmies⁸, 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)⁹.

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

⁷ “Vaivén constante del yo al tú, del sujeto escritor al sujeto lector”.

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

⁹ “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*¹⁰ (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

¹⁰ 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)¹¹.

¹¹ “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)¹².

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.

¹² "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 ramerías, 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)¹³.

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)¹⁴.

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 essay¹⁵. 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"¹⁶.

¹³ "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."

¹⁴ "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".

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

¹⁶ "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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Historiographical exclusions: female Spanish writers in exile within the Mexican literary Field

Abstract

The history of Mexican literature has excluded the authors who were marginal, such as exiled writers of 1939, but mainly women authors who were considered even more peripheral. When these two categories are conjugated, suppression is greater. This text analyses the mechanisms of exclusion that are used by historiography in order to make women invisible; we unveiled this by using the studies of configuration of taste and interaction in the fields of cultural production by Pierre Bourdieu, Harold Bloom's canon proposal and Feminist Theory by Lillian Robinson, Susan Gubar and Toril Moi. With these tools, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: Who draws up the canon and by what means? What are the criteria that the critic and the literature scholar use to select authors? Who determines the authority and who legitimizes this authority in Mexico? Is literary quality a historiographic criterion, how and by whom is it established? What interests does it respond to? Furthermore, I will present and briefly analyse the literary creation of Mercedes Pinto, who at their time were influential in the Mexican cultural field and whose works have been unknown and ignored for many years.

Keywords: Female Spanish Writers, Spanish Exile, History of Literature, Mercedes Pinto

Exclusiones historiográficas. Escritoras españolas en exilio en el ámbito literario mexicano

Resumen

La historia de la literatura mexicana ha excluido a autores que se encontraban en sus márgenes en su elaboración, entre ellos, a los exiliados de 1939, pero principalmente a las autoras, pues las consideraba aún más marginales. Cuando estas categorías se conjugan, la supresión es mayor. A partir del estudio de la

interacción en los campos de producción cultural de Pierre Bourdieu, la propuesta del canon de Harold Bloom y la teoría feminista para la recuperación de autoras de Lillian Robinson, Sandra Gilbert y Susan Gubar, este texto analiza los mecanismos de exclusión empleados por la historiografía para invisibilizar y prescindir de las mujeres. Con estas herramientas busca responder las siguientes cuestiones: ¿quién elabora el canon y con qué herramientas? ¿Cuáles son los criterios que el crítico y el estudioso de literatura usa para seleccionar autores? ¿Quién determina la autoridad y quién legitima esta autoridad en México? ¿Es la calidad literaria un criterio historiográfico, cómo y quiénes la establecen? ¿A qué intereses responde? Al mismo tiempo, presentaré y analizaré brevemente la creación literaria de Mercedes Pinto, que fue influyente en el campo cultural mexicano y cuyas obras ha sido desconocidas e ignoradas durante años.

Palabras clave: Escritoras españolas, Exilio español, Historia de la literatura, Mercedes Pinto

Esclusioni storiografiche. Scrittrici spagnole in esilio nell'ambito della letteratura messicana.

Sinossi

La storia della letteratura messicana ha escluso gli autori che si trovavano ai margini, come gli scrittori esiliati nel 1939, e, soprattutto, le autrici, considerate ancora più periferiche. Quando queste due categorie sono unite, l'esclusione è più evidente. L'articolo analizza i meccanismi di esclusione usati dalla storiografia per rendere le donne invisibili. Per svelarli, ci siamo serviti degli studi sulla configurazione del gusto e dell'interazione nei campi della produzione culturale di Pierre Bourdieu, del canone di Harold Bloom e della teoria femminista di Lillian Robinson, Susan Gubar e Toril Moi. Con questi strumenti, l'articolo cerca di rispondere alle seguenti domande: chi stabilisce il canone e in che modo? Quali criteri usano i critici e i letterati per scegliere gli autori? Chi stabilisce l'autorità e chi legittima tale autorità in Messico? La qualità letteraria è un criterio storiografico e da chi è stabilito? A quali interessi risponde? Inoltre, presenteremo e analizzeremo brevemente l'opera letteraria di Mercedes Pinto, che al suo tempo aveva molta influenza nella letteratura messicana ed è stata poi dimenticata per anni.

Parole chiave: Scrittrici spagnole, Esilio spagnolo, Storia della letteratura, Mercedes Pinto

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Historiographical exclusions: female Spanish writers in exile within the literary Mexican field

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Introduction

Many different factors of the present time give shape and influence the organization of past events and the writing of literary history (Bürger, 1997, p. 184). There are values that are external to those intrinsically literary or of quality, and they are used to legitimize a tradition, uphold a cultural image or support a group in power. If we consider literature as a system that is composed by a complex net of people and activities, history of literature would be a construction of sense made on the basis of different discursive manifestations (Pozuelo, 2000, p. 123). Following the discussions that took place since the nineties that questioned past practices which gave history specific sense, the criteria that construct literary history have begun to be reexamined. To valorize the place of women intellectuals in Mexican cultural field has a double purpose, on the one hand, to discuss historiographical and pedagogic institutionalization and, secondly, to rank the role of the canon formation, because in the case of these women writers, with their writings they put in crisis solid paradigms that had shaped literary histories. Birthplace, as a national category, is used to organize literary histories that cause exclusion of female authors. Besides, female authors' proposals fight for access to cultural space, and to gain literary prestige.

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1995, p. 202), within the field of cultural production, different creative projects compete for legitimacy to achieve a better place in literary hierarchy, and that

includes female writers' proposals. Each group promotes names through anthologies and doing reviews to its members, because all these groups are "struggling for recognition and fulfilling the function of recognition signs" (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 238). Hence, the creation of terms or names that delimit proposals are made by members of a particular group or by certain critics. Analysis about configuration of literary history and canon are very current, in fact, many initiatives have arisen in order to present and analyze the work of women writers with a purpose to expanding canon (or, in the words of Lillian Robinson, elaborate a feminine counter-canon). Regarding particular cases of literature made in Latin America, it is evident that in addition to all aforementioned factors, there are still groups and authors whose site has not been located for lack of critical evaluation.

1. History of Literature

First histories of literature that represented important attempts to systematize literary panorama in Latin America are dated from the 19th century. In the twentieth century, some proposals were published that started from previous ones, however, around 1989, Beatriz de la Garza concluded that "there are very few ensemble histories" (1989, p. 551). In 1996, David Foster kept the same perspective, "Despite enormous production of interpretative criticism in Latin America since the midcentury, lack of adequate historical and bibliographical control is really quite surprising [...] This is true not only of what is available in English, but also, and more significantly what is available in specific languages of Latin American Literary Production" (1996, p. VII). At the same, in 1996 Jorge Ruedas de la Serna confirmed the previous premise, "It is a commonplace, nowadays, to say that we do not have a true history of literature in Mexico. Perhaps, for this reason, in recent years various projects have arisen to write this history, projects that until now have remained just that" (1996, p. 7). Moreover, Aralia López have discussed in 2001: "Why did we arrive at the end of the century without updated literary histories, without correlation of ideas and projects, without stabilized conceptual categories to

elaborate historiographies and theoretical assumptions in and of our countries, when throughout two centuries and mainly in the last quarter of the 20th has so much critical literary work been done in Latin America and the Caribbean?" (2002, p. 71). Thus, the first obstacle to locating the work of exiles in Mexico is lack of an up-to-date history of literature. This problem is transferred to school manuals that start from these investigations, and from there to school institutions that by repetition canonizes. With the passing of time, they merely popularize certain incomplete critical authors and discourses.

Therefore, through the description of the trajectory of exiled intellectuals in Mexican literature, this work shows that external (ideological, political, social, geographical) or subjective elements (a critic's perspective or fashions) intervene in the exclusion of an author. Those works based on development of literary history marginalize or ignore the value of the work. As scholar Mari Paz Balibrea affirms in the introduction to the book, *Lines of flight. Towards other cultural historiography of republican exile*, "Exile is a historiographic anomaly" (2017, p. 19). When the work of exiled authors began to be studied, they were discovered *rare* and were considered to come from a parallel (secondary) sphere to a main one, this creates a displacement that has to be corrected through active recovery policies. The case of female exiled intellectuals is determined by two categories: gender and geographic distance, factors that multiplied their condition of absence. Histories of literature are based on criteria of territorial belonging and link between awakening of national consciousness. In the formation of Mexican literature histories is undeniably strong the presence of a nationalist discourse.

Towards the eighties and nineties, when active recovery of texts written by women started, difficulty of outlining the trajectory of authors who had been historiographically erased was discovered. Previous critical studies had built groups made up mostly of male authors, a proposal that was transferred to the readers. Although each author interpreted the idea of creation in her own way and carried it out in different productions, among them there are common patterns that link them together and allow them to be grouped. They share methods, techniques and points of view,

thematic concerns and relationships with the public. In addition, absence of exiles in the history of literature must be analyzed from historiographic coordinates that originated it. Consequently, the importance that this work attaches to the cultural context and to examination of reception of readers and critics to reveal and discuss validity of parameters followed in construction of the history of literature. In other words, when reviewing omissions of historiography, understanding of a period is broadened. Since around a creative work other similar or different one arises, there is a conjunction or a divergence of interests within a specific environment. Therefore, why not look at the history of literature as a multiple process, rather than as a series of personalities that transfer the baton of tradition? Incorporating authors from exile into the history of Mexican literature constitutes a first approach to this transformation.

Another difficulty are the geographical coordinates that define the context of action of exiled writers. In the first decades of the 20th century, entrance of women into the public arena was not completely accepted, however, women had to adapt and to adopt dominant rules so as to achieve what Susan Gubar and Sandra Gilbert call: a “truly feminine literary authority” (1998, p. 87). In this context, there is still an underlying conflict regarding initiatives that sought to expand the feminine space beyond the domestic. The female author, as a modern woman, demonstrates the importance of female writers in order to understand this period, since her narrative represents an important edge of a time full of edges. It was a time of freedom and its end also caused closing of hopes that the Second Republic had awakened for women. Modern Spanish women remain unknown because war and exile interrupted their careers that were beginning or were on the rise. If, as Mari Paz Balibrea suggests, war truncated a project of modernity, emerging feminine modernity was also annulled (2007, p. 18). In this way, the case of female exiles allows us to identify particular conditions of a group of female writers active in the 1930s in Spain and to observe how they achieved (or not) continuity in Mexican exile. Therefore, the importance of revaluating proposals that were excluded from hegemonic discourse because of the exile:

And of all those that have not been recovered from historiographic discourses of the dictatorship or democracy, they constitute 'broken' and adrift expressions of Spanish modernity, insofar as they are neither discursively nor politically reconnected to the Spanish nation. For this reason, recovery of the culture and thought of exile understood as manifestations of those 'inconsequential' modernities for Spain during a good part of 20th century, first, it is very useful to enrich the understanding of Spanish modernity of 20th century, and second, it is very useful to think about the hegemonic modernity of the country (Balibrea, 2007, p. 19).

Unstable presence of female authors in histories of literature questions the concepts on which they base their elaboration. Social practices, discourses and policies implied in the incorporation of authors into history of literature sustain male domination of literary space. For example, a writer such as Mercedes Pinto (1883-1976) from the Canary Islands has not yet found a place, despite various rescue actions. Due to intense journalistic work she carried out, her name tends to be more familiar in some spaces, but her work is not fully part of the literary historical diagram. Her inscription in the cultural panorama has been a gradual process, accentuated in the last decades of 20th century and first decades of the present, with the proliferation of various active actions to build her memory: studies, monuments, laws, associations, films, documentaries and novels that discuss the past. By studying its location in literary history, policies and metatexts contained in processes of construction and systematization of the past are revealed, since "images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order" (Connerton, 1989, p. 3).

After tracing her predecessors, Virginia Woolf, in *A Room of One's Own* (1929), discovered the absence of female writers in various literary accounts. This lack of a visible inheritance leads to search for feminine figures which derives in biographical writing and in stories of literature written by women about women, such as Margarita Nelken's *The Spanish Writers* (1930). In fact, María Teresa León explains in *Memoria de la melancolía* (1970) that she wrote her biography, *Doña Jimena Díaz de Vivar. Great Lady of All Duties* (1960), with the purpose to familiarize herself with female historical figures, "I thought of Doña Jimena, that archetype of my childhood, that I had seen in San Pedro de Cardeña, Burgos, lying next to Mister of Vivar as his equal and I wove my memories of readings, of

landscapes, of hours lived to support in Doña Jimena the women who were passing before my eyes” (1999, p. 432). Other exiles made similar explorations in biographical texts, Isabel Oyarzábal wrote *The Life of Alexandra Kollontay* (1947); Cecilia G. Guilarte, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Claro en la selva* (1958) and Clara Campoamor, *The Living Thought of Concepción Arenal* (1943), about the criminal lawyer who had been one of her forerunners. In the same way, feminist criticism discovered that there was an ignored or belittled female tradition (or traditions) in histories of literature that needed to be recovered and/ or revalued.

Starting in the 1960s, several reading proposals analyzed the position of women in the history of literature. In the first line, stereotypes of women were traced in literature and the way they were represented in texts written by men (Kate Millet: *Sexual Politics* (1970) and, in a later, their writing was analyzed. The reading of texts written by women led to search for precursors that resulted in discovery of a tradition that had been excluded and relegated. Based on Harold Bloom’s proposal on “influence anxiety” (*The Anxiety of Influence*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1973 and *The Western Canon: the Books and School of the Ages*, Harcourt Braces, San Diego, 1994), Sara Gilbert and Susan Gubar wrote *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-century Imagination* (1979) and *No Man’s Land* (1988), they reviewed twentieth-century feminine writing and showed that it was possible to speak of a strong feminine tradition, instead of being motivated by anxiety of influence, it was motivated by anxiety of authority. Also Elaine Showalter (in *A Literature of Their Own* (1977), *Toward a Feminist Poetics* (1979), *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture (1830-1980)* (1985), *Sexual Anarchy: Gender at Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (1990), *Inventing Herself: Claiming a Feminist Intellectual Heritage* (2001)) showed that women have a strong creative history, but have had greater difficulty validating it than their male peers. In this way:

Feminist criticism showed that a masculine canon generates androcentric readings that, in turn, serve canonization of androcentric texts and the marginalization of gynocentric texts. To break this closed circuit, feminists have been fighting on two different fronts: on the one hand, that of the rewriting of literary history, and on the other, in that of readings and contexts of reception

empathic with experiences, interests and traits forms of these texts (Suárez Briones, 2000, p. 42).

As can be seen, the creator was naturally identified as masculine. As Sara Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1998, p. 21) note, “the author of the text is the father, a progenitor, a procreator, an aesthetic patriarch”. In the Spain of the 1920s, we have the much-cited review by Ortega on Ana de Noailles that appeared in the first issue of *Revista de Occidente* in 1923, where he considered the existence of poetry written by women incapable. Without forgetting the difficulties encountered by the creator – Shakespeare’s sister, who was pointed out by Virginia Wolf in 1928. The female creative faculty was denied, and in fact “in the most prestigious intellectual circles the tonic was skepticism about the ability of women for poetry” (Quance: 1998, p. 106). Male opinion denied the possibility of a female creation, Shirley Mangini (1997, p. 111) notes: “misogynistic discourse was held by most of liberals of those years”. Art made by women was considered a hobby, not a true profession. In this way, female exiled intellectuals intend to “redefine gender boundaries, on one hand, and implement women’s social and legal equality, on the other” (Bieder, 1992, p. 320). In this way, they express modernity in content, mainly in issues about the female situation, rather than in form. Rosa Chacel (1983, p. 80) recalled, “we were not looking for novelty but for renewal”.

Although in Spain women’s movements and their work had begun to be studied since seventies, it was not until the nineties, within the drive of canon’s discussion and the actions of historical revision, attention was focused on female intellectuals (Mangini, 1997 y 2001). Alda Blanco focused on locating a tradition of women in Spanish literature (2001) and showed that in the Spanish 19th century, contrary to what is normally appreciated in literary manuals and histories, most of the published books were written by women. Even though women personalities recovery has been gradual and steady, their works remain unknown and have been marginalized. Their historiographical inclusion has been carried out within groups of little literary prestige: exiles and women, both marginal elements. If it is true that some of women authors’ contemporaries were “published in minority collections, and therefore their texts were not republished”

(López, 1998, p. 173), their forgetfulness is also due to the displacement of a feminine culture that was considered minor (Sullivan, 2000, p. 181). Phenomena that Lillian Robinson (1998, p. 124) explains with the example of *Moby Dick*, whose estimation is determined by whaler's preference for sewing workshops "as a symbol of human community". To this gender marginalization must be added other factors that contributed to accentuate exclusion: exile, which involved publications with reduced circulation in minority publishing houses as Rex, Atlante or Finisterre. The partial gaze of the critics that used to associate the authors with an extemporaneous and alien reality and the limited circulation of their work.

Many of these authors were forced to use male pseudonyms to publish, because in this way they embraced an accepted tradition and they were easily accepted for authorized voices. Pseudonyms become a means of authority in order to enter into the literary game with equality. Also, María Teresa León takes advantage of pseudonyms for fear of being criticized when expressing an opinion that could be controversial.

2. *Women Exiles and Historiography*

Three directions channel discussion of history of literature regarding the position of excluded authors is made an inclusive proposal in which additions are made to an already established history of literature, by creating a parallel and autonomous canon and a complete reformulation of the canon. The realization of any of those objectives requires first knowing and studying the place of the creators, questioning how they have been read and also analyzing causes of their absence. And then, when weighing the result that external initiatives to literary text exert on entry of an author into history of literature, it is evident in the way in which tributes, reissues and awards participate in increasing the symbolic value of a work and, at the same time promotes an effect of gradual progress in his canonization. Accordingly, more profuse number of works that an author has and more accurate is her estimate, and greater will be its incidence in histories of literature, whose task consists of gathering and systematizing a list of authors within a more extensive

context, based on different resources provided by critics that, through a series of evaluative acts, consolidate work within a particular culture.

In recent years, actions to enhance authors have multiplied. General and ensemble studies have formed the basis for later works, but their entry into literary histories is still in a primary state, their inclusion has been carried out within groups parallel to literary history.

Moreover, the cultural circuit relegates authors located outside large groups, who have less media presence (associated with the prestige of a publishing house) and arouse little interest in readers (often ignorant of the appearance of their works). Reissue, however, supposes a certain validity: facilities to access the author multiply and the texts leave library to circulate through the bookstore. In addition to the fact that critics, tired of following the game of the big publishers, search among the catalogs of new and small publishers, finds and rescues. Likewise, it shows that perception of authors depends more on the cultural fluctuations related to publishing than on the intrinsic quality of the text. Observing the case of these authors confirms that writing of literary history and selection of authors that comprise it not only result from a process of differentiation between artistic literature or not.

3. Modern and Avant-Garde Women

First modern women of the beginning of the 20th century participated in the formation of a conscience and built foundations of an emerging feminism, which was consolidated in the next generation, towards the 1930s. Although not as configured as in other countries. Susan Kirkpatrick (2003) analyzes the differences in the feminist discourse of María Martínez Sierra and Carmen de Burgos as opposed to that of Rosa Chacel and Maruja Mallo and concludes that the main difference lies in the conception of women.

As a result, the modern ones show the contradiction of being in a space that pursues change but reacts with the same intensity to it, while creators set out to overcome a system that they abide by, but in which they feel uncomfortable.

If changes in situation of women are earlier, greater would be objectives achieved by feminist current. Karen Offen (2007, p. 33) explains feminine situation is transformed by hand of suffragism. During these years the image of a new woman, flapper, garçonne and modern one, developed. Despite the fact that women did not achieve a massive income for education and work, a change in mentality and perception of their role began to take place, prompting requests for new social and legal reforms.

Social feminism is a common point of modern women in Spain. The measures in favor of women, carried out during the first decades of the 20th century, are located within this category until they begin to request legal changes. Thus, the importance of women's suffrage, which signified passage from characteristic social feminism of the early twentieth century to one of a political nature that began to develop from the twenties.

4. Mercedes Pinto

Mercedes Pinto, born in 1883, belatedly found the possibility of disagreeing with her family beliefs and the possibility of making her own beliefs heard as a writer, even if it was contrary to what was considered the truth by powerful groups. Her solidarity and defense of the anarchist Mateo Morral, after his failed attack against the king or his support for the Cuban independentists: José Martí and Antonio Maceo, clearly disagreed with traditional ideology of women in his family. This right to express her opinion causes her exile.

Mercedes Pinto married young, had three children and lived the consequences of a marriage with a paranoid. Her history reveals contradictions of the legislation in force in Spain, which only allowed divorce in exceptional cases. To discuss this law, Carmen de Burgos drew up the controversial and no less famous survey published in *El Diario Universal* on divorce in 1904 and invited Mercedes Pinto to the Central University of Madrid to demand it in a talk. As Carmen de Burgos was ill, she proposed to Pinto that she replace her at the conference that would close a cycle of health rallies at the Central University. Pinto took advantage of the occasion to “express and demand modern legislation capable of protecting women” (Llarena,

2001, p. 26). This conference aroused so much suspicion among the monarchical attendees that her deportation was suggested, and the writer had to hasten her departure from Spain. In the novel *Ella*, Pinto (1969, p. 246) recalled her gradual awareness, “Three months passed, without being able to really convince myself that I was marrying a man whom I hardly knew, and who, naturally, did not love either”.

Pinto began to write out of strict necessity. In the novel, *He* (1926), she explains that when she was very young and in the manner of the time, her parents decided to marry her off to “a good match”, that is, someone wealthy who would make her move up in social class. As she had a quarrelsome and strong character they could not “place her”. But finally, one of the wealthiest and also rarest characters of the Canarian nobility proposed to her. After the marriage, Pinto discovers that the man was crazy. The psychiatric diagnosis would be that he was schizophrenic with paranoid tendencies.

When Mercedes Pinto realizes that she cannot be divorced, she begins to write. The novel *He* was published for the first time in Montevideo in 1926. The place where she ran away from her husband. This novel presents an explanation of why she left her own country and denounces what she had experienced. *He* has been reissued several times, once in Mexico by the Costa-Amic publishing house in 1956 and, recently, in 2011, by the Spanish publishing house Escaletra. In addition to that Luis Buñuel made a film adaptation that is titled the same as the novel, starred by Arturo de Córdoba in 1957.

The novel begins with a few prologues written by various specialists. Pinto justifies the presence of these annexes in an initial passage entitled “Clarification”, where she states: “In my novel, diverse opinions and diversity of tendencies are gathered together, as proof of my spiritual breadth, since they are asked, Catholics, atheists, freethinkers. Learned hands that clarify many points of view” (1956, p. 23). First text, “A kind of prologue”, was written by a lawyer and secular theologian named Jaime Torrubiano Ripoll, who in several of his books discussed relationship between civil law and Catholic regulations, mainly in the book *The binding divorce and the Catholic dogma* (1936), of which a quote was included: “And the

ruggedness of the subject [divorce], already extremely rugged, rises to a point, if you take into account my condition as a Catholic without qualification of no species, the seriousness and novelty of the conclusions, which I have reached in my research, and the marital situation of our country "(1956, p. 25). Torrubiano clarifies that he does not accept the divorce legislation, nor does he approve civil marriages, he only proposes the possibility of dissolving or canceling the Catholic bond in some extreme cases, such as bigamy or insanity.

Then it appears as a second prologue, a psychiatric assessment of paranoia made by the renowned psychiatrist Julio Camino. Examples of mental illness and ways to identify it are listed in this text. Dr. Camino (1956, p. 31) diagnoses: "we are facing a case of essential and progressive hallucinatory systematized insanity" and includes recommendations on the treatment of these patients.

The novel tells of different scenes in which his madness is discovered and the torture to which the protagonist is subjected. He locked her in his office, which was a kind of torture room, upholstered in legal books, where he writes and never finds the "word". Then delusions of grandeur are interspersed with attacks of jealousy, he is suspicious of everyone, or someone is envious of him and wants to kill him. The madness is gradual. In the first few pages, he only seems a little disturbed, but he is jealous of the children because she spends too much time and all her attention on them. The changing mood of the paranoid transitions from total self-assurance to states of mistrust and desolation, from aggressiveness and violence to vulnerability and the need for understanding. When he fails his first suicide attempt with sleeping pills and is discovered by her, who saves his life in an act of blindness, pity and Stockholm syndrome, he changes roles and pretends that she wanted to commit suicide. Then, the narrator becomes the disturbed one and her parents, they look at her as a crazy person who is using drugs; he, on the other hand, is considered by all as her savior. Furthermore, as Dr. Camino's annex explains clinically, his actions start from a basis of truth that the patient's mind distorts. For example, a man in the street who is strolling peacefully becomes a pursuer who watches over him. As time passes, the evolution of both characters is noticed. Above all, because he loses control of

himself simultaneously with the advance of his madness. There is a scene in which the character collects bills, hugs them and affirms that money is his God, that is why he wants to be richer. The character is so unhinged that in Buñuel's adaptation it is even a bit cartoonish.

At some point in the novel, the narrator decides to run away with her children and in the next paragraph, she resigns herself to maintaining a marriage of hardships. Narrator considers herself "confused, ignorant and innocent" (1956, p. 82). Her attachment to religion causes her to react to her circumstance by accepting suffering as if it were his natural destiny. Little by little the character suggests that she may have another life and formulates her "humble request to the compassion of readers to intern sick man who tortures me" (1956, p. 108). Ending is ambiguous, it seems that the narrator will try to flee, but she has many influences and important friends. We know that Mercedes Pinto went to Montevideo and there she got a divorce. She also lived in Cuba and other Latin American countries and died in Mexico. She remarried and had other children, the two actors known as Rubén and Gustavo Rojo.

At the end of the book there is one more text, the opinion on divorce of another lawyer. No surprise, his name is Rubén Rojo, who is the man she married. He defends divorce:

The problem is this: Can a woman united in a marital bond with a husband who makes her a victim of his follies and his cruelties, can she emancipate herself? Completely not, because our society does not admit dissolution of the bond. Should she emancipate herself anyway, against the law and against the Law of God? I, who am a rebel, faced with the absurd, stagnant and gothic spirit of our beliefs, I am going to answer without preamble: YES (1956, p. 114).

5. Community between Female Authors

These female authors, like Mercedes Pinto, in addition to being late writers, came across legislation that did not protect women. They were journalists and spent many years educating other women. They moved within limiting schemes and tried to transform them. They were known and had predominance in the field of cultural production, yet later they were forgotten. In the first place, because

her work was read and criticized based on codes considered *feminine*. Neus Real (2006, p. 25) explains: “[...] feminine adjective was obviously the key term. Defining a subclass in the literary-cultural system starting from an external element (sex), it was applicable, in consequence to any sphere and to area of the issue as well as one of destination or reception”. Work of women is qualified from a sexual category, external to their quality, which was associated with an idea of femininity understood as sentimental. These *female* characteristics were qualified with adjectives that designated negative qualities and that turned her creations into a literary subcategory. The standard of emotion approved the work of women, in the same way that, as Susan Kirkpatrick (1991, p. 23) points out, elevation of sentimentalism had authorized feminine creation in romanticism. Being a writer conditioned by the ways of reading and the critical approach to their work, so writers used the feminine term, aware of its implications.

When the narrative set out to represent new women, it found that love and the sentimental were associated with the feminine that, discredited as a literary category, it was tried to avoid. In the words of Susan Clark (1991, p. 4): “The sentimental does not look like the source of transgression, resistance or progressive cultural change”.

Mercedes Pinto discussed social institutions that meant restrictions on women in an attempt to define herself and her female identity. Women aspired to “kill aesthetic ideal of women” (Gilbert & Gubar, 1998, p. 32) that their male counterparts had created for them. Creative proposals of women authors as Mercedes Pinto falls within this group, which seeks firstly modification of the social role of women and secondly renewal of their image, by participating in the construction of a new feminine identity, since being modern implied seeking a change in the situation of women. Delimitation of the concept of feminism was in process and it was a term full of meanings, for this reason many women refused to call themselves feminists. Besides, the word was socially discredited.

For women, dissatisfaction with reality and social construction began with family, which limited its space to home and marriage. Ending the dual image of women was understood as a political project. Many active women in the 1930s went through gradual processes of self-awareness before discovering the right and value

of showing judgment. Several women of the time narrated in their memoirs and in their novels with female protagonists how they experienced disappointment with the idea of love through wrong unions. In addition to describing how they suffered a transformation in their religious ideas. In fact, the first doubts arise about norms of religion and the church.

Conclusions

In recent years, actions have multiplied to enhance female authors. General and ensemble studies have founded the basis for later works, but their entry into literary histories is still in a primary state, their inclusion has been carried out within groups parallel to literary history: exiles and women.

The cultural circuit relegates authors located outside the large groups, who have less media presence (associated with prestige of a publishing house) and arouse little interest in readers (often ignorant of the appearance of their works). Reissue, however, supposes a certain validity: facilities to access an author multiply and texts leave library to circulate through bookstore. In addition to the fact that critics, tired of following the game of big publishers, search among catalogs of new and small publishers, finds and rescues. In this way, reissue, as a means of presenting authors, imposed a value criterion based on editorial selection criterion; therefore, tracing republication trajectories by year and place describe advancement of their knowledge in the cultural field and their slow incorporation into literary circuit. Likewise, it shows that perception of these authors depends more on cultural fluctuations related to publishing than on intrinsic quality or importance of the text. Observing the case of Mercedes Pinto confirms that writing of literary history and selection of the authors that comprise it, not only result from a process of differentiation between artistic literature or not.

Critics and readers grouped these authors into independent and isolated groups, instead of including them in the same progressive line. When their work began to be studied, they were discovered *rare* and considered to come from a parallel sphere (secondary) to a main one, thus creating a displacement that will only be corrected slowly

and steadily through recovery policies. Perhaps, as a starting point, it is necessary to reformulate the well-known historicist models and the way of approaching female and exile authors, since they are characters who move in paradox: they are writers out of their time but very much in their time. And, above all, to quantify both their value and their role and what their image as a group represented and represents.

When trying to spot Mercedes Pinto within the history of literature, vulnerability of closed sets and difficulty (although not impossibility) of widening them is visible. The construction of women authors' memory, as has been exposed, has been a process marked by permeability of information; however, these new investigations and data have not made these figures part of "society's system of ideas" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 188). They were partially accepted by literary institutions, they are mentioned in dictionaries and encyclopedias, but the value that these spheres make of their works is still precarious. Its legitimation process has been marked by different cultural policies associated with specific historical situations. Thus, it is possible to conclude that they are recovered authors; that is to say, that they are part of a political project of historical memory.

If we intend to eliminate the ways in which, for example, social violence is constructed, perhaps we should start from the epistemic violence that is exercised from criticism and academic work. In turn, if the modes and codes of reading change over time, canon must also be considered mutable. Therefore, we agree with the idea that "history of literature is an articulation of meaning that must take form of an integrating horizon, rather than a linear narrative, and prefer to conform as a project in permanent renovation, rather than as the constitution of a stable canon" (Mainer, 2002, p. 51).

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Cultural options of transatlantic exile: Rosalía de Castro's image as conjured up by Galician Day commemorations on the two shores

Abstract

This paper examines the 1950 commemoration of Galician Day held in Argentina and Spain, and the symbolic significance it acquires in these two countries, which were undergoing different political circumstances. While the Buenos Aires celebration is inspired in the topic of exile following the Francoist dictatorship, in Santiago de Compostela stands out the liturgical and religious content surrounding the exaltation of Saint James the Great, and draws upon the existing allegiance of the Catholic Church to the Francoist regime. In this context, we will dig into the symbolic identity of the poet Rosalía de Castro along both commemorations, the symbols her figure was associated to and the enshrinement she was submitted to. Our work will be informed by the Galicia magazine — Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires house organ — and *El Correo Gallego* and *La Noche* dailies, from Santiago de Compostela, as well as the correspondence that Luis Seoane, an exiled intellectual in Buenos Aires, exchanged with some of the contributors of each paper.

Keywords: Francoist Spain, Galician Day, Rosalía de Castro, Transatlantic exile.

Opciones culturales del exilio transatlántico: la imagen de Rosalía de Castro evocada por las conmemoraciones del Día de Galicia en las dos orillas

Resumen

En este trabajo se analiza la conmemoración del Día de Galicia en 1950 en Argentina y España, y el significado simbólico que adquiere en estos dos países, que atravesaban diferentes circunstancias políticas. Mientras que la celebración porteña se inspira en el tema del exilio tras la dictadura franquista, en Santiago de Compostela destaca el contenido litúrgico y religioso que rodea la exaltación del Apóstol Santiago, y se basa en la fidelidad existente de la Iglesia católica al régimen de Franco. En este contexto, el artículo profundiza en la identidad simbólica de la

poeta Rosalía de Castro en ambas conmemoraciones, los símbolos a los que fue asociada y la consagración de su figura. El trabajo toma como punto de partida la revista *Galicia* - Órgano de Casa Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires - y los diarios *El Correo Gallego* y *La Noche*, de Santiago de Compostela, así como la correspondencia que Luis Seoane, intelectual exiliado en Buenos Aires, intercambiara con algunos de los colaboradores de esas publicaciones.

Palabras clave: España franquista, Día de Galicia, Rosalía de Castro, Exilio transatlántico

Opzioni culturali dell'esilio transatlantico. L'immagine di Rosalía de Castro nelle commemorazioni della Giornata nazionale della Galizia sulle due sponde

Sinossi

L'articolo esamina la commemorazione del 1950 della Giornata della Galizia in Argentina e Spagna, soffermandosi sul significato simbolico che acquisì nei due Paesi, che si trovavano in situazioni politiche diverse. Mentre la celebrazione di Buenos Aires era ispirata al tema dell'esilio seguito all'instaurazione della dittatura franchista, a Santiago de Compostela fu centrale il contenuto religioso e liturgico che circonda la figura di San Giacomo il Grande, con riferimento alla fedeltà della Chiesa Cattolica al regime franchista. Pertanto, esamineremo l'identità simbolica della poetessa Rosalía de Castro sulla base delle due celebrazioni, dei simboli ai quali la sua figura fu associata e della sua sacralizzazione. Il lavoro si basa su periodici come *Galicia*, organo del Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires, e quotidiani di Santiago come *Correo Gallego* and *La Noche*, nonché sulla corrispondenza scambiata con i collaboratori di questi giornali da Luis Seoane, un intellettuale esiliato a Buenos Aires.

