Cosmopolitanism and the Postnational

*Literature and the New Europe*

*Edited by*

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LOCAL ROOMS WITH A COSMOPOLITAN VIEW?
NOVELS IN/ON THE LIMITS OF EUROPEAN CONVERGENCE

CÉSAR DOMÍNGUEZ

The aim of this essay is to examine how novels negotiate European integration and, hence, how they contribute to re-imagining European culture and Europeanization, of which they are an outcome. My results may not be valid for other genres and cultural artefacts. However, my restriction to the novel is justified on the grounds of testing Benedict Anderson’s statements about this genre and its capability to represent imagined communities. This test is carried out from a cosmopolitan viewpoint. My analysis comprises three parts. First, I will briefly review Ulrich Beck’s theories on cosmopolitanism. Second, I will approach Europeanization as reflected in new ways of reading, which I call “cosmopolitan reading”. And third, I will examine three novels – Joaquin Lorente’s Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com, Ángel Burgas’ La fi d’Europa, and Tim Parks’ Europa – that negotiate the process of integration. Finally, I make some concluding remarks on the perspective these novels express on European convergence.

To the memory of Ulrich Beck

According to the September 2007 Eurobarometer survey on cultural values within Europe over two-thirds (67%) of citizens in the twenty-seven member states agree with the idea that European countries share a great deal in common culturally. However, when respondents are invited to give their views on the idea of a “common European culture” through statements such as “there is no common European culture because European countries are too different from one another” and “there is no specific European culture, only a global western culture which is … the same in Europe and the US”, about half (53%) agree with the former and just under a third (32%) agree with the latter.¹

Notwithstanding the strong temptation to make a diagnosis of cultural schizophrenia, my contention is that there is no contradiction in those statements. My point of departure is that what for a monological imagination and methodological nationalism constitutes social

dysfunction, by a dialogical imagination and a methodological cosmopolitanism may be conceived as evidence of new identities and new loyalties. For only the latter kind of imagination and methodology may satisfactorily explain that for over three-quarters (76%) of those surveyed, European culture is valuable in its diversity, or that for over two-thirds (67%) European cultural commonality is more visible when considered relative to that of other continents.

The capacity of these overlapping figures to comprehend the complexity of the idea of a European culture is remarkable. But what I want to stress is the novelty of the question. To say that the question “What is European culture?” has not been asked may seem astounding inasmuch as European culture – in Ernst Robert Curtius’ words – “embraces a period of some twenty-six centuries (reckoning from Homer to Goethe)”. Let me qualify my comment on novelty. The question has not been asked or, better, the question should be asked anew within the context of European integration, materialized through the European Union (EU) since 1993. The EU as a new polity calls for new questions about European culture and European literature, the latter being as old as the former according to Curtius.2 The reason is not only the novelty of the EU in itself, its incomparability that led Jacques Delors to describe it as “une sorte d’objet politique non identifié”3 – although it is a key issue – but mainly the outcomes of integration understood as Europeanization, defined by Robert Ladrech as a “broad engagement of the EU in domestic politics”.4 European integration Europeanizes national cultures, the result being a phenomenon rather different from what one could have understood as “European culture” so far, which, in turn, is re-appropriated in its pre-integration meaning by Europeanization. European integration Europeanizes both national cultures and the supranational European culture previous to the existence of the EU, an issue not addressed in Ladrech’s definition.5

5 Jean-Anne Dolphin posits the dialectics between EU-promoted “European culture” and pre-integration “European culture” in the following terms: “European cultural identity is
The fact that the Eurobarometer, a programme sponsored by the European Commission since 1973, has not carried out a survey exclusively devoted to culture until 2007 is good proof that “What is European culture?” is a very recent question within the framework of European integration. Other studies and surveys date from 2002, 2006 and 2007. This new need arises from the inclusion of Article 128 (now Article 151) in the EU Treaty of 1991, the first article in the history of integration that acknowledges the role that culture should play within Europe: “The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.” One may say we are witnessing a new way to imagine the EU, this time based on a fourth pillar – the cultural one – which is an offshoot from the first of the three pillars (European Community, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters) defined by the Maastricht Treaty. The emergence of this fourth pillar was endorsed with the “European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World” (10 May 2007) and may be illustrated with European Commission President José Manuel Barroso’s words: “Culture and creativity are important drivers for personal development, social cohesion and economic growth. Today’s strategy, promoting intercultural understanding, confirms culture’s place at the heart of our policies.” In short, what for Jean Monnet was only a desirable utopia, is actually taking place with a renewed European cultural integration.

