Europeanising spaces in Paris, ca. 1947-1962
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Citation for published version (APA):

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Chapter 6. Cultural Europeanising Spaces of Spanish Exiles in Paris

José Ortega y Gasset famously held that ‘Spain is the problem, Europe is the solution.’ By the time of his death in 1955, there was a large Spanish community in Paris for whom Europe was if not necessarily a solution, certainly an important question or term of reference. For Republican exiles, their very presence in France stemmed from a Spanish war that was in certain ways considered to be a European affair by Spaniards and non-Spaniards alike. In her obituary about Léon Blum on 22 March 1951, Janet Flanner noted that Blum’s refusal to intervene in the Spanish civil war had ‘soured many European idealists.’¹ In turn, Santiago Carrillo, exiled in Paris with the rest of the leadership of the Partido Comunista de España (PCE), indicted the supposedly democratic European powers for their failure to come to the aid of Spain.²

The culture of the Parisian Spaniards connected to Europe not only in the development of international connections in what might be understood as a weak sense of Europeanisation, but also in their theoretical engagement with the idea of Europe. This question was posed and answered in different and often conflicting ways. These are examined in this chapter, and are contextualised in the contemporary Parisian intellectual field, and compared with the formulation of comparable ideas within it.

² Santiago Carillo [sic], Demain l’Espagne. Entretiens avec Régis Debray et Max Gallo (Paris: Seuil, 1974), 75. One should also note that Spaniards and Spanish exiles in Paris were well represented in various movements for European political integration. This was the case for the Mouvement socialiste des états-unis d’Europe, examined in chapter 4. Similarly, Spanish Republicans attended the journées nationales de la Résistance, organised by the Conseil National de la Résistance, in Paris from 10-14 July 1946. See Pieter Lagrou, ‘La Résistance et les conceptions de l’Europe, 1945-1965. Le monde associatif international d’anciens résistants et victimes de la persécution devant la Guerre froide, le problème allemand et l’intégration européenne’, in Le rôle des guerres dans la mémoire des européens: leur effet sur la conscience d’être européen, eds. Antoine Fleury & Robert Frank (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 142-143.
This chapter, which takes both culture and exile in their broadest sense, will firstly survey pan-European cultural interactions in Paris involving the Spanish exiles. Then the following are identified and examined as theoretical concerns which repeatedly informed this community’s cultural production and activity: the place of Spanish culture within European culture; the relationship between civilisation or culture and violence and its implications for thinking about Europe; and a particular historically grounded interest in the theme of insiders and outsiders in Spain and, by extension, in Europe. Particular but not exclusive attention will be paid to four cultural pillars of Spanish exile circles in Paris for whom the question of Europe was important in various ways: Pablo Picasso, the writers Jorge Semprún and Juan Goytisolo and the literary edition of Solidaridad obrera – the organ of the anarcho-syndicalist labour organisation, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), that was itself banished from Franco’s Spain.

European Dimensions of the Culture of the Spanish Exiles in Paris

The cultural life of Spanish Republican exile circles comprised many activities and interactions with French and other nationals. This implied at least a weak sense of Europeanisation through the cultivation of trans-European links without necessarily signing up to and propagating a certain idea of Europe or Europeanness. Indeed, Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand argues that a distinctive feature of Spanish Republican exile life in France was its success in both preserving its own cohesive identity and cultures, and cultivating an openness to other European

3 For a discussion of the different kinds of experiences of Spanish exile from the voluntary to banishment, see Juan Goytisolo’ and ‘Jorge Semprún’, in Karl Kohut, Escribir en París. Entrevistas con Fernando Arrabal, Adelaida Blasquez, José Corrales Egea, Julio Cortázár, Augustín Gomez Arcos, Juan Goytisolo, Augusto Roa Bastos, Severo Sarduy y Jorge Semprún (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1983), 77-102, 157-192.
cultures, particularly French culture.\textsuperscript{4} Furthermore, it is instructive that in his memoirs Juan Goytisolo indicates a sense in which Parisian intellectuals were considered to be something of a European institution. Thus he refers to building bridges between Spanish dissidents and intellectuals and ‘the European intelligentsia’, to ‘European intellectuals’, and his ‘European colleagues’.\textsuperscript{5}

Dreyfus-Armand schematically divides the cultural institutions of Spanish exiles into five categories: associations of intellectuals, athenaeums, institutions based on regional Spanish identities, cultural-commercial institutions, and cultural committees of political parties or trade unions.\textsuperscript{6} Notable examples included journals with which Spanish and French writers and intellectuals collaborated, or in which attention was paid to both Spanish and French culture. One can point to \textit{Independencia}, \textit{Galería} (the first illustrated cultural review of Spanish emigrants anywhere in Europe, to which Albert Camus contributed), and \textit{Cénit} (with which both Camus and Bertrand Russell collaborated).\textsuperscript{7} Camus’s collaboration is particularly significant since, according to John Oswald, Spain, and in particular the Spanish civil war and its legacy, informed his idea of Europe.\textsuperscript{8} Indeed, his work in such journals and his work with Spanish exiles and on issues relating to Spain generally were surely informed by the kind of sentiments he expressed in preface to the 1946 work \textit{L’Espagne libre}. Here Camus articulated his outrage that Europe could claim to have fought for liberty while ignoring Franco, and suggested that Franco’s Spain was a

\textsuperscript{6} Dreyfus-Armand, ‘Les cultures de l’exil’, 41.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., 49.
wound within Europe that had dangerous implications for democracy. Moreover, a Europe from which Spain was cut off would be seriously impoverished: ‘Que serait la prestigieuse Europe, en effet, sans la pauvre Espagne?’