Parole chiave: Spagna Franchista, Giornata nazionale della Galizia, Rosalía de Castro, Esilio transatlantico.

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Cultural options of transatlantic exile: Rosalía de Castro's image as conjured up by Galician Day commemorations on the two shores¹

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Introduction

Among the dictatorial regimes that ensued after the end of World War II, that of Francisco Franco has been by far the longest, extending for 36 years, from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 to his death in 1975. As is well known, during the Francoist regime or Francoist Spain many intellectuals, writers and artists on the Republican side were forced to leave the country due to the political persecution of their own activities. In this brief study we will examine the transatlantic relations at the time between Spain and Argentina, in terms of their migratory movements and their transatlantic exile. Starting from the celebrations of the 1950 Galician Day – dedicated to the patron of the community, Saint James the Great, the Apostle Santiago –, we will make a comparative analysis of the symbolic significance of this festivity in both countries, at the time undergoing different political circumstances. Secondly, we will dig into the symbolic identity of Rosalía de Castro along both commemorations. Given that she is nowadays considered a misadjusted character, away from her previous status as a mythical cultural figure, the poet has

¹ This work is part of research groups “Migration memory, war experience and exile. Spain and Argentina: literary representations of and about women in war, dictatorship and banishment contexts during the 20th century” and “Spain and Argentina engaged in dialogue. Literature, culture, memory: 1940-2013”, directed by Mariela Sánchez and Raquel Macciuci respectively. It is carried out in the framework of a scholarship, granted by Consejo Interuniversitario Nacional.

awakened a growing interest among a heterogeneous public scattered on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, this paper seeks to provide a historical – though limited – frame for the Argentinian and Spanish commemorations of Galician Day that could allow us to connect them with each other within the context of the Francoist regime. Francisco Franco's dictatorship had a profound impact on the ways the poet was conceived and it could be said to have been a turning point in the social representation of the poet and in the process of canonization that she went through over the years following her death.

Last but not least, we have translated into English all titles, lines and speeches quoted in this paper in order that the English-speaking reader may easily follow the line of thought. In brackets, we provide the quoted texts in its original language. The translations are my own, and I have endeavoured to offer an accurate simulacrum of the original. Following Delfina Muschietti (2013), no language can be faithful to another; it is, in fact, a matter of being faithful to that strangeness that derives from repetition (Muschietti, 2013).

1. Galician Day commemoration in Buenos Aires

The Buenos Aires Galician Centre [Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires] was one of the main non-profit associations promoting cultural involvement of Galician communities in Argentina. It began as a medical association seeking to provide support to Galician immigrants through health insurance and social services. Since the previous century, thousands of Galician newcomers had arrived in the Río de la Plata area and, over the years, the Centre had incorporated a strong cultural mark that helped revive the ties between the South American region and the Galician culture. The Galician Centre registered a steady growth along its various administrations, with a wide infrastructure including a private hospital, a meeting room, a theatre and the Galicia magazine – its official house organ. Though occasionally counting on international sponsorship, the running of the Centre was possible due to the contribution of its members: with an initial membership of 200, this number quickly rose from 60,000 to almost 85,000 by the end of the Second World War (Bonardi, 2006). Between 1939 and 1957,

Luis Seoane was in charge of the magazine and participated in the Centre's Culture Board from where he contributed to the resistance to Francoism and maintained regular contact with intellectuals from both the Republican exile and the so-called 'internal exile', such as Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, Xosé Núñez Búa, Arturo Cuadrado and Lorenzo Varela. These extended duties increased Rodríguez Castelao's recognition among the Argentine public (De Cristóforis, 2015) and brought him closer to a more political role, consisting of strengthening the transatlantic ties between Spain and Argentina and reporting the transformations in the Buenos Aires cultural scene.

The Galician Centre celebrated Galicia Week from 23 to 31 July, 1950, within the 100th anniversary of José de San Martín's death. From May to October that year, Galicia magazine issues covered both the preparations and the celebration itself. It is interesting to note the treatment of the figure of Rosalía de Castro during this commemoration and the imagery evoked by many of the characters participating in the event. Most of them Galician exiles on the Republican side, the emigrated communities had always held Rosalía in high regard. It is the need to strengthen a collective identity that can account for this consideration. Rosalía de Castro was celebrated for her defence of the Galician people, their land and their language, which found a rapid agreement among the emigrated communities. We will look at the incidence of the Centre and its political position when it comes to exalting or vindicating the key aspects of its public life, and we will examine the eventual silencing of the political dimension of her writing. That said, we have no desire to deny Rosalía's 'holy place' within the popular religions of modern societies (in this case, the Galician people and its immigration centres), but do appreciate that she had a more active role than that the Western canonical standards have traditionally assigned her. This expanded image has to do with the development of a positive female self for the poet and of a female vision in general, as seen in the strong females portrayed in her poems.

Galicia magazine would sketch the preparations of Galician Day in several previous issues, but it is the June issue that would announce the final schedule. The Week began with a tribute to General José de San Martín in his Gran Bourg house replica, and, in the afternoon, Galician music was broadcast on national radios. The main gala would

take place on 24 July at the Avenida Opera House [Teatro Avenida], with the presence of Valentín Paz Andrade, recently arrived in the country, as well as that of President Juan Domingo Perón and the First Lady, María Eva Duarte. The next day was reserved for a mass at the Social Pantheon, where Paz Andrade would read a message sent by the Rosalía de Castro Foundation, and the week was meant to end with an engraving exhibition from Santiago de Compostela in the Centre Library. We will dwell now on the analysis of Paz Andrade's interventions on 24 and 25 July, in which the figure of Rosalía de Castro acquires a fundamental mythical meaning for the Galician commemoration. Indeed, this work subscribes to Encarna Alonso Varela's (2010, p. 66) observations about how the poet was subjected to a process of enshrinement after her death:

In the years that followed her death, Rosalía de Castro began to be a necessary myth for Galician nationalism, so that throughout the 20th century her figure makes History, it becomes a sublimated symbolic reference.

During the main gala at the Avenida Opera House, Valentín Paz Andrade gave a lecture that is partially referred to in the August issue, and which displays the first signs of this process: reference to the Argentine land as the mother of Galician emigrants: "With a heartfelt memory to the Galicians who have already found their final motherhood in the loving heart of the Argentine land" (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 12). These are no chance references, considering that rooting as a metaphor and the figure of Mother Earth both worked as national political symbols in essentialist identity ideologies in general, and in the Galician imagery, in particular (Garrido González, 2017). Through this process, Rosalía de Castro then became a national myth of Galician identity among the exile communities. Along these lines, Paz Andrade makes a similar comparison with one of the most important intellectuals of Galician nationalism: Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao: "And especially Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, the last to go, and in whom everyone could feel gloriously represented" (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 12). Rodríguez Castelao died in Buenos Aires in January of that same year, and his funeral attracted an unprecedented crowd with undeniable political significance due to his broad representation among the emigrated communities of Galician nationalism and Republican exile. During the

1930s and 1940s, his character served as a pulling force for Galician writers and intellectuals emigrated in Buenos Aires, although his links with other social actors had begun to change. In particular, he fell out with the Federation of Galician Societies [Federación de Sociedades Gallegas] with which he had disagreements as to the ways to oppose Francoism. As is the case with Rosalía, the figure of Rodríguez Castelao has been hailed as the father of Galician homeland, his mention on Paz Andrade's speech being no coincidence: his last public speech in Buenos Aires – entitled “Alba de Groria” – corresponds to the 1948 Galician Day celebrations (Monteagudo, 2016). Alonso Varela highlights the symbolic potential of this type of rituals as well as the set of political operations aimed at enshrining public figures like these two:

The funeral ritual transforms the sentimental or political blow of death into a perception of strength, unity and hope. Often, the symbolic denial of death can be seen through certain attitudes and images: the deceased are spoken to, sung to as if they were alive, and this was the case both of Rosalía de Castro and [Rodríguez] Castelao (Alonso Varelo, p. 78).

These social congregation rites seek to overcome death by symbolically denying it. They also seek to maintain alive the ideals of the deceased in as much as they are shared by a community and are meaningful in certain political contexts. This process is at the basis of Rodríguez Castelao and Castro's foundation as national myths, and their memory within the Galicia Day celebrations arises in response to the intention of building a stronger collective identity within the community of Galician immigrants. However, as Ana Garrido González (2017) points out, the Galician community is marked by exile, so that essentialist representations linking the individual with the land tended to lose strength. Indeed, the metaphor of rooting had to undergo a necessary reformulation, since it was aimed at a group that had lost its geographical basis and was, therefore, away from its homeland. If emigration is understood as the construction of new personal and social subjectivities, we can observe how the traditional nationalist discourse operates from “new discursive and subjective places that reconstruct the question of the nation and its struggles while they offer alternative interpretations of Galician identity and the process of national construction” (p. 131).

On 25 July, the day after the main gala, the Buenos Aires Galician Centre organized a mass at the Social Pantheon, where Paz Andrade participated again, but this time as a messenger, reading a speech that the Rosalía de Castro Foundation had sent to the Galician émigrés. Here, the figure of Rosalía is recovered, once again, as a symbol of the union between Galicians on both sides of the Atlantic, possibly as an invitation to smooth over any political tension brought about by the recent change in management favouring a Francoist positioning².

And we beg you that our formidable beat come with fervent emotion to the aid of the association that, under the Patronage of that holy woman who embodied forever the entire soul of Galicia, wants to be the bond between the Galicians of both shores of the ocean, wants to honour her memory, wants to make of the Rosalia's verses a heart-warming reality that encourages the absent to the beat of their home and their land (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 13).

Although the message of the Foundation does not contain any explicit political stance, the final words describe Galicia on a nationalist note, as that land which managed to overcome the submission to Spain:

Remembrances of Galicia, that land at the end of old Europe which they wanted to kill a thousand times by the iron, by poison, by choking; whose tongue they wanted to tear out so she wouldn't sing and her eyes so she wouldn't cry and her heart so she wouldn't feel! (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 13).

In this excerpt we can once again observe the overlap of the image of Galicia with that of the poet: both the Galician homeland and Rosalía de Castro were thought of in the light of the struggle for independence and freedom, a feature that gave rise to the embodiment of the people's values and virtues in the figure of the poet. The ceremony culminated in the delivery of an olive and laurel wreath, a symbol of glory and peace, which Pilar Prada, Paz Andrade's wife, made to José Villamarín, President of the Centre.

² For further information regarding the Buenos Aires Galician Centre's political affiliation during the mid-20th century, see Bonardi 2006.

2. Galician Day in Santiago de Compostela

The Apostle's celebrations in Buenos Aires were widely reported on the other side of the Atlantic given the connection of some of its organizers with fellow cultural actors that still lived in the Peninsula. A close look at the press in both countries, together with Luis Seoane's correspondence, reveals the latter's desire to maintain a cohesive cultural scene despite the geographic dispersion of its members. This is seen most clearly in the correspondence Seoane exchanges with Francisco Fernández Del Riego, a contributor to *Galicia* magazine, and *La Noche* and *El Correo Gallego* dailies, where both intellectuals talk about the need to spread Galician arts and literature both in the Peninsula and in Buenos Aires. In a letter dated 24 November 1950, Seoane reveals:

I have some projects that I deem good for the Galician Centre's Culture Board and I think that we should hold a decent celebration of the 100th anniversary of [Manuel] Curros [Enríquez] next year. Please let me know urgently what other writers, friends, we can count on for the books in the Galician Center diffusion collection (Seoane, 1950).

Along these lines, we will discuss the Galician Day festivities as covered by two organs of the Spanish press: *El Correo Gallego* and *La Noche* dailies, both belonging to the same editorial group (Editorial Compostelana) and sharing a wide range of their contributors, respectively covering the morning and afternoon slots.

The 25 July issue of *El Correo Gallego* and *La Noche*, published jointly as a special issue dedicated to the Apostle's Day, both begin with notes on Saint James The Great's early life, his arrival in Spain and his evangelistic activity in the territory. This long report adjusted to the biblical accounts confirms the presence of Catholic sectors in the writing of the number. *El Correo Gallego* continues with an article entitled "Philosophy of Santiaguismo" ["Filosofía del Santiaguismo"] signed by Father José Isorna, a well-known Franciscan from Galicia, who defines Galician identity on the basis of the Catholic faith and advocates a cultural homogenization with Spain:

The apostolic verb of Santiago thus formed the first community of Hispanic men united by the same faith and in principle, perhaps, by the same race and the same language. The life of Santiago is the germ of the social and national life of Spain. Without it, Hispanic Heritage lacks a soul. (*El Correo Gallego*, 25 July 1950, p. 3.)

Regarding *La Noche* daily, the first pages show an article entitled “Neither fable, nor legend: authentic history!”³, which claims to establish the authenticity of the remains found in Iria Flavia (A Coruña) at the end of the previous century corresponding to the apostle’s tomb. By providing a wide range of scientific and archaeological texts, the article – signed by Cizur Goñi – aims to demonstrate the true story that lingered in Galicia after his death and, by this, match his figure to that of other national historical figures.

The political context that marked the country at time, i.e., the Francoist regime, demanded its own repertoire of national myths to weaken the political idols set by Galician nationalism. Hence, this kind of celebrations provided a good opportunity to give a halo of truth and historical veracity to a biblical character and link him to the Spanish national heritage. The following pages of *La Noche* do not present major references to the festivities. Instead, these can be found in the 26 to 28 July issues of *El Correo Gallego*, which covered the complete schedule of events. It should be noted that the official ceremony took place at the Metropolitan Basilica of Compostela, with the attendance of Francoist high-ranking military officers such as Lieutenant Francisco Delgado Serrano, on behalf of Generalissimo Franco, and Generals Mariñas and Ortiz, governors of La Coruña and Pontevedra. Leaving the City Council towards the Church, the procession concluded with the traditional national offering of ‘Mil Escudos’ given every year as part of the Apostle’s cult. In this regard, we may quote part of the speech given by Delgado Serrano during the Mass:

Continue, Santiago, protecting Spain and its Leader, your distinguished devotee, so that, with your help, so often implored, he may continue his enormous work of liberating our homeland from communist danger and, as a result of the victory of the arms, obtain Hispanic greatness under his most successful leadership and reach

³ “¡Ni fábula, ni leyenda: historia auténtica!”

the zenith of his greatness, the true safeguard of its honour and independence. (*El Correo Gallego*, 26 July 1950, p. 1.)

The history of this offering dates to 1643, when the Spanish crown decided to make the donation to the Cathedral of Santiago. It was intended to help sustain the cult and compensate the Compostela Church and the saint himself for the hard years spent since the end of the 16th century when the patronage of the saint had been called into question. The existing allegiance between Francoism and the Catholic Church, characterizing the political situation then, is replicated within the Galician Day celebrations of 1950. The political strategy was based on the use of Catholic liturgical symbols and military images to replace the regionalist Galician idols – linked to the Republican Left – that this commemoration had featured in previous decades.

On that 25 July 1950, while the Buenos Aires Galician Centre celebrated the Galician heritage with Valentin Paz Andrade as a guest of honour, Abelardo Estévez, was in Santiago de Compostela on behalf of the Buenos Aires community. On the occasion, and at the Convent of Santo Domingo in front of the graves of Rosalía de Castro and Alfredo Brañas, Estévez delivered a coy speech that revealed the substantial discrepancy at the heart of Buenos Aires Centre. The divergence possibly stemmed from the fact that Valentin Paz Andrade had been invited by Luis Soane and, as he himself, he sympathized with the Republican side, whereas Abelardo Estévez had visited Santiago de Compostela on account of the connection of José Villamarín, the President of the Buenos Aires Centre, to the Franco Cabinet.

The speech is partially reproduced in the August and October issues of *Galicia* magazine and in the 25 to 27 July issues of *La Noche* and *El Correo Gallego* dailies. The ceremony had the traditional floral offering to the tombs of Castro and Brañas in the Pantheon of Illustrious Galician at St. Domingo de Bonaval Convent – just as Paz Andrade had made in Buenos Aires. The Palencia Bishop, Souto Vizoso, offered the mass and both Estévez and representatives of the Pontevedrés, Orensano and Coruñés Centres participated with floral arrangements which carried the Galician, Spanish and Argentinian bands on them, and the messages: “From

the Buenos Aires Galician Centre to Rosalía” and “From the Buenos Aires Galician Centre to Alfredo Brañas” respectively.

Even in Galicia, the event diverged in its two versions: whereas the mass at Santiago de Compostela in the city centre gathered Franco’s supporters and exalted religious and military values, very important figures from the intellectual Left attended the ceremony in Santo Domingo, which seems to suggest that in a way it departed from the liturgical tone of that of Santiago and rose to a different political stature. Some of these figures were Ramón Otero Pedrayo, representing the Royal Galician Academy, and Francisco Fernández del Riego, a contributor in all three press organs mentioned above. However, unlike the message from Rosalía de Castro Foundation read by Paz Andrade in Buenos Aires, Estévez’s speech avoids getting into political issues and is questionably neutral. For instance, the image of Rosalía is worshiped as a dear little saint [santiña] and equated to the motherland for Galician emigrates. She is portrayed as some sort of Saint, purposely leaving out her political participation in the cultural scene of her time. As a Galician regionalist, Rosalía promoted liberal and progressive policies that provoked the hostility of her opponents on the conservative side, identified as Castilian centralists (Wilcox, 1997). If we add to this the fact that she was a woman writer who had to struggle with political marginalization – of a kind that was three-folded: political, social and esthetic –, the result is that she had to deal with pressures of a social and psychological nature which tried to dissuade her from achieving her goals in 19th century Spain.⁴

In this sense, Estévez’s speech is in tune both with the political situation in the Peninsula and with the pro-Franco ideology of the management of the Buenos Aires Galician Centre at the time. This lead Estévez to drift apart from uncomfortable issues which could compromise the Centre on political themes and lead to disputes among its members. This could be one of the reasons why his speech emphatically refers to the migratory issue that characterized

⁴ The bulk of criticism on Rosalía’s work focuses on the topics her poetry shared with male poets (themes, styles, symbols, regionalism and existentialist doubt, among others) rather than on her feminist concerns. For a more empathetic and exhaustive treatment of her work, cfr. Davies, 2015; Kirkpatrick, 1989.

transnational Galicia, even if in doing so he brings up the figure of the pilgrim instead of that of the exile.

Such duty is to come to the grave of our holy Rosalía, also on a pilgrimage, and through the flowers that we leave on it, deliver the message of love and veneration that on behalf of the Buenos Aires Galician Centre, our first Institution in that dear Argentina, all the Galicians that remained there wish to send her as a heartfelt tribute of admiration and affection. (*Galicia*, August 1950, p.15)

In this context, replacing the figure of the exile by that of the pilgrim points to the preaching of Saint James across Europe and avoids speaking of the forced displacement of Galicians to America, i.e. the Republican exile in Buenos Aires. If we examine Estévez's speech at length – as of the August issue of *Galicia* magazine – we can see that this substitution also extends to the figure of the emigrant as someone who travels along the world to finally find a second homeland in America.

Still, on a pilgrimage, arrive all scrambled together those who, as children of this same land one day – usually very distant – left everything behind except their dignity and went to other lands, to America most of the time, to try their luck and, with dignity as their only baggage, crossed the immense sea to bravely face the fierce struggles of life under other skies (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 15).

The Santiago press – *La Noche* and *El Correo Gallego* – reviewed the events much more succinctly and without adding any essential information in comparison to the *Galicia* magazine coverage. With the help of the Buenos Aires Galician Center's silence and apparent neutrality, the dictatorship was not even put into question. Therefore, we could speak about a strategic partnership between these three press organs without which such rapid consolidation of Francoism among the transatlantic emigration centres may not have been possible.

From a literary angle, Rosalía has helped set the scene for changes as to the regionalist Galician cause on the one hand, and for an increased visibility of the patriarchal culture that conditioned the 19th century woman artists. It is due to this condition that she is considered a spokesperson for personal autonomy and individual freedom (Kirkpatrick, 1989). Moreover, this could be one of the reasons why her figure has been interpreted from a political

perspective comparable with that of Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao. In as much as they are public personalities, everything to do with their funeral rites, then – death, burial and procession parades – acquires a special meaning. In 1891, the Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians began to house the remains of Rosalía de Castro, thanks to the initiative of the Havana Galician Centre, also represented at the celebration. By the same token, Rodríguez Castelao was transferred to the St. Domingo de Bonaval Convent in 1984. The theme of return has hovered around these duplicate graves as a collective odyssey, which stresses the social dimension of the rite: just as transnational Galicia has built its identity based on the idea of mobility (Garrido González, 2017), so gathering together around their honoured dead has kept alive the struggle for collective identity and the vindication of their national myths.

Conclusions

The aim of this work has been to analyse the content of the Galician Day festivities in Buenos Aires and Santiago de Compostela, their similarities and differences, and the ways they unfolded in the two countries, given their distinct political circumstances at the time. In that respect, we can assert that the content of Galician Day on both sides of the Atlantic displayed notable differences in terms of the symbolic repertoire exhibited, which is shaped by the speeches made on the occasion and the sort of turnout present at the event. The Santiago festivities are typically liturgical and religious in nature, marked by the exaltation of the figure of the Apostle Santiago and the validity of the traditional rites dedicated to the Patron Saint's festival. The event is also clearly set in the context of Francoism and its relationship with the Catholic Church. The Galician Week in Buenos Aires, by contrast, was not characterized by its appeal to the liturgy: rather, it was structured around the migratory theme.

These differences in symbolic frames had a considerable influence on the image of Rosalía de Castro and the chain of meanings her figure was associated to on the two shores. She came across as a holy character both in Galicia and in Buenos Aires and, either way,

this interpretive path has diminished the significance of the poet in the process. In Galicia, she is assigned a lesser place in the patron saint festivities of Santiago, overshadowed by the figure of the Apostle, who is presented as an almost real historical character. In turn, exalting her figure during Galician Week in Buenos Aires implied mythicizing her to strengthen and reproduce Galician identity in the context of exile and Galician diaspora. In this sense, her figure is equated to that of the motherland and the Galician nation. Moreover, Abelardo Estévez's speech in Santiago de Compostela clearly left out the author's political connotations and only focused on her unanimous devotion. On the other hand, the message from the Rosalía de Castro Foundation, read in Buenos Aires by Paz Andrade, knew how to differentiate itself from the former and adopted a tone closer to Galician regionalism.

Our working hypothesis has been that during these festivities the figure of Rosalía de Castro deploys a body of discourses pointing to and enhancing her physical body. On the one hand, her enshrinement as a holy figure with angelic qualities and as mother of the Galician emigrants tells us about the need to venerate her body through a set of acts and rituals that take place in the public space, among them, the funeral rite. In this kind of rituals, the location of the body is vital not only for the performance of the funeral ceremony but also the background of the attendees and cultural heritage embodied by the persona of the departed person. That is the reason memorial sites like Pantheons, tombs and cemeteries hold a special significance when it comes to unifying the corpse with the territory, this rooting enabling the community to pay tribute to the deceased.

On the other hand, the body of discourses on Rosalía's modest nature and female passivity also ends up reducing her to a simplistic portrayal of patriarchal stereotypes, just as it worked as a prison for her body during the years that she was active. As mentioned at the onset of this paper, Rosalía's poetry and political life have not been duly acknowledged by traditional and male-centered criticism, which has customarily taken note of universal topics on Modern poetry and dismissed the more feminist and regionalist streaks of her work. Hence, it is essential that we reconstruct new forms of reading Rosalía's work in order to rediscover fresh edges and contribute to

establishing a continuum with other woman writers at that time, possibly in Spain but mainly in Argentina.

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CULTURAL OPTIONS OF TRANSATLANTIC EXILE

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The price of refuge. Spanish republican exiles in the US cold cultural war

Abstract

This article explores the importance of the collaboration of the different groups of European exiles in the United States, after the rise of totalitarianism, in the construction of open and covert American diplomacy at the height of the Cold War. And this, in one sense, was logical. Refugees knew the languages and traditions of their home nations well and many shared their strong ideologies of anti-totalitarianism with the US government. There were synergies between both parties. In addition, we analysed the link and then the confrontation on the part of one group of those European exiles in the US: that of the anti-Franco and anti-Stalinist community of Spanish republican exiles in New York, to American policies and interests during the nineteen forties and fifties. The United States' unexpected approach to Franco's Spain in 1953 was difficult for them. It caused desolation among this community of Spanish Republican exiles in the United States who, until then, had collaborated with the intelligence services of their host nation looking forward the end of the Franco's regimen. But while a moderate group of those Spanish exiles considered that this approach was a necessary and transitory evil to restrain the Stalinist common enemy, another group of exiles remained faithful to their republican and anti-Franco political trajectory demonstrating their discontent. The Spanish exile community in the United States was deeply divided in 1953 against the Madrid Pacts and the recognition of the Franco's regime by the US.

Keywords: Spanish Republican Exiles, Covert diplomacy, Cold War, Franco's Spain, Madrid Pacts

El precio del refugio. Los exiliados republicanos españoles en la guerra fría cultural de los Estados Unidos

Resumen

En este artículo se explora la importancia de la colaboración de los diferentes grupos de exiliados europeos en Estados Unidos, tras el ascenso de los totalitarismos, en la construcción de la diplomacia encubierta en el momento álgido de la Guerra Fría. Este interés por los refugiados por parte del gobierno estadounidense, de alguna

manera fue lógica. Los exiliados conocían la lengua y las costumbres de sus naciones originarias y algunos de ellos compartían el fuerte anticomunismo del gobierno estadounidense de esos años. Había, pues, sinergias entre las dos partes. Además, en este texto se analiza la conexión primero y después el enfrentamiento de una parte de los exiliados europeos en Estados Unidos, la de los republicanos españoles exiliados en Nueva York que fueron a la vez antifranquistas y anti estalinistas, con las políticas estadounidenses durante los años cuarenta y cincuenta del siglo XX. El inesperado acercamiento de Estados Unidos hacia el régimen de Franco en 1953 fue muy difícil para estos exiliados republicanos, causó una gran desolación entre ellos. Hasta entonces habían colaborado con la inteligencia estadounidense pensando que eso contribuiría a la caída de Franco. La nueva actitud de Estados Unidos separó al grupo. Una parte de estos exiliados españoles consideró que esta aproximación era necesaria y transitoria si se quería vencer al estalinismo. Pero la mayoría de los exiliados republicanos españoles sintió que este acercamiento era incompatible con su militancia antifranquista y demostraron su descontento. La unidad de la comunidad exiliada española en Estados Unidos se rompió con la firma de los Pactos de Madrid y el acercamiento de Estados Unidos al régimen de Franco.

Palabras clave: Exiliados republicanos españoles en Estados Unidos, Diplomacia encubierta, Guerra Fría, España de Franco, Pactos de Madrid

Il prezzo della fuga. Gli esuli repubblicani spagnoli nella guerra fredda culturale degli Stati Uniti

Sinossi

L'articolo esamina l'importanza della collaborazione di diversi gruppi di esuli europei negli Stati Uniti, dopo l'ascesa dei totalitarismi, nella costruzione di una diplomazia americana aperta e segreta nel cuore della guerra fredda. I rifugiati conoscevano bene lingue e tradizioni dei loro Paesi di origine e molti di loro condividevano l'ideologia antitotalitaria del governo statunitense. Si sviluppò, così, una sinergia bilaterale. L'articolo prende in esame anche la relazione di parte degli esuli europei negli Stati Uniti, quali le comunità antifranchiste e antistaliniste degli esuli repubblicani spagnoli a New York, e poi lo scontro con le politiche e gli interessi americani negli anni '40 e '50. L'inattesa apertura degli Stati Uniti verso la Spagna franchista nel 1953 provocò delusione tra gli esuli i quali, fino ad allora, avevano collaborato con i servizi di spionaggio del Paese di accoglienza, aspettando la fine del regime franchista. Ma, mentre un gruppo di esuli moderati considerava questo avvicinamento come un male necessario e temporaneo per affrontare il comune nemico stalinista, un altro gruppo di esuli rimase fedele alla sua ideologia antifranchista e repubblicana, mostrando la propria delusione. L'unità della comunità spagnola esiliata negli Stati Uniti si ruppe con la firma dei Patti di Madrid del 1953 e con il riconoscimento statunitense del regime di Franco.

Parole chiave: Esuli spagnoli repubblicani negli Stati Uniti, Diplomazia segreta, Guerra fredda, Spagna franchista, Patti di Madrid

The price of refuge. Spanish republican exiles in the US cultural cold war.

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Introduction

Many historians insist on the importance and collaboration of the different groups of European exiles in the United States, after the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, in the construction of open and covert American diplomacy at the height of the Cold War. And this was logical. Refugees knew the languages and traditions of their home nations well and many shared their strong ideologies of anti-totalitarianism with the US government. There were synergies between both parties (Wilford, 2008, p. 29-51).

However, although the exiles from nations of what was later to form a part of the Soviet bloc, saw that the policies of the American giant towards the USSR and its satellites were constant during the fifties, except for a few changes, anti-fascist exiles who had come from dictatorships in European Mediterranean countries witnessed a radical change in US diplomatic relations with their original nations during the Cold War (Mikkonen, 2012, p. 97-127). In the case of Spain, the escalation of the war led first to an embargo and rejection of the Franco regime by the international community, and of any economic, cultural or scientific support; but after the escalation of the Cold War at the beginning of the nineteen fifties, Francoist Spain got the diplomatic recognition by the United States and its allies.

This article aims to explore the link and then the confrontation on the part of the anti-Franco and anti-Stalinist community of Spanish republican exiles residing in New York, to American policies and interests during the nineteen forties and fifties.

1. *The Foreign Nationalities Branch and European refugees*

It was shortly after the United States entered World War II when it was deemed necessary, by its government, to address the “Foreign political manifestations inside of the United States itself”. In 1941, the US State Department stated the following, in the midst of escalating totalitarianisms, and passed this opinion on to the newly appointed Coordinator of Information, William J. Donovan: “That a systematic reading, from the diplomatic viewpoint, of the foreign language press in the United States would be helpful in the conduct of our foreign relations”¹. It is true that foreign newspapers and their authors had been monitored by the US Department of Justice and other federal agencies – FBI, the Foreign Language and Intelligence Divisions, the Department of War (G-1), the Immigration Service, the CIAA and the OCD –, since the triumph of the Bolshevik revolution and the arrival of refugees after the Great War, for fear of revolutionary radicalisms, but it was done for punitive vigilance purposes. The only reason for this was to see whether radical expressions and their authors violated those considered, in hegemonic discourses, according to American political tradition².

However, since July 1941 there have been new contacts with exile communities for different purposes. The Office of the Coordinator of Information, COI, addressed this reading of the radical press edited by refugees of different nationalities in a positive way in order to learn of the political activities of dissidents who were also, in some way, supporters of the United States in its confrontation with totalitarianisms in the new world conflict. So, for the first time, taking advantage of developing effective political and military strategies, as well as the knowledge and political position of the

¹ DeWitt C. Poole, *The Study of Foreign Political Developments in the United States. A New Field of Political intelligence*, 31 December 1944 CIA-RDP89-01258R000100010004-2 in Central Intelligence Agency Archives (from now CIA Archives), on line, pp 1-2. I gratefully acknowledge financial support to the Ministry of Science and Innovation for research project. PID 2019-106210GB-I00.

² *Memorandum to the Director of Strategic Service, February 11, 1943, Handbook of Foreign Nationality groups in the US*, CIA-RDP 13X0000 1R00010018007-8 in CIA Archives, on line, visited September 1, 2019.

exiles for their own benefit, was a topic for discussion in US diplomacy.

The State Department also went further in this new approach to refugees and their publications. He considered necessary, for example, to broaden and deepen contacts with these groups of exiles of different nationalities, residing in the United States and publishing newspapers in their own language; keep track of their political avatars and, above all, establish friendly contacts with the editors and political leaders of the communities that arrived in the United States and that: “As refugees, continued to defend their causes from the American shores and look for the sympathy of both American citizens and political institutions”³.

To this end, the US executive created specific institutions that designed and executed the strategies to make these foreigners politically profitable. For many, the idea of obtaining information on the exiles in the United States, not to persecute them but to develop their own and correct political strategies, was not only conceived by the State Department but also, to a great extent, by the person designated by the president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as COI, William J. Donovan, who was already a deep connoisseur of foreign intelligence systems at that time. John C. Wiley, a career diplomat, with extensive experience in European and Latin American affairs, is also believed to have contributed. The two convinced President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the need to improve intelligence work using foreign refugees networks inside and outside the United States. We must not forget that Wiley had experienced many of the massive upheavals in the early part of the twentieth century. He was at the Madrid embassy during the first years of the Second Republic, specifically between 1932-1933; at the Moscow embassy when diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were restored in 1933; at the Vienna embassy when Germany invaded Austria in 1938, and was minister in Estonia and in Latvia when the Baltic countries were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. Throughout his diplomatic career he was a defender of the need to reform the State Department, the US foreign service

³ DeWitt C. Poole, “The Study of Foreign Political Developments in the United States. A New Field of Political Intelligence.” 31 December 1944. CIA-RDP89-01258R000100010004-2 in CIA Archives, on line, visited September 1, 2019.

and, above all, to centralize intelligence services and to have networks of foreign informants as a means of acting effectively against “serious and unexpected” events⁴.

Although William J. Donovan's professional career was very different from Wiley's – he was not a career diplomat – his knowledge of intelligence issues and his vision of the reforms needed to increase the effectiveness of American intelligence services were similar. Born in Buffalo in 1893, of Irish ancestry, Donovan studied in Catholic schools until he was accepted at Columbia College in 1903. There he was a good student with many interests, including football, where he became a star achieving the admiration of his peers from the final year of the Bachelor of Arts Degree. After graduating, he studied law, also in New York, in this case at Columbia Law School, where he was a colleague of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Until then, nothing predicted that Donovan would become one of the masterminds of American intelligence during World War II and in the early years of the Cold War.