The aim of my essay is to examine how novels negotiate European integration and, hence, how they contribute to re-imagining European identity within a European Context”, MA thesis, University of Limerick, 2003, 10.


culture and Europeanization, of which they are an outcome. My results may not be valid for other genres and cultural artefacts, such as those promoted by some of Europe’s cosmopolitan entrepreneurs who practise what Gerard Delanty has termed “cultural engineering”.9 Consider the European Commission programme “European Capital of Culture”, or even literary works. I know only of Cristina Cuadra, Rudi Miel and Dominique David’s Les Eaux blessées (Troubled Waters), a comic sponsored by the European Parliament that tells the story of a MEP who proposes a law against water pollution. But my concentration on the novel is justified on the grounds of testing Benedict Anderson’s statement about the novel as a genre that “provided the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation”.10 This immediately raises a question: can the novel go beyond national horizons and play a significant role in re-presenting a polity such as the EU, which cannot be imagined as a state, a super-state, a federal state, a confederation or an international organization?

My analysis comprises three parts. First, and in accordance with my previous statement about a methodological cosmopolitanism that does not see any contradiction in the Eurobarometer answers to the question “What is European culture?”, I will briefly review Ulrich Beck’s theories on cosmopolitanism. His sociological viewpoint on cosmopolitanism is of particular interest for my argument because Beck conceives of Europeanization as a regional variety of cosmopolitanism, which he defines as internalized globalization. Second, I will approach Europeanization as reflected in new ways of reading and as applied to a Spanish novel, Cristina Fernández Cubas’ El año de Gracia. Drawing on, but also subverting Kwame Anthony Appiah’s terminology, I call this emergent phenomenon “cosmopolitan reading”. And third, I will examine three novels – Joaquín Lorente’s Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com, Ángel Burgas’ La fi d’Europa, and Tim Parks’ Europa – that negotiate the process of integration. Finally, I make some concluding remarks on the perspective these novels express on European convergence. At this early stage and due to the limited number of cases included in this study, all conclusions are provisional.

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**Europeanization as cosmopolitanism**

When asked about his view on cosmopolitanism, Thomas Mann could not hide his embarrassment. Mann did not identify with venerated meanings of the concept such as polyglottism and world citizenship. He could hardly read English, French, or Italian; his knowledge of European literature being that acquired through German translations. Travelling beyond German-speaking Europe (Scandinavia, The Netherlands, Hungary) made him uncomfortable. These were the reasons he said he was not a cosmopolitan. However, Mann asked himself whether his refusal of cosmopolitanism could not be the result of a false opposition, between a national “inside” and an international “outside” that draws an impassable boundary between German nationalism and European cosmopolitanism. Were the closing of German frontiers and the prohibition of European literature – either in an original version or in German translation – possible, nothing would be capable of preventing contamination because the enemy is already at home: “Goethe, Lichtenberg, Schopenhauer: nothing can be done; theirs is already European prose, written in German, first-hand.” Once freed of the opposition national/international, for Mann cosmopolitanism was a “spirit of life and change” that he said he now practised: “cosmopolitanism, or Europeanism, I have experienced it essentially in a German way.”

Mann’s apparent paradox, a national cosmopolitanism, is not different from the opinions voiced by respondents to the Eurobarometer. In fact, Mann himself foresaw this situation, claiming that his cosmopolitan experience was rather similar to the average German citizen’s.\(^{11}\) It is the experience that Ulrich Beck has identified as “the mélange principle, the both/and of cosmopolitanism and nationalism”.\(^{12}\) As verified by Mann, to declare oneself in favour or against cosmopolitanism depends on the meaning attributed to the term. “Cosmopolitanism” is an overloaded concept that carries a variety of meanings and a long history that, at least in the West, emerges with Cynics and Stoics, matures during the Enlightenment (Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller), and resurfaces twice, at the end of the nineteenth century with


nationalism, and at the end of the twentieth century with multiculturalism and anti-globalization movements. Always defined in relation to nationalism, cosmopolitanism may be used either to criticize a universalist, idealistic and eurocentric stance, or to salute a deterriorialized, nomadic and mobile outlook. That is why cosmopolitanism is attributed to Victorian travellers, international businessmen, rootless intellectuals, North Atlantic merchant sailors, errant Jews, and Caribbean au pairs in the United States. Socio-cultural condition, worldview, political project, attitude, and practice, all at the same time, we forget that cosmopolitanism is much older an idea than that of the nation.