A particularly interesting case was the journal *Solidaridad obrera. Suplemento literario* (*SOSL*). This cultural supplement transcended the very narrowly circumscribed politics and editorial priorities of its namesake, *Solidaridad obrera*. Founded by libertarian socialist militants in the Paris region in 1954, the journal continued until 1961 when it was banned by the de Gaulle government at the behest of the Franco regime. Dreyfus-Armand argues that the journal fulfilled its founding ambition to be a ‘fenêtre ouverte à toutes les inquiétudes culturelles, hispaniques et universelles.’ In this way the journal not only opened its columns to intellectuals from throughout Europe and Latin America, but also engaged with the question of Europe and of Europeanness, implicitly and explicitly.

Antonio Soriano’s Librairie Espagnole, just off the boulevard Saint-Germain on the rue de Seine, was another important support for Spanish exile culture. Not only did it sustain and propagate Spanish literary culture, including supplying banned or rare publications, but also served as a forum for social interaction, where memories or morale-boosting words were exchanged. Additionally, it developed extensive links with French academic institutions and specialists on, or enthusiasts for, Spanish culture. The station Radio-París also provided a means to keep up to date with developments back home. One topical example was a broadcast in

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10 Ibid., 11.
11 All translations from *SOSL* are mine.
12 After this point the journal was re-launched under the name *Umbral* and ran until 1969. Dreyfus-Armand, ‘Les cultures de l’exil en France’, 50.
13 Cited in ibid., 49.
1962 that examined the opinions of Spaniards on the European Common Market and indeed, concomitantly, about Europe in the abstract.¹⁵

French cultural institutions were a support for Spanish exile culture in terms of publicising and elucidating the issues with which they were most concerned. Journals such as *La Nouvelle critique* and *Europe* devoted special issues to Spain in 1956 and 1958 respectively, the latter taking as an express aim the opening of its columns to Spaniards for the purpose of constructive dialogue.¹⁶ Similarly, public conferences were forums for interaction, such as the December 1964 discussion at the Mutualité in which Jorge Semprún discussed ‘Que peut la littérature?’ alongside several figures including de Beauvoir and Sartre.¹⁷

In terms of specifically political culture, we have already examined how street signs were implicated in European consciousness, and indeed Paris municipal authorities acknowledged the presence of Spanish migrants with the dedication of street names to important figures in Spanish Republicanism. This was notably the case in areas with heavy Spanish settlement such as the suburb of Saint-Denis.¹⁸ Spanish Republican political activity also drew from the cultural capital of important Parisian intellectuals. In February 1952, Sartre, Camus, and Breton shared a platform at a meeting organised by the *Ligue française des droits de l’homme* in support of a

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¹⁷ Bertrand, *Paris rouge*, 84.

group of trade unionists sentenced to death by Franco. This was not a priority for all Europeanist institutions in Paris, of course; Ignazio Silone was the only big name from the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) who joined with intellectuals of the French left in demonstrations against Francoism. This was a particularly conspicuous omission on the part of the Congress, given the prominence of the theme of Europe in its work and propaganda, and in that of its members as individual intellectuals. Indeed, Pierre Grémion describes the CCF’s organ, *Preuves*, as ‘une revue européenne à Paris’, and the Congress’s honorary presidents included the Spaniard Salvador de Madariaga, a leading historian of the European idea and president of the cultural section of the *Mouvement Européen*.

The cultural capital of both French and European intellectuals in Paris was also drawn upon for the cause of Spanish Republican exiles in the USSR who could only obtain entry to Francoist Spain. Camus drafted an appeal for the creation of a committee of support for these exiles’ right to travel to a safe alternative country such as France. When it was published in *Solidaridad obrera* on 20 August 1949, Camus’s appeal included the signatures of Gide, Mauriac, Sartre, René Char, Silone, Carlo Levi, Claude Bourdet, Breton, Orwell, and Pablo Casals. Camus was in fact a particularly prominent figure in Spanish Republican events in general. A particularly useful example, since it revealed the interwoven strands that constituted the terms of reference for thinking about Europe at this time, was Camus’s appearance on 30 October 1956 at an event for Madariaga’s seventieth birthday. In his speech to honour this

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22 Madariaga’s reflections on Europe are voluminous and span several decades. For a sample see his ‘What is Europe?’, *The Fortnightly* 158 (1945); ‘That European River, The Rhine’, *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 4 (1956); ‘The Unity and Diversity of Europe’, *The Listener* 58 (1957); ‘Towards the United States of Europe’, *Orbis* 6 (1962); ‘Don Quijote, europeo’, *Revista de Occidente* 2 (1964); his preface to Henri Brugmans, *L’Europe prend le large* (Liège: G. Thone, 1961); and his *Portrait of Europe* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952).
foremost Europeanist’s life and achievements, Camus alluded to the ongoing insurrection in Hungary. In the chapter on the Paris street as a Europeanising space we have examined how the events of Budapest resonated in Paris as a European event. The intertwining of the insurrection in Hungary and Spanish exiles was also exemplified by the appeal from Hungarian students to Picasso, asking him to do for them what he had done for Guernica and Korea.

Communists like Picasso were also an important element of Spanish exile life in Paris, to whose political commitments the likes of Camus and Madariaga were bitterly opposed. Madariaga’s Europeanism, like that of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, was defined in very large part by opposition to Soviet totalitarianism, which of course also implied disdain for the PCF. Yet there was also a European aspect to Communist cultural life in the French capital. Held every year until 1956, the Fête de l’Humanité was the pivotal event in the cultural calendar of ‘Paris rouge’. The report of the 1945 event by this organ of the PCF celebrated the stands there to represent Spaniards, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Portuguese, and Italians. Incidentally, enthusiasts for contemporary intergovernmental European political integration would have been little pleased by the ‘massacre game’ at the 1949 event in which contestants could finish off a Robert Schuman doll. Manifestly not all Europeanisms were compatible.