Returning to Buffalo, William J. Donovan began his career as a partner in a law firm and later on created his own firm with his colleague from Columbia, Bradley Goodyear. Donovan was very active and immediately joined forces with other Buffalo lawyers and businessmen to organize their own Army National Guard unit called Troop 1, whose actions, to the surprise of many, became known throughout the country. Due to his past military experience and a certain prestige, Donovan was called to lead the iconic 69th Irish Regiment of New York City in 1916. For many, it was already obvious at that time that the United States would participate in the Great War and that they should prepare themselves. In 1917 and after months of training, the regiment became involved in the war in Europe as part of the US Army and was renamed the 165th regiment as part of the 42nd division commanded by Douglas MacArthur. William J. Donovan led this regiment and, after receiving many decorations – Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Service Medal and the Congressional Medal of Honour – which

⁴ Wiley J. Cooper intelligence ideas in *The Foreign Service, 1937; Foreign Service reorganization -Morale and Public Confidence*; Department of State; Reorganization of the Department of State and Foreign Service, Box, 10, John Cooper Wiley Papers, 1898-1967 in Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum.

increased his fame, among other things, because the New York Times published fragments of his letters to his wife, Ruth Donovan, he returned to the United States a hero (Waller, 2011, p. 22).

After the Great War, when Donovan was already very involved with the Republican Party and was responsible for winning the difficult Catholic vote for them, he became a United States attorney for Western New York and continued working in his private interests⁵. So Donovan started to make a series of trips through Asia and Europe to expand the scope of his own law firm. He soon created a transnational network of businessmen who used informants of different nationalities to exchange information they considered relevant and as a big step forward in world politics. It was during these activities in the interwar period when he became convinced of the importance of detailed, varied, and often secret information in the economic and political decision-making process (Waller, 2011, p. 54).

The Declaration of War on Germany and its allies by the United Kingdom and France on 3 September 1939 took William J. Donovan to Europe. Many of the clients of his law firm, such as the Rothschilds, felt their interests and even their own lives threatened, and chose him to mediate with fascism and Nazism. His curiosity also took him to visit Mussolini and write reports that surprised his recipients by his deep knowledge of the situation in the world. He also visited Spain in 1938 in the middle of the Spanish civil war, worried as he was about the possible alignment of Francisco Franco in the war with Hitler and Mussolini. It was clear that his network of informants was working beyond business. In 1936, Donovan was already the first to speak in public, joining the figures of Hitler, Mussolini and Joseph Stalin as a dangerous axis, warning the United States that it was not the time to turn its back on its obligations as a world power.

The US première of the film, *The Fighting 69th*, in 1940, based on the history of the regiment commanded by Donovan in the Great War, where his character was represented by Irish actor George Brent, reinforced the popularity of William J. Donovan. That prestige, his accurate analysis of what was happening in Europe, and a similar

⁵ Donovan, William J. 1883-1959. *Person Authority Record* in National Archives Catalog. On line <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/10679485>.

vision of how one could proceed in the face of totalitarianisms led his former Columbia colleague, President Roosevelt, to thinking of him for a special mission in Europe, despite his political differences.

In the summer of 1940, Franklin Delano Roosevelt not only looked more and more worried about the advancement of Nazism but, at home, faced a third nomination as presidential candidate of his party, thus breaking with American political traditions. With a still strong isolationist movement within the United States, Roosevelt did not know if the British would be able to restrain the Luftwaffe and especially to curb a possible invasion of the German navy and army, through the Channel, without US help. The president wanted and needed a capable, expert and rigorous informant and that was, to the surprise of many, the Republican William J. Donovan. Wild Bill, as everyone called Donovan, had to go to the United Kingdom and other European countries and issue a rigorous report on the real situation of the parties in the still incipient war.

However, there was a specific aspect of the German strategy that interested him in meeting Roosevelt and his cabinet. Thus, Knox – the former publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, also a Republican like Donovan and Secretary of the Navy, who had been appointed by Roosevelt – in his pursuit of greater political union in those difficult times, sent one of his closest collaborators to help William J. Donovan in his European mission. Edgar Mowrer, leading foreign correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, was appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to join Donovan to investigate the German “fifth column” espionage and sabotage operations in Great Britain and in the rest of Europe, with the express mission to inform President Roosevelt and his cabinet (Waller, 2011, p. 59). Since the Spanish Civil War, where a whole network of informants operated in the republican city of Madrid, many of whom had infiltrated the offices and the enemy army, the so-called “Fifth Columns” had been a concern for everyone. The effectiveness, precision and harshness of German espionage and its propaganda systems were already known.

The mission of Donovan and his collaborators in the United Kingdom and in other European countries, which was not simple, flowed smoothly and they often received secret information from British politicians and military as well as anti-fascists and anti-Stalinists from other parts of Europe. William J. Donovan met with

Winston Churchill and gained everyone's collaboration. It was in London where Donovan reinforced his passion for information and especially for secret information. He met with the Director of the British Intelligence Service Stewart Menzies, C for MI6, who, along with his complex network of informants, proudly let Donovan know that he would be aware of the German's intentions well in advance.

Upon his return to the United States, Donovan informed President Roosevelt of this. He was already sure that the United States needed to support the United Kingdom with armaments and strategies and to go to war as the only way to restrain Nazism. They also needed to create a centralized and efficient intelligence service. To this effect, the informants played a fundamental role, especially those of different nationalities who were familiar with the culture and language of the enemies and had immense political, economic and social experience. Not just any refugee would do. They had to be the leaders of their respective communities of exiles in the United States because they had extensive political experience and were very knowledgeable about the ins and outs of complex European politics.

Roosevelt's satisfaction with Donovan's mission was a sign of his decision to create the Office of the Coordinator of Information, the COI, and that it was William J. Donovan who would lead it. President Roosevelt shared with Donovan and, to some extent, with the intelligence services of the United Kingdom, which was already his ally, the notion that there was fragmentation and inefficiency in the US intelligence services between the Army, the Navy, the State Department and the FBI. According to Roosevelt and Donovan, unlike the British secret services, the Americans were poorly equipped, uncoordinated and outdated (Persico, 2001, pp. 90-92).

That is why Donovan's work as COI leader went way beyond that of a mere coordinator and integrator of the information generated by the different Federal Departments and intelligence agencies. The COI's comfortable economic situation also had to support the Research and Analysis Branch. Donovan therefore considered from the beginning that it was necessary to expand the network of informants, both inside and outside the United States, and to count on aid of the political elite from the different exile communities. To meet this new objective, he created a new section, still linked to the

COI, called the Foreign Nationalities Branch, FNB, led by another expert in intelligence and European affairs: DeWitt C. Poole.

Poole was a diplomat who started his career in Berlin in 1911, was later on destined to Paris in 1916 and then returned to the United States to join the State Department. From there he went to Russia, where he was living when the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 broke out. It was during the revolution that Poole became involved in a spy network formed by diplomatic personnel from other embassies and informants – 30 in Moscow and many more in other cities – the majority opposed to Leninist revolutionaries. He also acted during the Russian revolution as intermediary between the Bolshevik Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the US Department of State. However, in 1918, Poole was already exhausted and convinced of the triumph of the revolution. DeWitt C. Poole closed the US Consulate General in Moscow after arranging the evacuation of all US citizens residing in Russia and fleeing, with great difficulty, to Finland in September 1918. Poole returned to northern Russia, to the city of Archangel that was then occupied by the Allied forces, as a special assistant to the US ambassador. He left Russia in 1919 as American chargé d'affaires (*The New York Times*, 4 September 1952).

In the United States, Poole was Director of the State Department's Division of Russian Affairs and promoted to Consul General. Impressed with Soviet intelligence and especially with the effectiveness of its propaganda, he left the State Department in 1930 and began an academic career as director of the advisory board of The School of Public Affairs that was created at Princeton University, allegedly with economic support from the US government. In 1937, he co-founded his dissemination body: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, which became a forum for experts in public opinion polls. He was also an outstanding figure for experts in psychological warfare (Simpson, 1966, pp. 48-52).

From there, he was called by the newly appointed COI leader, Donovan, to direct the Foreign Nationalities Branch project. He was his perfect complement. Donovan knew British intelligence services well and to some extent those of Italian fascism and German Nazism, but Poole was the great expert in Soviet intelligence services.

When, in July 1942, due to the difficult situation of World War II, it was considered that the COI should become the Office of Strategic

Services, by militarising it and increasing its competencies, the Foreign Nationalities Branch and its director, DeWitt C. Poole, already one of the great experts in psychological warfare, were also part of the new organization.

The Foreign Nationalities Branch was therefore responsible, when it depended on the COI and when it was part of the OSS, for creating a network of information sources through interviewing leaders of refugee communities. It was also responsible for reading and exhausting the newspapers and magazines, which was essential according to US intelligence for discovering the weaknesses of the enemies and the strengths of the allies, and move forward steadily in the war. This led to measures being proposed and implemented to influence propaganda and covert actions and destabilize enemy nations. Psychological warfare was one of the strong points of the FNB.

However, the path taken to approach refugees and understand the content of their political press was not straightforward. On the one hand, as noted above, the OSS had a different and positive view of the usefulness of these refugee communities for US strategies, but there were already agencies that monitored and penalized them. This hindered the FNB's action and was also the reason why refugees did not trust any government agencies from their host nation.

It is DeWitt C. Poole who recalls in "The Study of Foreign Political Developments in the United States," that competence problems due to the different interests that intelligence agencies used in their approach to foreign communities were common. "Informal but important steps are in process looking toward closer contact and coordination among the Federal Agencies having to do with the foreign-nationality groups", Poole informed Donovan. He also reminded him that a joint committee had been created to alleviate these differences between them.

Despite these differences, the OSS Foreign Nationalities Branch approached and interviewed – we do not know if this was imperatively in any case – the leaders they identified from each of the foreign communities. The FNB was particularly interested in government members in exile and their ministers, but also those in exile who had political and union responsibilities in their countries. Not only did they want to interview them, but their contacts and

networks, inside and outside their countries, were also essential for the FNB and for the new US intelligence strategy.

“The governments-in-exile kept as close to their homes as possible, but in most cases their largest free constituencies – indeed, their only large constituencies – were here in the US...,” DeWitt C. Poole wrote to Donovan. “The opportunity thus created for useful political intelligence has been still further enlarged by the presence here as political refugees of a large number of European practitioners of the art of politics, whose intimate knowledge of situations and trained acumen were found to be worth consulting in selected instances”, concluded Poole. Among this group of expert refugee leaders “of the art of politics” whom the Foreign Intelligence Branch looked at and with whom they “talked” were a good group of Italians such as Carlo Sforza, Alberto Tarchiani, Alberto Cianca; from Germans like Thomas Mann, Karl Spiecker, Paul Tillich; Archduke Otto of Habsburg; from Greeks like Bishop Athenagoras, Emmanuel Tsouderos, Sophocles Venizelos; Poles like Ignacy Matuszewski, Stefan de Ropp, Feliks Gross, Wakla W. Bitner; Russians like Alexander Kerensky, Victori Chernov and Oscar Halecki; Lithuanians like Antanas Smetona; Frenchmen like Alexis Leger, Jacques Maritain and Henry Torres.

At the end of the list, from the report issued by Poole, there were distinguished Spanish refugees such as José Antonio de Aguirre, Lehendakari (president) of the Basque government in exile; Julio Álvarez del Vayo, former republican minister as well as writer, journalist and politician; Diego Martínez Barrio, who had presided over the government of the Second Republic in exile since 1945; and Fernando de los Ríos, who had been the ambassador of Spain in Washington during the Second Spanish Republic and who later on taught in the New York New School for Social Research. In his report, Poole insisted on the importance of: “Some systematic and discreet contact on the part of the United States Government with unrecognised movements and dissident agitations. Something apart from the ordinary diplomatic machinery is needed because even

discretion does not stop the regular diplomatic staff from contacts of this type”⁶.

Foreign refugees were seen differently by the Foreign Nationalities Branch. They were the great experts in different European policies, had well-formed networks with politicians, intellectuals and trade unionists in their countries, knew the national language and cultures and all this, according to the FNB, could be used by American intelligence to construct a propaganda and psychological warfare strategy against the enemy in those decisive years of World War II.

2. Spanish refugees in the United States and the Foreign Nationalities Branch

The outbreak of the Civil War, which faced the Popular Front coalition in Spain to an alliance of non-democratic rights that supported the *coup d'État* of July 1936, deeply mobilised a section of American civil society. The United States government remained distant from this war. Its policy against the Second Spanish Republic was also explicit. From the Neutrality Laws of the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, promulgated in 1935, 1936 and 1937, the legitimate government of Spain knew that no US governmental aid would be given to its cause, at any time. However, US citizenship was mobilised by creating a multitude of aid committees, newspapers, assemblies and even sending to the Republican front volunteers organized around the Lincoln Brigade as well as organizations that provided health care, and care, but were never supported by their government (Guardia, 2019, pp. 173-176).

There were multiple reasons for American neutrality. On the one hand, the Catholic vote was important for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and although the American Catholic community was much divided – 39 percent of Catholics supported Franco and 30 percent were loyal to the legitimate Republican government – the Catholic hierarchy did support the Dictator (Varela, 2008, p. 243). Furthermore, the movement in favour of isolationist policies remained robust in the

⁶ *The Study of Foreign Political Developments in the United States. A New Field of Political Intelligence*, 31 December 1944. p. 5. in US Office of Strategic Services, US National Archives.

United States despite the arrival of the Democrats at the White House. There was also fear on the part of the international community of an even greater polarization if the European and American democracies intervened in a war where everyone already knew that both Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy did so to support Franco.

Once the war was over, the United States did not help the immense group of Spanish refugees who remained in conditions of extreme harshness in France and North Africa either. Moreover, after the Spanish Civil War ended in 1939, the United States only took two days to recognize Francisco Franco's regime and never granted refugee status to Spanish Republicans.

Even so, as already noted, Spanish Republican exiles entered the United States. Most of these refugees had one element in common: their fierce anti-Stalinism although some were linked to different Marxist groups. It is Maurice R. Davie, in one of the few existing quantifications on refugees from European totalitarianisms in the United States from 1933 until the end of World War II, in 1945, who calculates the total amount of refugees as being 243.862. These had come from Germany, since 1933; from Spain since 1937; and from the rest of Europe since 1938. Out of the majority, or rather 53 per cent were Germans; followed by 11,1 percent of Poles; and 8,9 percent of Italians. Spaniards were only 1,2 percent of the total number of refugees, or political emigrants, who arrived in the United States after the Spanish Civil War and World War II (Davie, 1947).

Without any refugee status, these Spanish Republican "emigrants" used their previous contacts to find a way to enter with the immigration laws in force in the United States that, in the nineteen thirties, established an annual entrance fee – two percent of the number of emigrants of each nationality, since 1924 – following an old census dating back to 1890. Moreover, since the immigration reform implemented in the United States, in the year of the great crisis of 1929, the total quota of emigrants for all countries subject to the quota law was set at 150.000 per year. This meant that Spain had a very small quota because Spanish immigration, at the end of the nineteenth century, was not yet significant; therefore, only 252 Spaniards could enter each year (Varela, 2008, p. 135). In the year that the Civil War broke out, in 1936, 250 Spaniards were

legally admitted, in 1937 even less, 244, and in 1938 the number increased to 264⁷.

From that small nucleus of exiles, in fact, very few were of interest for the intentions of the Foreign National Branch. If we pay attention to the report that DeWitt C. Poole sent to the director of the OSS as early as 1944, despite recognizing the existence of a greater number of refugees than that defended by Davie, he also stated that only a small number were interested in information and counter propaganda: “While the full count of those who might be called political refugees, arriving from Europe since 1933, may run to half a million, the individuals among them of real political consequences in relation to particular situations abroad are to be counted by tens or hundreds at the most”, acknowledged the report. “In the case of Poland, the count of politically consequential figures, according to the experience of this Branch, would not go beyond 200; France and Italy, each about the same.” From there the number dropped. Out of the Czech refugees, only 100 were of interest to the FNB; the Germans, remember that we are still in 1944, 50; Yugoslavs 40; Russians 30 and from Austria, Hungary and Spain only 20. In the same document, DeWitt acknowledged that: “The emphasis in the case of the refugees has therefore not been on quantity but on individual interest, careful selection, and personal cultivation”. The report also ensured that the most important city for these refugee communities was New York. The FNB decided that in addition to the Washington office, another “very carefully equipped office” would remain open in NYC⁸. From there, reports were prepared, leaders of the different communities of exiles interviewed, negotiations started, excerpts from the political press published in the languages of the different exile communities were read and translated and their rallies and meetings were attended to develop political, military and propaganda strategies aimed at winning the war.

⁷ *Department of Labour, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Annual Report of Secretary and mimeographed releases* in US National Archives, on line.

⁸ DeWitt C. Poole, *The Study of Foreign Political Developments in the United States. A New Field of Political intelligence*, 31 December 1944. CIA-RDP89-01258R000100010004-2. P. 15 in CIA Archives, on line.

Among the Spanish leaders who were required to inform the FNB were members of all republican groups in exile except pro-Soviet communists. Thus, socialist leaders; former militants of the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista, POUM; the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, CNT; Republicans and also Nationalists were interviewed, and on many occasions they collaborated in other ways with the Foreign Nationalities Branch.

The FNB was also very close to the government of the Spanish Second Republic in exile and the nationalist, Basque and Catalan governments also in exile. In fact, the governments of all nations and regions in exile were of interest for the informative work of the FNB, considering that they maintained deep contacts with the political forces inside their respective nations and that they were well aware of the characteristics of their respective political cultures⁹.

In some cases, the FNB responded to the request for refuge and even for nationality of some of the Spanish exiles. That happened with the Malaga-born diplomat, Antonio de la Cruz Marín, from whom the FNB asked for detailed information and with whom FNB representatives met on numerous occasions, one of them together with the socialist leader, Indalecio Prieto, in 1944¹⁰.

Fernando de los Ríos, a distinguished member of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, PSOE; former Minister of Justice and later on Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, during the Second

⁹ *US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes*, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988, p. vii.

¹⁰ [Application of Antonio de la Cruz Marín for U.S. citizenship] (Jan. 5, 1942) INT-27SP-36 [Background information on Antonio de la Cruz Marín] (July 30-Aug. 10, 1942) INT-27SP-74 [Conversation with Antonio de la Cruz Marín] (Apr. 3, 1943) INT-27SP-121; (Apr. 8, 1943) INT-27SP-137; (May 6, 1943) INT-27SP-155; (May 10, 1943) INT-27SP-160; (June 11, 1943) INT-27SP-185; (July 19, 1943) INT-27SP-190; (Nov. 5, 1943) INT-27SP-227; (Mar. 4, 1944) INT-27SP-265; (Apr. 7, 1944) INT-27SP-285; (Oct. 20, 1944) INT-27SP-342; (Feb. 20, 1945) INT-27SP-415 [Conversation with Indalecio Prieto and Antonio de la Cruz Marín] (Mar. 7, 1944) INT-27SP-267 [Information on Antonio de la Cruz Marín] (July 20, 1942) INT-27SP-37 [Information on Antonio de la Cruz Marín and General Jose Asensio] (Dec. 27, 1941) INT-27SP-5 [Information on leading Spanish personalities] (May 12, 1942) INT-27SP-4 [Interviews with and background on Juan A. Meana and Antonio de la Cruz Marín] (Dec. 1-16, 1941) INT-27SP-3 in *US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes*, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

Spanish Republic and, as we have pointed out, in exile in New York, was one of the Spanish exiles considered relevant during the first years of operation of the FNB for his extensive knowledge of the Spanish and international scenarios as well as the fact that his New York home address was the meeting place of Spanish exiles in the United States (Ruiz-Manjón, 2009, p. 75). “Every Sunday, Don Fernando's apartment was open to all friends who were in the New York area. No invitation was required. It was an ‘Open House’, as we say in English”, Carmen de Zulueta reminded us, “A house open to all Spanish and Spanish American exiles sympathizing with the defeated Republic” (Zulueta, 2001, pp. 119-120). Sometimes, those open Sundays were so popular that there was not enough room in the De los Ríos family home in Riverside Drive, New York. “The Spaniards continue to come on Sundays, already known and newcomers, as some present others and there are nights that they don't all fit in the room”, Fernanda Urruti wrote again, this time to her son, José de los Ríos, who was already living in Puerto Rico (Muñoz Rojas, 2009, p. 170).

Foreign National Branch talks with Fernando de los Ríos were commonplace. In the first of them, held on 12 May 1942, the lives of Spanish politicians were discussed. The second was on 7 May 1943. In 1944, De los Ríos only met with representatives of the FNB on 6 November, while in 1945, the FNB and De los Ríos met five times. Four in the FNB's New York office and one at the home of Fernando de los Ríos. He also met once again with the FNB, on this occasion, together with the president of the government of the Second Republic in Exile, Diego Martínez Barrio, on 1 December 1944. The FNB also received a letter in February 1945, in which Fernando de los Ríos showed the OSS his concern over the non-granting of visas by the French government to Spanish Republican refugees in France¹¹.

¹¹ [Activities of Fernando de los Ríos on behalf of the Spanish Republicans] (Feb. 22, 1945) INT-27SP-410 [Conversation with Diego Martínez Barrio and Fernando de los Ríos] (Dec. 1, 1944) INT-27SP-365 [Conversation with Fernando de los Ríos] (May 7, 1943) INT-27SP-156; (Nov. 6, 1944) INT-27SP-349; (Feb. 9, 1945) INT-27SP-400; (Feb. 18, 1945) INT-27SP-416; (Mar. 6, 1945) INT-27SP-420; (Apr. 11, 1945) INT-27SP-435 De los Ríos Alarmed by French Decision on Spanish Exiles' Visas (Feb. 26, 1945) INT-33SP-31 [European situation, discussion] (Dec. 21, 1944) INT-10EU-518 Fernando de los Ríos Discusses Spain and Europe (Dec. 30,

The FNB also interviewed other former ministers of the different governments of the Second Spanish Republic. They held talks with Julio Álvarez del Vayo Olloqui, a Spanish lawyer, journalist and politician, member of the PSOE, who had been ambassador to Mexico when the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed, and who also became a minister of state. As close collaborator of Juan Negrín since the political crisis of 1937, Álvarez del Vayo shared with him his desire to prolong the Spanish Civil War until the outbreak of World War II in order to obtain allied support against Franco and his totalitarian accomplices. With the Republican defeat, Álvarez del Vayo went into exile in France, in Mexico and then in the United States where he successfully practised journalism. He was expelled from the PSOE in 1946, developing radical political views. He created the Spanish Socialist Union and then, in 1973, he promoted the armed group, Antifascist and Patriot Revolutionary Front, FRAP (Álvarez del Vayo, 1975).

Álvarez del Vayo was also one of the Spanish exiles who was most often contacted by the FNB. They interviewed him four times in all, one of them accompanied by Juan Negrín and another by Indalecio Prieto, but they also had conversations, apart from the interviews, about “Europe and the invasion”, on 8 June 1944; he was invited to participate in an urgent meeting to create an emergency action plan in defence of democracy in 1942; and he reported on the feelings of European refugees in the United States towards the State Department¹².

1944) INT-33SP-25 [Information on leading Spanish personalities] (May 12, 1942) INT-27SP-4 [Meeting at the home of Fernando de los Rios] (Apr. 5, 1943) INT-27SP-131 Spanish Republican Meeting (July 2, 1945) INT-33SP-38 [Visit with Fernando de los Rios at his home] (May 19, 1945) INT-27SP-460 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Service, Inc, 1988.

¹² Álvarez del Vayo, Julio, [Conversation with Álvarez del Vayo] (Apr. 8. 1943) INT-27SP-136; (June 23. 1943) INT-27SP-180; (June 15, 1943) INT-27SP-182; (Dec. 2, 1943) INT-27SP-238; (Mar. 23. 1945) INT-27SP-428 [Conversations with Álvarez del Vayo and Indalecio Prieto] (May 9. 1945: May 15. 1945) INT-27SP-482 Discussion of "Europe and the Invasion" (June 8. 1944) INT-33Z-77 [Feelings of democratic refugees from Europe toward the State Department] (May 30, 1943) INT-10EU-223 [Free World Association and France Forever members meeting] (Aug. 17, 1943) INT-10EU-252 [Information on Álvarez del Vayo] (Oct. 25. 1944) INT-27SP-338 [Interview with Álvarez del Vayo and Juan Negrín] (May 26. 1945) INT-

The Foreign Nationalities Branch also met with Juan Negrín, the Spanish scientist and politician who was minister of finance, chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the last government of the Second Spanish Republic during the Civil War. As such, he went into exile keeping the republican government active, first in France and then in London and Mexico. In 1946, he was expelled from the PSOE due to the harsh confrontations between the different political factions of Spanish exiles. FNB archives contain reports about Negrín's arrival in the United States from Mexico, on 26 January 1945, and on his confrontations with Indalecio Prieto ("Indalecio Prieto in New York and the Present Alignment of Spanish Republicans") but the FNB also maintained direct contact with him. Therefore, members of the FNB interviewed Negrín and talked to him on three occasions, one of them with Álvarez Vayo¹³.

Numerous conversations were also held between the FNB and governments in exile, as noted above. Therefore, the FNB met with Diego Martínez Barrio, former president of the Spanish Courts, interim president of the Second Republic, president of the Cortes in exile and, finally, president of the government of Spain in exile from 1945 to 1962 (Álvarez Rey, 2000, pp. 181-205). They held interviews with him, sometimes alone, and others accompanied by Fernando de los Ríos. Among the files of Martínez Barrio are also

27SP-479 [Invitation to an emergency conference to determine an immediate program of action in defense of democracy] (Dec. 2. 1942) 1NT-19M1-120 Leading Negrinist Here Discusses Spain and San Francisco (Mar. 30. 1945) INT-33SP-33 Meeting of Free World Association (Mar. 26. 1943) INT-33Z-11 [Rustem Vambery] (May 13. 1944, May 15, 1944) INT-15HU, 533 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

¹³ [Arrival of Juan Negrín in the U.S.] (*Jan. 26. 1945*) INT-27SP-396 Indalecio Prieto in New York and the Present Alignment of Spanish Republicans in Exile (*Apr. 3, 1944*) INT-33SP-10 [Interview with Álvarez del Vayo and Juan Negrín] (*May 26, 1945*) INT-27SP-479 Interview with Dr. Juan Negrín (*Aug. 4, 1944*) INT-27SP-319 Martínez Barrio Tries To Rally Spanish Republican Forces (*Dec. 13, 1944*) INT-33SP-24 Opening of Spanish Cortes Attracts Negrinists (*Jan. 10, 1945*) INT-33SP-27 Press Note on the Spanish Republican Scene (*Aug. 31. 1944*) INT-33SP-1S Spanish Republican Politics in Exile (*June 11. 1943*) INT-33SP-4 Spanish Republicans Look Toward San Francisco (*Mar. 22, 1945*) INT-33SP-32 Negrin, Juan, Jr. [Conversation with Dr. Juan Negrin, Jr.] (*June 16, 1943*) INT-27SP-181 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

reports on various activities carried out by the government of the Spanish Republic in exile¹⁴.

Reports and “conversations” with Basque and Catalan nationalists were commonplace. The FNB prepared a report on their activities in exile, their specific actions in Latin America, on some of their publications and also on specific activities of their leaders. It also held conversations with part of their leaders. Meetings were held on 7 April, 12 and 14 June, 21 July and 6 November 1943 as well as on 7 April 1944 and 1 May 1945 with Manuel de la Sota, a member of the Basque Government delegation in New York; with de la Sota, along with Antonio de Irala, on 30 November 1943¹⁵.

Reports, interviews and meetings with José Antonio Aguirre were frequent while he resided and taught at Columbia University in New York. Leader of the Basque Nationalist Party, PNV, president of the Basque government since its establishment on 7 October 1936, first in the Basque Country, then in Barcelona and after in his subsequent exile in France, Aguirre and his government went underground, after being persecuted by the Gestapo. Once he was allowed to enter the United States his status had been legalised, at the end of 1941,

¹⁴ Martínez Barrio, Diego [Conversation with Diego Martínez Barrio and Fernando de los Ríos] (Dec. 1, 1944) INT-27SP-365 [Establishment of the Spanish Republican Junta for Liberation] (Feb. 7, 1944) INT-27SP-254 Martínez Barrio Tries To Rally Spanish Republican Forces (Dec. 13, 1944) INT-33SP-24 Meeting of Spanish Republicans (Nov. 27, 1944) INT-27SP-364 Spanish Republican Committee of Liberation (Dec. 6, 1943) INT-33SPS Spanish Republican Cortes President States His Credo (July 17, 1945) INT-33SP-40 Spanish Republican Politics in Exile (June 11, 1943) INT-33SP-4 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988

¹⁵ Basque and Catalan Politics in Exile (Nov. 13, 1944) INT-33SP-20 Basques Reported Withdrawing Opposition to Spanish Constitution of 1931 (May 12, 1945) INT-33SP-37 [Foreign-nationality groups in Latin America, studies] (June 23-29, 1944) INT-10EU-426 [Lesser nationality groups, information] (June 17, 1942) INT-10EU-40 Martínez Barrio Tries To Rally Spanish Republican Forces (Dec. 13, 1944) INT-33SP-24 [Mexican foreign publications, further information] COcr. 12, 1944) INT-10EU-474 Spanish: document series INT-27SP-] to WT-27SP-501 Spanish Republican Politics in Exile (June 11, 1943) INT-33SP-4 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee Meeting; Conference of Solidarity with the Spanish People (Sept. 21, 1943) INT-10EU-259 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

José Antonio de Aguirre openly led the Basque government in exile in New York. With US government support, Aguirre arrived in Philadelphia with his documents in order on 6 November 1941; the Basque nationalists Manuel Ynchausti and Manuel de la Sota were waiting for him to take him to New York, where he led the international relations of the Basque government in exile (Mota Zurdo, 2016, pp. 119-121). Like the other government leaders in exile, Lehendakari Aguirre had to meet with the FNB. He did so three times, one of them with the “Mr. Sota”. The FNB also issued reports on “The Basque movement and José Antonio Aguirre” and on the meeting between José Antonio de Aguirre and the United States ambassador in Madrid, Carlton Hayes¹⁶.

Frequent meetings of the OSS Foreign Nationalities Branch with Catalan nationalist leaders also took place in New York. The FNB and the Catalan nationalist, J.M. Fontanals met twice, despite information stating that many more meetings had taken place, once in 1943 and again in 1944, with Josep Carner-Ribalta, who had accompanied Macià on his controversial trip to Moscow in 1925 and was closely linked there to Andreu Nin, who acted as guide and interpreter for them. Carner-Ribalta knew the Catalan political trajectory well as the American intelligence services pointed out. Josep Maria Carner-Ribalta participated in the proclamation of the Catalan republic in Olot in 1924, and began his first exile in Belgium after his failure. With the proclamation of the Catalan Government in 1931, he held different political positions at the start of his exile, as he confronted representatives of the CNT-FAI as Commissioner of Spectacles of the Catalan Government in 1938. During his exile, he lived in Paris,

¹⁶ José Antonio de Aguirre, Basque Activities in Exile (Apr. 28. 1943) INT-27SP-214 Basque and Catalan Politics in Exile (Nov. 13. 1944) INT-33SP-20 Basque Chief Here After Devious Trip (Nov. 17, 1941) INT-27SP-7 [Conversation with Dr. Aguirre and Señor de la Sota] (May 7, 1943) INT-27SP-IS7 [Conversation with Jose Antonio de Aguirre] (Oct. 23, 1944) INT-27SP-345 [Information on the Basque movement and Jose Antonio de Aguirre] (*Jan. 8, 1942*) INT-27SP-9 [Information on the Basques and Jose Antonio de Aguirre] (*Jan. 8-Mar. 7, 1942*) INT-27SP-8 [Notes by Basque President Aguirre on a speech by U.S. Ambassador Carlton Hayes] (*Jan. 18, 1943*) INT-27SP-116 ["Spain: Democracy and Catholicism", topic of Spanish meeting] (*June 9, 1943*) INT-27SP-167 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

Mexico and New York. Carner-Ribalta participated in the creation of Free Catalonia with the aid of the FNB, in an attempt to fight Franco. Together with Fontanals, J. Ventura Sureda and representing the Consell Nacional Català, he filed an appeal on behalf of Republican Catalonia at the San Francisco Conference¹⁷.

In addition to prominent leaders of the Spanish Republican exile, the FNB also interviewed intellectuals and university teachers in exile in the United States. Out of all of them, the one they interviewed the most was Alfredo Mendizábal, the Catholic philosopher who had been able to flee the Gestapo, like many other intellectuals trapped in occupied France, with the help of the American Emergency Rescue Committee. President Roosevelt granted a series of “emergency visas” which allowed several hundred refugees, mostly German Jews but also Catholics and members of other nationalities, to enter the United States. It was Varian Fry, the New York writer and editor, who represented the organization in France and who somehow influenced the departure of Mendizábal and other Spaniards to the United States¹⁸.