When one speaks of cosmopolitanism or, with James Clifford, of "discrepant cosmopolitanisms", it is therefore useful to specify which meaning or kind of cosmopolitanism one has in mind, a caveat also added to the use of globalization. As I mentioned in the introduction, I draw on Ulrich Beck's theories to analyse how novels negotiate European integration for three reasons. First, Beck, by calling the opposition global/local into question, does not counter cosmopolitanism with nationalism. Second, Beck provides us with a theoretical and analytical framework to understand the apparent paradox of defending both national interests and transnational loyalties in an emergent society – the European – that calls for new concepts and methods. And third, when Beck describes Europeanization as cosmopolitanization, his model is not just a description of facts, which he terms “deformed

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15 See Vinay Dharwadker, “Introduction: Cosmopolitanism in Its Time and Place”, in Cosmopolitan Geographies: New Locations in Literature and Culture, ed. Vinay Dharwadker, New York: Routledge, 2001, 5: “cosmopolitanism has been so closely embattled with nationalism that we forget that the idea of the cosmopolis is much older than the idea of the nation. The cosmopolite is a classical creature, a figure of antiquity … whereas the nationalist is a vernacular creature, a child of the languages of the past one thousand years.”
cosmopolitanism”, but a way to implement a cosmopolitan Europe – “cosmopolitan realism”.

Beck develops his sociological approach to Europeanization as cosmopolitanization in the trilogy *Power in the Global Age: The Cosmopolitan Vision*, and *Cosmopolitan Europe* (co-authored with Edgar Grande), the latter throwing “light on the unknown Europe in which we are living”.17 Although the EU Treaty does not mention the concept of “Europeanization”, it provides us with a clear definition of it when in the Preamble it is stated that the aim of integration is to stimulate “the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”. This process of Europeanization can be seen in the fact that today an estimated 60% of domestic policy must be co-ordinated with Brussels.18 Europe is no longer outside the nation-state, but inside it. Member-states have transferred a good portion of their sovereignty, and European citizens experience an increasingly transnational social atmosphere daily. Consider this example in spite of its apparent banality. From January 1995 to July 2008, European citizens bought not bananas but “Eurobananas”, that is to say, bananas that comply with Commission Regulation 2257/94, with as one of its quality standards a minimum length of 14 cm. This regulation applies to all bananas sold by both European producers (Canary Islands, Madeira, Azores) – *internal Europeanization* – and non-European producers – *external Europeanization* – with potential consequences for the idea of a “European foodscape”.19 The example is not as banal as it may seem and the word recalls Michael Billig’s “banal nationalism”.20 Europeanization is producing a “banal cosmopolitanism” whereby “everyday nationalism is circumvented and undermined and we experience ourselves integrated into global processes and phenomena”.

For Beck, globalization is not something added to the nation-state. Globalization changes the political and social inside of national societies. Global issues are experienced as local, and the national is no longer national. It must be re-discovered as the internalized global. In contrast to a clear border between the national and the international of the first

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18 Robert Ladrech, “Europeanization and the Member States”, in *Developments in the European Union* 2, 47.
modernity, in the second, or reflexive, modernity the dualism national/international implodes, resulting in the pluralization of borders. Cosmopolitanism, in a first approach, may be defined as the internal experience of the pluralization of borders.\(^{21}\)

According to a territorial social ontology, every person’s experience of home should comply with the principle of congruence:\(^{22}\) political borders are congruent with legal borders, and both with cultural borders. This principle of congruence has imposed a “monological imagination” and a “methodological nationalism” that do not recognize Others’ othernesses. But with the implosion of borders, a “dialogic imagination” and a “methodological cosmopolitanism” become necessary in order to deal with the co-existence and comparison of alternative lifestyles and rationalities within individual experience. Beck and Grande summarize the differences between both kinds of imagination and methodology in the opposition between a “logic of unequivocalness”, an “either/or” model of society, of exclusive dualisms, and the “logic of equivocalness”, a “both/and” model of society, of inclusive dualisms. The religious model is characteristic in following a logic of unequivocalness (one cannot be Muslim and Christian at the same time). For Beck, the areligious state may be a model for a society that follows the logic of equivocalness:

> Just as an areligious state allows citizens to practise a variety of religions, so too a cosmopolitan Europe would have to safeguard the coexistence of ethnic, national, religious and political identities and cultures across national borders through the principle of constitutional tolerance. Europe teaches us that the political evolution of the world of states and of concepts and theories of the state is by no means an end.