The corollary of the required commitment and marked militancy of Communist culture in the French capital was an environment that lent itself to the forging of social contacts. In an October 1944 interview Picasso commented on his attachment to the Communist Party: ‘I have always been an exile, and now I am one no longer; until Spain can at last welcome me back, the

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24 Ibid., 589.
26 Cited in Bertrand, Paris rouge, 152.
French Communist Party has opened its arms to me… I am once more among my brothers.”

Richard Cobb noted as well that an appreciation of its sociability and conviviality was vital to understanding of Communist culture in Paris. He referred to those who found respite there from the crushing anonymity and loneliness of metropolis life. One assumes that Picasso was not the only Spaniard in Paris for whom this was true, alongside other immigrant groups represented in the PCF – Italians, Armenians, and Eastern European Jews, for instance. Togetherness was not necessarily a very satisfactory compensation for exile, however. In his study of Communist Paris in these years, Jean-Pierre Bertrand points to a certain melancholic Spanish exile communist culture of sitting around in cafés reminiscing about past exploits. This was indeed a point of European commonality among refugees of all political persuasions in the French capital.

**Culture and Civilisation and Europe**

One strand of Spanish exile culture in Paris was the insistence on the leading place of Spanish culture within that of Europe. An article by Isabel del Castillo in *SOSL* in February 1954, ‘Elegy to Those Without a Land: The Exodus’, argued that the exile of the Spanish Republicans was all the more tragic precisely because of the glorious historical achievements of Spain, and as the country occupied such an important role in the development of European culture: ‘these were the people who held the torch of culture highest when the whole of Europe

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31 Ibid., 150. Juan Goytisolo likewise refers to ‘leaden, stodgy comrades in exile, whose never-ending nostalgia for Spain sounded over the years like an old unbearable scratched record’. Goytisolo, *Forbidden Territory and Realms of Strife*, 237.
lived in ignorance and darkness. Likewise, in ‘Eugenio D’Ors – the European’ in the December 1954 edition, SOSL mourned the Spanish Catalan writer’s multilingualism, his supreme rationalism, and associations with the Sorbonne and the Collège de France – all attributes, so it was suggested, of a profound Europeanism. This virtue was valued so highly as to override D’Ors’s sympathy for the Franco regime: ‘today we forgive him his mistakes – who has not made them?’ Yet, the article insisted ‘one must not think that as a man of Europe [un hombre europeo] he ceased to be Spanish – the Spaniard is also European even if Unamuno proclaimed our Africanism.’ One detects here a sense of wounded pride, an objection to the kinds of notions, exemplified by Denis de Rougemont, in which Europe effectively meant a West European core. On the contrary, the article insisted that the geographical and cultural peripheries of Europe were not at all coterminous.

The three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Cervantes’s Don Quixote in 1955 was a propitious occasion to foreground Spanish culture and its relation to Europe. Camus chaired a commemoration of the occasion on 23 October in the Richelieu amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, an event in which the rector of the University of Paris participated. It was organised by Camus’s friends at Solidaridad obrera, and its sponsors included Madariaga and Pablo Casals. In his speech Camus connected the themes of Don Quixote to his very obvious concerns about contemporary Parisian intellectual life, which of course were pervaded by international affairs, which in turn implied competing conceptions of Europe.

Picasso’s interpretation of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza was published on the front cover of the 18-25 August 1955 edition of Les Lettres françaises, a journal which, as it

34 Lottman, Albert Camus, 559-560.
happened, frequently celebrated the great figures of Spanish literature. Picasso’s appropriation of this canonical figure in European culture was inevitably controversial. As recent scholarship has shown, the cultural Cold War was indeed no less polarised and contested than its political counterpart, of which it was considered an extension. S O S L reminded its readers in July 1954 that François Mauriac considered the Andalucian painter to be ‘el diablo’, presumably on account of his fellow travelling with the PCF and the Soviet Union. In 1950 Mauriac had of course singled out the intellectual as a European institution under threat from Soviet Russia, and he had Paris intellectuals specifically in mind.

Picasso’s deference to the Soviet Union was periodically repaid with scorn, however, as his artistic approach deviated from party orthodoxy. André Malraux explained the Soviet attacks on Picasso in terms that contradicted Mauriac. Malraux himself had come to feel repugnance toward Stalinist cultural policy and this, argues David Caute, ‘undoubtedly affected his re-evaluation of Western, or European values.’ In his exposition on European culture defined against America and the Soviet Union in his postface to a subsequent edition of his work The Conquerors, Malraux opined in 1949 that: ‘It’s no accident that the Russian communists are attacking Picasso. His painting throws doubt on the fundamentals of their system; it is willy-nilly a most intensely European presence… The spirit of Europe is a danger to a Pharaonic industry. Moscow’s rebuke to Picasso is no accident: it represents a defense of the five year plans… ’

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35 Bertrand, Paris rouge, 152.
38 Caute, Communism and the French Intellectuals, 244.
Cervantes was in any case a frequent point of reference in Spanish exile journals in general, and *SOSL* was no exception.\textsuperscript{40} In October 1955, the journal dedicated an edition to Cervantes and included articles that located his work in the history of European culture and insisted on its universal quality by, amongst others, Madariaga, Ortega y Gasset, and Jean Cassou. One article by J. Bickermann argued that the English did not and could not grasp what was essential in the figure of Quixote ‘simply because all quixotism, that is to say any attempt or wish to reform or improve the world [todo intento de querer reformar o mejorar el Mundo] is something unusual and strange.’\textsuperscript{41} As Britain was often conceived of as a kind of internal other to Europe, most famously in the discourse surrounding de Gaulle’s veto of Britain’s EEC application in 1963, one might infer from Bickermann’s article that that the positive imperative of Cervantes’s masterpiece to reform and change the world extended to characterise Europeans.\textsuperscript{42}

It is interesting though that Bickermann interprets quixotism in this way rather than in its more pejorative sense of delusion, which was perhaps the most common way it was related to Europeanist ideas. Indeed, *La Grande illusion* in Jean Renoir’s classic film was now something like common sense given the discrepancy between Europe’s self-confidence in the early twentieth century and the results of its recent three decades of catastrophe. One might risk here pushing the analogy between quixotism and Europe further to suggest there was a sense in which just as Don Quixote’s death was hastened by his eventual disillusionment, so did the very life of Europe depend on its illusions. That is to say that there was a sense that if any cultural energy was to be successfully mobilised for a positive invocation of Europe in the post-war period, it

\textsuperscript{40} Dreyfus-Armand, ‘Les cultures de l’exil’, 52.