¹⁷ Fontanals, Joseph [Conversation with Fontanals and Gibemau] (May 7, 1943) INT-27SP-158 [Conversation with Joseph Fontanals] (July 20, 1943) INT-27SP-195; (Aug. 26, 1944) INT-27SP-322; (Feb. 19, 1945) INT-27SP-413 [Conversation with Joseph Fontanals and J. Carner Ribalta] (June 14, 1943) INT-27SP-179; (Nov. 3, 1943) INT-27SP-232; (Oct. 20, 1944) INT-27SP-340 [Conversation with Joseph Fontanals, J. Carner Ribalta, and another Catalan] (Apr. 7, 1944) INT-27SP-282 [Proposed declaration setting forth Catalan claims in connection with the San Francisco Conference] (Mar. 16, 1945) INT-27SP-425 [Reactions of Alfredo Mendizábal and Joseph Fontanals to the Moscow Pact] (Nov. 4, 1943) INT-27SP-223, in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

¹⁸ Mendizábal, Alfredo Alfredo Mendizábal Discusses the Spanish Situation (Jan. 18, 1945) INT-33SP-28 [Conversation with Alfredo Mendizabal] (June 14-15, 1943) INT-27SP-176 [Conversation with Alfredo Mendizabal] (Apr. 6, 1943) INT-27SP-145; (May 8, 1943) INT-27SP-159; (Nov. 4, 1943) INT-27SP-233; (Dec. 3, 1943) INT-27SP-240; (Apr. 8, 1944) INT-27SP-286; (June 7, 1944) INT-27SP-308; (Nov. 1, 1944) INT-27SP-346; (Nov. 4, 1944) INT-27SP-348; (Jan. 15, 1945) INT-27SP-387; (Feb. 12, 1945) INT-27SP-402; (May 16, 1945) INT-27SP-455 OSS Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945 219 Mendizábal, Alfredo Index by Subjects and Names [European situation, discussion] (Dec. 21, 1944) INT-10EU-518 [Information on Alfredo Mendizábal] (Mar. 26, 1943) INT-27SP-126 [Interview with Alfredo Mendizábal] (July 14, 1945) INT-27SP-4S8 [Professor Mendizábal comments on the Spanish Committee of Liberation] (Jan. 10, 1944) INT-27SP-247 [Proposed meeting of the Union of Spanish University Professors Abroad] (July 8,

The US intelligence services also held talks with Ernesto Dacal, Galician and Lusitanist and expert in Pessoa, who had fought in the Civil War with the Galician militias and had been commissioned in the United States since 1938 by the Second Republic. There he remained as an exile at the end of the war, working as a teacher at New York University¹⁹. They also interviewed the poet, Pedro Salinas, first teacher at Wellesley College and then John Hopkins; Juan Negrín Jr., son of Juan Negrín, and teacher in the Department of General Pathology at the University of New York; Pilar de Madariaga, who changed during her exile from being a prominent researcher in Chemical Sciences to a Spanish teacher at Vassar College, and many others²⁰.

In addition to personal contacts and collaboration with leaders in exile, the FNB was also interested in periodicals published in foreign languages in the United States. Newspapers in other languages, including those published in Spanish, and printed in the United States were listed in the "Handbook", which was one of the first reports issued as director of the FNB by DeWitt C. Poole for other agencies. We know from the Handbook that in 1944, fourteen political newspapers written in Spanish were published. The most important for Spanish exiles was *España Libre*, which was considered the vehicle for disseminating Spanish republican exile and how well it has been studied by Montserrat Feu (2011). But there were many more. *Pueblos Hispanos*, *El Antifascista*, *Cultura proletaria*, *Justicia*, *La Prensa*, *La Traducción-prensa*, *La Esperanza*, among others²¹.

1943) INT-27SP-188 [Reactions of Alfredo Mendizábal and Joseph Fontanals to the Moscow Pact] (Noy. 4, 1943) INT-27SP-223 ["Spain: Democracy and Catholicism", topic of Spanish meeting] (June 9, 1943) INT-27SP-167 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988

¹⁹ Ernesto Dacal, Conversations with Ernesto Dacal, 1944, INT-27SP-334 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

²⁰ Conversation with Pilar de Madariaga] (Jan. 30, 1944) INT-27SP-252. Negrín, Juan, Jr. [Conversation with Dr. Juan Negrin, Jr.] (*June 16, 1943*) INT-27SP-181 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

²¹ Spanish-Language Press in the U.S. Sept. 22, 1944. INT-33SP-16. Descriptors: *España Libre* (newspaper); *Pueblos Hispanos* (newspaper); *El Antifascista* (newspaper); *Cultura Proletaria* (periodical); *Justicia* (newspaper); *La Prensa*

These contacts with the Foreign Nationalities Branch by both politicians and newspaper editors did not seem to be difficult for part of the Spanish Republican exile as evidenced by the records of the reports and conversations with them, kept in the OSS Archives, and the newspapers and correspondence of Spanish exiles themselves. During World War II, Spanish refugees expelled by Franco supporters living in the United States were hopeful and grateful to the nation that had welcomed them. When the United States entered World War II, their satisfaction with Roosevelt's policies was even greater. Now the United States was the nation facing Nazism and refugees expressed their satisfaction with the American political and social system. The "Americanism" of this Spanish exile community was a buzz with hope. "The war has completely changed with the wonderful entry of Americans into North Africa", Fernando de los Ríos wrote to his brother José de los Ríos from his New York exile in 1942 (Muñoz Rojas, 2009, p. 145). "The war is going very well from a military perspective", Fernando de los Ríos told his brother in another letter, "And I think it will be even better soon because production and the spirit here improve every day and create very high ethics of war" (p. 160).

However, this monitoring and even this joy as the war progressed was not free. Somehow, the Spanish exiles wrongfully linked the allied victory in World War II to the possibility of ending Franco's regime in Spain: "Happily, the war is going very well", Fernando de los Ríos insisted from his exile in December 1942, "Like in other European countries, in the end a regime of freedom and democratic respect will be imposed in Spain", he concluded hopefully (p. 180).

Spanish exiles were not inactive either. With the knowledge of the FNB, many Spanish exiles in the United States and Mexico signed the Declaration of Havana and created the Spanish Liberation Board whose purpose was to present itself as a united bloc and influence

(newspaper); La Traducción-Prensa (newspaper); La Gaceta (newspaper); El Continental (newspaper); El Tiempo de Laredo (newspaper); Revista Católica (newspaper); La Esperanza (newspaper); La Voz (newspaper); La Opinion (newspaper) RPT 213. España Libre (newspaper) Spanish-Language Press in the U.S. (Sept. 22, 1944) 1NT-33SP-16 in US Office of Strategic Services, Foreign Nationalities Branch Files, 1942-1945, Indexes, CIS, Bethesda, MD, Congressional Information Services, Inc, 1988.

so that allies would help to restore democracy in Spain.

Among his victories are the inclusion in the United Nations Charter of an amendment that prevented access to international organizations of regimes formed with the support of the Nazi-fascist powers and therefore the Franco regime. Somehow they contributed to their isolation. Spanish republican exile was also behind all the diplomatic and political work that achieved the condemnation of the Franco regime at the United Nations in November 1946.

3. Other refugees. The beginning of the Cold War

The allied victory in World War II initiated a process of change and reorganization of American intelligence and also of relations with the different exile communities in the United States and in Europe.

“On 20 September 1945, despite the efforts of General William Donovan, President Truman issued an executive order (E.O. 9621) terminating the OSS, effective 1 October”, confirmed by the Guide of General William J. Donovan Selected OSS documents, in its introduction²². And that was what happened. The OSS was closed – the Research and Analysis section was passed over to the State Department and the rest to the Armed Forces – and the FBI saw its budget cut. Donovan's discontent with the measure was obvious and he tried to stop it until the end but Truman faced huge costs with the repatriation of all US troops deployed around the world and he was also determined to review the entire intelligence strategy (Waller, 2011, p. 360).

The disappearance of the OSS did not mean the end of the collaboration of the exile and refugee communities, in the United States and in Europe, with the US intelligence services. However, with the beginning of the Cold War, the United States faced another enemy. Fascism and Nazism had been defeated and Soviet communism was rising as the danger to the new peace in the eyes of the United States. It was foreign experts in Marxism, and in most cases from the communist world, who seemed the most interesting to American intelligence agencies that remained.

²² *General William J. Donovan Selected Documents, 1941-1945*. Microfilm Roll list and index, Record Group 226, entry, 180 in US National Archives.

Spanish exiles as a block, as well as the other refugees from the Mediterranean Countries, lost importance for the United States as the new Soviet enemy emerged on the horizon. It is true that some Spanish refugees maintained their interest in the secret services but now it was more to do with their status as anti-Stalinists and their knowledge of the Soviet world because of their former communist militancy. They were not interested in former republicans or socialists, all of them fierce anti-fascists, but rather those who were more radical, had participated at some point in the Soviet revolutionary spirit, and had faced Stalinism in one way or another. It was the moment of former POUM militants or anarcho-syndicalists such as Joaquín Maurín or Julián Gorkin, both very active in American cultural diplomacy (Glondys, 2007). This approach to refugees also became increasingly pragmatic. Past or previous political commitments to former enemies did not matter, so long as it helped to fight communism.

In the same way as US occupation forces in Germany had used informants, many of them linked to Nazism, to obtain information about the Soviet Union, and the Department of War had allowed Nazi experts to enter the United States, George Truman believed that it was also time to use the knowledge of refugees from Eastern European countries already dominated by the USSR or Soviet dissidents. However, as the Office of Special Investigation showed, these were sometimes war criminals in the operation known as "Paperclip" (Feign, 2019).

It was necessary to reorganize US intelligence to make this new task of ideological and political struggle against the USSR effective. Strangely enough, despite Donovan's political uprooting, his staunch defence of the need to maintain active and effective intelligence services in peacetime was heard. As there was already a clear confrontation with the USSR and the world was starting to be separated into blocks, President Truman promulgated the National Security Act in 1947 to correct what his team considered as vulnerable points of the American military and intelligence organization. The new law reorganized the command structure of the three US armies, the decision-making procedures in international politics as well as all intelligence services, creating a counsellor and a National Security Council. The Council included a Central Intelligence

Agency, the CIA, to direct “intelligence services” as well as international activities related to US National Security. The CIA had to collect information on foreign governments, corporations and individuals. It used this information to prepare reports on national security and boost the effectiveness of US policies. The agency also developed and executed undercover actions.

4. The Spanish exile community is divided: The Cold War and the Madrid pacts of 1953.

This change in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union also showed the change in attitude of the United States towards the Franco dictatorship. At the end of that same year, 1947, in which American intelligence was restructured, there were already manifestations of a change of course in relations between the United States and Spain. The United States considered the alliance with Iberian countries necessary, due to their strategic and advantageous positions. Besides, the fierce anti-communism of Francisco Franco was now viewed positively by the US government. It was beginning to be a common element between democracies and their former fascist enemies.

Thus, in November, the United States opposed a new condemnation of Franco's regime at the UN and succeeded. Four months later, in February 1948, France reopened the border with Franco's Spain. The Cold War favoured the dictator. In addition, between May and June 1948, Spain signed trade agreements with France and the United Kingdom. After the outbreak of the Korean War, in 1950, the Senate listened to a proposition by party leaders to reopen relations with Franco's Spain. Many of them were traditional Catholics, all encouraged by Franco's envoy to the United States, Félix Lequerica, and they gave new credit to Franco's Spain. A short time later, on 4 November 1950, in the middle of the Korean War, the UN General Assembly revoked the condemnation of the Franco regime of 1946 by a large majority on account of the support of the United States and the abstention of France and the United Kingdom. Many Spanish republican exiles saw their expectations and support diminish. However, the process of

rapprochement between the United States and Franco's Spain was not yet over. Ambassadors of different western nations gradually returned to Madrid and their presence was commemorated as another victory of the Franco regime (Viñas, 2003).

During this process of rapprochement between Franco's Spain and the United States, Spanish republican exiles in New York ceased to be united. Clashes and debates escalated both in social spaces of the Spanish community and in the media.

With the signing of the Madrid Pacts between the United States and Spain in 1953, which restored diplomatic normality, strengthened collaboration between Spain and the United States and boosted the international recognition of Franco's regime, Spanish Republican exiles in the United States split into two groups.

The most moderate was led by the former director general of prisons of the Second Republic, a deputy in the Republican courts and lawyer, Victoria Kent, who had begun her New York exile in 1950 and was linked to the New York anti-Communist networks together with her partner, Louise Crane. She was joined by moderate Republicans and also many Basque and Catalan nationalist exiles (Guardia, 2016). In the other sector, a large part of the government of the Republic was placed in exile, especially the Socialists, and those most radical Republicans linked to trade unions and class parties. Each had a different understanding of the new American policy, although only in the first years that followed the Madrid Pacts. Later, fatigue and, for many, resignation, somehow united them (Feu, 2011, p. 94).

An event marked the beginning of that split of Spanish exiles in view of the new American and world attitude towards the Spanish dictatorship. On 16 May 1954, the president of the government in exile, Félix Gordón Ordás, travelled to New York and the US authorities detained him without allowing him to tread the soil of the United States. This was a measure of extreme harshness for a head of government in exile who, until then, had been considered a friend, like many other heads of government of the exile communities, and this reflected the new relations between the United States and the Franco regime. A short time later, Gordón Ordás wrote to Victoria Kent harshly condemning the new American attitude towards Franco's Spain. "I will not stop again in New York, or anywhere else in

North America, while it is ruled by the police which, over and above the great democratic and liberal tradition of that country, has set up the psychopathic state in which its ruling classes are located,” he stated flatly in his letter. “They have communism (in the United States), a childish terror similar to that which children in Spain have of coconut... for men of my spiritual formation going through the humiliations that I had to endure when I stopped there last time is a torture we do not want repeat,” he concluded.

The confrontation between these two groups in New York was radical. Victoria Kent, who had been appointed as an informal representative of the Government of the Republic, in exile in the United States, presented her resignation to the President of the Republic for no longer sharing their political views. For her, although the United States' policy approach to Franco was painful, it was necessary to restrain something she also hated: Stalinist communism. “Please accept my resignation as an accomplished fact and inform the Department of Justice on this date”, Victoria Kent wrote to the president of the Spanish government in exile on 7 September 1954²³. After this, as evidence of that new phase, she published a review, in Spanish and English, with Louise Crane, where her political position and that of her group was pro-American, anti-communist and anti-Franco. It was *Iberica for a Free Spain*, that was released for the first time in January 1954. “The increased interest in Spanish affairs in the United States has led a group of Americans to create IBÉRICA Publishing Co., with the purpose of publishing IBÉRICA, a monthly review focused solely on Spanish affairs”, said the inaugural manifesto²⁴. Many Spanish exiles in the United States who supported this position like an anarchist writer, Ramón J. Sender, the Basque nationalists, Pedro Pagés, Pedro Marcos, Jesús de Galíndez, and many more collaborated in the new review. They were also supported by an important group of American activists and renowned European intellectuals, all of them active collaborators of the US government in the cultural Cold War, mainly covertly

²³ Victoria Kent a Gordón Ordás, September 27, 1954 Fondo: GO 15-1, in Archivo del Gobierno español de la República en el exilio, Fundación Universitaria Española.

²⁴ *Announcement of the publication of Ibérica, Año 1953-1954* in Instituto José Cornide de Estudios Coruñeses, Archivo Salvador de Madariaga.

directed by the CIA (Saunders, 2001). Spanish Democrats from the interior also participated. The majority were supporters of Enrique Tierno Galván who, together with Raúl Morodo, was one of Victoria Kent's most constant correspondents. For a lot of people, the review, like many other publications, was financed by intermediate agencies including the CIA.

The historical review of Spanish exiles in the United States, *España Libre*, which had been monitored by the OSN FNB during World War II, and the strongest association of exiles, the Confederate Hispanic Societies, CHS, showed their opposition to those who supported the United States in this approach to Franco's Spain as a lesser evil, personified in the group leader: Victoria Kent. "I was verbally abused on 22 December 1953 by representatives of the Confederate Hispanic Societies who went to my *Ibérica* office, with the sole intention of preventing the review from being published in its Spanish edition," wrote a hurt Victoria Kent to Manuel Dorado, General Secretary of the Confederate Societies. "They drew up a purely inquisitorial act, which the four gentlemen who formed the commission sealed, a copy of which is in my possession," she concluded²⁵. However, things went even further, when the CHS wrote a letter to Louise Crane in which, if we pay attention to Victoria Kent, "Abuse directed towards me, Miss Crane, whom you have more than one reason to thank ... It is too much, Mr. Gold. You have managed to exhaust my patience and I've had enough", concluded Victoria Kent in that letter²⁶. The tension prevailed between the two political positions and their reviews and, in 1961, both Victoria Kent and Louise Crane dropped out of the CHS.

The United States' approach to Franco's Spain caused desolation among the community of Spanish Republican exiles in the United States who, until then, had collaborated in many cases with the intelligence services of their host nation. While a moderate group considered that it was a necessary and transitory evil to restrain the Stalinist common

²⁵ *Carta de Victoria Kent a Manuel Dorado*, Nueva York, 4 de mayo de 1954 Fondo GO 15-1, in Archivo Gobierno español de la república en el exilio, Fundación Universitaria Española, Fondo GO 15-1.

²⁶ *Carta de Kent a Madariaga*, 27 de octubre de 1961 in Fundación S Salvador de Madariaga, Instituto José Cornide de Estudios Coruñeses, Archivo Salvador de Madariaga.

enemy, other exiles remained faithful to their political trajectory demonstrating their discontent. The Spanish exile community in the United States was deeply divided in 1953 against the Madrid Pacts and the recognition of the Franco's regime by the US.

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Music in exile: Russian émigré composers in interwar Paris and the mission of Russia Abroad's musical creativity after the 1917 revolution

Abstract

One century after the massive migratory current following the Russian revolution, music composed in exile has not yet found particular interest in cultural studies. The aim of my essay is to provide historical and sociocultural coordinates to the reality of Russian émigré composers' community based in Paris within the milieu of the so-called Russia Abroad. This cultural category has been the subject of many studies in the last decades. These latter have thoroughly underlined the literary expressions of the Parisian émigré ambient in the light of the links with the homeland, the pre-revolutionary culture and the expectation of the return to Russia. Features that may be summarized in the concept of the *Missija russkoi emigratsii* whose principal domain is to be found in the "free creative work" characterized by a twofold outlook: on the one hand it is aimed at providing continuity to pre-soviet Russia's traditional culture and, on the other hand, it is intertwined with the development of new languages, forms and aesthetics, inextricably bound with the contemporary artistic achievements of the host metropolis, the Ville Lumière. Russian-Parisian composers' production offers a privileged space to observe this cultural interweaving and the other aspects mentioned above.

Keywords: Exile, Émigré poetics, Russia Abroad, Russian-Parisian milieu, Interwar period.

Música en el exilio: compositores rusos emigrados en el París de entreguerras y la misión de la creatividad musical de la llamada "Rusia en el extranjero" después de la Revolución de 1917

Resumen

Un siglo después de la corriente migratoria masiva que siguió a la Revolución Rusa, la música compuesta en el exilio aún no ha encontrado un interés particular en los estudios culturales. El objetivo de mi ensayo es aportar coordenadas históricas y

socioculturali a la realidad de la comunidad de compositores rusos emigrados con sede en París, en el ámbito de la llamada “Rusia en el Extranjero”. Esta categoría cultural ha sido objeto de numerosos estudios en las últimas décadas. Estos últimos han subrayado las expresiones literarias del ambiente parisino de los emigrados, a la luz de los vínculos con la patria, la cultura pre-revolucionaria y la expectativa del regreso a Rusia. Estos elementos pueden resumirse en el concepto de *Missija russkoi emigratsii*, cuyo rasgo principal se encuentra en el “trabajo creativo libre” caracterizado por una doble mirada: por un lado, tiene como objetivo dar continuidad a la cultura tradicional de la Rusia presoviética, y, por otro lado, está entrelazado con el desarrollo de nuevos lenguajes, formas y estéticas, indisolublemente ligadas a los logros artísticos contemporáneos de la metrópoli anfitriona, la Ciudad Luz. La producción de los compositores ruso-parisinos ofrece un espacio privilegiado para observar este entrelazamiento cultural.

Palabras clave: exilio, poética emigrante, “Rusia en el extranjero”, ambiente ruso-parisino, período de entreguerras.

Musica in esilio: compositori russi emigrati a Parigi tra le due guerre e la missione della creatività musicale nella Russia oltreconfine dopo la rivoluzione del 1917

Sinossi

Un secolo dopo la grande corrente migratoria russa seguita alla rivoluzione del '17, la musica composta in esilio non ha ancora riscontrato particolare interesse negli studi culturali. Scopo del saggio è di fornire le coordinate storiche e socioculturali alla realtà della comunità russa di compositori emigrati a Parigi all'interno del milieu della Russia oltreconfine. Questa categoria culturale è stata oggetto di alcuni recenti studi che hanno messo a fuoco le espressioni letterarie dell'ambiente parigino *émigré* alla luce dei rapporti con la madrepatria, con la cultura prerivoluzionaria e con l'attesa del ritorno in Russia. Caratteri che possono essere riassunti con il concetto di *Missija russkoi emigratsii* – la missione dell'emigrazione russa – il cui ambito di azione principale va ricercato in una “libera attività creatrice” dal carattere duplice: da un lato essa è tesa ad assicurare continuità con la cultura tradizionale russa presoviética, dall'altro risulta fortemente intrecciata con lo sviluppo di nuovi linguaggi, forme ed estetiche legate ai risultati artistici del tempo osservabili nella metropoli ospitante, la *Ville Lumiere*. La produzione dei compositori russo-parigini offre uno punto d'osservazione privilegiato per esaminare gli intrecci culturali e gli altri aspetti qui descritti.

Parole chiave: Esilio, Poetica migrante, Emigrazione russa, Ambiente russo-parigino, periodo tra le due guerre.

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*Music in exile:
Russian Émigré Composers in interwar Paris and the
mission of Russia Abroad's musical creativity after the
1917 revolution*

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Introduction

“And so we are here, abroad, in order to be a voice for all those who are silent there, to restore the polyphonic wholeness of the Russian spirit”. Thus wrote Georgij Fedotov (1935, p. 440), one of the brightest mind of the Russian emigration, in an article dated June 1935 and entitled *Zachem my zdes'* (*Why are we here?*). The “we” (*my*) to which Fedotov gives voice refers to the Russian emigrant community, whereas the “here” (*zdes'*) implies the city of Paris, the main destination of the centrifugal motions began just before the Twenties amidst the turmoil of the Revolution, from the newly founded Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Dealing with the Russian diaspora in France one cannot only speak of a generic emigrant community, but rather of a society or, more precisely, the recreation of a precise society: that of the pre-revolutionary era. As pointed out by Marc Raeff:

What made the Russian emigration of the 1920s and 1930s into a society and not merely a group of people who had exiled themselves for political reasons? Two factors contributed to the way that the émigré Russians constituted themselves into a genuine, albeit not perfectly complete, society. First of all, most social classes of prerevolutionary Russia were represented abroad [...] In the second place, and much more telling than their cross-representation according to sociological, economic, or cultural criteria, was the fact that the émigrés were committed to carrying on a meaningful Russian life (Raeff, 1990, p. 5).

1. *Russia Abroad*

Regarding the existence of a Russian society abroad, it would be more appropriate, as Magarotto (2007, p. 132) does, not to “think of a compact and monolithic social organisation, but [...] of several differently understood and differently lived societies, which occupied different parts of the cities territorially”. Indeed, within the perimeter of this particular cultural context, one could find several internal differences, both of an aesthetic and generational nature. Despite these divergences, scholars have coined the term *Russia Abroad* to indicate the cultural category represented by the peculiar *milieu* of Russian emigration outside the boundaries of the motherland. The denomination is a calque from the Russian *Zarubežnaja Rossija* and his social, cultural and anthropological extent has been well clarified by Kåre Johan Mjør:

Russia Abroad is the name for this émigré community used both by the émigrés themselves and by scholarly literature to date. [...] The use of the noun Russia instead of the adjective “Russian” signals the widespread idea among Russians abroad that they “took Russia with them” [...]. Most émigrés strongly believed that they represented the genuine Russia, not the Bolsheviks. The latter, in their view, had destroyed it. [...] the first-wave émigrés saw it as their task not only to preserve their own Russianness but Russia itself. Russian émigrés created an exile community outside the borders of their homeland. Russia Abroad was not a community limited geographically by clearly defined borders. Rather, it comprised various Russian settlements almost all over the world, above all in the major cities of Europe where the largest and culturally most significant communities were established (Mjør, 2011, p. 27).

It can thus be inferred that in the perspective of the emigrants themselves, theirs is not a mere exile community, but Russia itself: no longer able to live in its habitual geographical space, the true Russian nation is in fact subjected to a provisional moment of exile waiting for the return to the motherland.

Consequently, the emigrant community is not to be seen as a subsidiary seat of the homeland, but as the custodian of the true Russian cultural tradition and the only one deputed to carry on its mission and growth.

2. *The mission of Russia Abroad*

Precisely the term *missija* (mission) is one of the most proper keyword to depict the human and cultural experience of Russia Abroad. As a maxim attributed to the émigré writer and poet Zinaida Gippius states: “we are not in exile, we are on a mission” (Rubins, 2015, p. 3). The correlation between Russia Abroad and the concept of mission had already been suggested by the writer Ivan Bunin. In 1924, the Nobel Prize winner entitled his speech *Missija russskoi emigratsii* (The Mission of Russian Emigration), in which the author resorts to a biblical and eschatological vocabulary in order to imbue the subject with a distinctly spiritual connotation:

Indeed we have been acting, in spite of all our weaknesses and falls, on behalf of our Divine image and likeness. And moreover, on behalf of Russia: not the one who betrayed Christ for thirty silver coins in order to gain permission to plunder and murder, and who wallowed in the abomination of all kinds of evil deeds and moral mischief, but on behalf of that other Russia, oppressed and suffering but still not entirely subjugated. [...] The Russian emigration, which has demonstrated by its exodus from Russia and by its struggle, by its marching on ice, that it does not accept not only out of fear but also out of conscience Lenin’s cities, Lenin’s commandments, has a mission which consists in the continuation of this non-acceptance (Bunin, 2000, pp. 150-153).

By drawing a parallel between Russian diaspora and biblical Exodus, the intent of Bunin, along with many other writers, thinkers and protagonists of this cultural context, is to bestow on their émigré life a supernatural and teleological dimension: the aim of Russian emigration is in fact to provide ‘desovietized’ motherland with new cultural structures or, in the words of the author of 1931 essay *The Task for the Emigration*, Fedor Stepun “to create a new ideology for the future Russia”.

Several attempts have been made to put these intentions into practice and particularly noteworthy appear to be those in the political and geopolitical field. In fact, there are various experiences and hues in this domain that have been generated within the émigré circles. The current of thought that has most polarized the attention of thinkers, philosophers and artists is the intellectual movement known as Eurasianism; drawing upon the Slavophil tradition and the messianic thought of Silver Age, this politic and philosophical vision

of the Twenties pursued a worldwide redemption originating from Eurasia, that is the new Russian continent, neither European nor Asian: “Russia has always been neither East nor West and must become neither East nor West, in it there is the meeting of East and West, in it, in its personal destinies, is the symbol of the destinies of all humanity” (Belyj, 1921, p. 27). Deploring the Old World’s decadence and the loss of a religious culture in the apostatised Central and Mediterranean Europe, the Eurasianists found a theoretical support in Oswald Spengler’s *The Decline of the West* in which the author predicted the extinction of the Western civilization.

Despite its theoretical assumptions, the Eurasianist thought did not find its way into the political arena and another field proved fertile ground for the mission of Russia Abroad, that is the cultural production.

3. *The free creative work*

The positive meaning of and justification of the emigration is by no means found in the domain of politics. The positive meaning may be found first of all in the defense of freedom, in the creation of a tribune for free thinking, in the creation of an atmosphere for free creative work (cit. in Mjør, 2011, p. 44).

This quotation by Nikolai Berdyaev, one of the most famous thinkers within the milieu of Russia Abroad, enucleates and summarises what has been discussed so far. The reiteration of the words “freedom/free” is a clear mark of the most important and positive aspect found by emigrants in their exile. It’s nevertheless necessary to dwell particularly on the last utterance: the term *tvorchestvo*, i.e. the creative work, has in fact a long-standing history and a prominent role in the context of Russian culture and aesthetics. The essay *Metaphysics, Aesthetics or Epistemology? A Conceptual History of Tvorchestvo in Nineteenth-Century Thought* by Mjør (2018, pp. 4-21) reconstructs the different phases in the evolution of this concept: the philosopher and theologian Vladimir Solovyov is the first to breathe new life into this ancient term by expanding its realm beyond mere “creative work”. For Solovyov, in fact, the sphere of creation – one of the three “main forms of the all-human organism” together with knowledge and practical activity –

has a threefold dimension: in its material level, it is “technical art”, in the formal level it is linked with “fine arts”, whereas in the absolute level it is “mysticism”. *Tvorchestvo* thus is indeed connected with art, but at his highest level it is has to do with an activity aimed at establishing contact with the divine, and, to use a key term of Solovyiov’s language, it can be designated as “theurgy”. As pointed out by Mjør:

Tvorchestvo [...] is not only to be found in art, but also in knowledge, in the intellectual contemplation of ideas. He [Solovyiov] saw this form of intellectual activity as a precondition for human participation in the realization of world history as envisioned by God in his divine plan (Mjør, 2018, p. 21).

Being the “spiritual son” of Solovyov, Berdyaev inherited the teaching of his master, but at the same time he transposed this concept in the more concrete sphere of practical action and historical context. In the preface of the 1927 edition of *The Meaning of the Creative Act*, one can find this double perspective: reconnecting creative activity to its divine matrix and, at the same time, seeing in creativity an antidote to the upheavals of the early 20th century:

My book [...] was written fifteen years ago. Since then mighty catastrophes have broken over Russia and the world. A new epoch in history has begun. [...] now as then, I still believe that God calls men to creative activity [...] But the crisis through which humanity is passing, which is expressed first of all in the bankruptcy of humanism, to-day seems to me more tragic, and offers no hope for the possibility of an immediate move into religious creativity. We shall have to pass through a period of darkness before the new light beams out. The world must look forward to a period of barbarization (Berdjaev, 1962, p. 1).

These, therefore, are the philosophical, theological and historical presuppositions of creating art within the framework of the Russia Abroad, whose mission had not only the task to preserve the Russian tradition, but also to re-create a new world.

What are, then, the concrete transpositions of these doctrines in the field of emigrated Russian culture? In what way have these instances occurred or had to collide with reality? Before approaching the musical declension of this discourse, it will be more appropriate

to start from a much wider and more investigated field, that is the literary domain.

4. Letters

The predominant expression of modern Russian cultural creativity [...] had been in the form of literature. In its manifold modes, the word was the mainstay of Russian cultural identity [...] In emigration, literature became even more crucial to the émigrés' collective identity, for language is the most obvious sign of belonging to a specific group. The Russian language, both written and oral, bound the émigrés together despite their geographic dispersion (Raeff, 1990, pp. 10).

This assertion by Marc Raeff contains in a few lines several relevant points of analysis about literature and language – two of the three “cementing ideas” of *Russia Abroad*, together with Russian Orthodoxy, according to Margarita Kononova (2007, pp. 142-156) – which cannot be developed in this contribution. Nevertheless, many studies, especially in recent years, have started from these propositions and have offered valid and convincing models of analysis.

Here we will focus on just a few aspects and interpretations that shed light on the relationship between emigrant and host Parisian culture and the transnational intersections between the two. In fact, the literary field offers much broader cases of study, both from a qualitative and quantitative point of view, than the musical one.

Hitherto, we have been treating *Russia Abroad* as a closed space, detached and isolated from the host milieu. This is certainly noticeable in many aspects of emigrant culture, but it is not an accurate representation of the multifaceted reality of Russian-Parisian men of culture.

There have been, in fact, many attempts to bring these two worlds together. In his important monograph about the interactions between émigré literature and French modernists in the first post-war period, Livak (2003, 2004, 2005) examines the *lieux de rencontre* where these approaches have taken place.

Probably the most peculiar of these common spaces is the so-called *Studio franco-russe* (Franco-Russian Studio), an initiative of regular exchanges occurred in the triennium 1929-1931 between

Russian émigrés and their French peers “in order to bring out, from successive exchanges of views, the essential points of moral rapprochement and possible intellectual collaboration between the elites of the two countries” (Livak, 2004, p. 109). The first session opened with these words:

The Franco-Russian Studio is the result of a unique situation in history. France, and more particularly Paris, has for some years been home to most of the leading intellectual figures in the Russian diaspora, including, with a few exceptions, all the well-known writers, as well as large groups of young writers. Yet, surprising as it may seem in our time, in the presence of a Europe that aspires to reunite, no direct contact existed, until recently, between them and French intellectuals (Livak, 2005, p. 45).

This peculiar reality offers thus a privileged point of observation to explore the cultural interweaving between the two intellectual communities. What were, then, the positions and considerations of the ones in relation to the aesthetics of the others?

From the beginning of émigré experience in France, exiles contrasted Russian and French esthetics. Seeing Russian works as formally unsophisticated, they insisted that Russians could not match the style and structural organization of French literature. Russian "amorphous emotionality" clashed with "Latin clarity"; "French intellect" was a far cry from the irrationality of "Russian depth" and "chaos," whose lack of order betrayed an anti-French mindset. Unlike the French, Russian writers strove for spirituality and humanism at the expense of formalism. [...] Russian writers were "formally inferior" to the French because the "Russian literary tradition had an entirely different orientation". This contrast of traditions brought about value judgment, whereby "Russian" qualities were marked as high and "French" as low (Livak, 2004, p. 14).

As is evident from Livak's analysis, the initial positions of the two parties were rather heated and were exacerbated by acrimonious prejudices. Nonetheless it is interesting to note that, albeit in a short period of time, the experience of the *Studio* helped to blunt these heavy judgments. This is evident, for instance, in the change of perspective of one of the most relevant émigré writer, Georgy Adamovich: he initially denounced the French "emptiness and vanity of speech" and an esthetic gap due to a spiritual split between the Russians and the French, only to change his mind later by stating that his evaluation had been superficial and hasty. Furthermore, he

suggested that the French letters also had a good influence on Russian literary products.