\textsuperscript{41} J. Bickermann, ‘Don Quijote y los Ingleses’, *SOSL* (October, 1955), 9.

\textsuperscript{42} The possibility of Quixote standing as a synecdoche for the European is also suggested by Madariaga in his article ‘Don Quijote, europeo’, and by Dominique de Villepin in Jorge Semprún & Dominique de Villepin, *L’Homme européen* (Paris: Plon, 2005), 14.
could not simply refer to Europe as it stood. In a nod to the notion of a multidirectional Europe, then, one might answer Aimé Césaire’s question of how Europe could exist with a clean conscience by borrowing Primo Levi’s refrain, however inherently unsatisfactory and inadequate, that ‘if we were capable of taking in all the suffering of all those people, we would not be able to live.’

If this proposition was not suggested in Bickermann’s interpretation of *Don Quixote*, it would surely have been grasped by his compatriot and veteran of Buchenwald, Jorge Semprún, whose own reading of Cervantes’s classic in German was indicative of his proud Europeanism. He recently looked back at Europe’s unprecedentedly violent twentieth century to propose that ‘notre héritage européen n’a de signification vitale que si nous sommes capable d’en déduire un avenir.’ The interesting aspect of the Spanish exiles’ championing of *Don Quixote*, then, was a correspondence with a notion of culture well described by Terry Eagleton, and which would have made excellent sense in Paris and Europe in this post-war period. Eagleton explains that one definition of culture is the imagination of social life as it should be rather than how it is. He goes on to suggest three further and more precise definitions: culture as a utopian critique, culture as a way of life, culture as artistic creation. He then asks what the connection between the three is, and suggests that ‘the answer is surely a negative one: all three are in different ways

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43 Levi was of course referring here to Anne Frank. The full quote reads: ‘One single Anne Frank moves us more than the countless others who suffered just as she did but whose faces have remained in the shadows. Perhaps it is better that way; if we were capable of taking in all the suffering of all those people, we would not be able to live.’ Interestingly, according to *France-Soir*, the two most widely read books in France in April, 1958 were *La Question* and Anne Frank’s diary. See Donald Reid, ‘The Question of Henri Alleg’, *The International History Review* 29/3 (September, 2007), 574. Here were juxtaposed the Europe of colonialism and the Europe of Nazism, the connection of which scandalised successive French governments.


reactions to the failure of culture as actual civilisation – as the grand narrative of human self-development.'

Culture and Civilisation, Violence, and Europe

If Bickermann’s article unwittingly brought into relief a connection between Europe, culture and violence, we will now turn to examine examples of Parisian Spanish exile culture that raised the question much more directly. Culture was an especially highly valued affair in the life of the Spanish exiles in Paris since the very stakes of their conflict with Franco was rationalised to a significant degree in cultural terms. Francoism was understood as cultural barbarism above and beyond its political tyranny. Such was the rationalisation of the regime’s censorship, burning of books, and stifling conservative Catholic conformism that Picasso had reviled as ‘black Spain.’ This was one reason why, Dreyfus-Armand argues, culture amongst the Spanish exiles was a mass phenomenon and not restricted to elites. It was, then, natural that one of the cultural problems that SOSL interrogated was the relation between culture and civilisation and violence. The question was consistently posed as to whether Franco was historically exceptional, or if he rather stemmed from a certain Spanish tradition. This interrogation of the relationship between violence and culture of course corresponded to various reflections and interpretations of this very question across Europe after 1945.

46 Ibid., 20.
48 See for example J. Cañada Puerto, ‘¿Existe una crueldad española?’, SOSL (January, 1955), 10-11.
Similarly, a constant productive problem in Semprún’s grappling with the question of Europe was the spatial proximity between the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he had been interned, and Weimar, the home of Goethe. This post-war preoccupation about culture and violence was something more than a rationalisation of Europe producing violence on the one hand, and culture on the other; rather the crux of the problem lay in something more like an anxiety that each was implicated in the other. Culture became exactly coextensive with violence for Semprún, in that writing about his experiences in Buchenwald became a sort of living death. His first important work was his 1963 work *Le Grand voyage*, but the camp has hung over all his subsequent political and cultural output and his understanding of Europe. Indeed, in 2005 he wrote that ‘c’est dans les camps nazis que s’est forgée la première ébauche d’un esprit européen.’

The connection between culture and civilisation, violence, and Europe was also invoked in an article in the October 1954 *SOSL*, ‘Europe - peninsula of Asia [Europa, peninsula asiatica]’. The article lamented that ‘The Europe that expanded through the globe is seriously wounded internally [Europa, que convirtió todo lo suyo en mundial, está gravemente herida por dentro.]’ Moreover, ‘European thought is no longer so elevated [el pensamiento europeo ha perdido su vuelo, su altura]. This is the clearest evidence that Western civilisation is in chaos.’ Sartre had already referred to the reduction of Europe to a geographical accident in ‘Orphée noire’ in 1948, as ‘la presqu’île que l’Asie pousse jusqu’à l’Atlantique.’ Although the *SOSL* article noted that the non-European world had still not liberated itself from the shadow [presión] of Europe, its author’s conception of Europe resonates with Sartre’s contention that the machine of European

50 See ibid., passim.
colonialism was boomeranging in a dialectical twist. Yet the article was disparaging towards Sartre’s current influence and specifically disparaged the trend of existentialism as a symptom of Europe’s demoralised condition after a thirty-year civil war.\textsuperscript{54}

The putative equivalence of Europe and civilisation was similarly critiqued in the July 1954 edition of \textit{SOSL} by Germán Arciniegas. For the Colombian essayist and historian, the currents of thought that postulated the decline of Europe before the war had only been vindicated since. It was now an opportune moment to challenge the self-confidence of a Europe that was complacent about its Enlightenment credentials, unreflective in its championing of progress, and unabashed in its extension of this abstraction to its barbarous others. In a rhetorical flourish that nonetheless contained much truth, he contrasted three centuries of peace in the Americas to the miserable record of European nations, none of which had gone longer than seventy-five years without a war. Belief in the singular greatness of European civilisation, Arciniegas suggested, should be tempered with a healthy dose of humility, given the very real possibility that it might well last no longer than previous civilisations. This was significant less for the sake of non-European resentment than for its implications for the notion of civilisation. There was now greater space to talk about civilisations in the plural, contrary to the dubious maxim inherited from the French Encyclopedists that ‘it is clear that civilisation means only one thing: Europe’.\textsuperscript{55} Such a position was not, then, limited to the likes of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who would rise to

\textsuperscript{54} Cosani Sologuren, ‘Europa – península asiatica’, 16. As we will see below, Goytisolo made a similar argument about Spain anticipating Europe in the reversal of its imperial power and subsequent degeneration. See Juan Goytisolo, ‘L’Espagne et l’Europe’, \textit{Les Temps modernes} (July, 1962), 136-137. Of course, Goytisolo was at this time personally and intellectually close to Sartre and the group around \textit{Les Temps modernes}. Indeed, he recalled writing this piece at the behest of either de Beauvoir or another member of the editorial board of \textit{Les Temps modernes}. See Goytisolo, \textit{Forbidden Territory and Realms of Strife}, 233.

general public prominence the following year in France with his travel narrative, *Tristes Tropiques*.\(^{56}\)

One might suggest that the Spanish exiles’ exposure to and the memory of the violence of Franco’s regime predisposed them to a greater acceptance of the disconnection between Europe and universalism, as suggested in the Arciniegas piece. Semprún, for example, pointed to the book by his compatriot in Paris, Juan Goytisolo – *La reivindicación del Conde don Julián*. One of the themes of the work is the battle against the Spanish language as the language of the Empire. Semprún recalled that when Catalan was banned by the Franco regime, posters everywhere stated ‘here one speaks the language of the Empire.’ The language that Francoist officers wanted to impose, he explained, was not the Castilian of Madrid but that of the Empire, of Hernán Cortés and the conquerors of Mexico. It was not incidental, then, that the word *hombre* always connoted the carrier of universal values.\(^{57}\)

Goytisolo himself quoted approvingly Simone de Beauvoir’s similar remarks about language and Europe in his 1962 piece ‘L’Espagne et l’Europe’. De Beauvoir pointed to the drawing of linguistic equivalences in ideas about Europe:

> Aux yeux des penseurs de la droite le privilégié est seul doué d’une véritable existence. En langage bourgeois le mot *homme* signifie *bourgeois*. L’Europe, l’Occident, c’est la bourgeoisie d’Europe, d’Occident; ou plus exactement c’est l’Idée que s’en forge le penseur bourgeois d’Europe, d’Occident. Quant au non-privilégié on le désigne d’ordinaire sous le vocable: les masses et on ne lui concède qu’une réalité négative.\(^{58}\)


This leads us to another aspect of the ideas of Europe of Spanish exiles: who counted as a European, and who did not, or did not in a full sense.

Insiders and Outsiders in the Europe of the Spanish Exiles

Historically criteria for Europeanness have stressed distinctions between insiders and outsiders, and Spain was something of a continuing historical prototype. Henry Kamen writes that the cultural consensus in Franco’s Spain interpreted history as a tragic encounter between what was Spanish and what was ‘alien’ or ‘anti-Spain.’ In this sense, the genealogy of notions of Europe and Europeanness which were closed and emphasised purity, could be located in Spanish purges and practices of exclusion of its Jews, Moors, and the Romani. In contrast to a certain parochialism of the main newspaper Solidaridad obrera, its eponymous literary supplement demonstrated an inclusiveness which extended to those whose Europeanness, or whose place within Europe at all, was denied. As a point of qualification, though this was the case with its coverage of Islam and Judaism, the journal overlooked the historical place of the

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59 Indeed, Ernst Jünger expressed disdain for official Hitlerian racism as a new inquisition. Jünger was of course later assigned to an administrative position in Paris during the German occupation. Gopal Balakrishnan describes his vantage point from there thus: ‘fatalistically inclined to view Nazism as a force accelerating the nihilistic destruction of all Old European values, he would comfort himself with the belief that it might be clearing the ground for some transvaluation to come.’ See Gopal Balakrishnan, Antagonistics: Capitalism and Power in an Age of War (London & New York: Verso, 2009), 201. Raymond Aron, moreover, likened the Moscow show trials to the Spanish Inquisition, and posited the Soviet regime that orchestrated them as the antithesis of Europe and Western civilisation. See Iain Stewart, Raymond Aron and the Roots of the French Liberal Renaissance (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2011), 107

Romani people. This group was, however, a source of cultural productivity for figures like Goytisolo in the challenging of prevailing orthodoxies about culture and belonging.\(^{61}\)