Despite “such direct confrontation forced many exiles to ‘rehabilitate’ the French literary tradition” (Livak, 2004, p. 21) and reflected also in the émigré production, we cannot yet speak of transnationalism. It is only with the youngest generation of Russian writers that the results of the first meetings between the two cultures took place. In fact, it is by no means inappropriate the title the Maria Rubins has given to her recent essay *Transnational Writing in Interwar Period* (2015): discussing the Montparnasse circle of Russian writers and “the transnational and translingual nature of the Russian Parisian corpus”, Rubins notes that:

These migrant writers spoke from the place between cultures, estranging local material by showing it from an extra-local perspective. By the same token, they defamiliarised Russian classical authors by reading them in a “foreign voice” and recasting canonical texts in new ways. Likewise, they practiced a *métissage* of fictional and nonfictional genres, fusing the novel, human document, and *autofiction*, and even of languages, writing in a hybrid franco-Russian “dialect.” Through this exercise of hybridity, younger Russian writers established important points of aesthetic (if not personal) contact with the Western modernists, sharing their “poetics of bricolage and translocation, dissonance and defamiliarisation,” and defying attempts to construe their narratives mono-nationally and ethnically.

The author demonstrates these statements by examining texts by young émigré writers. It is precisely in a generational perspective that the author situates the two types of aesthetic approach of Russia Abroad: the conservative style peculiar to the older generation – whose guidelines were inspired by “the goal of preservation of the classical legacy” from the “corrupting influences of contemporary Western art” and avant-garde – and on the other hand the modernist experimentations of the younger ones, who “attempted to transform the experience of deracination into a source of creativity, to renegotiate their identity, and to find new roots in the cosmopolitan cultural space of Montparnasse” (Rubins, p. 4).

This is undoubtedly true and well reflected in the reality of the situation. However, the boundaries between the different approaches are often blurred and it is not uncommon to find further differences within the simple division by age. In *Russian Émigré Culture: Conservatism or Evolution?* (Flamm, Keazor, Marti, 2013),

Christoph Flamm suggests for instance a tripartite typology of the Russian emigrants:

first, the keeper of traditions who seeks refuge in a poetic past that has been irretrievably lost; second, the developer who does not want to erect a monument to his own tradition, but rather takes it across the borders as an embryo, where his future development will reflect to some degree the experience of his new surroundings; third, the cosmopolitan who shakes off old traditions and acquires new ones (Flamm, Keazor, Marti, 2013, p. 9).

Although even this subdivision may be simplifying, it is useful to depict many of the experiences, both human and artistic, lived by the protagonists of *Russia Abroad*. We will now see how this tripartition can be helpful in interpreting also the musical creation of Russian Parisian composers.

5. *Fine arts*

In the sentence quoted at the opening of the previous paragraph, Marc Raeff maintained that: “the predominant expression of modern Russian cultural creativity [...] had been in the form of literature”, and then further stated that:

The cultural life and creativity of *Russia Abroad* was preeminently, if not exclusively, verbal. Other artistic and intellectual expressions of culture for which a national linguistic form was not essential could, and frequently were, integrated and assimilated by the international or host cultures (Raeff, 1990, pp. 10-11).

This hasty statement should not be taken as an axiom; indeed, it requires problematisation and a closer look. It is interesting in the first place to note how the aforementioned evaluation of the literary “Russian character” – “amorphous emotionality”, depth and chaos – was also extended to other artistic fields. Particularly in the domain of the figurative arts, this judgment took on heated tones of a xenophobic nature. In fact, the difference in aesthetic taste between the French “sophisticated and refined” and the Russians “primitive, violent and somewhat ecstatic” (Lazzaro, 2018, p. 118) was later interpreted in a racist way.

At the 1923 art exhibition at the Salon des Indépendants, the journalist Louis Vauxcelles was quick to criticize the emigrant artists, and in his article of *Artistes français et étrangers aux indépendants* he expressed his disappointment with the "colony of turbulent young people, who are not from Île-de-France, and think they represent the French art". Once again, the "turbulence" of the "'Slavs disguised as representatives of the art of France" was radically contrasted with the "virtues of here [...] tact, measure, decency, finesse".

Federico Lazzaro comments as follows the words of the journalist:

Heretical, turbulent, rebellious: Vauxcelles, in the worst xenophobic tradition, paints these foreigners as dangerous both for art and for society. [...] [they] threaten not only the "art of France, *opus francigenum*", but France itself. [...] Vauxcelles refers to the painters of Montparnasse as if he were talking about the "savages" of the colonies, "those beings devoid of culture, whose education is the antithesis of ours, who abhor everything we love" (Lazzaro, 2018, p. 116).

The assimilation or integration in the host culture mentioned above by Raeff it was not a path without obstacles and many artists had to defend themselves against labels and accusations of undermining the host culture.

6. Music

Things were not different in the field of music. Migrants and exiles were labelled as "métèques", *metic* (from Greek term μέτοικος, «foreigner who changed residence»), as in the volume *Les métèques contre l'art français* by music critic Camille Mauclair. In the chapter entitled "Jews and foreigners", the critic writes as follows:

You don't have to be xenophobic to be concerned about the growing proportion of metics who, sometimes brandishing a naturalization decree whose ink is still fresh, settle in our country to judge our artists without having an intimate sense of our race. [...] It is true that the life of images has always been, like music, comprehensible to all above countries and dialects: but it still retained the profound characters of the Italian, French, Russian, Dutch, Spanish races, etc. Here we are dealing with a form of

integral internationalism, a negation of subjects, of territories, of homelands, of feelings, in favour of an exclusively mental construction, whose promoters are arid logicians (cit. in Lazzaro, 2018, pp. 117-118).

Characters, internationalism, negation, mental construction; the concerns and fears that gripped Mauclair are quite evident: the foreigner artists belonging to the *École de Paris* “settled in our country to reform the French taste”. Similarly, Waldemar George shifts the criticism to the formal level by stating that the language of the School of Paris is not living and organic but it is a fabricated language just like Esperanto.

Not all reactions to this new blend of artistic languages were of this type, however. In his essay entitled *Les tendances actuelles de la musique*, Henry Prunières, the founder and editor of *La Revue musicale*, offers an overview of the Parisian music scene of the Thirties:

Recent events tend to make Paris the most important centre where the music of the future is elaborated. [...] The freedom enjoyed in Paris and the ease with which artists can make themselves known have attracted a large number of foreigners who constitute what might be called the “School of Paris”. After the war, Stravinsky has settled in France and has just become a naturalized French citizen, the Russian Prokofieff, Igor Markewitch, Obouhow, Wischnegradsky, Nabokoff, Arthur Lourié, Alexandre Tcherepnine, Julien Krein, the Czech Martinu, the Polish Alexandre Tansman, Jersy Fitelberg, the Swiss Honegger and Conrad Beck, the Romanian Mihalovici, the Hungarian H. Neugeboren, Tibor Harsanyi, etc., habitually reside there. Several German refugees, including Kurt Weill, have just settled there. Thus, antagonistic doctrines will confront each other more closely, but they will end up being reconciled in a new aesthetic. Perhaps the elements of a new international language are being developed? (Prunières, 1936, p. 84).

This rundown is extremely helpful in understanding the multiform reality of the Parisian musical *milieu* in the interwar period. Nevertheless, we will remain focused only on the Russians.

7. The Russian-Parisian school

Leonid Sabaneev, composer and musicologist who fled Russia in 1926, is the author of one of the first and most relevant document on musical Russia Abroad. His 1927 volume *Modern Russian*

Composer contains a chapter entitled *The Russian-Parisian School* that reviews some of the most important Russian composer settled in Paris and the bond between them. The essay begins with a historical contextualization:

The great dispersion which, in the years of the Revolution from 1918 to 1922, scattered a considerable part of the Russian intelligentsia abroad, affected the composers also. Many, including composers as prominent as Prokofyeff, sought to find their musical fortunes outside their native land and succeeded (Sabaneev, 1927, p. 235).

The musicologist gets right to the heart of the matter, seeking to identify the nature of the so-called Russian-Parisian School that gives the name to the chapter. Sabaneev's argumentation could be disorienting at first:

Naturally the "type" of these fugitives was utterly accidental, for they fled not as exponents of certain definite "musical" convictions, but to escape the discomforts of life and out of fear of the social explosion. Small wonder hence that the group of Russian emigrant composers who settled in France did not possess any "tendency" as a unit. Consequently this "Parisian Group" is not a musical band of persons holding similar views, but merely a geographical one. Bringing them under a single heading is again justified by the technical conveniences of exposition rather than by any inner unity among these composers.

The atomization of Russia's musical nucleus could mean a setback in identifying those common lines that have guided this treatment so far. Without any intellectual, aesthetic or poetic ties, it might even be idle to consider these composers as a unitary group. Nonetheless, Sabaneev goes on with his consideration:

Nevertheless, there is some inner connection among them to justify our grouping them together in this way. Finding itself in France, this group came fatally and unavoidably under the heavy and despotic hand of the musical god of our time, Igor Stravinsky. His authority was so all-embracing, his sway over musical minds so absolute, that even those became Stravinists who had previously perhaps no desire to do so. And as another master of contemporary Russian music, Prokofyeff, also happened to be in Paris, the Russian musical emigrants, who count in their ranks many cultured, gifted and brainy men, organized under the aegis of these two mighty musical individualities. But it is still difficult to say how strong the group is in genuine powerful talents.

It is thus now clear the reason why the musicologist decides to collect these authors in a single perspective: that of the Parisian Russian composers is a school inasmuch as there is a master, or rather two masters, Stravinsky and Prokofiev, towards which the writer addresses pungent words.

Apart from their historic veracity, these statements allow us to explore the internal dynamics of a group that, despite its inner differences, can still be treated as a unitary entity.

It is now necessary to wonder how the *missija* and the other categories of Russia Abroad described above intersect with the musical production of the Russian-Parisian composers. In order to do this, it is worthwhile to consult another document which, owing to the prominence of its author within the group, is of extreme interest and can be considered as one of the first form of self-representation of the musical Russian community in Paris.

8. Arthur Lourié's Perspectives

In 1931, Henry Prunières, the already mentioned editor of the journal *La Revue musicale*, asked Russian composer Arthur Lourié to collect information about Russian contemporary musical scene in a report to be published in an issue entitled *Géographie musicale 1931, ou essai sur la situation de la musique en tous pays*. Lourié wrote thus an essay under the title *Perspectives of the Russian School* which deserves to be quoted in extended form.

The author begins his paper by providing the historical and cultural coordinates of the subject:

Before the war there existed three elements in musical culture: the German, the Latin, and the Slav. [...] Slav musical culture, the only real exponent of which was Russia (just as France was of the Latin culture), served as an ally of Latin Europe. Its forces contributed to the overthrow of the authority of German music, which hitherto had firmly dominated every other. [...] The bond between French and Russian music was not so much a matter of the composers' aesthetic tenets and leanings in any particular direction; it was rather a consequence of the conflict between two cultures – the Latin and the German – radically opposed to each other in both material and aesthetic process. Russian music, young and vigorous, with its barbaric novelty freshness, was drawn into the contest (Lourié, 1932, p. 519).

Three belligerents – the German, the Latin, the Slav – and the alliances or contrasts between them: rather than cultural and musical, this introduction seems to paint more a war scenario. Lourié’s perspective closely reflects the theses of the Eurasianists, especially in its condemnation of Germanic dominance in the cultural sphere and the role of Russian thought in the spiritual rebirth of European continent. This appears clearly from a private note in his personal diary: “All that is European in me is dead, decadent, schism, disintegration, doubt, skepticism and weakness of will. All that is Asian is alive, authentically vital, joyous and bright. What a strange vision: Christ in Asia!” (Taruskin, 2016, p. 217).

The reason of this common understanding is to be found in the proximity and intimate friendship of the composer with Pierre Souvtchinsky, key figure in Parisian musical life until his death in 1985 and, among other things, co-founder of the Eurasianist movement.

After this general introduction, Lourié continues his analysis by retracing the development of the Russian music school and its progressive detachment from German influence in favour of a more national style. Lourié’s greatest concern, however, is the situation of Russian music at the time:

Russian music is now in a very complex period of its existence. Many questions of great interest are involved. In dealing with style, form and language, the Russians have to reckon with the fact that such matters are closely connected with the fundamental contemporary political problem of their country. Therefore, in attempting to define the present state of the Russian school, we must treat the two sections of it as independent bodies: we must consider what is happening in the musical world of the U.S.S.R., and what is being accomplished by Russian music in the West.

The author highlights here the already mentioned distinction between Russia-URSS and the *Zarubežnaja Rossija*, the Russia-out-of-Russia. Still, this is not just a territorial differentiation, but rather an aesthetic one. Lourié’s verdict is in fact lapidary – “Russian music as a school has ceased to exist in the U.S.S.R” – and he can therefore only focus on the Russia Abroad:

The Western group consists of the following composers: Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Lourié, Dukelsky, Nabokov, and Markevich. Also Lopatnikov, Tcherepnin (Alexander),

Berezovsky, Obukhov, and Vishnegradsky. Is this group representatively Russian? It seems to me so evident, that I should not ask the question were it not frequently raised in Russian emigre circles with regard to Russian literature. But literature is in another position, since a rupture with the national territory is almost a rupture with the national language upon which literature subsists. This is not so with music, since the language of music is not necessarily connected with any country.

For the first time, Lourié compiles a list of names that which will later be followed by Prunières in his 1936 essay.

The treatment immediately turns to another important issue: is the group a genuine representation of Russia? The question is quickly settled by the author who begins to draw a parallel with the literary domain that will prove to be not without contradictions: unlike the literary language, musical grammar is not strictly linked with the national territory.

With the doubt hastily resolved, the Parisian group can now receive the baton and become the true representative of the Russian national school:

The nucleus of the Russian composers in the West is formed by the Paris group and, taken as a whole, it may undoubtedly be considered the modern representative of the national Russian school. Politically and formally it is separated from Russia and has been thrust into Western culture. Hence the dual qualities of its activities. On the positive side we see that it has mastered provincialism and has acquired a formal and technical equipment equal to that of the West. On the negative side, the rupture with Russia has created among some of the younger members a decadent ideology and a kind of reactionary aestheticism; they nourish creative powers on memories of the old Russian culture, which already accomplished its course and to which there can be return. Particularly characteristic of them in this sense is musical aesthetic based on the stylization of the 1830s, which hope, will be overcome, as it often causes their efforts to create a new culture to result in mere feeble reproduction of the past.

The “dual qualities” of the Parisian group described by Lourié outline the ambivalent approaches of the émigré poetic within the metropolis’ context: the receptiveness to the host culture or the nostalgic isolation characterised by the return to the pre-revolutionary past.

Two examples of these two aesthetic positions in musical domain can help to clarify Lourié’s thought. For the first case, a figure such

as Alexander Tcherepnin, whose life was punctuated by relocations both in West and Far East, is emblematic:

Russian composer

Georgian composer

Composer of the School of Paris

Chinese composer

American composer

Is this a handicap or an advantage? [...] I wandered around in forty countries, was at home everywhere and really felt home nowhere. My only home is in my inner self, which remains the same and follows its own development (cit. in Korabelnikova, 2008, p. 114).

Aware of his cosmopolitan identity, Tcherepnin stated that exile “not only had not impeded the development of a national expression in the music of emigrant composers, but it had in fact encouraged it” (Korabelnikova, 1999, p. 194). Moreover, it is not out of place to describe Tcherepnin’s production with the adjective of transnational: the use of different scales and modes in his music is only a small example of a vocabulary enriched by biographical experience and contacts with the most disparate musical grammars.

At the other extreme we find authors such as the already mentioned Sabaneev; according to Rebecca Mitchell, the composer is a “case study to analyse how music's symbolic importance continued to be interpreted within intellectual categories developed prior to 1917” (Mitchell, 2018, p. 233). His nostalgia and resignation towards the émigré reality led him, from being a convinced modernist, to conceive his poetics in an *apocalyptic* perspective:

Sabaneev, once one of the most outspoken supporters of modernist musical progress, offers a particularly striking example of this temporal shift from progressive time to nostalgic memory. From envisioning a world of constant human progress [...] Sabaneev gradually dissociated himself from the very idea of progress, retreating uncomfortably into a not-quite-idealised memory of Russian Silver Age culture, a past that he embodied in both his music criticism and in many of his stil [...] compositions, most notably *The Apocalypse* (Mitchell, 2018, p. 234).

9. *The tenets of musical Russia Abroad*

Returning to the text that served us as a guide in exploring the musical Russia Abroad, after crowning the Russian-Parisian group as the unique heir of the Russian national tradition, Lourié provides an explanation:

Our justification for regarding the Paris group as representing the evolution and continuing the work of the Russian school is based on the fact that the language employed – the Russian musical language – is common to both. I cannot here dwell on the nature and meaning of this language and must limit myself to a statement of the fact.

The elusiveness of these few lines is the consequence of the contradiction with the previous statement in which the author did not recognize the relevance between musical language and territory. Unable to describe the “Russian musical language”, Lourié is content to close the discussion providing a final *paraenesis* to exhort Russian émigré composers to be faithful to their essential task:

Brotherly cooperation and an inward sense of responsibility to one another have always been the watchwords of the Russian school; spiritual solidarity, and not the disintegration and indifference so characteristic of the Western Europe of today. So long as this principle of national cohesion – not for self but for Russia – exists, so long will the school endure.

A brotherly solidarity against the individualistic decadence of the West, together with a spiritual dimension of the artistic *tvorchestvo* are thus Lourié’s prescription to implement the *missija* of the Russia Abroad through the music channel.

A century after the artistic experience of the musical Russia Abroad we are not so sure that these intents have been respected and, over the years, much dust has settled on the works of these composers.

History, in fact, has not been particularly generous with these authors, as it has been with two prominent figures such as Stravinsky and Prokofiev, who even though they actively participated in the life of the emigrated community in Paris, had a substantially different artistic and biographical experience: the

former was soon projected into an international dimension, whereas the latter returned to the USSR in 1936.

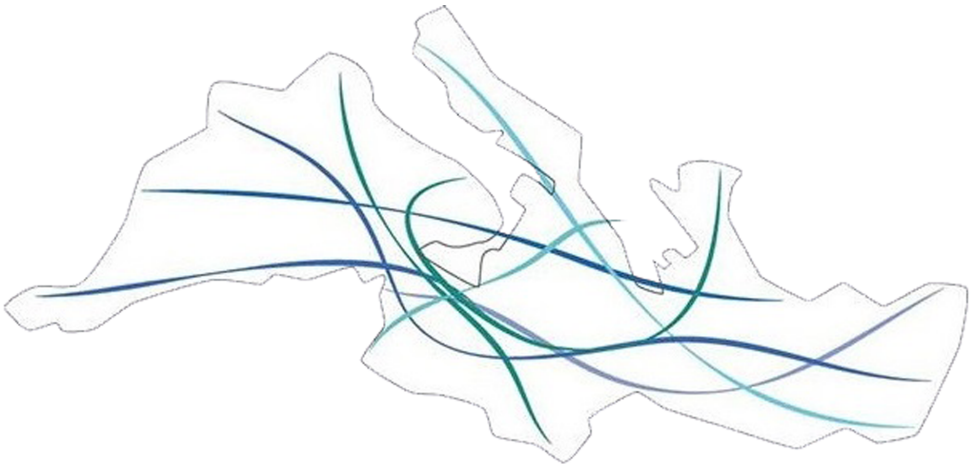
This double “betrayal” jeopardised the creation of a proper Russian-Parisian school. Nonetheless, the musical creativity of the Russia Abroad composers is significant to understanding a twenty-year period – the one that goes from the first exile in Paris in the Twenties to the second exile in the USA in conjunction with the outbreak of the Second World War – in which the encounter between two cultures and worlds so different as Russia and France allowed the creation of a very special milieu and, for the exiles, the possibility to make art abroad “to be a voice for all those who are silent there, to restore the polyphonic wholeness of the Russian spirit”.

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COMMENTS AND DEBATES



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From the Mediterranean sea to the Pacific ocean, the exile of Algerian prisoners in the penal colony of New Caledonia. An analysis of their descendants' identity processes

Abstract

In this article, we propose to consider the exile experience through the case of Algerian descendants in New Caledonia. The first Algerians to arrive in this territory were sentenced by the French colonial administration, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, to punishments they had to serve in New Caledonia. Most of them will never be able to go back to their home country. Our qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews with nine of their descendants in New Caledonia enabled us to analyse how the descendants of these deportees define themselves in the contemporary political situation of New Caledonia where a consultation process for independence is currently underway. The results show that the various generations of descendants did experience different relations with their Mediterranean origins and their settlement 20.000 km away in the Pacific Ocean. While the first generation lived and mingled with the deported Algerians but did not get much of the cultural background, the next generations found themselves in a period of silence and taboo of the origins, which made it difficult for them to trace their family history. By the end of the 20th century, the opening of historical archives, the development of communication technologies and the New Caledonia's political situation (independence process under current consultation) did open the way to an identity reappropriation process. Our article proposes to highlight the current impact of this forced exile on the Algerian descendants in New Caledonia and in the Mediterranean.

Keywords: Exile, identity, Interculturation, Algeria, New Caledonia.

Del mar Mediterráneo al océano Pacífico, el exilio de prisioneros argelinos en la colonia penal de Nueva Caledonia. Un análisis de los procesos de identidad de sus descendientes

Resumen

En este artículo proponemos considerar la experiencia del exilio a través del caso de los descendientes de argelinos en Nueva Caledonia. Los primeros argelinos que

llegaron a ese territorio eran condenados por la administración colonial francesa, en el siglo XIX y principios del XX, a penas que debían cumplir en Nueva Caledonia. La mayoría de ellos nunca pudo regresar a su país de origen. Nuestra investigación cualitativa, basada en entrevistas semiestructuradas con nueve de sus descendientes, nos permitió analizar cómo se definen a sí mismos en la situación política actual de Nueva Caledonia, donde se encuentra en marcha un proceso de consulta para alcanzar la independencia. Los resultados muestran que las distintas generaciones de descendientes han experimentado relaciones de diverso tipo con sus orígenes mediterráneos y con el sitio de su asentamiento a 20.000 km de distancia en el Océano Pacífico. Si bien la primera generación vivió y se mezcló con los argelinos deportados, no lo hizo en términos culturales, las siguientes generaciones se encontraron ante un período de silencio y tabú de los orígenes, lo que les hizo difícil rastrear su historia familiar. A finales del siglo XX, la apertura de archivos históricos, el desarrollo de las tecnologías de la comunicación y la situación política de Nueva Caledonia (proceso de independencia en consulta actual) abrieron el camino a un proceso de reapropiación de la identidad. Nuestro artículo se propone destacar el impacto actual de este exilio forzoso sobre los descendientes de argelinos, tanto en Nueva Caledonia como en el área mediterránea.

Palabras clave: Exilio, identidad, interculturación, Argelia, Nueva Caledonia.

Dal mar Mediterraneo all'oceano Pacifico, l'esilio dei prigionieri algerini nella colonia penale della Nuova Caledonia. Un'analisi dei processi identitari dei loro discendenti.

Sinossi

L'articolo prende in esame l'esperienza dell'esilio attraverso il caso dei discendenti algerini in Nuova Caledonia. I primi algerini arrivati nel territorio nei secoli XIX e XX erano condannati dall'amministrazione coloniale francese a scontare la pena in Nuova Caledonia. Molti di loro non poterono mai tornare nel Paese di origine. La nostra ricerca qualitativa, basata su interviste semi-strutturate a nove dei loro discendenti, consente di analizzare come i discendenti dei deportati definiscono se stessi nell'attuale situazione politica della Nuova Caledonia, dove è in corso un processo di consultazione per l'indipendenza. I risultati mostrano che le varie generazioni dei discendenti hanno rapporti diversi con la loro origine mediterranea e il loro insediamento a 20.000 chilometri di distanza nel Pacifico. Mentre la prima generazione viveva e si mescolava con i deportati algerini ma non con il contesto culturale circostante, le generazioni successive hanno sperimentato una fase di silenzio e tabù sulle origini che ha reso loro difficile tracciare la storia familiare. Dalla fine del Novecento, l'apertura degli archivi, lo sviluppo delle tecnologie di comunicazione e la nuova situazione politica della Nuova Caledonia (processo di indipendenza attualmente in corso) ha aperto la strada alla riappropriazione dell'identità. Il nostro articolo evidenzia l'impatto dell'esilio forzato sui discendenti algerini in Nuova Caledonia.

Parole chiave: Esilio, Identità, Intercultura, Algeria, Nuova Caledonia.

*From the Mediterranean Sea to the Pacific Ocean,
the exile of Algerian prisoners
in the penal colony of New Caledonia.
An analysis of their descendants' identity processes*

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Introduction

New Caledonia, a French former colony located in the southwest Pacific Ocean, is engaged in a self-determination process as planned in the Noumea agreement signed in 1998. As part of this process, a referendum protocol was defined to enable Caledonians to decide whether their territory would access full sovereignty and become independent. This protocol, which is now over, allowed three consultation votes that took place in 2018, 2020 and 2021. Caledonians massively participated to the first two consultation votes (respectively 81% and 86%) and the results gave a light majority against independence (respectively 56% and 53%). The third consultation vote, organized on 12 December 2021, was singular as the participation rate was low (44%) after independence supporters called for a boycott. This last consultation vote then gave a large majority against independence (96%). As the Noumea agreement ended with this last consultation vote, New Caledonia now enters a transition period of 18 months during which the French government and the Caledonian actors will work on a new status for the archipelago. This status will be subject to a new consultation before June 2023.

Caledonians are therefore facing the challenge to mutually recognize themselves through a common history as a basis for a shared future project. This implies an effort to formulate a collective identity through: “a New Caledonian citizenship transcending in a common destiny the ethnic divisions resulting from colonization” [Author’s translation] (Salaun and Vernaudo, 2009, p.63). As such, the independence referendum raised the matter of territorial membership and national identity. This is true for all communities living in New Caledonia and this article will focus on the case of Algerian descendants who still live there (children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren). Indeed, between 1864 and 1897, 1.822 North Africans, mostly Algerians, were condemned to forced labor and had to serve their sentences in New Caledonia, which was then used by France as a penal colony. They settled there after their detention on rural concessions provided by the French administration (Barbançon, 2013).

Our analysis, as part of a qualitative set of researches in intercultural psychology (Oulahal, 2019, 2021; Oulahal & Denoux, 2018, 2020; Oulahal, Denoux & Teyssier, 2018; Oulahal, Denoux, Teyssier & Maillet, 2018; Oulahal & Malbert, 2021; Oulahal, Teyssier, Sturm & Denoux, 2021; Hmana, Oulahal, Soto Galindo & Denoux, 2020), is based on interviews carried out with nine Algerian descendants in New Caledonia. We investigated identity changes the territory’s current political context may cause for these descendants. The referendum process, the release from the taboo of the origins (Barbançon, 1992, 2003) and the identification of family ties in Algeria do produce a collective memory and a possible diaspora emergence among Algerian descendants in New Caledonia. Results show that the various generations of descendants experience different relations with their Mediterranean origins and their settlement 20.000 km away in the Pacific Ocean.

1. Between exile and occupation: a singular New Caledonian society

When it was taken over by France in 1853, New Caledonia was an archipelago populated by indigenous tribes of Melanesian origin: the

Kanaks. France set up an immigration policy, chosen for some and forced for others as condemned to serve prison sentences there:

Like Algeria and despite its remoteness from the imperial metropolis, but also its relatively narrow island character, it was thought from the 1860s as a land of welcome for a French population who was however reluctant to migration. Like Guyana, it became, during the same 1860s, a prison land promised to a future that was however more cheerful because it would not present the dangers of an equatorial climate, fauna and flora. The Caledonian land, by the mildness of its climate and its nature as well as by its healthiness, was to offer the condemned a peasant future as a basis to their rehabilitation. It was also to offer emigrants the hope of a better life, symbol of a powerful and generous colonial France. The Caledonian prison, far from being reduced to a strict repressive penitentiary institution as in Guyana, was in reality at the origin of a real population dynamic. It supported, in fact, an ambitious colonial project at the crossroads between a so-called penal colonization promising a future to the condemned and a so-called free colonization offering the most precious good of this time to proletarians and modest classes: the land and the property of the ground [Author's translation] (Merle, 2013, pp. 50-51).

In this colonial project, France dispossessed the Melanesian population of its land, offering agricultural concessions to migrants and former convicts. Kanaks were confined into reservations and were subjected to the *code de l'indigénat*, a specific legal code for natives in French colonies. At the end of the Second World War, New Caledonia changed status and, from a colony, became a French overseas territory. The Kanaks were freed from reservations and were no longer subjected to the *code de l'indigénat*: they then became French citizens. Between 1984 and 1988, an independence claim strengthened with violence and raised the issue of New Caledonia's relationship with France. The Matignon-Oudinot agreement in 1988, and later the Noumea agreement in 1998, put New Caledonia in a self-determination process (Faugere and Merle, 2010) along with a progressive and irreversible transfer of State powers to the local executive institutions and the definition of a "New Caledonian citizenship" (Faberon, 2002). New Caledonia once again changed status and, from an overseas territory, is currently a *sui generis* (of its own kind) community because of its advanced autonomous status (Joissains, Sueur and Tasca, 2014).

The Noumea agreement (1998) highlighted the dual legitimacy of the Kanak and the non-Kanak communities. It also put forward the

common destiny concept as a will to build a multi-ethnic community of destiny in New Caledonia. A translation of its introduction points is provided below:

- *Grande Terre* [Main Land] and the Islands were inhabited by men and women who were referred to as Kanaks. They had developed their own civilization, with its traditions, its languages and customs, which organized the social and political life.
- Men and women came in large numbers in New Caledonia during the 19th and 20th centuries, either convinced to bring progress, driven by their religious faith, brought against their will or seeking a second chance. They settled down in New Caledonia.
- Colonization has withdrawn dignity of the Kanak people and deprived it of its identity. Men and women lost their lives or their reasons for living in such situation. Great suffering resulted. It is important to remember these difficult moments, to recognize the faults, to restore to the Kanak people their confiscated identity, which for them is equivalent to recognition of their sovereignty, prior to the foundation of a new sovereignty shared in a common destiny.
- Today it is necessary to lay foundations for a New Caledonia's citizenship, allowing the native people to constitute with men and women living there a human community sharing a common destiny.

New Caledonia appears as a very singular society considering both its colonial and exile history, linking plural communities from the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. New Caledonia had 271.407 inhabitants at the time of the last population census in 2019. This census allowed participants to specify their felt belonging community in a proposed list. 41,2% of the population said they belonged to the Kanak community, 24,1% to the European community, the rest being formed by Wallisians and Futunians (8,3%) and other communities (7,6% Tahitians, Indonesians, Ni-Vanuatu, Vietnamese and other populations). 11,3% of those questioned indicated belonging to several communities. Last, 7,5% did not answer the question (data from the New Caledonia Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies).

In this multi-ethnic configuration, an identity questioning is currently brought forward both at the individual and collective level. Geneviève Vinsonneau (2002) defines identity as:

An evolutionary dynamic, by which the social actor, individual or collective, gives meaning to his being; it does so by linking, through the past, the present and the

future, elements about him and which may be related to social prescriptions, projects as well as concrete realities [Author's translation].

This definition is interesting with respect to the current situation in New Caledonia as its past, long obscured, is now put forward. However, the ethnic diversity and colonial history resulted in a society where cohabitation of its inhabitants has not translated so far into a common destiny (Salaun and Vernaudon 2009). A Senate committee, present in New Caledonia in 2010, observed, “[a] rapidly changing territory and a population involved in a crucial questioning about its identity and its future” [Author's translation] (Cointat and Frimat, 2011).

2. The forced exile of Algerian detainees in New Caledonia

The Algerian detainees deported to New Caledonia in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century mainly consisted of convicts, but also included 121 political prisoners and 163 repeat offenders relegated (Barbançon and Sand, 2013). At the end of their sentences, those who could not return to Algeria settled in the territory, sometimes with agricultural land provided by the colonial administration, particularly in the city of Bourail located at the center of the main island.

It is a peculiarity of the first Algerians in New Caledonia that they had a dual relation with the native Melanesian community. Indeed, they shared with the latter a common history of fighting the French colonization in their home country but, at the same time, they had to contribute themselves to New Caledonia's colonization. By siding France in this colonial project, they could expect recognition by the French administration and then get reduced sentences or agricultural lands to make a living. In 2011, in the Paris Arab World Institute, during the opening ceremony of the *Caledoun* exhibition, which retraced the route of Algerian detainees and their descendants in New Caledonia, Mr. Jean-Pierre Taïeb Aïfa, then chairman of the exhibition's steering committee and mayor of the city of Bourail, reminded:

Our fathers, exiled from their lands often given to settlers, became concessionaires on lands taken from Kanak tribes. For them, history has been reversed: the colonization they suffered in Algeria, it was their turn, often in spite of themselves, to become its actors, not to live on it, but to survive [Author's translation] (Barbançon and Sand, 2013, p.7).

Some Algerian detainees participated in the suppression of the great uprising of the Ataï chief in 1878 (Barbançon and Sand, 2013, p. 17). It will also be an Algerian detainee, Mohamed ben Ahmed, who will kill, on 10 January 1918, “the Kanak leader Bwëé Noël Pwatiba, heroic figure of the Kanak insurgency that broke out in 1917, in northern Caledonia” [Author's translation] (Merle and Muckle, 2017, p. 9). The fascinating research work carried out by Isabelle Merle and Adrian Muckle, with an analysis perspective based on the colonial history of subalterns, “humblest actors in imperial spaces”, retraced the course of this prisoner. This historical analysis thus highlights this contradiction Algerian detainees symbolize in the singular New Caledonian context, being at the same time victims and actors within the French colonial project.

It is again this special relationship that Louis-Jose Barbançon describes when he finishes his speech during the *25 years of the Matignon agreement - 15 years of the Noumea agreement* event. The author indicates that he had gone to Algiers (Algeria) a few weeks earlier “at the invitation of the Algerian Government as part of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Algeria's independence” along with an official delegation from the Government of New Caledonia, led by Ms Dewe Gorodey, including “the descendants of Algerians convicted and transported to New Caledonia in the late 19th century and the customary representatives of the Melanesian Ajie Arhu area” [Author's translation] (Barbançon, 2013). The historian then reminds:

Knowing that these customary representatives are descendants of Kanak tribes that were destroyed or dispersed after the 1878 Ataï insurgence and that it is on their ravaged mounds and plundered land in the region of Bourail that the colonial administration installed the ancestors of these same Algerians, we can measure the distance performed and the efforts made by each others [Author's translation] (Barbançon, 2013).