The May 1954 edition included both an article by the Spanish anarchist Felipe Alaiz ‘Iberian Israel. Wedding [nupcial] in Salonica’ and a piece by Bertrand Russell, ‘Islamic cultura and Philosophy’. Alaiz’s previous work included his 1948 *La zarpa de Stalin sobre Europa* [Stalin’s claw on Europe]. His piece here recounted the history of the expulsion of Jews from Portugal and Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and their subsequent settlement in Salonica. He noted that the region itself lies on the area of the shifting boundaries of Ottoman Empire, thereby underlining the impermanence and ambiguities of the boundaries of both Europe and Europeanness.\(^{62}\) Of course, the city was emblematic of the kind of disastrous practical enforcement of casting out perceived outsiders from insiders that was particularly characteristic of what Hobsbawm describes as an ‘age of catastrophe’.\(^{63}\) The piece by Russell was in fact a very slightly adapted version from the corresponding chapter in his 1946 *History of Western Philosophy*. As such, one can reasonably conjecture that it was selected for the purpose of complementing and reinforcing the piece by Alaiz. Russell emphasised the crossings and borrowings between the European and non-European world in the Middle Ages, pointing to currents like Aristotelianism and figures like Avicenna and Averroes, as well as Jewish thinkers like Maimonides. It is noteworthy, however, that Russell saw Islam as important only in terms as a transitory phenomenon at a particular point in medieval European history. The underlying

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\(^{61}\) For similar reasons, the Romani were of interest to the intellectual couple Guy Debord and Alice Becker-Ho. See Andy Merrifield, *Guy Debord* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 100, 102, 143.


common assumption was that the time when the Arab world had something to teach Europe had passed.

In addition, the December 1954 edition included a piece by P. Bosch-Gimpera, ‘Hebrew Culture in Catalonia’. This exposition of the contribution of Jews to the region in the Middle Ages was similar in tone to a piece in the February 1956 issue by Enrique Rioja, ‘Science during Arab Rule’. There was then a gap of some four years before a similar historical narrative piece appeared with José Peirats’s ‘Aspects of Spanish Judaism’ in November 1960. The February 1956 edition also included an article by Fernando Valera entitled ‘The Libertarian Tradition of Islam’.

Residing in Paris from 1946, Valera was a writer as well as Minister of Justice for the Spanish Republic in exile. His article made an overtly political statement atypical of the direction of the journal in general, and of the other articles dealing with Judaism or Islam. In short, he diverged from a discussion of culture to attack the regressive character of the Arab League in terms resonant of contemporaneous rhetoric by the European imperial powers about Nasser, who was commonly compared to Hitler. He contrasted libertarian versions of Islam with that of the governments of the Arab League – ‘the greatest enemy of modernisation and progress.’ Europe and the Arab world were conceived as profoundly different, but not incorrigibly so if the latter’s structures of feudal privilege and cultural stagnation could be cast off. It was conceded, however, that Franco’s Spain was comparably pervaded by such retarded social structures, its ‘idolatrous superstitions’ were perhaps a tragic correspondence with the Arab world within Europe. To be sure, Valera’s article contains no hint of serious criticism of European imperialism, and ominously just months before the Suez invasion he celebrated the canal as having ‘contributed in

no small measure to the renaissance of the North African nations.’ The Orientalist motif of the redemption of the West by the East was here triumphantly inverted in a celebration of Europe-induced progress.

It is perhaps instructive that Valera and Camus’s paths crossed in Spanish Republican circles and the former’s evident admiration for the pied noir writer extended to a comparable complacency about European colonialism. Camus’s flaw in this regard is noteworthy since his political stance was always informed by his understanding of universalism, as he expressly refused to choose between injustices. Camus is often now generally compared favourably to Sartre. But in this instance it is suggested that Sartre’s insistence on ‘situatedness’ and self-conscious engagement as a European in the polemical battles over decolonisation can be understood as a self-ironic Eurocentrism that is preferable to the kind of universalism proferred by Camus and Valera, the abstraction of which amounted to not much more than platitudes and pieties. Self-ironic Eurocentrism implies an unwillingness to dispense with European terms of reference but a resistance to its naturalisation, and the cultivation of a keen ability to be able to reflect critically on itself.

The article ‘Europe – Peninsula of Asia’ subscribed to the proposition of its title; first, in roughly the sense that Sartre meant: besides a geographical label it was a rapidly emptying signifier, since the driving force of world history was now to be located elsewhere. The second sense was to suggest that Europe was permeated by alien and degenerative Asiatic thought, of which Communism, Fascism, and Nazism were indicative. In its condemnation of Communism

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in these terms, the article was at one with a certain conservative axiom of its non-Europeanness. Of course, no fine distinction from a generic red menace would have been made for the anarcho-syndicalism of the paper in the Europeanist prejudices of bourgeois Paris, as described by Vladimir Jankélévitch in reference to the occupation. Indeed, Spanish ‘reds’ were roughly equivalent to Jews, both of which were superfluous to a Europe pitted against Bolshevism. Even in the post-war period the tone of the article resonated with the polemics that characterised much of the conservative press, especially with regard to Communism. In far right circles the argument was pushed further to draw an anti-Semitic equivalence between socialism and Jewish or Asiatic degeneracy, as we saw in the analysis in chapter 5 of the *Fédération des étudiants nationalistes*.\(^{66}\)

Yet several parts of the article, though crude, are suggestive of the creative dissonance of Europe’s internal others. It mentions in particular Marx, Freud, and Einstein who, it argued, added Semitic thought to the European culture to which they were fully attached. Conversely, it referred to the origins of Christianity in Jewish thought. The article noted, though, that at the present historical conjuncture Europe was compelled to create new ideas, and yet seemed quite incapable of doing so.

This constellation of remarks might be interpreted as an undeveloped parallel to the later ideas of Isaac Deutscher and Edward Said. Said points to Freud’s analysis of Moses and the non-Jewish origins of Judaism, and the *SOSL* article suggests the usefulness of this kind of idea to account for those non-European origins of Europe it pointed to. In Said’s reading in *Freud and the Non-European*, Freud’s highlighting of the radical originary break or flaw in identities cannot be resolved in the way that so many forms of identity politics demand, and certainly cannot be explored.

reconciled into any single identity. Likewise, the article resonates with Deutscher’s concept of the non-Jewish Jew, on which Said of course drew. Deutscher writes about great Jewish thinkers who, although in one sense heretics, transcended Jewry and still belonged to a Jewish tradition. Of the likes of Spinoza, Heine, Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, and Freud he argues that, ‘They were a priori exceptional in that as Jews they dwelt on the borderlines of various civilizations, religions, and national cultures. They were born and brought up on the borderlines of various epochs. Their mind matured where the most diverse cultural influences crossed and fertilized each other. They lived on the margins or in the nooks and crannies of their respective nations above their times and generations, and to strike far into the future.’

This is interesting to consider in light of the common European imperial preoccupation of policing fault lines between the European and non-European. The analysis of the SOSL article, supplemented by Said’s and Deutscher’s analyses, would suggest that Europeanness was in any case a necessarily flawed concept; that the continual quest to assert the historical purity of the concept was, to extend our discussion of the term, indeed quite quixotic. Furthermore, it hinted that contrary to that European imperial culture it was precisely on those fault lines that some of the most fertile and creative conceptions of Europeanness could be found, and there that the vibrant originality that the article found so lacking in contemporary Europe could be enlisted.

Juan Goytisolo is a particularly productive writer in terms of thinking about the relation between the notion of Europe and insiders and outsiders, and the implications of this relationship. Intellectually and politically shaped in Paris where he settled in 1956 to escape the stifling intellectual atmosphere of Franco’s Spain, Goytisolo is today commonly referred to as

Spain’s greatest living author. Eschewing the common preference of Spanish exile intellectuals for Latin America, he was drawn to the French capital by what he describes as its oldest and truest tradition – its instinct for cultural and political subversion.\(^69\) He established himself in the French capital as a reader for the Gallimard publishing house whilst pursuing his literary interests and penning anti-Franco articles for French newspapers. His early years in Paris in the period under examination here were formative to his ongoing intellectual engagements. One of his key preoccupations has been to castigate a Spanish tradition of cutting itself off from its Jewish and Moorish roots, and this informs his broader condemnation of European insularity. Goytisolo first became conscious of his Europeanness as the only European in Arab coffee houses in the Paris quarter of Barbès.\(^70\) In this context his developing sense of Europeanness was connected to the question of sexuality. As Edmund White argues, ‘like Genet and Pasolini, Goytisolo is a gay European drawn to the Third World through his erotic tastes but who … developed that impulse both through political activism and artistic innovation.’\(^71\)

Indeed, Goytisolo’s 1962 article on Europe and Spain in *Les Temps modernes* questioned the very inclusion of Spain within Europe. Here Goytisolo critiqued a recent piece by Enrique Ruíz García that made a case on progressive grounds for Spain joining the European Common Market. Goytisolo argued that for two centuries in Spain progressive and reactionary political forces had corresponded to being pro- and anti-European. Accordingly, for the former, ‘l’Europe était la révolution de 1789 et la Déclaration des Droits de l’homme, l’industrialisation et la réforme de nos institutions et de nos lois.’\(^72\) Spanish conservatism, on the other hand, clung on to the past and to the notion of ‘la continuité de notre mission historique; hostile aux tendances


\(^{71}\) Ibid.

politiques et idéologiques modernes, il attribue tous les maux dont souffre l'Espagne à la contamination européenne.\textsuperscript{73}

Goytisolo then moved to note that the alignment of these positions had reversed, so that now conservative forces aligned themselves with Europe, in the form of the ongoing process of European economic integration. He suggested that this was simply because the meaning of Europe, rather than conservatives, had changed. The post-war passion of Christian Democrats for Europe, so he charged, was the same as that with which ten years earlier the right had thrown itself into the arms of Hitler and Mussolini. Moreover, he questioned what kind of Europe this was that excluded the USSR and the Eastern bloc.\textsuperscript{74}

The case was then made that, pace Ruíz García, accession to Europe was not in the interest of, nor favoured by, the Spanish people. Rather, it was promoted by and in the interests of banks and oligarchs.\textsuperscript{75} Ultimately, the capitalist Europe of contemporary economic integration was could not be distanced from a decidedly dreary and imposing image of what the European powers indelibly represented: ‘camps d’extermination nazis, Hiroshima, persecutions raciales du nord au sud de l’Afrique, assassinat de Lumumba.’\textsuperscript{76} This degenerate Europe romanticised a backward romantic Spain precisely because it sought there the soul it had lost.\textsuperscript{77} What is more, there was a certain irony that one was discussing the merits of Europeanising Spain while it was Europe that in fact ‘Spanishising’. This was particularly in terms of colonialism as Spain had

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 130.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 138.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 140-141.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 137.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 145.
shown Europe the way with its decolonisation in the nineteenth century, and in its subsequent decadence.\textsuperscript{78}

As such, Goytisolo questioned whether Spain should aspire to be part of this Europe at all. Rather, it might do well to take seriously Unamuno’s injunction for Spain to ‘Africanise’ itself, to proclaim proudly the slight that ‘Africa starts at the Pyrenees’. Perhaps in the future Spain should reconsider forging ties with Europe. But at this point in time as an under-developed country its fate was tied up with the Third World whose rise contrasted with Europe’s fading spirit of liberty and progress.\textsuperscript{79}