3. The Algerian descendants in New Caledonia: identity processes between filiation and affiliation, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific Ocean

Our analysis is based on the findings from an intercultural psychology research where we had the opportunity to travel to New Caledonia for fifteen days to conduct research interviews in Noumea and Bourail with nine Algerian descendants: two women and seven men. It was our first stay in New Caledonia.

Data collection was performed through semi-structured interviews based on the following subjects: origins, cultural background, representations of New Caledonia today, transmission to new generations and future projects. With participants' agreement, interviews were recorded and transcribed. Confidentiality and anonymity to which we committed ourselves prevent us to indicate identity of our participants or even propose in this article interviews' extracts that could enable their recognition. However, we will provide readers with contextual data for a better understanding of our discussion. Interviews were performed in French and we translated extracts provided in this article.

3.1. The Algerian detainees' children

Two participants, aged between 80 and 90 years old, are themselves children of Algerian prisoners and grew in direct contact with the first Algerians of New Caledonia. Their interviews are full of historical facts related to some events such as the celebrations at the end of the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan that the Algerians observed:

It was pretty. So, they fired guns, they had fun, they ran on horseback, they did the *Fantasia* [a traditional cavalry show in North Africa], they did everything. That, I remember, was the end of the *Carême* festival [*Carême* relates to the Christian fasting period which name is used by these descendants to refer to the Muslim fasting month], [...] we experienced the Arab world well (Interview extract).

They remember their fathers' homeland nostalgia and resignation facing the impossible return: "My father, he wanted to go back to Algeria, and then... he couldn't (Interview extract)". These participants also evoke the progressive disappearance of the first

Algerians: “Slowly, there was nobody. We saw people die. I remember when my father went to the funerals” (Interview extract).

These participants’ discourse also describes difficult living conditions: “The childhood was hard at first because parents were poor” (Interview extract).

They also provide information about racism that children were then facing: “We were children of convicts... We went to public schools. We couldn't remain in public schools because we were called “dirty *bicot*” [pejorative French term referring to North Africans]” (Interview extract).

These participants also mention the obligation their parents had to give their children Catholic names so that they could access schools: “These are first names that were given... when you wanted to go to school, you had to have a Christian first name and then be baptized” (Interview extract).

This group of older descendants, children of forced exiled Algerian detainees, all share the fact they had an Algerian father and a non-Algerian mother. Indeed, Algerian detainees being exclusively men, they could only marry women from other communities living in New Caledonia. Mothers could be from European, Melanesian or Asian origins. The discourses highlight some kind of isolation first Algerians experienced in their role as fathers, making it difficult, if not impossible, to transmit cultural values and practices to their children, whether it be in terms of language, religion or any other perspective. The first Algerians were exclusively males and it appears they limited interactions and transmissions to their children, letting these latter socialize and integrate cultural values within their mothers’ family environment. For this first generation of Algerian children born in New Caledonia, the Mediterranean filiation would give way to new Pacific affiliations... the Mediterranean heritage would give way to a Pacific future...

3.2 The Algerian detainees’ eldest grand-children

Two participants, aged between 60 and 70 years old and who are grandsons of the first Algerians, express their attachment to their Algerian origins while highlighting silence and taboo that surrounded them: “I just know that my grandfather came here, well let's say to

the penal colony... And then... he started a family anyway and then I'm here today” (Interview extract).

These participants’ discourses allow us to understand how a community, designated in New Caledonia by the qualifier Arabs, began to structure in the territory with marriages between Algerian descendants. The term Arabs was first used by the French colonial and prison administration to designate North African convicts, mainly Algerians as indicated above. This is the name their descendants chose to use to refer to themselves to highlight their origins, for example when they created the Arabs and Arabs’ friends association in New Caledonia in 1969 after the death of the last Algerian detainee. Today, the term Arabs remains widely used by the descendants themselves and within the information media but other names exist, such as Algerians, Berbers or Kabyles of New Caledonia.

These participants also evoke racism they suffered as children: “I was a little *bicot*... you know... it was a way of saying, Arab, they would not say Arab, they would say *bicot*” (Interview extract).

These participants also mention consequences of Algeria’s independence during their youth as many French settlers and military in Algeria then came to settle in New Caledonia:

It was the end of the Algeria war. I happened to be with army officers who just came from Algeria and who said “Well then! We left Algeria and we still find these...”, you see, these ‘*bougnouls*’ [another pejorative French term referring to Africans] or so... I don’t know what they called me with (Interview extract).

For the first two generations of Algerian descendants, Algeria’s independence gave a particular twist to their life experience in New Caledonia with a commitment to recognition of their history, perhaps thus opening the way to a structuration of an Arab community.

3.3 *The Algerian detainees’ youngest grand-children*

Three other participants, aged between 45 and 60 years old and also grandchildren of the first Algerians, mention likewise in their interviews the lack of transmission due to the taboo of the origins: “I knew my grandfather was born in Algeria, but that's it” (Interview extract).

However, access to archival documents enabled them to move a step forward: “We are all, our generation, either already having a

good knowledge of our origins, or in the process of discovering our origins, [...] the generation before, it was the generation of the unspoken” (Interview extract).

For these participants, it is above all a matter of understanding their ancestors’ history: “I had the feeling that it was somehow going to close the loop. Here it is, to assume this part of history that our ancestors tried so hard to erase” (Interview extract).

These participants, who were then teenagers or young adults during the tragic independence claims in New Caledonia that led to armed conflicts and bloodshed between 1984 and 1988, strongly focus on the issue of “living together”. They feel themselves first and above all as Caledonians and wish to be part of a Neo-Caledonian identity they think they always had: “I still feel very Caledonian, I will always be Caledonian” (Interview extract).

A participant indicates: “My feeling is that I'm here, deeply here. I'm going to say the only place in the world where I'm truly legitimate is here” (Interview extract).

For this generation, though the Algerian origins get a symbolic importance, with for example the need to “connect with the language”, they put forward the fact that their daily reality remains anchored in New Caledonia.

The transmission of an individual and a collective history is present:

I think it's important to create landmarks, anchor points for... precisely... for those who come today [...] What we have been taught now, what we have learned and that we will be able to transmit orally to our children as well (Interview extract).

These participants are facing an issue on what to transmit to the younger generation, between a need to keep track of history and a necessity to forget a traumatic past:

Today, I belong to the Arab community in New Caledonia. For me, it's clear, that's it. And my children are completely different [...] and they have not... they don't attach themselves to anything, anything. For them they are Caledonians... but they are still young. Me, at their age, I was the same, I didn't feel the need to know where I came from. For me, I was a Caledonian (Interview extract).

From a need to build knowledge to keep a link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, these Algerian

descendants question the possibility to navigate between two seas. They sometimes may think it would be easier to let their children serenely immerse into the Pacific Ocean, as their ancestors may have done when they let their children attach to their mothers' communities instead of transmitting any Algerian cultural background.

Indeed, the relationship with Algeria raises question when it comes to children:

They are curious. They are curious to go but they do not want to go, if you understand the difference. I don't want to force them, it will come at a time, it will come. I will keep the links that we have been able to recreate with the family [...] But the younger generation, for the moment, is not showing any particular interest. However, in the older ones of that generation [...], when they discovered the exhibition [Caledoun], they were very moved, very moved and very proud to know that they belonged to this community. But there is no particular desire to go to Algeria, to see, smell, touch the country. There was a lot of emotion [during the Caledoun exhibition]. Because we [...] have had bits of history, on poverty, misery, and so on... But we have not yet transmitted that to our children. [During the exhibition] The children, they saw the pictures, they saw the photos, they read the texts. They were affected (Interview extract).

3.4 The Algerian detainees' great-grand-children

Finally, two participants, aged between 30 and 40 years old and great-grandsons of the first Algerians, also indicate the lack of transmission as to their origins while having benefited from an easier access to information through the research works of historians, archives, Internet and trips to Algeria: "Me, when I was a kid, I didn't know I was Algerian. When you're a kid, you don't know [...] Afterwards, the Algerian TV came, there were a lot of documentaries" (Interview extract).

Their stories highlight a search for truth: "What binds us to our ancestors today, that's it. It is always to publicize why they came, why they came here" (Interview extract).

It is with this younger generation that the will to rehabilitate ancestors seems to be most invoked: "Their story... how they got here... the sufferings they had [...] this is what we inherited actually... That's all this history of sufferings, and... that they should not have been condemned" (Interview extract).

In addition, these youngest descendants show a particular attachment to the religious dimension, the return to the Muslim religion of their ancestors allowing them to make a new link with Algeria: “Religion, it came like that. I did not know what was that, before, the Muslim religion, [...] and little by little, well here I am back in the religion” (Interview extract).

For the Algerian descendants in New Caledonia, more particularly in the city of Bourail, this religious link materializes with the construction, in 1998, of a mosque in Nessadiou, one of Bourail city’s districts. Religion also allows a proximity to the Muslim community worldwide: “There are also people from abroad who began to come... we then learned a few things about religion” (Interview extract).

For the last two generations of Algerian descendants, discourses provide less historical facts and mainly reflect the need to build oneself in a plurality of cultural affiliations, a symbolic Algerian affiliation being part of them, but especially to be recognized in a neo-Caledonian identity that would bring together all the communities living in the territory.

4. Discussion. Exile from the Mediterranean Sea and interculturalisation in the Pacific Ocean: a basis of the New Caledonia society

If we consider the interculturalisation concept as a set of paradoxical processes referring to the integration of a plurality of cultural references (Clanet, 1990; Guerraoui, 2009, 2011), New Caledonia is a unique place (Oulahal, Guerraoui & Denoux, 2018). These processes are said to be paradoxical because they involve at the same time transformation and maintenance, closure and opening to the various cultural backgrounds in a given time and space. In the intercultural psychology perspective, interculturalisation therefore consists of a set of identity processes developed by individuals to overcome tensions and cultural differences in an intercultural situation. And this is precisely where we believe New Caledonia is currently because, for all of its citizens, beyond a common identity, the main matter is to make emerge a unique and original neo-

Caledonian cultural background that would transcend the various cultures of the territory.

As we presented above, the Kanak people represent the native community in New Caledonia while other communities were exiled there from France and its colonies or came as foreign workers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Communities share a taboo of the origins, which make it more difficult to build a common future project. Between those whose ancestors experienced forced exile and prison, those whose ancestors came freely hoping to provide a better life for their family and those whose ancestors were deprived from their land, the future of New Caledonia is still very unclear.

Though those who were exiled in New Caledonia wished, at their time, to get back to their home countries and families, they were forced to settle there and some got children and raised families. A few generations later, the homeland return wish has vanished and gave room to a fear of being forced to leave New Caledonia in case independence was approved. This would have been a second exile for representatives of these communities. The three self-determination referendums organized in 2018, 2020 and 2021 finally gave a majority against independence. But the reality is such that almost one out of two Caledonians wanted to become independent from France while the other one wanted to remain within the French perimeter. As we indicated previously, New Caledonia now enters a transition period of 18 months to define its new status that will be submitted to a new consultation by June 2023. At this stage, the New Caledonia face for the coming years is still to be discovered.

Our research highlighted an intercultural process among the Algerian descendants in New Caledonia, the current territory's political context reactivating an attachment to Algeria perceived as the land of origin. An intercultural identity could emerge from a root identity demonstrating a filiation and a New Caledonian identity under process. Thus, between filiation and affiliation, our participants call themselves Caledonians while remaining of Algerian origin: "After all, we, we are Caledonians. Me, I was born in Caledonia. But I am an Algerian descendant. Which makes me, honestly, feel Algerian" (Interview extract).

The rhizomatic identity (Glissant, 1996) is helpful to better understand the current situation of Algerian descendants in New Caledonia. Edouard Glissant proposed this rich and enlightening comprehension of intercultural identities through his concept of rhizomatic structures that can be relied on to better understand the current identity processes for Algerian descendants and more generally for all individuals in New Caledonia. The Algerian descendants indeed often put forward their cultural plurality when facing current strong community movements in New Caledonia. If we consider the communities proposed in the 2019 census (as presented above), we can rapidly notice that the Algerian descendants may not easily fit into the main cultural groups. They are facing a current reality as their claimed identity (intercultural identity) has to make its way within the various prescribed identities (cultural identities). They feel as if they were asked to side a community because of the growing communitarianism within the territory. All being descendants of Algerian men who had children with non-Algerian women, interculturalization is at the basis of their identity processes. Though their specificity is not fully recognized today, we think these descendants' origins allow them to fully fit into a New Caledonian identity to be built for the entire population of New Caledonia.

Algerian descendants could appear as a first instance of this new Neo-Caledonian identity, a rhizomatic identity, hybrid, multi-rooted, as proposed by Edouard Glissant. Such identity, which emerges with relationships between individuals from various cultural backgrounds, is constructed in the present and its result can't be predicted. Glissant thus proposes a significant change from the traditional filiation ideals. For the author, identity is no longer perceived as a single tree but as a proliferating plant, without a beginning or an end (Clarke, 2000). Glissant considers individuals' various cultural identities to highlight the complexity of the *creole* identity, which is formed when roots and origins meet and share cultural bounds. We could thus speak of a rhizomatic identity in New Caledonia that would emerge from the encounter of the various cultural groups. Such identity would emphasize the need to link communities together instead of keeping them distant from another as this can

appear in the population census and the current communitarianism induced by the referendum process.

The Algerian descendants in New Caledonia reflect this intercultural process and rhizomatic identity, which can sometimes also be noticed at the institutional level such as in Bourail city's coat of arms. Bourail city hosted the majority of lands given by the French colonial administration to Algerian detainees and its coat of arms articulates these affiliations (figure 1): “[It] bears witness to the ancestral Kanak presence through its two door frames. The crescent moon explains the origin of the first occupants of Bourail. These were the freed Algerian convicts” (Ouenoughi, 2005, p.79). Other elements represent the New Zealand cemetery (blue cross), the Moluccas blackbird introduced in New Caledonia from Bourail city (bird with yellow legs) and the Bourail agricultural communities (cattle head and wheat sheaf).

Fig. 1. The coat of arms of Bourail city



The Algerian descendants in New Caledonia also mix various cultural backgrounds in their daily life and thoughts: “My two grandfathers were Muslims. And my two grandmothers, they were Catholics... finally, if I respect my two grandfathers and my two grandmothers, well, I take a little of both” (Interview extract).

A participant, referring to his burial, indicated his will to be buried: “In the European way [...] for example, what we always do, is to put a crescent moon or a star on the grave, you see, to show that this is a Muslim, we are Muslims. And me, I’ll get it on the grave” (Interview extract).

Another participant told us: “I fast during Ramadan but I'm Catholic, [...] so my way to consider the space, the world, the

people around me and questions of faith, are also imbued with the diversity of my roots” (Interview extract).

For these participants, the religious dimension enables them a link between their plural cultural affiliations. For others, it is through an identity discourse that intercultural creations are demonstrated: “I am an Algerian born in New Caledonia with a French citizenship, so if there is independence, I will be an Algerian born in New Caledonia with a New Caledonian citizenship” (Interview extract).

The discovery of their origins allows these descendants to become fully involved in New Caledonia’s history. It is by claiming and being attached to a community who was forced exiled in New Caledonia that they can get recognized as part of the New Caledonia community. A participant indicates: “Now, we can’t leave from here” (Interview extract).

Another participant specifies that this knowledge brings him: “A peace of mind, that is to say, to have rehabilitated the memory of ancestors without history and somehow without legitimacy in this country” (Interview extract).

In the current New Caledonia’s political context, a root planted within the Caledonian soil would legitimize the presence of these descendants: “Because the common destiny is to recognize to all the people who arrived in Caledonia, who built the country, the right to stay, the right to live in mutual respect of origins and each other’s cultures” (Interview extract).

One participant said he wanted to: “Remind our Kanak cousins that the history of this country, over the last 160 years, as developed by the anti-colonial discourse, is a manipulated discourse, as was the colonial discourse, and that the reality is in between. That builds legitimacy” (Interview extract).

We believe this context could be at the origin of a diaspora emergence: “Here, for the past twenty years or so, we’ve been talking a lot about Kanak culture, highlighting Melanesian culture. So, we realized that people had customs, that there were customs. So, you tell yourself, and me... what is it?” (Interview extract).

The Algerian descendants would thus claim exile as a basis of their history in New Caledonia and merge as a diaspora to link to the past and to legitimize their current presence on the Caledonian soil. The arrival of the first Algerians in New Caledonia raised the question

of identity changes they were able to implement in their forced exile experience. The diasporic identity concept makes it possible to understand the way their descendants can define themselves both as being from here and elsewhere (Eckmann, 2008, p. 18). The first Algerians were taken from their Mediterranean environment and arrived in New Caledonia as inmates. They served their sentences, they then got married and raised family there. However, it does not seem that they wanted to perpetuate Algerian traditions in New Caledonia. They transmitted only very little of their history to their children, the geographical distance from their home country maybe justifying this choice: to let the children follow their mothers whose communities were better represented. The first Algerians therefore continued to live and practice some traditions without however involving their children. For example, only the first Algerians really spoke Arabic or Berber. Likewise, religious practice was not really subject to any formal transmission:

When they used to fast ... so in the evening ... they had to eat at night, I do not know what time ... I know mom, my aunt and my grandmother would cook, and then they would eat during the night. And then the next day, we wouldn't see them because they would go to their own business (Interview extract).

Conclusion

This research work was an opportunity to meet the Algerian descendants in New Caledonia. The various interviewed groups and generations of descendants showed different ways to relate to their origins from the Mediterranean Sea and identities in the Pacific Ocean. But it was also an opportunity to think about the future of a country for which exile and colonization are two main characteristics, strongly inscribed in a plurality of communities living in the territory. More than 160 years later, the question still remains. And the current self-determination process just highlights how fragile balance can be in such environments. As we said earlier, the way New Caledonia will move on in the coming months and years is still to be discovered.

One participant of our research said: “My children are, I think, the image of all the opportunities New Caledonia can offer and all the diversity it can generate” [Author’s translation] (Interview extract).

The knowledge of the origins can connect these descendants to Algeria, the country of their ancestors, but can also fully inscribe them in New Caledonia, the country where their ancestors were exiled then forced to stay and where they are now buried.

We propose the hypothesis that a contemporary diaspora emerges for these Algerian descendants and the diasporic cycle would just begin. Commemorative sites and monuments are identified in New Caledonia (cemetery, mosque...) as an identity memory vector on the places of exile of their ancestors. Diasporas are fluctuant, they appear, develop, die out and can sometimes even remain only in the draft state. Our analysis of the Algerian descendants identity in New Caledonia being investigated in the territory’s self-determination process, a new evaluation of such diasporic phenomenon should be thought about in a later temporality.

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Women's migration to and from some Mediterranean countries in Vientos de agua by Juan José Campanella

Abstract

This article tries to highlight the particular features that migrant women show in a pioneering cultural product: Juan José Campanella's television series *Vientos de agua*, 2005. The process of forced geographical displacement is situated during two terms: the middle of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. Women who fled from Mediterranean Europe to America, moving away from fascism in different Mediterranean latitudes, and women who, years after, seek in Spain a subsistence not guaranteed in their places of origin, share similar miseries in the process of leaving homeland. The intention of these lines is to give account of their vulnerabilities and the reason why is relevant to focus on them.

Keywords: Women, Spain, Migration, *Vientos de agua*, Juan José Campanella.

La migración femenina hacia y desde algunos países mediterráneos en Vientos de agua de Juan José Campanella

Resumen

Este artículo aspira a destacar las particularidades que muestra la representación de las mujeres migrantes en un producto cultural pionero: la serie de televisión de Juan José Campanella *Vientos de agua*, de 2005. El proceso de desplazamiento geográfico forzado se sitúa en dos periodos: mediados del siglo XX y principios del XXI. Las mujeres que huyeron de la Europa mediterránea a América, alejándose del fascismo en diferentes latitudes mediterráneas, y las que, años después, han procurado alcanzar en España una subsistencia no garantizada en sus lugares de origen comparten similares problemáticas en el proceso de salida de la patria y en la inmersión en la tierra de acogida. La intención de estas líneas es dar cuenta de sus vulnerabilidades y de algunos motivos por los cuales es pertinente centrarse en ellas y en su estudio.

Palabras clave: Mujeres, España, Migración, *Vientos de agua*, Juan José Campanella

La migrazione delle donne da e per alcuni Paesi mediterranei in Vientos de agua di Juan José Campanella

Sinossi

L'articolo si propone di evidenziare le specifiche caratteristiche che mostrano le donne migranti in un prodotto culturale pionieristico: la serie televisiva *Vientos de agua* di Juan José Campanella (2005). La dispersione geografica forzata si colloca entro due termini: la metà del Novecento e l'inizio degli anni Duemila. Le donne che hanno lasciato l'Europa mediterranea per l'America, fuggendo dal fascismo a diverse latitudini del Mediterraneo, e le donne che, anni dopo, hanno cercato in Spagna la persistenza non garantita dei loro luoghi di origine, mostrano le medesime difficoltà nell'abbandono del luogo di provenienza. L'articolo mira a evidenziare le loro vulnerabilità e le ragioni per le quali è importante soffermarsi su di loro.

Parole chiave: Donne, Spagna, Migrazioni, *Vientos de agua*, Juan José Campanella.

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Women's migration to and from some Mediterranean countries in Vientos de agua by Juan José Campanella¹

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1. Representing migrant women

The forced displacement of women to and from Spain in the 20th century and so far in the 21st century is due to a variety of causes. Political and economic reasons are often at the root of these movements. It is a frequent simplification to underestimate the political edges, putting all the emphasis on purely economic issues. That's why, in this analysis, I will take into account a complexity of factors underlying the need to leave one's own place of birth and belonging, circumstances clearly made worse for women by the fact that they are more vulnerable to prejudice.

To start with, and on a conceptual level, the apparent dichotomy between *migration* and *exile* could be problematised as heir to certain elitist prejudices that should be set aside. We cannot ignore the fact that there is an almost automatic association between *migration* and socio-economic motivations on one hand, and exile

¹ This article arises from the Project "Memoria de migración, experiencia bélica y exilio. España y Argentina: representaciones literarias de y sobre mujeres en contextos de guerra, dictadura y destierro durante el siglo XX" [Memory of migration, war experience and exile. Spain and Argentina: literary representations of and about women in contexts of war, dictatorship and exile during the 20th century"], (PID 11/H-897, Universidad Nacional de La Plata). It is linked also to the Project "España y Argentina en diálogo. Literatura, cultura, memoria. 1940-2013" ["Spain and Argentine in dialogue. Literature, culture, memory. 1940-2013"] (PICT 2016-0623, Agencia Nacional de Promoción Científica y Tecnológica), directed by Raquel Macciuci.

and political motivations with consequences of persecution and even danger of death, on the other. Thus, *exile* is given a certain aura of social prestige, while *migration* is limited to terms of poverty or deprivation. Referring to the Spanish case in particular, Bárbara Ortuño Martínez says:

[I]n the middle of the 20th century, (...) the word exile – which, although it had been present in the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy as a synonym for expatriate, had practically no other use than the literary one – began to become generalised as the proper term to designate political emigration, and the adjective 'exiled' to refer to those who leave a country for political reasons. The event in Spanish history that brings together the defining characteristics of exile par excellence – even though many historians use the term to refer to the political emigrations of the 19th century – is the massive and violent departure of the population as a result of the Civil War and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship. (Ortuño Martínez, 2016, p. 78).

As a first conclusion on the point, we should say that the theoretical concepts which allow us to think about historical phenomena and their representations through narratives (filmic or literary) are necessarily permeable because the issues that are at their origin are also permeable. Thus, the words that emerge from different disciplines to encode the phenomena of forced displacement may look like specific, but at the same time they overlap and create adjacency fields: *exiled*, *refugee*, *uprooted*, *emigrant*, *political emigrant*...

In the Spanish-speaking literature on republican exile, words commonly used to describe the refugee include *exiliado* (exile), *refugiado* (refugee), *desterrado* (uprooted person) – or just *republicano* (republican, which here means 'supporter of the Republic', rather than 'member of one of the republican political parties'). Words less commonly used include: *emigrante* or *emigrante político* (emigrant/political emigrant), *expatriado* (expatriated) and variations on the theme of *migrante* (migrant). The exile as an event is most often referred to by historians or Spaniards as the *exilio republicano* (republican exile) but in Mexico, for example, it is usually called the *exilio español* (Spanish exile). It has also been called the 'emigration' or 'exodus' produced by the Civil War. The word *desplazado* (displaced person) exists but it is rarely used (if ever) to describe Spanish Civil War refugees. (Rickett, 2014, p. 17)².

² For an in-depth examination of this question, see, for example, a thesis that systematises the different positions and the scope of the concept: *Rethinking*

The interdisciplinary approach is clearly important in the treatment of these concepts, but again, regarding the issue of representation in different aesthetic media, it is relevant to point out that these concepts are almost as mobile as the situations and subjects they designate.

According to the different possibilities mentioned before, “migrant” will be the prevailing option in this work. Unlike the other choices, which refer to a situation already consolidated, accepted or not, but which in some way is already a *fait accompli*, “migrant” conveys somehow the message that the individual involved is still in transit. Not adding any of the prefixes that indicate a source or a destination (*emigrant* or *immigrant*), that sort of non-belonging and constant transit seems to be a fundamental meaning of the word “migrant”. The lack of precision, the appearance of incompleteness are features that leave a little more room for certain questions to be answered in most detailed demographic studies, in the field of social sciences.

In addition to the general shortage to cover the complexity of the process, we should add practical conditions referred exclusively to women which make displacement even more imperative for them: their bodies and the roles expected to be played by them are crucial circumstances in a hard and, at times, even traumatic search for belonging.

How can we measure to what extent a woman moves by her own will or is forced to do so? It is true that in some cases, when there is an explicit political threat, such as a pursuit by a dictatorial government, there is a real urgency to leave, but it is often impossible to determine whether other causes are not also realities that push people to leave their place of origin. How can we catalogue the situation of an African woman in Spain who has to work in a nightclub, under the authority of a violent pimp? What concept can be representative to specify the case of a Colombian woman who seeks by all means to stay in Spain, fluctuating between illegality and the unwanted possibility of marrying a friend? What is the right word to describe the uprooting of an Italian girl whose

Transterritory: A Conceptual History and its Implications for Hermeneutic Theory (Córdoba Guzmán, 2018).

father disappeared, probably as a result of fascism, and who spends her days on the ship where her father worked, drifting, in the hope of finding someone to take care of her? These are just some of the cases we will consider; but it is important to remark that when we refer to “migration” and “migrant women”, we are considering a wide and complex range, which incorporates elements of the concept of *exile*. As for the concept of “expatriation”, although we consider there is no official mandate in this sense on the women we are focusing, it must be kept in mind that much more subtle but also profound pressures force these women to be away from their homeland. So, in a sense, they are *expatriates* as well. With no country and no father [in Latin, “pater”], these migrant women will sometimes be subjected to other paternalisms that also imply a brand of power and domination, even if they are almost always imbued with good intentions.

This article aims to focus on the representation of migrant women in a pioneering cultural product: the television series *Vientos de agua* (*Water winds*) (2005) by Juan José Campanella, considering their forced displacement during the 20th century and the early 21st century. This object of study is meaningful to analyse multiple directions of their movements and different configurations of the image of migrant women to and from Mediterranean countries. This audiovisual text is actually a pioneer in the treatment of the migration issue between Spain and Latin America in the format of a television series. However, certain images and prejudices about migrant women persist and are installed with a dangerous naturalisation that must be questioned.

Although the plot focuses mainly on the story of two men, it is possible to explore a very wide universe to consider two different periods, situated respectively in the middle of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, which reveal vulnerabilities and renewed problems of marginalisation of women who need to leave their homeland. During the first half of the 20th century, a group of women flee from Mediterranean Europe to America (in the series, especially from Spain and Italy to Argentina), moving away from fascism. At the beginning of the 21st century, other several women seek in Spain an unguaranteed subsistence in their places of origin, but their stay in the new country becomes problematic: a Colombian

woman is exposed to stigma and discrimination; a Senegalese woman is exposed to physical violence and other dangers. These women, living in the 21st century, somehow recycle the suffering experienced by the others ones who, half a century earlier, went into exile following an exactly opposite direction.

Involving all these women in the process of *migration*, I will consider the category of *exile* associated with political causes, but also closely linked to social and economic aspects. I will focus on female characters, who experience the suffering of the process in itself, increased by preconceptions associated with gender.

2. Round trip itineraries. From Europe to Argentina and vice versa

*Y te acercas y te vas después de besar mi aldea.
(So you come closer and leave after kissing my village.)
Joan Manuel Serrat, "Mediterráneo".*

The first scene of an adult migrant woman who will play an important role in this television series is paradigmatic in terms of the treatment of silence. Paradoxically, there is a dialogue in which the woman does not speak. Laia (played by Pilar Punzano) cries and, when someone approaches her, she holds back her tears, she cannot utter a word, just listens and finally runs away. This scene takes place on the ship that transports one of the main characters of the series (José-Andrés) from Spain to America. Despite not emitting a sound other than a moan, the woman is an active receiver and picks up essential information. Above all, she decodes a fundamental question of identity: the young Spaniard she meets on the deck of the ship mentions his brother, Andrés, and alludes to him, arguing that Andrés would know how to comfort her.

The young man interacting with Laia has taken the name of his brother and must hide his own identity. At this point, and although it is not the objective of this work to dwell on male migrant subjects, it is pertinent to make the circumstance explicit, in order to understand Laia's cunning despite her vulnerability.

The protagonist's real name, José Olaya (played by Ernesto Alterio), is now associated with a crime: having blown up the mine

that led to his brother's death, he must face the fact that the real Andrés (the one who originally conceived the plan of emigrating to America) is dead in Asturias. José had reacted not only against his pain, but against injustice, against the abuse of power and authority and against the mistreatment of miners. He is now a fugitive and, as a consequence, Andrés' original intention to migrate in search of an economic improvement becomes an urgent need to flee for José, who takes the identity of his brother.

Laia is going to Argentina to marry a man she does not know, but also to work as a kind of high-class prostitute. She already knows during the trip that her future is uncertain. Leaving the Mediterranean country and going to America is a complete imposed destiny. Not only has she not chosen the man she will marry, but she must be the mistress of other unknown men. Laia's release will come a few years later, when José Olaya meets her again and sees that she is now the owner of a fine brothel. Paradoxically, she somehow exercises over other women the kind of stewardship that she had suffered over herself when she moved from Europe to America.

Graciela Wamba (2010, p. 437) points out that:

In the miniseries, Laia, the first love on the ship of the young Asturian Andrés [in fact, José], arrives to work in a brothel, showing a false marriage certificate to customs when landing, following the typical white slavery strategy. However, Laia manages to progress and appears in the 1950s as the owner of a very fine brothel in Buenos Aires. Her commercial success somehow redeems her from her past and grants her some social recognition.

In any case, if we take into account not only the Atlantic plot but also different aspects of the Mediterranean route, this character reproduces a vicious circle of women at the service of men and never manages to find her place in the world. Laia never achieves a bond with the protagonist which lets her to be seen as a "lady". In the end, she chooses to go back to Europe, to go to France.

3. From Mussolini's Italy, an eternal child

There is another relevant case of representation on the same ship which brings Laia from Catalonia to America. This is a girl coming

from another Mediterranean country, Italy. She is little Gemma (played by Francesca Trentacarlino as a child and Giulia Micheleni since the age of 14), the daughter of a ship's worker, who wanders on the ship looking for someone among the passengers who can take care of her. Gemma's father had commissioned a colleague to look after her until his return, but for the time of this last trip which is bringing Gemma to America, he is not back. We can easily suppose that he has been a victim of Italian fascism, as he had been fighting Mussolini. From now on his whereabouts are unknown.

In literal terms, Gemma is not an *exiled*. There has been no conscious reason, politically motivated, for her transatlantic voyage; however, the girl has no choice. She is not technically (yet) an anti-fascist militant, but her displacement is undoubtedly forced and her condition is particularly vulnerable. Gemma, without her father, is under the protection of a makeshift guardianship shared by two other migrants. There is a kind of mutual adoption, marked by the empathy that exists between them, despite the fact that they speak different languages.

The underage condition is something that will accompany Gemma for most of her life. In her character, we can observe a fairly prototypical characteristic of gender issues: she lives in an almost perpetual minority. Although she has a strong personality and is very determined, both as a child and as an adult, Gemma will be under a kind of permanent guardianship.

When she arrives in Argentina, the girl lives with a woman for whom she works as a housekeeper. There, the little girl suffers mistreatment and abuse of authority. Faced with this situation, the girl is finally adopted by Juliusz (played by Pablo Rago), a young Hungarian Jew who has escaped fascism. Juliusz is also one of the men who looked after Gemma on the ship. The girl trusts him very much. Over the years, this relationship mutates into a sexual-affective bond and Gemma marries the man who has been her guardian or caretaker since her childhood.

The couple lives a shared life in a climate of mutual understanding and companionship. However, it is striking to observe how the evolution of this relationship is naturalised. They become a couple after knowing each through a situation of abandonment in which the adult – albeit a young adult, it is true – had taken care of the minor.

The lively, witty and active Gemma retains, even as an adult, that playful character that evokes the child she once was. At the same time, there is an inconvenience the couple is going through. Juliusz and Gemma wish to have a baby, but she does not get pregnant. The roles of care-provider and care-receiver in this bond are only reversed in an off-stage situation, an event about which two male characters dialogue in a plane of unreality given by the fact that both dialogue partners are already dead. Only then, with Gemma out of the scene (and Juliusz being one of the story tellers), we will learn that at the end of Juliusz's life, when he was harassed by a very cruel terminal cancer, it is Gemma who has assisted him for a long and dedicated period. Also through the male characters, viewers learn that Gemma fulfilled her wish to become a mother by marrying a second time, after the death of her first husband, Juliusz, to a considerably younger man. In other words, she somehow manages to reverse the everlasting minority that has always constituted her. But in an indirect tribute, her first son will be called Juliusz, with the aggravation that in the series, Juliusz himself, now dead, clarifies that this fact is unknown to Gemma's second husband. Thus, the “first owner” remains the omniscient possessor of a secret homage.

4. *She (doesn't) have a ticket to ride*³

The neologism “mothers-wives” [“*madresposas*”], which makes part of the following title: *The captivities of women: mothers-wives, nuns, whores, prisoners and crazy women* [original title: *Los cautiverios de las mujeres: madresposas, monjas, putas, presas y locas*] (Lagarde, 2005), highlights the two principal spaces that women's bodies occupy inside a world shaped by a *macho's* conception that continues to manifest its burdens. Through the incidence of migration, this term deepens its loving and at the same time limiting scope. The mother and the wife – and the mother who is also a wife – define their place in the bond with the other as soon as the term is used. In the forced displacements of the early and

³ The following three sections have had a first formulation with variants and in Spanish, in Sánchez, 2021.

mid-20th century, it was to be expected that the fate of migrant women from Europe to Argentina, as in the case of *Vientos de agua*, would be to become mothers.

Each woman's aspiration tended to depend on male companionship. In this sense, marriage and subsequent motherhood were natural goals (or were naturally supposed to be the only path to follow). The TV series features some dissident role models, but in fact, even in these cases, which are a minority and to some extent marginal, there is always a romantic aspiration to bond with a man with whom a classic family might be possible. There are representations of women who question the prevailing models, but there is also a very strong inheritance of expectations passed down from a generation of women who lived a few decades earlier:

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the dominant cultural representation of women was based on the discourse of domesticity that evoked the feminine prototype of the perfect married woman, whose main function was to care for the home and family. The most frequent cultural representation of women was that of the 'angel of the home', the seraphic provider who sustained the family. According to this model, women were to be modest, submissive, and lovingly devoted to their children, husbands, or fathers, but they were also required to perform effectively in their role as rulers of the home. (Nash, 1999, p. 25).

In the 20th century storyline of the series, women who glimpsed any deviation from the prevailing norms suffered negative consequences. José Olaya's two wives can be analysed following this line. The social duty that binds them to be fundamental "guardians of the family" (Nash, 1999, p. 25) manifests itself with tragic or almost tragic consequences.

The mother of Olaya's first two children is Sophie (played by the Italian Caterina Murino), a French woman of Jewish origin who had fled Nazism and had gone into exile in Argentina. She has a daughter, also French, and is very talented playing piano.

Everything goes well at first when her activity is limited to giving piano lessons to the children of the neighbourhood. At home, her husband allows Sophie, without objection, to exercise her talents. But life gets complicated and there are even situations of verbal domestic violence when Sophie's wishes go beyond the doors of home. The woman, invited by some neighbouring musicians who

make up a small tango orchestra, has a chance to go out and show her talent outside. Sophie had learned the tunes that the neighbours rehearse and the musicians seem pleasantly surprised by the performance they hear in the neighbouring house. At some point, they ask for the person they hear through the walls to play in their tango band. At first, the musicians assume that the pianist who plays next to the house is a man. That's the first warning sign that something is supposed to be out of place. Once the orchestra accesses to live performances, with great success, the woman has to hide her identity and play with her back to the audience. Already in her first interview with the musicians, she had dressed as a man and had cut her hair. But the real problem is that she has challenged her husband.

José Olaya objects Sophie's performing in public and frequenting stages, considering these activities as *brothel*. He only accepts the artistic performance of his first children's mother when Laia, the Catalan he had met on the trip to Argentina, persuades him to do so. Finally, the tango orchestra begins to enjoy a success that promises growth and performances elsewhere. Unfortunately, on their first departure from the city of Buenos Aires, the musicians are involved in a car accident in which there is a victim: the only woman in the orchestra, Sophie. The tragic fate seems to have taken away that hint of freedom that the woman dared to develop.

The woman who will be José Olaya's second wife, Lucía (played by the Argentinian Valeria Bertuccelli), is not in exact terms a *migrant* or an *exiled* woman. However, Lucia does undergo a kind of internal migration and pursues her vocation, Medicine, in a town on the outskirts of Buenos Aires. Lucía makes this decision before getting married with José – with whom she has started a relationship – because he cannot overcome the death of his former wife, Sophie, and is not ready to start a new couple. But soon José will come to rescue her after learning that she is seriously ill.

José finds Lucía really ill, suffering from a life-threatening high fever, also arrested by the police because of her social commitment and political activism. This is how the revolutionary dream of another woman who wanted to disobey established mandates and who follows her vocation, comes to an end. On a first reading, we could conclude that the man has finally worked out his grief for his former

wife. We could also conclude that he has come out of his stagnation to value the woman who will become the mother of his third child, Ernesto Olaya (played by Argentine actor Eduardo Blanco), the other protagonist of *Vientos de agua*, the Argentinian emigrant in Spain at the beginning of the 21st century. However, we cannot ignore that also on this occasion, the woman has paid the price for her free will. Persecution, illness, and the danger of death are the answers to these attempts at independence.

5. It's not only love... It's about how to legalize a residence

In the migration that reflects the contemporary age, the motivations and freedoms are, of course, different. We can consider separations and new beginnings in less drastic ways, but “mother-wives” once again respond to this preconceived dual role.

Mara (played by Colombian Angie Cepeda) is a migrant who works in a bar in the Spanish capital. She is always empathetic and generous with those who arrive in Madrid and face all the difficulties inherent to the lack of required documentation. On more than one occasion, she has to bow to the repressive demands of her surroundings. Her deployment throughout the series is also evident in her body, spontaneous, friendly and approachable, avoiding any prefabricated pose. However, there are moments when she has to hold back and, in a way, mask herself.

For example, she changes clothes with the gaze of others in mind. When Ernesto Olaya's wife arrives in Spain on a fleeting visit, Mara feels suspiciously observed and changes her miniskirt for jeans. She also blatantly lies when she says that she has only been living there – in the same flat as Ernesto – for three days. She lies to avoid the newcomer's jealousy, but the inertia of her bodily memory does not lie and Ernesto's wife notes that the ease with which Mara handles herself in the house and the speed with which she finds things cannot date from just a few days ago.

Cecilia, the “mother-wife” (wife of Ernesto Olaya, mother of her children) has crossed the Atlantic from Argentina to Spain to see her husband, who has been working in Madrid for a year. He had the idea of settling there before bringing his family, but in the meantime, in

Buenos Aires his wife has fallen in love with a doctor from the hospital where she works as a midwife (also in this role she is in charge of the perpetuation of the species). Cecilia's daughter has decided to stay in Argentina, but her son Tomás has followed his father's migration to Spain. The "mother-wife" feels as a duty to hold the family together, but for the first time she admits the possibility of twisting the course of this structure. The distance – physical and symbolic – imposed by the migration of her husband has altered the pattern that she has followed for more than twenty years. It is worth noticing that, in any case, she will try to revive the family institution when, a year later, her husband travels to Buenos Aires to divorce her, by mutual consent.

The role of the "mother-wife" seems to be stronger than any attempt to break the mold. It is noticeable how she, as a woman, remains somewhat anchored to this permanent aspiration for things to go back to the way they used to be. Having lost her interest in the affair with the doctor and after agreeing on a friendly dissolution of the marriage bond, during Ernesto's trip to Argentina, however, a confusing approach between the two members of the ex-couple will be provoked by her. On the verge of divorce, Ernesto and Cecilia wake up in a hotel, in Buenos Aires, and it is clear in the scene that there has been a sexual encounter between them. It is not easy for them to identify if they are just saying goodbye or there is a hinted possibility of reconciliation there, and in that precise moment, the telephone rings. The naked bodies on the bed are slow to react and finally Cecilia answers the phone. A minor detail is interesting: Ernesto is closer to the phone and he would be expected to answer it, but it takes longer for him to wake up, and finally Cecilia steps over his body and answers, at 7 in the morning, a call that is destined for her ex-husband. These details, prosaic in principle, become more meaningful if we consider that, at that time of day, it is most likely to be a call from Spain, and specifically from Ernesto's current partner, the Colombian migrant Mara. The fact that Cecilia picks the phone exposes the obvious reunion between the Argentine migrant, who has returned to his country for business purposes, and his ex-wife.

The male migrant is now debating between two women, two role models and two homelands. Already in possession of dual nationality,

because his father is a Spaniard, the man counts now on legal documents that let him make his own decision. Mara's case is different. She has helped him with essential survival issues when Ernesto was a neophyte migrant, but she is still in the weak position of an undocumented migrant. Her tourist visa expired a long time ago. The Spanish authorities have caught Mara at her workplace – a clear infraction since she is technically not authorized to work – and she must leave Spain. Only one solution can formalise her situation: to get married. Once again, the role of wife, dependence on a man's protection and a document that links her to him, are the means to solve women's precariousness. At this point, it should be clarified that the solution of a marriage arranged to legalise a migratory situation is not exclusive for women. The vulnerability and dependency observed in this case lies in the fact that the representation of the woman places her almost in a role of supplication.

The day before, Ernesto had learned, also through a phone call, of Mara's current situation: the authorities' intimation and the only possible solution by marrying a Spanish citizen. It is not clear what decision he will make. Ernesto may succumb to the seduction of his ex-wife, Cecilia, because of weakness, homesickness (he is about to divorce, but Cecilia has been her wife for more than twenty years) or fear of making a commitment to Mara in Spain. He may, on the other side, keep his promise to return and agree to marry Mara and share with her the benefits of a Spanish citizenship. What is clear is that the power to decide in which direction this dispute between two women will go, remains in the domain of the man.

Faced with this uncertain prospect, Mara twists the course of waiting, takes action and acts with determination. She chooses to marry a Spanish musician (played by José Miguel Monzón Navarro, better known by his stage name: El Gran Wyoming), a friend of both (hers and Ernesto's), who agrees to formalise an arranged marriage, thus doing her a great favour so that she can stay in Spain, the land where Mara has settled and worked for years. That is, although she makes her decision without waiting for the approval or help of her current partner (Ernesto), the woman has to falsify her true sentimental situation to wield the title of wife, which allows her to legalise the residence in Spain. Wrapping up a further feminine image

configuration, Ernesto returns to Spain from Argentina and, after a first scene of outrage over the recent and hasty marriage to his friend, he joins Mara once again after the revelation that she is pregnant. Thus, the Colombian migrant in Spain, in order to obtain legal status, will become not only a wife (apocryphal, by the way) but also, in a reinforcement of her current circumstance, a mother-wife.

Mara, a free, calm and independent woman, always ready to help others, to provide them with shelter, food and work, paradoxically finds her *Deus ex machine* at the beginning of the 21st century under the wing of at least three men: Her Spanish friend agrees to marry her because of a paperwork issue; her Argentinian-Spanish sentimental partner does not succumb to the seduction of his ex-wife and returns to Spain, as he had promised; finally, there will be “a third man”, her child, also a Spanish boy, who will have the (presumed) name of his Spanish grandfather: Andrés.

It is interesting to remember that in this homage to the Spanish grandfather there is also something apocryphal, or at least oblique, unknown. There is also an unintended tribute to another man, because – let us remember synthetically – the grandfather’s real name is José. Only in the 1930s he replaced it, answering to his mother’s request, to take the identity of his brother and to be able to leave for Argentina. The real Andrés, the one who was going to emigrate, had died in Asturias as a result of the explosion of a mine.

6. *Exiled women's sex work*

The bodies of migrant and exiled women are often forced to meet certain requirements. As a tool for sex work, these bodies are subjected to an unequal exchange of forces and power, subordinated to the whim and will of the client.

The figure of the pimp who manages and controls and supposedly “takes care” of sex workers contributes to make the situation even worse.

Gayle Rubin points out that “the clue to unravel the system of relationships whereby women become prey to men may be found in

the overlapping works of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Sigmund Freud” (Rubin, 1986, p. 96). Rubin adds that:

The domestication of women, under other names, is studied extensively in the work of both [Lévi-Strauss and Freud]. When reading it, one begins to glimpse a systematic social apparatus that uses women as raw materials and models domesticated women as products. (Rubin, 1986, pp. 96-97)

Neither of them forged a critical view of the issue.

The discussion on prostitution continues to be the topic of debate within various feminist groups. We cannot summarise the different positions in detail here, but, broadly speaking, we can say that some of them advocate the total abolition of prostitution, considering it oppression in all cases, while many of them identify the free exercise of the activity as an option, which implies the right to carry out a trade, not different from others.

In this sense, it is pertinent to mention that women in Spain, and in particular some organisations, have been reflecting on this point for a long time. The anarchist women's organisation *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women), for example,

strongly condemned the interclass sexual oppression of women by men, thus contradicting the prevailing left-wing view that prostitution is a bourgeois institution. These anarchists understood that it was a consequence of the double sexual standard, that tolerated premarital or extramarital sex in men but condemned it in women. (Nash, 1999, p. 125)

In a symbolic and supportive homologation, the aforementioned group aspired to end the difference between women. They did not accept that some could be “decent” while others were not. This was the first phase of equality and the ultimate goal was that prostitution should cease to exist:

By generalizing the category of the prostitute to encompass all women, “*Mujeres Libres*” believed that no woman could be decent until prostitution had been eradicated. This elimination, therefore, constituted a gender-specific “liberating mission” (Nash, 1999, p. 125).

It would require a detailed study to go into the very complex issue of sex workers, something that, of course, goes beyond the

scope of this work, but it is feasible to show how complex this issue is, considering that there is an underlying network of dangers caused by the vulnerability of women in different countries and continents.

In *Vientos de agua*, although the central stories focus – and it is logical for the plot they do so – on the vicissitudes of the protagonists – male migrants moving in both transatlantic directions, father and son –, female situations are also covered in detail. The bodies of several exiled migrant women suffer physical violence. The verbal expression of some women is limited because they are not fluent in Spanish.

There are specific passages in Andrés Olaya's memoirs that expose aspects of the prostitution of European women in Buenos Aires during the 20th century. A central character in this sense is Laia, the Catalan woman whom Andrés meets on the Atlantic crossing from Spain to America, and who, although socio-economically she is never as exposed as Adetoun – the young Senegalese woman we will refer to later – sustains herself from the beginning of her immersion in Argentina at the expense of her body. Over the years, her position will improve, as we have seen, but there will always be a glimmer of perception on Laia that has pigeonholed her as a woman who acts in the realm of the forbidden, a position that “does not correspond to a lady”.

Going back to the 21st century, the migrant woman in *Vientos de agua* who is focus of a violent and extreme scene of abuse is a woman from Senegal who works as a sex worker in Madrid.

Ernesto Olaya, a migrant in Spain after Argentina's 2001 economic collapse, goes with his colleagues and bosses to a nightclub. Ernesto, who is an architect, has managed – after some difficulties for insertion – to get a job in a studio where someone else signs the plans that he designs. Until he obtains citizenship, it is illegal for him to work. As his father's name (José/ Andrés), Ernesto's name remains erased. For various reasons, the individual who is “out of place” must somehow hide his identity.

One night, when a project is being signed (by others), Ernesto invites his Spanish colleagues to celebrate. This is the first time he can invite them (and he does it with the help of Mara, the Colombian migrant, who works there). There will be some frictions at dinner that reveal certain views on migration worth of attention. It is not

the specific topic of this article, but the perception that Ernesto Olaya's colleagues – especially the one who signs the plans for him – have about migrants, in general, is relevant to contextualise a situation that will worsen in regard to women. One of the three Spaniards present at the dinner mocks his Argentinian colleague using particular features of the Argentinian pronunciation and exposes an undeniably discriminatory stance that the other two companions try to cushion, and which will lead to a major clash of opinions. In the exchange – which we transcribe in considerable detail below – the Argentinian migrant and the three Spaniards with whom he works in the architecture studio discuss something that begins with laughter and ends up in an atmosphere of great tension:

- *Hey, bring me another bottle of wine!* (...) [In italics, emphasis to indicate the terms pronounced by the Spaniard with marked Argentinian articulation] Was there any Argentinian left in Buenos Aires? [Also in a mocking tone, to which Ernesto initially celebrates and laughs, although he looks uncomfortable].

[Another colleague from the architecture studio:] – It's an invasion. *Dame tu mina, dame tu mina* [“Give me your girl, give me your girl”; “mina” is a colloquial form of original Argentinian *lunfardo* (a kind of slang) of referring to a woman].

[The third colleague, calming down the conversation:]

- Well, it's not just the Argentinians. There are immigrants of all kinds.

[The first one:]

- But what are you saying, man? Argentinians are like us, they are not immigrants.

[The second, ironically, in response to the person who made the previous comment:]

- Yes, they are white boys ... [Awkward silence]. Oh what's wrong with you, man? Why are you such a bigot? What's your problem with immigrants, man?

- Me? None. As long as they are people like Ernesto, who come to work, to do good things. Because others just come to take your job. You don't ... [again imitating an Argentinian accent].

[Ernesto intervenes:] - Well, the truth is that anyone ... At least me, I don't know, just to feed my family, I would get on a boat. I don't know, don't you?

[Long and awkward silence, in this case from the three colleagues. Then one of them takes up the conversation again, taking the drama out of it].

- Well, multiculturalism, that's very good.

[And another:] - Well, I think so. If not, look where she's coming from, from the right [referring to the approaching waitress, which is, by the way, the Colombian Mara].

(Campanella, 2005, episode 7, 0:11:45 - 0:12:33)

After this dialogue, we can see a discriminatory scene in which the Spaniards ask Mara where she comes from, and Ernesto himself – driven by the intention of looking good with his colleagues – mocks the girl's inability to open the wine. At the height of Mara's anger, Ernesto's apparently more tolerant colleague, when the young woman asks Ernesto to accompany him to the kitchen for a minute, ends with the phrase: “Be careful, there are many kidnappings in Colombia!” (Campanella, 2005, episode 7, 0:13:12 - 0:13:16).

After this situation, they go to a nightclub, where a few conversations take place in which Ernesto's Spanish colleagues are even more *macho* than before, but at the same time feel tempted by the attractiveness of the women of different nationalities who dance there, entertain the clients and, we presume – although it is out of the picture –, engage in prostitution.

The colleague who seemed more serious invites: “But look at these Russian girls! They are like *mamushkas*! They are like *mamushkas*! They are so beautiful!” (Campanella, 2005, episode 7, 0:18:16 - 0:18:2). The same man who earlier referred more contemptuously to immigrants offers Ernesto the services of the workers there: “The best ones are the black girls. There are a couple of them that are... Do you want one? I'll get you one (Campanella, 2005, episode 7, 0:18:25 - 0:18:28). Ernesto, very uncomfortable, decides to leave. Suddenly, a woman of African origin arrives. She does not speak Spanish. She is injured and desperately running away from a man. The Argentinian migrant runs away with her in the car, which belongs to the company where Ernesto works. Through a very difficult communication that includes gestural language and an exchange of words barely recognisable for the interlocutors who give her asylum for the night – Mara and Ernesto, and then a friend of theirs, Ana – we know that the girl's name is Adetoun. She comes from Senegal and has family in Holland.

Adetoun is the ultimate expression of migrant woman's desperation: there is no way out or possibility of verbalising a request for help. If she manages to be – in part – understood, it is because her whole body shows a situation of danger and abuse (she is hurt, she cannot stop crying, and exclaims, in incipient Spanish: “Bad man. He fucks me. He fucks me a lot”), but she does not speak

more than a few single words of Spanish, so there is no way of channelling her catharsis in detail.

Her eventual protectors – Ernesto, Mara and Ana – are also in a situation of vulnerability, undoubtedly much less extreme; but they are still, respectively, two migrants who are still illegal in Europe (the Argentinian man – who at that time has not yet obtained Spanish citizenship – and the Colombian woman) and a young idealist Spaniard who helps in a not entirely formal way.

Official protection and health care (police and hospital) are not for the Senegalese women. Under normal circumstances, she should turn to these institutions. Her wounded body and the threat of a violent pimp prevent her from seeking redress. Access to a cure or a complaint would mean her immediate deportation. In a short time, the improvised “three musketeers” who have held her at a critical moment will discover that, resigned, Adetoun has returned to the nightclub, exposing her body once again to humiliation and punishment. The apparent self-flagellation is, at the bottom, a more realistic assumption than the romantic pose of Ernesto, who had ephemeral but hopeful dreams of going to Holland to look for Adetoun’s relatives. Not only is rescue not possible, it is also clear that the Argentinian's mobility is limited, and crossing borders is something that is currently forbidden to him.

Curiously, the name of the woman who plays the role of Adetoun does not appear in the cast of the episode (episode 7). There is no trace of her real name, and this is surprising. The episode presents at the beginning the names of the actors who play the main characters and the main cast, in this case, with their respective images, and at the end of the chapter we can see the listings of the secondary representations, divided between “Past” and “Present”. In this episode, the only performances that refer to the present are “Blonde prostitute” and “Drunk whore”. Adetoun is conspicuous by her absence and, just as she will be lost again in the nightclub, she is lost in the titles. It is not a minor detail and, although we do not have elements to completely rule out a technical error, it is strange that the names of other illegal migrant characters are not referenced in the cast either.

There are two more characters concerning the same problem. Ernesto and two employees of the architecture studio are in danger,

when an inspection arrives. They lock themselves in the bathroom. They share a very emotional dialogue in which the three of them show each other photos and talk about their families, all with an obvious nauseating smell in the background (which gives the idea that something smells bad, not only in the bathroom but also, symbolically, in the treatment given to these people). Would those who played these roles, as well as Adetoun, really be illegal migrants, and does the series make a nod towards empathy and protection for working and suffering migrants? At the risk of being an over-interpretation or simply a germinal hypothesis, these absences are striking. It is worth mentioning, for example, that, in contrast to this absence, the names of each of the members of a girls' choir appear in detail in the same episode for the cast of "Past". The final sentence, after the titles, "All facts and characters in this story are fictitious. Any resemblance to reality or persons living or dead is a mere coincidence", is clearly a formality or almost an anti-poetic license.

Conclusions

In times when the production of a large number of series sometimes makes us doubt about the care taken in narrative details, *Vientos de agua* exposes uncomfortable and unresolved social aspects, even beyond the focuses that it intends to develop more extensively.

Far from being mere entertainment, the series raises human issues of profound relevance, situated in time and space and showing all their complexity. The fact that it has suffered the vicissitudes of schedule changes and invisibilisation in Spain is no coincidence. The television product exposes realities that are too close, too current. The series has been described as part of the "Malditismo" (Mejino, 2016) to which some quality products that are not sufficiently understood or well received are condemned.

Vientos de agua is a committed series that does not hesitate to air the miseries on both sides of the ocean, which the defenceless protagonists are dealing with in the best possible way, but with a dramatic tone that predominates at all times over

some lighter moments, ideal to deflate the tensions of the series. (Mejino, 2016, paragraph 25)

It is not that the series is not equally moving about the vicissitudes of migration in Argentina during the 20th century, but the immediacy of certain concrete episodes of Mediterranean migration has an undeniable effect that is still very much awaiting discussion and viable solutions. However, over the years and with new viewing platforms, a new trajectory is possible.

Arellano Torres analyses the 'failure' of *Vientos de agua*. Among other aspects, he works on stereotypes and configurations that would prevent the development of other migratory identities: "The rhetoric of simplification and stereotypes perpetuates the division of discursive power structures that the series apparently comes to deny" (Arellano Torres, 2017, p. 436). He focuses on the case of, for example, a Bolivian migrant. Stereotypes and the centrality of certain migrant figures would prevent us from any further deepening. For us, however, such a point only implies a supposed failure, or at least we should say that the series has failed in some respects. Because of the multiplicity of readings that *Vientos de agua* allows, and even because of the less focused areas, apparently subsidiaries of the central plot – as in the case of the vicissitudes of migrant women – the series does not obscure meanings. From the social sciences and humanities, the challenge is to analyse those characters and stories that, despite being a little more in the shadows, allow us to project what is most susceptible to problematize. We have tried to do this, not to negatively criticise the series, but to investigate destabilising realities, which question the undeniable complexity of a discourse and a creative format that has been gaining more and more ground in this first part of the 21st century.

The challenge is to transcend, through an analysis of the narrative offered by the series, the dichotomies posed by the Atlantic axis. Varying the focus of observation and focusing on migrant women allowed us to trace narrative cores that *interpellate* the way of considering forced displacements to and from Mediterranean countries. Therefore the geographical matter turns into a more complex issue.

The multiplicity of women subjected to forced displacement and imposed roles are replicated in the multiplicity of origins and destinations. A new horizon of readings is opened up by the consideration of Spain as origin and destination and the inclusion of other geographical points as Italy or Senegal, which breaks down the apparent two-faced approach of one side and the other of the Atlantic Ocean. One of the issues that most affects us as a society is forced displacement. The focus of observation and illumination of areas not so immediate or not so obvious can lead us to new questions. A group such as migrant women to look at and to reflect on with renewed and increased tools must be a topic of consideration on an updated critical agenda.

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The "immediate protection" status under the new pact on migration and asylum: some remarks

Abstract

Responses to the crisis of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), after a long period of impasse, currently lie in the New Pact on Migration and Asylum (European Commission, 23 September 2020). This essay will focus on the Proposal for a Regulation addressing situations of crisis and force majeure as part of the Commission package of proposals following the New Pact, and especially on the "immediate protection" status envisaged therein. Within the forms of international protection granted by the European Union law, this essay explores *in primis* such a new status in comparison with the "temporary protection" – which is intended to be repealed and however never triggered – and, *in secundis*, in the framework of the New Pact rationale, as characterized by the increasing of interstate solidarity mechanisms despite restrictions on the fundamental rights of asylum-seekers.

Keywords: Immediate protection, Temporary protection, Asylum seekers, New pact on migration and asylum, European Union.

El estatuto de "protección inmediata" en el marco del nuevo pacto sobre migración y asilo: algunas observaciones

Resumen

Las respuestas a la crisis del Sistema Europeo Común de Asilo (SECA), tras un largo periodo de estancamiento, se encuentran actualmente en el Nuevo Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo (Comisión Europea, 23 de septiembre de 2020). Este ensayo se centra en la Propuesta de Reglamento que trata las situaciones de crisis y de fuerza mayor como parte del paquete de propuestas de la Comisión tras el Nuevo Pacto, y especialmente en el estatuto de "protección inmediata" previsto en el mismo. En el marco de las formas de protección internacional concedidas por el derecho de la Unión Europea, este ensayo explora *in primis* ese nuevo estatuto en comparación con la "protección temporal" – que se pretende derogar y que, sin embargo, nunca se ha puesto en marcha – y, *in secundis*, en el marco de la lógica del Nuevo Pacto,

caracterizada por el aumento de los mecanismos de solidaridad interestatal a pesar de las restricciones de los derechos fundamentales de los solicitantes de asilo.

Palabras clave: Protección inmediata, Protección temporal, Solicitantes de asilo, Nuevo pacto sobre migración y asilo, Unión Europea.

Lo status di “protezione immediata” previsto dal nuovo Patto sulla migrazione e l’asilo: alcune considerazioni.

Sinossi

La Proposta di Regolamento sulle situazioni di crisi e di forza maggiore - facente parte del pacchetto di proposte presentate dalla Commissione europea a seguito del “Nuovo Patto” sulla migrazione e l’asilo - prevede lo status di protezione internazionale, su cui si concentra il presente contributo. Nel quadro delle forme di protezione internazionale disciplinate dal diritto dell’Unione europea, tale nuovo status è analizzato, in *primis*, in raffronto alla “protezione temporanea” - destinata ad essere abrogata e, comunque, mai attivata - e, in *secundis*, in relazione alla logica del Nuovo Patto, caratterizzata dall’incremento dei meccanismi di solidarietà interstatale nonostante la compressione dei diritti fondamentali dei richiedenti asilo.

Parole chiave: Protezione immediata, Protezione temporanea, Richiedenti asilo, Nuovo patto sulla migrazione e l’asilo, Unione Europea.

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The “immediate protection” status under the New pact on migration and asylum: some remarks

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1. Forms of International protection granted by the European Union law

The development of a “common policy on asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary protection” is a goal set by Article 78(1) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) aimed at offering appropriate status to any third-country national requiring international protection, as well as at ensuring the principle of *non-refoulement*¹. In making this objective concrete, the secondary legislation adopted by the Institutions of the European Union (EU) to build up a Common European Asylum System (CEAS)² has been developed in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951 (and the Protocol of 31 January 1967) relating to the

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¹ Regarding the origins of the right to asylum, already in Ancient Rome and in Greece, as similar, at least as far as concerns its outcome, to the *exilium* institution (which gave any citizen who received a capital sentence the option to avoid execution by choosing exile), see Cherubini, 2015.

² It is mainly composed of Directive 2011/95/EU of 13 December 2011 (the Qualification Directive); Directive 2013/32/EU of 26 June 2013 (the Procedure Directive); Directive 2013/33/EU of 2 June 2013 (the Reception Directive); Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 (the Displaced-persons Directive), as well as of Regulation (EU) 604/2013 of 26 June 2013 (the Dublin III Regulation) and Regulation (EU) 603/2013 of 26 June 2013 (the Eurodac Regulation). The entire System is undergoing reforms envisaged in the New Pact on Migration and Asylum.

status of refugees, constituting “the cornerstone”³ of the International legal regime for the protection of refugees (Amadeo, and Spitaleri, 2019; Cherubini, 2015; Del Guercio, 2016). This applies significantly to Directive 2011/95/EU (the Qualification Directive)⁴ in regulating the first form of international protection along the lines of the Geneva Convention. This is the refugee status to be granted, pursuant to Article 2(d) of the Directive 2011/95/EU, to “third-country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country, or a stateless person, who, being outside of the country of former habitual residence for the same reasons as mentioned above, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it...”. However, “exclusion clauses” (Article 12) may operate, as well as the refugee status may be revoked, ended or refused (Article 14). Unlike the Article 33(2) of the Geneva Convention – that denies the refugee the benefit, in such circumstances, of the principle of *non-refoulement*⁵ – the Qualification Directive must be

³ See, among others, the judgment of the Court of Justice of the European Union (Grand Chamber), 2 March 2010, *Aydin Salahadin Abdulla et al. v. Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in joined cases C-175/08, C-176/08, C-178/08 and C-179/08, ECLI:EU:C:2010:105, para. 52. The Court stated that the provisions of the EU “Directive for determining who qualifies for refugee status and the content thereof were adopted to guide the competent authorities of the Member States in the application of that convention on the basis of common concepts and criteria”.

⁴ Recital no. 4 of the Qualification Directive confirms that the Geneva Convention and the Protocol provide the cornerstone of the international legal regime for the protection of refugees. Moreover, recital no. 22 considers consultations with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as a “valuable guidance” for Member States when determining refugee status according to Article 1 of the Geneva Convention. Such a kind of relationship also laid down in the Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union, since – according to Art. 18 thereof – the right to asylum shall be guaranteed with due respect for the rules of the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951.

⁵ At the core of the Geneva Convention, article 33 enshrines the principle of *non-refoulement* – also considered as a rule of customary law (Allain, 2001; Lauterpacht, Bethlehem, 2003) – prohibited however not in absolute terms since the benefit of such provision may not be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which

interpreted and applied in a way that observes the rights guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union⁶, in particular Article 4 and Article 19(2) thereof, which prohibit in absolute terms torture and inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment irrespective of the conduct of the person concerned, as well as removal to a State where there is a serious risk of a person being subjected to such treatment. Accordingly, EU Member States may not remove, expel or extradite a foreign national where there are substantial grounds for believing that he will face a genuine risk, in the country of destination, of being subjected to treatment prohibited by Article 4 and Article 19(2) of the Charter⁷.

The case law of the Court of Justice of the EU has highlighted this point⁸, from which two considerations arise: *in primis*, within the system introduced by Directive 2011/95/EU, a person who satisfies the material conditions set out in Chapter III of that directive is, on that basis alone, a refugee for the purposes of Article 2(d) thereof and Article 1(A) of the Geneva Convention; *in secundis*, the Qualification Directive must be interpreted and applied in a way that observes the rights guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union⁹. As a matter of fact, EU law provides more extensive international protection for the refugees concerned than that guaranteed by the 1951 Refugee Convention.

The protection offered by EU law is also more extensive from another point of view, given that the Qualification Directive even

he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgement of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

⁶ Pursuant to Article 6(1) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) the Charter shall have the same legal value as the Treaties.

⁷ See, to that effect, Court of Justice of the European Union, judgment of 5 April 2016, *Aranyosi and Căldăraru*, joined cases C-404/15 and C-659/15 PPU, ECLI:EU:C:2016:198, paras. 86 to 88, and judgment of 24 April 2018, *MP (Subsidiary protection of a person previously a victim of torture)*, in case C-353/16, ECLI:EU:C:2018:276, para. 41.

⁸ Court of Justice of the European Union, judgment of 14 May 2019, *M. v. Ministerstvo vnitra and X., X., v. Commissaire général aux réfugiés et aux apatrides*, in joined cases C-391/16, C-77/17, and C-78/17, ECLI:EU:C:2019:403.

⁹ And certainly also by the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), taking into account the equivalence clause in Article 52, para. 3, of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, as well as Article 6, para. 3, of the Treaty on European Union (TEU).

grants for “complementary forms of protection”, in line with the objectives that were first set by the European Council of Tampere, envisaging the building of the European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (Di Stasi, and Rossi, 2020; Carrera et al., 2020). Accordingly, the Qualification Directive also regulates the “subsidiary protection” status (McAdam, 2015) to be granted to “third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Article 15, and to whom Article 17(1) and (2) does not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country” (Article 2(f)). This is a “subsidiary” form of protection, precisely because it is intended for third country nationals who do not qualify for refugee status but who are genuinely in need of international protection¹⁰.