In what became a much commented upon polemical exchange, Francisco Fernández Santos used the forum of the Paris-based paper *Tribuna socialista* to critique Goytisolo’s argument. Fernández interrogated Goytisolo’s singular conception of Europe by asking what in fact one meant by ‘official European culture’. Did it mean theories of neo-capitalism, the stultifying civilisation of gadgets, fascism and racism, an insular Eurocentrism [la mentalidad pequeñoeupea], the pseudo-philosophy of western moral values as an antidote to Marxist culture? Or did this Europe also encompass authentic democratic values [los valores democráticas reales], the Marxism of Gramsci and Lukács, the existentialism of Heidegger and the dialectical philosophy of Sartre, the Sorbonne and Heidelberg, sociology and psychoanalysis, Surrealism, and so many other facets of European culture that in fact constituted in large part modern universal culture? If one meant the former, then Fernández agreed that Spaniards should resist it.\textsuperscript{80} But it did not follow that Africanisation would hold any appeal for the Spanish people. For, Fernández held, Spain was in its underdevelopment already African in the worst sense. In

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 136-137.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 146, 136.
his account, then, a move towards Europe was objectively progressive for Spain.\(^81\) Goytisolo later conceded that Fernández’s critique hit its target.\(^82\) And yet, his conception of Europe still resisted the extent to which Fernández conflated European and universal culture.

It is notable that one aspect of Goytisolo’s discourse on Europe runs counter to the dominant sentiment among the Spanish exiles: that Francoism was an aberration from the true Spain, a betrayal of the Spain anchored squarely in the centre of European tradition and culture. Goytisolo, on the contrary, locates certain parallels between the Franco regime and Europe as a whole. He points to the example of the refusal to recognise that Cervantes might have been a ‘new Christian’, that is to say a converted Jew or Muslim, quite apart from the manifest influence of Arabic culture in his work, as symptomatic of a broader failure to acknowledge the Arabic role in the European novel. When he says that ‘Kundera was right to say the modern novel began with Cervantes. Don Quixote combined the western and Arabic traditions’, Goytisolo reveals the kind of Europe to which he remains committed. His gauge of the strength of a culture is its ability to absorb alien influences, and the more it can absorb the better. It is this principle that has informed his commitment live as ‘a kind of a European with knowledge of other areas of the world.’\(^83\)

If Goytisolo was in this sense Europeanised by his residence in Paris, in another sense it also instilled in him a developing conviction about the need for de-Europeanisation. In chapter 2 we examined post-war aspirations to make Paris a kind of de facto capital of Europe, and to reconfigure its cityscape accordingly. Indeed, as the article ‘The Paris that Labours’ in the March

\(^81\) Goytisolo, *Forbidden Territory and Realms of Strife*, 235.
\(^82\) Ibid.
1954 *SOSL* reminded its readers, there were many kinds of Paris, most unseen by tourists.\(^8^4\) It was of course the Paris of tourists that was intended as this capital of Europe. Goytisolo, though, felt this to be quite out of sync with the city he knew living in the Sentier district. As Andrew Hussey explains, ‘this is where the revelation had come to him that the idea of a European capital – made and inhabited only by Europeans – is not just an anachronism but a dangerous myth that must be destroyed. The reason for this, he said, is that a purely European idea of the city does not correspond to the reality of the streets.’\(^8^5\)

Goytisolo explained that the sounds of languages he heard at his window – Arabic, Swahili, Kurdish, Hindi, Chinese, as well as several varieties of non-European French – were the true sound of contemporary Paris. Arciniegas suggested in his *SOSL* article that the Enlightenment was merely a thin veneer on Europe. In a more optimistic use of the same metaphor, Goytisolo suggests that the veneer of the sanitised tourist Paris as the capital of Europe thinly concealed a much more satisfying space. As such, the city of Paris today has to be ‘de-Europeanised’ in order to make space for new, dissident voices.\(^8^6\) If sanitisation equated to Europeanisation in Goytisolo’s understanding, it is suggested that his call for de-Europeanisation does not imply the negation of Europeanness, but rather something like a provincialisation of it, to borrow Dipesh Chakrabarty’s term. This implies that the European qualities of Paris are only enhanced by the absorption and juxtaposition of its non-European elements, or better that the two are blurred without ever being undone or negating each other. He suggests that Europeanness or non-Europeanness is one false choice; while the assumption that each category necessarily exists transparently and definitively or not at all, is another. His self-ironic Eurocentrism, as we have

\(^{8^4}\) Michel Ragón, ‘El París que trabaja’, *SOSL* (March, 1954), 16, 3.

\(^{8^5}\) Hussey, *Paris*, 432.

\(^{8^6}\) Ibid., 433.
used the term, in this way precludes both a shapeless cosmopolitanism in which any kind of identity is dissolved, and an unreconstructed blinkered and rigid Eurocentrism that reconstitutes itself in the process of positing Europe’s essential and unique feature to be its universal capacity to subsume every other culture.  

Conclusion

That the culture of Spanish exiles in Paris was a mass affair and not at all limited to intellectual elites is indicative of its valued place in Republican life. It was highly politicised but not so as to preclude fruitful contacts with French and other nationalities in the cultural life in Paris, in forums such as associations of intellectuals, bookshops, journals, universities, conferences, public meetings and many other activities and events besides. Trans-European connections forged at the time of the Spanish civil war were thus extended into this post-war era when the gap in time after that conflict was becoming ever more conspicuous. The European dimension of the Spanish exiles’ presence in the capital was characterised by more than trans-national connections, however. Indeed, the relationship between Spain, Europe, and universalism was a constant touchstone in their cultural output. Discourse about Europe often drew on themes which permeated Spanish history in particular, but were also timely to any consideration of the contemporary continent as a whole: quixotism, the relationship between civilisation, culture and violence and the implications of discerning insiders and outsiders. Of course, their conclusions were anything but unanimous, ranging from the most staid and canonical of definitions of Europe to much more interesting articulations, such as those that were characterised by self-

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ironic Eurocentrism and the notion of a certain simultaneous Europeanisation and de-Europeanisation.