For the purpose of its recognition, the “serious harms” are listed under Article 15 of the Qualification Directive¹¹, as shaped on Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) and therefore to be interpreted in the light of the jurisprudence of the Court of Strasbourg related to aliens¹², as well as in a manner consistent with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union¹³.

Even if the subsidiary protection scope does not extend to reasons not provided under Article 15, Member States, through their

¹⁰ Court of Justice of the European Union, judgment of 8 May 2014, *H.N. v. Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Ireland, Attorney General*, in case C-604/12, ECLI:EU:C:2014:302, para. 30 ff.

¹¹ a) the death penalty or execution; b) torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of an applicant in the country of origin; serious and individual threat to a civilian’s life or person by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict.

¹² See Court of Justice of the European Union. judgment of 17 February 2009, *Meki Elgafaji and Noor Elgafaji v. Staatssecretaris van Justitie*, in case C-465/07, ECLI:EU:C:2009:94, para. 28. On this topic, let me refer to Palladino, 2016.

¹³ See Court of Justice of the European Union (Grand Chamber), judgment of 19 December 2012, *Abed El Karem El Kott and Others v. Bevándorlási és Állampolgársági Hivatal*, in case C-364/11, EU:C:2012:826, para. 43.

own legislation, might grant further forms of protection on a discretionary basis on compassionate or humanitarian grounds¹⁴.

Pending the request for international protection, the condition of the asylum-seeker is also considered by EU law, as the rules enshrined in Directive 2013/33/EU (the Reception Directive)¹⁵ apply for those third-country nationals or stateless persons who have “made an application for international protection in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken” (Article 2(b) thereof)¹⁶. Generally, pursuant to Article 6(1), applicant for international protection is provided with a document certifying such status or testifying that he/she is allowed to stay on the territory of the Member State while the application is pending or being examined. Moreover, applicant “may move freely within the territory of the host Member State”. This provision, contained in Article 7, however, includes the possibility of limiting free movement within an area

¹⁴ See Court of Justice of the European Union (Grand Chamber), judgment of 18 December 2014, *Mohamed M'Bodj v. État belge*, in case C-542/13, ECLI:EU:C:2014:2452, para. 37.

¹⁵ Directive 2013/33/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013, *laying down standards for the reception of applicants for international protection (recast)*, OJ L 180, 29.6.2013. According to the recital no. 11, standards for the reception of applicants that will suffice to ensure them a dignified standard of living and comparable living conditions in all Member States should be laid down. However, the Directive has not led to harmonization and the fragmented treatment of asylum seekers has become more acute with the “refugee crisis”, which has highlighted the deficiencies inherent in the reception system created by the Reception Conditions Directive (Silga, 2018). In October 2020, a provisional compromise text on a recast for the Reception Directive has been published: on the one hand, Member States will have more positive obligations to provide applicants with reception conditions; on the other hand, limits to applicant’s autonomy will increase (Slingenberg, 2020).

¹⁶ That provision makes no distinction as to whether or not the applicant is the subject of a procedure for transfer to another Member State under the Dublin III Regulation. Under that provision, the applicant is to retain that status provided that “a final decision has not yet been taken” on his or her application for international protection. According to the EU Court of Justice, a transfer decision does not constitute a final decision on an application for international protection, with the result that the adoption of such a decision cannot have the effect of depriving the person concerned of the status of ‘applicant’ within the meaning of Article 2(b). See judgment of 14 January 2021, *KS e MHK v. The International Protection Appeals Tribunal and o. and R.A.T. and D.S. v. Minister for Justice and Equality*, joined cases C-322/19 e C-385/19, ECLI:EU:C:2021:11.

assigned by the Member State, not affecting the unalienable sphere of private life and allowing sufficient scope for guaranteeing access to all benefits under the Reception Directive. Furthermore, Member States may decide on the residence of the applicant for reasons of public interest, public order or, when necessary, for the swift processing and effective monitoring of his or her application for international protection (Article 7(2)).

Finally (and we will focus on this point *infra* at the conclusive paragraph by analyzing the immediate status protection among the novelties that the New Pact envisages), even if “Member States shall not hold a person in detention for the sole reason that he or she is an applicant”¹⁷, the wide range of reasons why an applicant may be detained – especially the notion of “risk of absconding” – entails the *de facto* general use of this measure (Palladino, 2018).

2. Temporary Protection pursuant to Directive 2001/55/EC: a Union-level tool... failed to be applied.

The EU law provides for a further form of protection, namely the status of “temporary protection” as ruled by Directive 2001/55/EC¹⁸. Such Directive, currently in force, was adopted in a precise historical context, namely to face the events affecting the former Yugoslavia, especially the Kosovo¹⁹, and to manage displaced persons, with respect to whom it was necessary to grant an adequate and immediate form of protection (Kerber, 2002; Peers, 2006; Inel-Ciger, 2018).

The aim of the Directive 2001/55/EC is twofold: to establish “minimum standards”²⁰ for the granting of temporary protection “in

¹⁷ Pursuant to Article 8 (*Detention*) of the Reception Directive.

¹⁸ Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001, *on minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and on measures promoting a balance of efforts between Member States in receiving such persons and bearing the consequences thereof*, OJ L 212, 7.8.2001.

¹⁹ Cfr. the Preamble of the Directive.

²⁰ Pursuant to the former Article 63(a)(b) of the Treaty of the European Community (TEC), in order to harmonize national standards on temporary protection. Temporary protection differed greatly however from one Member State

the event of a mass influx of displaced persons” for third countries persons who can not return to their country of origin; to promote the balance of efforts among Member States that receive displaced persons and suffer the consequences of their reception.

As regards the first aspect, it is precisely through temporary protection that an exceptional measure is adopted in order to ensure rapid²¹ and *ad interim* protection²² to displaced persons. Pursuant to Article 2(c) of the Directive 2001/55/EC, defining the scope *ratione personae*, displaced persons means, “in particular”²³, persons who have fled areas of armed conflict or endemic violence and persons at serious risk of, or who have been the victims of, systematic or generalised violations of their human rights.

Unlike the 1951 Geneva Convention, which is implemented by means of individualised status determination, temporary protection is a “group-based protection”, which is used by states “to prevent the blocking of asylum systems, whilst also providing immediate protection to those in need” (European Commission, 2016, p. 4). Unlike the subsidiary protection, it is generally regarded as an exceptional measure only to be applied in situations of mass influx. The scope *ratione personae* coincides, therefore, with that of subsidiary protection, whereas the different regime pivots on the concept of “massive influx”, able to trigger the temporary protection. Such concept is defined in Article 2(2) of the Directive 2001/55/EC as “a large number of displaced persons, who come from a specific country or geographical area, whether their arrival in the Community was spontaneous or aided, for example through an

to another with regard to the status, the maximum duration, procedures gaining access to asylum procedures, and the rights and benefits.

²¹ The duration of temporary protection shall be one year, and it may be extended automatically by six monthly periods for a maximum of one year. Where reasons for temporary protection persist, the Council may decide to extend that temporary protection by up to one year.

²² Regarding the treatment granted by the Member States, persons benefiting of temporary protection status enjoy residence permits, are engaged in employed or self-employed activities, have access to suitable accommodation, receive assistance, social welfare, subsistence, medical care, and access to the education system (for those under 18 years).

²³ The term “in particular” makes the list of Article 2(c) non-exhaustive, and therefore makes it possible to further extend the causes of mass influxes – for instance, environmental causes – as also confirmed under Article 7.

evacuation programme”. There is an objectively clear element that the displaced persons must all come from a single country or from a specific geographical area. There is, however, a vague element as to “a large number” of displaced persons. In this regard, the assessment is not based on objective and previously identified factors, but it is up to the Council, which is competent – pursuant to Article 5 – to establish the existence of a massive influx of displaced persons, and to adopt by a qualified majority a decision introducing temporary protection. In this sense, it is a “Union level tool”, as the national authorities are not competent to trigger such form of protection, but the European Institutions solely are. The Council indeed takes its decision, on a proposal from the Commission²⁴ that indicates the specific groups of persons to whom the temporary protection will apply, the date on which the temporary protection will take effect, and the Member States’ reception capacity.

The Directive lays down indeed – and it is the second aspect cited above – a burden sharing mechanism. Article 25 pivots on the “spirit of Community solidarity” with which Member States receive persons who are eligible for temporary protection. On this rationale, Member States shall indicate their reception capacity, in figures or in general terms, and this information shall be set out in the Council Decision referred above. After that Decision has been adopted, the Member States may indicate additional reception capacity by notifying the Council and the Commission.

When the number of those who are eligible for temporary protection following a sudden and massive influx exceeds the reception capacity, the Council shall, as a matter of urgency, examine the situation and take appropriate action, including recommending additional support for the Member States affected.

In putting into practice the principle of solidarity envisaged under Article 80 of the TFEU²⁵, such a mechanism is to be regarded as an

²⁴ Which shall also examine any request by a Member State that it submits a proposal to the Council (cfr. Article 5(1) of the Directive). The European Parliament is excluded instead, as the Council is only required to inform the Parliament about its decision.

²⁵ According to which, the migration and asylum policies and their implementation “shall be governed by the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, between the Member States...”. Among the different meanings of solidarity in the European regulatory framework,

unicum within the ECAS, to date structured on the Dublin system as an instrument allocating applicants between Member States on the basis of a hierarchy of criteria, not including an equitable distribution within Member States, in proportion to each Member State's capacity to receive applicants²⁶.

However, it cannot fail to be noted that the Directive 2001/55/EC has never actually been applied, despite requests by some Member States. Namely, in 2011, during the Arab Spring, Italy and Malta requested its activation following the high number of applications received from Tunisia posing serious strains on the national reception systems. Their requests were, however, not followed up on insofar as the Commission did not put forward a proposal to Council (European Commission, 2016, p. 13; Nascimbene, and De Pascale, 2011).

It is probable that the element that should have been positive in the Directive, namely a “flexible” definition of massive influx of displaced persons, was at the same time the element that had led to its non-activation. This is because its assessment is left to a political dimension, namely the arrangement among Member States inside of the Council, and the discretion of the Commission in submitting a proposal²⁷.

this guiding principle of immigration and asylum policies can be attributed a triple role (Morgese, 2018): preventive (as mutual assistance to improve the implementation, control and repression of violations); rebalancing (as mutual assistance between States to rebalance, in case of difficulty, the existing unequal distribution of common responsibilities); emergency (such as mutual assistance in emergency situations). The last role has been concretized in decisions nos. 2015/1523 and 2015/160117, adopted by the Council on the basis of Article 80 and Article 78, para. 3, of the TFEU.

²⁶ The Commission subsequently proposed to trigger the emergency response system envisaged under Article 78(3) of the TFEU via a temporary and emergency relocation mechanism for persons in clear need of international protection. On 9 September 2015, it also put forward a proposal to establish a permanent crisis relocation mechanism, amending the Dublin III Regulation, under Article 78(2). On the New Pact on Migration and Asylum and the solidarity mechanisms provided for therein, see Carta, 2021 and Russo, 2021.

²⁷ Discretion that is attributable to the very nature of the European Commission, which is completely independent in exercising its functions (Article 17 TEU).

3. From temporary protection to immediate protection within the Proposal for a Migration and Asylum Crisis Regulation. What changes?

The Proposal for a Regulation addressing situations of crisis and force majeure²⁸ (hereinafter Proposal for a Migration and Asylum Crisis Regulation) is part of the Commission package of proposals following the New Pact on Migration and Asylum²⁹, aimed at overcoming a long period of impasse (Chetail, et al. (Eds), 2016). Such Proposal establishes rules articulated in the provision of a series of necessary derogations from provisions set out in Asylum and Migration Management Regulation³⁰ and in Asylum Procedures Regulation³¹, as well as in recast Return Directive³² (Article 1 thereof). Most of the derogations concern the extension of the maximum duration for carrying out the envisaged procedures (i.e. the registration of applications for international protection; the screening of third-country nationals; the border procedure) in order to ensure that Member States are able to address particular difficulties in facing exceptional and unforeseeable situations.

A *situation of crisis* is to be understood as an exceptional situation of mass influx of third-country nationals or stateless persons arriving irregularly in a Member State or disembarked on its

²⁸ European Commission, *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council addressing situations of crisis and force majeure in the field of migration and asylum*, Brussels, 23.9.2020, COM(2020)613 final.

²⁹ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions *on a New Pact on Migration and Asylum*, Brussels, 23.09.2020, COM(2020)609 final.

³⁰ European Commission, *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on asylum and migration management and amending Council Directive (EC) 2003/109 and the proposed Regulation (EU) XXX/XXX [Asylum and Migration Fund]*, Brussels, 23.9.2020, COM(2020) 610 final.

³¹ European Commission, *Amended proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a common procedure for international protection in the Union and repealing Directive 2013/32/EU*, Brussels, 23.9.2020, COM(2020)611 final.

³² European Commission, *Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals. A contribution from the European Commission to the Leaders' meeting in Salzburg on 19-20 September 2018*, Brussels, 12.9.2018, COM(2018)634 final.

territory following search and rescue operations, being of such a scale, in proportion to the population and GDP of the Member State concerned, and nature, that it renders the Member State’s asylum, reception or return system non-functional and can have serious consequences for the functioning of the Common European Asylum System or the Common Framework, or an imminent risk of such a situation (Article 1(2)).

Unlike situation of crisis, *force majeure* is not expressly defined in the proposed regulation. For this purpose, the recital no. 7 refers to abnormal and unforeseeable circumstances outside States’ control, the consequences of which could not have been avoided in spite of the exercise of all due care, and the explanatory memorandum recalls, by way of example, the Covid-19 pandemic and the political crisis witnessed at the Greek-Turkish border in March 2020³³. The lack of a precise definition entails its potential triggering in a number of hypotheses which depend on the Member States³⁴. As a matter of fact, unlike the crisis situation, which is approved and managed by the Commission, *force majeure* only requires Member States notification to the Commission, without any EU supervision, allowing access to the derogations provided.

Focusing on situation of crisis (only in which case immediate protection can be triggered), the proposed regulation provides for double set of derogatory rules: 1) derogations from solidarity mechanism (Article 2) as laid down in Articles 45-56 of the proposed Asylum and Migration Management Regulation³⁵; 2) derogatory rules concerning asylum and return procedures. Without, here, analyzing them in detail (see Fratea, 2021; Scissa, 2021; Villani, 2021), however an overall evaluation is worth of being carried out, in particular as regard as to the extension of the so-called border procedure, as well as of the migrants’ detention as critical issues.

³³ Cfr. Proposed Regulation COM(2020) 613 final, cit., p. 9.

³⁴ On the lack of a clear definition of *force majeure* and the related limit on the possibility for the Commission to verify compliance with the principle of proportionality of the measures adopted by the State in derogation from the ordinary rules, see Villani, 2021 and Amnesty International, 2021.

³⁵ Which aims to repeal the Dublin III Regulation in force.

By way of derogation from Article 41(2)(b) of Asylum Procedures Regulation, Member States may in a border procedure (the maximum duration of which may be prolonged by an additional period of maximum eight weeks) take decisions on the merits of an application in cases where the applicant is of a nationality, or, in the case of stateless persons, a former habitual resident of a third country, for which the proportion of decisions granting international protection by the determining authority is 75% or lower, in addition to the cases referred to in Article 40(1) of Asylum Procedures Regulation. This entails that a greater number of asylum seekers will be subjected to a procedure that raises considerable concerns in terms of treatment of persons, especially given restrictions on spatial mobility and restrictions on legal remedies (*amplius, infra* paragraph 4).

Moreover, regarding detention, according to Article 5(1)(c), in operating the return crisis management procedure, Member States must presume a risk of absconding of third-country nationals (Palladino, 2021) in addition to the four cases already listed in the recast Return Directive (Article 6(2)), when the person concerned is manifestly and persistently not fulfilling the obligation to cooperate with authorities at all stages of the return procedures. Beyond the border procedure, also the maximum period of detention of third-country nationals to be returned shall be prolonged by an additional period. Assuming that the proposed Regulation aims at simplifying procedures and at a more adequate management of the situations of crisis, these kind of provisions – based on the confinement of the crisis at the border and on the increasing of duration of the procedures, as well as on the extension of detention – do not have a completely coherent rationale, since they could even increase the pressure on border areas.

Summarizing, in order to tackle the ineffectiveness of the asylum, reception or return system of a Member State, in consideration of the large-scale influx of migrants, the core of the proposed “adaptations” concerns the expansion of timing of the procedures, the confinement of border management, as well as the extension of forms of deprivation of liberty of migrants, converging towards an assessment of the overall detriment of migrants’ rights.

3.1. *Scope and content*

In a crisis situation (which is the only case in which the immediate status protection applies, the imminent risk of such a situation and the force majeure being excluded), Member States may suspend the examination of application for international protection and grant “immediate protection status”, aimed to repeal the “temporary protection” under the Directive 2001/55/EC. Compared to the latter, some differences should be noted, starting from the scope *ratione personae*.

The number of persons who can benefit from immediate protection pursuant to Article 10 is more limited than the one referred to in Article 1(2)(a) defining the notion of existing situation of crisis. In other words, not all third-country nationals or stateless persons who have arrived in a Member State or landed on its territory as a result of search and rescue operations, in the context of a massive influx of displaced persons, will be eligible for this form of protection. Eligibility for immediate protection status is narrowly defined by reference to the existence of “exceptional situations of armed conflict”³⁶, thus it would not encompass some other

³⁶ It is limited to “displaced persons from third countries who are facing a high degree of risk of being subject to indiscriminate violence, in exceptional situations of armed conflict, and who are unable to return to their country of origin”. This concept echoes the jurisprudence of the Court of Justice in *Elgafaji* (cited above, paras. 34-35), according to which the term ‘indiscriminate’ implies “that it may extend to people irrespective of their personal circumstances”, and the word ‘individual’ must be understood “as covering harm to civilians irrespective of their identity, where the degree of indiscriminate violence characterising the armed conflict taking place – assessed by the competent national authorities before which an application for subsidiary protection is made, or by the courts of a Member State to which a decision refusing such an application is referred – reaches such a high level that substantial grounds are shown for believing that a civilian, returned to the relevant country or, as the case may be, to the relevant region, would, solely on account of his presence on the territory of that country or region, face a real risk of being subject to the serious threat...”. Moreover, in order to assess reasons of “indiscriminate violence in situations of armed conflict”, the Court stated that the systematic application by the competent authorities of a Member State of a criterion, such as a minimum number of civilian casualties injured or deceased, in order to determine the intensity of an armed conflict, without examining all the relevant circumstances which characterise the situation of the country of origin of the applicant for subsidiary protection, is contrary to the provisions of Directive

categories of persons, such as those fleeing, for instance, political persecutions or systematic human rights violations. Accordingly, the scope *ratione personae* of the immediate protection is narrower than that of temporary protection, since the Directive 2001/55/EC does not lay down such a specification in order to grant the status envisaged therein³⁷.

As to the content of the protection, it is defined by reference to the “effective access to all the rights” applicable to beneficiaries of subsidiary protection. This criterion of equivalence³⁸ ensures to beneficiaries of immediate protection status safeguard from refoulement, the right to receive information on the rights and obligations related to their status, freedom of movement within the territory of the Member State, the right to family unity, residence permits, access to employment and to education, access to healthcare, social welfare, and accommodation, rights regarding unaccompanied minors, assistance in case of repatriation³⁹.

However, the period of enjoyment of these rights could be very short, since the Commission implementing act (pursuant to Article 11(3) of the proposed regulation) shall remain in force for a period “not exceeding” – therefore even less than – one year⁴⁰. This period is much shorter than that set for temporary protection, since Article 4 of the Directive 2001/55/EC enshrines the duration of one year that may be extended automatically by six monthly periods for a maximum of one year and, where reasons for temporary protection

2011/95. Cfr. judgment of 10 June 2021, *CF, DN v. Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in case C-901/19, ECLI:EU:C:2021:472.

³⁷ On a proposal for the introduction of “prima facie recognition”, see European Council on Refugees and Exiles, ECRE Comments on the Commission Proposal for a Regulation Addressing Situations of Crisis and Force Majeure in the Field of Migration and Asylum COM(2020) 613, February 2021, p. 23.

³⁸ The prerequisites remain different, since the recognition of subsidiary protection is independent from the presence of a massive influx of third-country nationals or stateless persons which makes the asylum, reception, and returns system ineffective.

³⁹ See Chapter VII (*Content of International Protection*) of the Qualification Directive.

⁴⁰ Article 10(3) clarifies that Member States shall resume the examination of the applications for international protection that have been suspended after a maximum of one year.

persist, the Council may decide to extend that temporary protection by up to one year.

3.2. Trigger procedure

Trigger procedure represents an element of novelty compared to Directive 2001/55/EC on temporary protection, considering that a key-role is attributed to the European Commission, replacing the Council. The Commission shall, by means of an implementing decision, establish that there is a situation of crisis; define the specific country of origin, or a part of a specific country of origin, in respect of the displaced persons; establish the period during which applications for international protection of displaced person concerned may be suspended and immediate protection status shall be granted (Article 10(4) of the proposed Regulation). Pursuant to Article 12, the Commission shall be assisted by a Committees of representatives from EU countries, except in case of “duly justified imperative grounds of urgency”, where the Commission shall adopt immediately implementing acts, triggering the granting of immediate protection.

The view to shift the focus from the Council to the Commission (namely the “Community Institution” of the EU), could have its relevance in terms of practical activation of this form of protection, despite the temporary protection. However, this procedure of granting of immediate protection is peculiar if compared to other procedures envisaged concerning derogatory rules. Whereas Member States may derogate to the proposed Regulation on Asylum and Migration Management and to the proposed Asylum Procedures Regulation just notifying the Commission/the other Member States, their autonomy is reduced precisely in triggering immediate protection, that is in granting for rights to displaced persons.

Such trigger procedure clashes even more with the provisions of Article 3(7) of the proposed Regulation, according to which, a Member State may notify the Commission that it considers necessary to apply the rules on the delayed registration of asylum applications before the examination of this request by the Commission is concluded. In such a case, the Member State concerned may apply the derogatory rules from the day following the request as “immediate action”.

It should also be noted that, regarding the activation of temporary protection, a “key problem” has been deemed to be that Member States do not have the right to submit a proposal to the Council (European Commission, 2016, p. 20), since the Commission only might propose the activation of the mechanism. Consequently, it is questionable whether the Commission will take charge of triggering immediate protection (Inel-Ciger, 2020), rather than considering the reform as the occasion to strengthen the role of the “democratic institution” of the EU, the European Parliament, that does not play any role in the current procedure.

4. Some remarks on the immediate status protection in the framework of the New Pact rationale

The immediate status protection is a crucial element of the envisaged novel system for addressing situations of crisis and force majeure. It allows displaced people to enjoy certain rights immediately on the basis of an interim assessment linked to the mass influx of persons. Placed in the context of reforms envisaged by the New Pact on Migration and Asylum, it is pointed out that Article 10 of the Proposal for a Migration and Asylum Crisis Regulation lays down a category of “privileged asylum seekers” (Mouzourakis, 2021). In fact, among the measures to be introduced, a central role is attributed to screening and border procedure. In specifying third-country nationals who the screening procedure apply (those apprehended in connection with an unauthorised crossing of the external border of a Member State, and those disembarked in the territory of a Member State following a search and rescue operation) the proposed screening Regulation expressly encompasses those persons “regardless of whether they have applied for international protection”, considering that the screening shall also apply to all third-country nationals who submit for international protection at external border crossing points or in transit zones and who do not fulfil the entry conditions (Article 3). Under this new regime, even those who are asylum-seekers are not authorised to enter the territory of a Member State, during the screening which shall be conducted at locations situated at or in proximity to the external borders (Majcher, 2021; Marin, 2020).

These screening activities imply that asylum-seekers are generally detained (contrary to what has been said about asylum seekers, *supra* at paragraph 1) in principle for a maximum period of five days, that may be extended by a maximum of an additional 5 days, in case of need to carry out screening on a “disproportionate number of third-country nationals”⁴¹.

Following the screening, third-country nationals are routed to the appropriate procedure, be it a normal asylum procedure – that applies mainly to people coming from countries for which the rate of positive asylum decisions is higher than 20%, according to the last available yearly EU-wide average Eurostat data – or a border procedure for certain categories of applicants. As mentioned above, the latter procedure entails serious detriment of the rights of migrants and asylum-seekers, in terms of restriction to their mobility and increasing use of detention⁴², of restrictions on legal remedies⁴³; no protection from the safeguards of the Return Directive⁴⁴. As it generalizes the border procedure and the migrants’ detention, the triggering of the state of crisis entails even more serious restrictions on the fundamental rights of asylum seekers, whereas – according to the explanatory memorandum to the Asylum Procedure Regulation – the purpose of the border procedure is to quickly assess “abusive asylum requests” by applicants coming from third countries with a low recognition rate in order to “swiftly return those without a right to stay in the Union”⁴⁵.

⁴¹The Commission remarks in the explanatory memorandum to the new Proposal for a Screening Regulation that “the legal effects concerning the Reception Conditions Directive should apply only after the screening has ended”. This also seems to follow from Article 9(2) and (3) of the Proposal for a Screening Regulation that oblige Member States to identify special reception needs and provide adequate support.

⁴² According to Article 41(13) of the Asylum Procedure Regulation, all applicants will be kept at or in proximity to the external border or transit zones.

⁴³ Pursuant to Article 53(9) of the Asylum Procedure Regulation, applicants will be provided with only one level of appeal.

⁴⁴ Article 41a (7) of the Asylum Procedure Regulation.

⁴⁵ The European Committee of the Regions has highlighted that asylum-seekers would not remain in transit zones (as the situation in the transit zone is a situation of deprivation of liberty) for an “unreasonably long” timeframe of 20 weeks. It reminds the judgment on the Hungarian transit zone of 14 May 2020, where the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) stated that the “specific procedures

It is therefore desirable, during the negotiation phase of the proposed Regulation, shifting from an “interstate solidarity” (Carrera, 2020; Morgese, 2020; Maiani, 2020) to a human-based approach, which entails that, in a situation of crisis, immediate protection status could be more widely guaranteed to ease the pressure, to allow easier management of the crisis by relieving the country of first entry. In this perspective, EU legislator should broaden the number of those eligible for immediate protection, currently narrowly defined by reference to the existence of “exceptional situations of armed conflict”. Furthermore, it would be preferable for Article 10 to be triggered automatically as a consequence of the situation of crisis declaration, despite the awareness that overall the proposed Regulation presents some highlighted issues that makes the provision on immediate protection status a too weak positive element, without a general paradigm shift.

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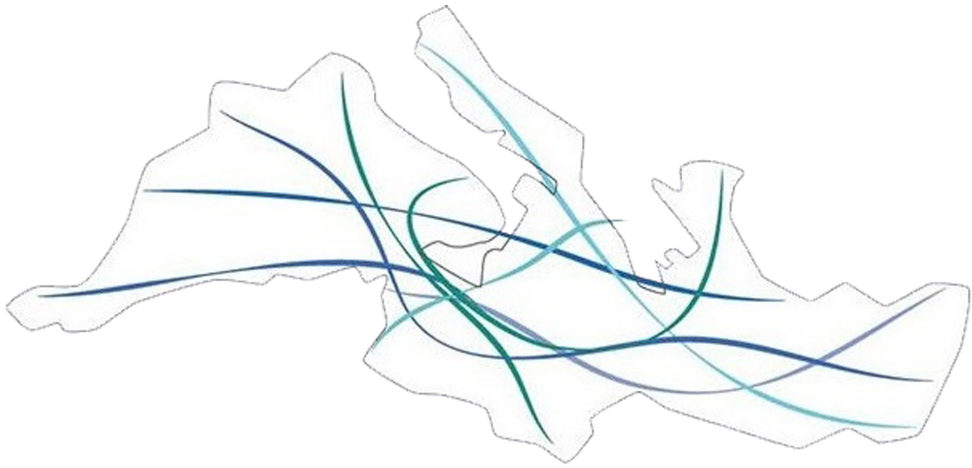
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[at the border] must be carried out within a reasonable time” and states that already after four weeks, entry to the regular procedure must be granted. See European Committee of the Regions, 143rd plenary session, 17-19 March 2021, Opinion *New Pact on Migration and Asylum*.

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REVIEWS AND REPORTS



Review of Nora Strejilevich, Un día, allá por el fin del mundo, Santiago de Chile, LOM, 2019

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In her essay *Lugar del testigo. Escritura y memoria* (2019), Strejilevich contends that a witness must not refrain from speaking about what s/he endured because “the most radical exile produced by the detention camps is that of language: the impossibility of talking about the mark imprinted by horror. Consequently, the effort to narrate is fundamental.” In *Un día, allá por el fin del mundo* (One day, where the world ends) the author achieves just that. This novel is an intense narrative about what it means to go into exile, as the place that shelters those who have been dispossessed of their life. From the country that expels and devours its children, the narrator opens with a loving dedication, “To Gerardo, always”. She advances, halts, stumbles, comes and goes. No matter where on the globe she is, the route ends up at the same juncture, intersecting with a precious object: a napkin from some café with a penciled sketch of her brother is reminiscent of the black and white photos family members of the disappeared carry in their marches. Not coincidentally, the final chapter has the same title as the book. Gerardo’s portrait on the napkin was drawn by Graciela Barroca (also disappeared in 1977), his girlfriend.

The author begins and ends the narrative in present tense, retracing her restless and tentative steps from 1977, after her own abduction and reappearance, when it was time for her to leave. Her nomadic wanderings, from city to city, invite us to accompany her. As the narrative moves forward or backwards in time, we gingerly come across her travel journal, returning us to the past even as she transits forth, unable to anchor at any place. How can one inhabit the world after torture, disappearance and death? As philosopher,

writer, voracious reader, and exile, Streljevich always hesitates about going to yet another new place of “refuge”.

As readers, we feel her restless footsteps, “feet pointing in one direction, and my head in another, two poles without a rotation axes” (p. 15). The book consists of six chapters that, with all their comings and goings, lead us to different cities, towns, and neighborhoods: a kind of seesaw in which time moves by recollections, objects and travel diaries evoked in the present. Certain sections are prefaced only by date and place, while others are conceptualized as in chapter titles, as “Los fantasmas vivimos así” (We ghosts live like that) and “Frankenstein.” The only thing in common between each place she finds herself in is an air of strangeness. Remembering is the flip side to temporal continuity. That special place between mourning and latent absence – always paradoxical and dislocated – is woven together with paradigmatic portrayals of the disappeared brother, along with silhouettes, photos, floor tile, marks and imprints on memory. Exile or never remaining in one place is an act of resistance. To survive, one has to “leave” but she resists moving forward without others, without her own kin, her dead. Nora refuses to leave them behind; they go with her wherever she goes. When she delays returning from exile it seems that she wants to delay an approaching death. She keeps wandering because if she stays put in one spot, mourning will be close behind. Yet she does not foresee her father’s suicide: she arrives too late. The only remaining place where she can be with her father and those who are gone is the written word. There are no ghosts on paper: conversations with her mother emerge, alternating with drawings made by her father, humor, and her own maladjustment with reality, that new topography disassociated from her existence. In every successive journey she seeks the one road where she will not encounter loss. And that dimension of life can only be reversed or stopped by writing.

Living in transit through different countries, carrying her notebooks so as not to abandon “that cosmic geography called intimacy”, she holds on tight to a country off the map (p. 14). From Canada, Argentina looks like “an upside-down world/dlrow,” (p. 15). Writing enables her to work through life’s simultaneous daily shifting between death and life. Most of the time she mocks herself,

nervously revealing the absurdity of everything that happened, her forgetfulness, and desire to postpone a decision.

From Israel to Greece, from Greece to England, England to Italy, Italy to Spain, Spain to France, France to Brazil, and from Brazil to Canada. These are places in flux. Her perpetual motion determines destinations as though from an airport she might simply throw magnetic darts, and wherever they fall, she will go next. “Continuity terrifies her as much as the lack of it” (p. 50). Language moves with the velocity of the memories, pushing limits of that emotional geography to which she fully intends to return some day: “vacillating between spaces and times, always tiptoeing so as not to step on a hand, a face, any skin of my collection of silhouettes that shed their pages along the way” (p. 10).

Lingering in any place along her itinerary from Canada to Argentina, in the chapter “Nadie le pregunta a un muerto” (No one asks a dead man), which, she clarifies, “is not the first chapter” (since exile began long before and always begins all over again) is, somehow, the desire to slow down the journey that will inevitably lead to her father, with subsequent stops where the landscape begins to weigh upon her. All of a sudden, she wants to go: the route is asphyxiating her. Along this pilgrimage, she reveals her inner-most thoughts, spilled out onto notebooks that collect the signs of her immediate and most remote dwelling places, thus weaving past and present. She attempts to include all that has happened, fully knowing that will be impossible. It’s as if she has to get lost before arriving. In her drawn-out pilgrimage to see her father, things happen, sometimes difficult things, in Colombia, Bolivia, and Brazil. At last she arrives in Argentina, for the reunion with “Him”, where she witnesses a father that long ago ceased to be León. Nora cannot grasp the distance between him and this man, and barely intuits that his departure is imminent.

To her story Strejilevich incorporates her father’s drawings to recover the beauty of his brushstrokes, what had been León’s delight until his children were snatched away from him. By including these images, she strives to inhabit her exile, because “that’s how ghosts like us live”, without losing memory, making an effort through her notebook-journal writing of her travel-testimony, to conjure in the present the state of mourning that she does not want

to lose. This past-present plot is not restricted to her writing. Strejilevich also participates in demonstrations. On 24 March 1987, on the eleventh anniversary of Argentina's last military coup, she sees a placard bearing the names of her brother and his girlfriend, both disappeared in 1977. She joins the crowd, and holds up the sign. Chance transforms every point on the map into a potential meeting place with her loved ones.

At times our sight dims and we fall with her, the narrator, into the hole made by inevitable steps. At other times, her "edispunwod" world makes us laugh, like the missteps of life that years later no longer make us blush. Strejilevich longs to flee but also longs for the calm she has stored in the living memory of this family, and this society, decimated by state terror.

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