This leads to conceive of Europeanization as a regional example of the logic of equivocalness because “national legal and political cultures continue to exist and are simultaneously merged into a European legal culture”.\(^{23}\) Based on the principle “both/and”, cosmopolitanism is no longer a loss of power on the national level, as implied by the principle “either Europe/or nation-states”, but a global increase of power wherein


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the national, the transnational, and the supranational reinforce and complement each other. For Beck and Grande, a cosmopolitan Europe can be summarized in three theses: 1) the thesis of institutionalized cosmopolitanism, 2) the thesis of deformed cosmopolitanism, and 3) the thesis of cosmopolitan realism.²⁴

The history of Europeanization is the history of an institutionalized cosmopolitanism, with actors like the European Commission, the Council of the EU, the Court of Justice of the European Communities, and the European Parliament, that go beyond the nation-state and change the idea of national sovereignty, “cosmopolitize” it in their promotion of respect for difference, of inclusion of Others’ otherness.²⁵ The 1945-46 Nuremberg Trials are a landmark of a sovereignty that goes beyond the nation-state, when the crimes tried were considered as committed against a “universal personhood” and, hence, as “crimes against humanity”. For Beck, the transnationalization of the Holocaust is a remarkable example of a “cosmopolitan memory” that reminds us that both responsibilities within a border and the lack of responsibilities outside a border are neither absolute nor legitimate.²⁶ This example shows a close link between cosmopolitanism and postnationalism, another overloaded concept that I use here, drawing on Muriel Rambour’s assessment of the concept in British and French debates on the EU, in a Habermasian sense, that is as “overlapping collective identities [which] no longer need a centre where they come together and are integrated within a single national identity”,²⁷ but more specifically devised as an idea of citizenship and democracy beyond the nation-state.²⁸ In the EU, “postnationalism,” Rambour states, “can be considered through the issues of cosmopolitanism, supranational democracy, European

²⁴ Beck and Grande, Cosmopolitan Europe, 18-19.
²⁵ Philip Schlesinger, “Media and Belonging: The Changing Shape of Political Communication in the European Union”, in The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity, 40: “Today, considered as a quasi polity, the EU consists of four main institutions: the European Commission; the Council of ministers; the European Parliament; and the European Court of Justice. Together, these constitute a unique institutional arrangement.”
legitimacy and accountability”.29

From a methodological nationalism point of view, the EU can only be conceived of as either a confederation or a federal state. However, this regional integration cannot be defined in either way. The EU is not a confederation because the states’ sovereignty is not fully intact. The EU is not a federal state because there is not a clear division of powers. Neither is it a super-state, because all the states’ rights have not been assimilated.30 A methodological cosmopolitanism may provide us with a more precise definition freed of exclusive dualisms. In Beck and Grande’s terms, the EU is a “decentralized, territorially differentiated, transnational negotiation system dominated by elites”.31

The polity created by this kind of institutionalized cosmopolitanism is in a stage of what Beck terms “deformed cosmopolitanism”, which is the result not only of the ruling elite mentioned in the definition (the “democratic deficit”), but also of the egoism of the EU’s member states, power asymmetries, technocracy, and the weakness of actors from civil society.32 As a way to resolve this situation, Beck advocates a cosmopolitan Europe guided by the theory of cosmopolitan realism, based in turn on the realism of international relations theory. In short, what Beck demands is the acknowledgement that European integration has never been an idealistic project. Quite to the contrary, the reason for states to relinquish their power was to satisfy national interests. In a cosmopolitan Europe, the power of member-states is “the sum of the national options plus the cooperative capacities of transnational political networks”.33 And the power of a cosmopolitan Europe comes from the “new possibilities of social organization and political participation” that this transnational system makes possible.34

To close this first section, I have to stress that the distance between the EU’s present deformed cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan realism is a sign of a growing “cosmopolitan crisis”. In global terms, this is the crisis caused by the experience of a shared future for which there are not

30 Beck and Grande, Cosmopolitan Europe, 50.
31 Ibid., 53.
32 Ibid., 20.
33 Ibid., 162 (emphasis in original).
34 Ibid., 5.
cosmopolitan entrepreneurs powerful enough and a national-oriented memory of the past.\footnote{Beck, “The Cosmopolitan Society”, 27.} In regional terms, this is the crisis caused by the experience of a united Europe in the future and a national-oriented memory of a traumatic past. This is another relevant aspect of Beck’s proposal. Beck deals with both the spatial and the temporal dimensions of globalization, whereas theories on globalization exclusively focus on the spatial issues (time-space compression, deterritorialization, denationalization). For Beck, the past/future orientation is an important difference between methodological nationalism and cosmopolitanism:

Of course, both the national and the cosmopolitan imagination are past- and future-orientated. But to oversimplify this distinction: methodological nationalism is about the future implications of a nationally shared past, an imagined past; while methodological cosmopolitanism is about the present implications of a globally shared future, an imagined future.\footnote{Ibid., 27.}

In the next two sections I will deal with the ways novels negotiate the present effects of a shared future, those of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.

**Cosmopolitan reading: reception “Europeanizes” back the novel**

Since it is only recently that we have started asking ourselves “what is European culture?” within European integration, studies of Europeanization effects on culture focus primarily on institutional issues, mainly through the treatment of culture by the founding treaties and Article 151.\footnote{Dolphin, “Common Cultural Identity”; Rachael Craufurd Smith, *Culture and European Union Law*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004; Aude Jehan, *La Culture au sein de l’Union européenne: objet politique non identifié*, Geneva: Institut Européen de l’Université de Genève, 2008.} We do not as yet have a clear idea of what Europeanization in cultural terms – even less in literary terms – means, although these studies provide us with important clues.

One of these clues can be found in the comparison between Article 151’s references to a “common cultural heritage” and a “cultural heritage of European significance” and some cosmopolitan actions by the European Commission such as the Art Nouveau Network. We can ask...
ourselves, with Rachael Craufurd Smith, what “European” and “common” mean when this Network defines art nouveau as a “quintessentially European movement”. The Network partner cities include some member-state cities, European non-member-state cities and a Caribbean city. Smith concludes that “European” and “common” need be “neither common to all the Member States, nor unique to Europe: it is sufficient that it finds reflection in a certain number of Member States”. Once again one can see that double dimension – internal and external – of Europeanization that makes of Europe a space always to be defined, a geography of variable geometry that leads Beck and Grande to state that Europe does not exist: “Europe as such does not exist, only Europeanization in the sense of an institutionalized process of permanent change.”

Unlike Smith’s spatial example, I want to deal here with a temporal example of cultural and literary Europeanization, as, according to Beck, the temporal dimension has been neglected by globalization theories. Consider El año de Gracia (Gracia’s Year/A Sabbatical Year), Cristina Fernández Cubas’ first novel published in May 1985. The work tells us the story of Daniel, a seminarian who abandons his theological studies. After visiting his sister, Gracia, who acquaints him with social life in Barcelona and funds him for a year, Daniel travels to Paris, where he attends intellectual gatherings and meets Yasmine, who becomes his lover. But Daniel wants to embark on new adventures and joins a sailing ship to Glasgow. Before reaching his destination, a storm wrecks the ship, and Daniel finds shelter on the island of Gruinard, in northwestern Scotland, whose only inhabitant is the pustule-ridden shepherd Grock, who speaks “un rudimentario inglés salpicado de abundantes expresiones en gaélico”, and a flock of carnivorous sheep. A year after abandoning the seminary, Daniel is rescued by an ecological group. Daniel comes back to Barcelona, where he marries Gruda McEnrich, a Scottish woman he had met on the ferry from France.

But what is the relationship of this story with Europe and European integration, except for Daniel’s comment – ironically non-insightful –

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38 Rachael Craufurd Smith, “Article 151 EC and European Identity”, in Smith, Culture and European Union Law, 284.
39 Ibid., 6.
40 Cristina Fernández Cubas, El año de Gracia, 5th edn, Barcelona: Tusquets, 2006, 95: “a basic English with many Gaelic expressions” (my translation).
that “en la segunda mitad del siglo veinte, en Europa, no quedaba espacio para tierras ignotas, islas misteriosas o anacrónicas aventuras robinsonianas”?\textsuperscript{41} In fact, in the twenty years following the publication, Fernández Cubas’ novel has been celebrated as an example of how gender affects epistemological issues (Julie Gleue\textsuperscript{42}), an example of postmodern intertextuality and parody (John B. Margenot III; \textsuperscript{43} Kathleen M. Glenn\textsuperscript{44}), or a revision of the Robinson tale (Jessica A. Folkart\textsuperscript{45}). Maryanne L. Leone makes the European link explicit in 2006 by arguing that \textit{El año de Gracia} reflects on the consequences of Europeanization for Spain:

In \textit{El año de Gracia}, Fernández Cubas speaks of an individual’s quest to find a place of belonging in an environment of local and global tension. Daniel’s journey suggests a contradictory desire on the part of Spaniards to become like the other and also assert uniqueness, a contentious paradox frequently associated with globalization. In the context of Spain’s newly formed democratic nation, joining the \textit{EU} was one way of affirming the country’s likeness with other European countries while, at the same time, the nation and its citizens have resisted the erasure of the specific identities of Spain.\textsuperscript{46}

In Leone’s reading, the abandonment of the seminary and the secularization of Daniel’s life, now with a European touch, equate the Spanish Transition from the Franco regime to democracy and integration into Europe, while the Robinson period on Gruinard equals the Spanish state’s anxiety at a new space – the European – with which national identity and the meaning of European otherness must be negotiated.

It remains to be proved whether Fernández Cubas’ intention was to

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 64: “there are no undiscovered lands, mysterious islands, or anachronistic Robinson-like adventures in Europe during the second half of the twentieth century.”
\textsuperscript{44} Kathleen M. Glenn, “Reading Postmodernism: The Fiction of Cristina Fernández Cubas, Paloma Diaz-Mas, and Marina Mayoral”, \textit{South Central Review, XVIII/1-2 (Spring 2001), 78-93.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 219-20.
write a metaphorical novel about Spain’s integration with the EEC six months before it actually took place. In fact, an objection one may raise is that Leone relies too much on the author’s gift of prophecy, as when she argues that Daniel’s sea voyage foretells a virtual space such as that of the Internet.\(^{47}\) However, what cannot be denied is that only the Europeanization of Spain makes possible an emergent way of reading as that practised by Leone with *El año de Gracia*. I call this way of reading “cosmopolitan reading”\(^{48}\).

Starting from his definition of cosmopolitanism as “universalism plus difference”, Kwame Anthony Appiah calls “cosmopolitan reading” the reading that rejoices at difference,\(^{49}\) a spatial difference: “Cosmopolitan reading presupposes a world in which novels … travel between places where they are understood differently, because people are different and welcome to their difference.”\(^{50}\) Drawing on Beck’s theories reviewed in the first Section, I propose the following definition of “cosmopolitan reading” as applied to cosmopolitan Europe: it is a reading that cares for the Europe of difference wherein citizens constantly negotiate the meaning of a European identity among their other identities.

This negotiation has a spatial dimension, as posited by Appiah. Consider, for instance, the consequences for member-states’ identities during the pre- and post-integration stages, or the identity anxieties for states that negotiate their integration during decades (Turkey is a case in

\(^{47}\) Maryanne L. Leone, “Going Global: Spain’s Entrance into the European Union and National Anxiety in Cristina Fernández Cubas’ *El año de Gracia*, *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Annals of Contemporary Spanish Literature*, XXXI/1 (2006), 209. She also says in a footnote: “At the time the novel was written, of course the Internet was just coming into force. I am not implying that Fernández Cubas was cognizant of this communication system, but that she might have anticipated the explosion of mass media, such as worldwide computer networks and related technologies” (*ibid.*, 221, n.10).

\(^{48}\) Another interesting aspect of the novel’s Europeanization, which applies to Fernández Cubas’ work, is the new locations where Spanish novels are set: “As of taking their cue from Fernández Cubas, a rising generation of Spanish novelists began springing their own protagonists from the cells of Iberia, casting them out into international waters” (Nathan E. Richardson, *Postmodern Paletos: Immigration, Democracy, and Globalization in Spanish Narrative and Film, 1950-2000*, Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2002, 172).


\(^{50}\) *Ibid.*, 224.
Local Rooms with a Cosmopolitan View?

point). States that apply to join the EU may witness a change in their symbolic “location”, and, as I said in the introduction, the EU “Europeanizes” Europe, wherever its borders might be, but Europe in its entirety is not the EU. The EU’s Europe, changing in itself as a result of enlargement, is not congruent with the European Free Trade Association’s Europe, and both are not congruent with Eurovision’s Europe.51

But this negotiation has a temporal dimension too. The cosmopolitan reading produces Europeanization either when it makes us ask about the role of both “European masterworks” and “non-canonical European works” within the new cultural identity promoted by the EU or when it causes us to discover connections between contemporary literature and integration. There are not many examples of cosmopolitan readings at the moment. However, in a near future its number may significantly increase for two reasons. First: European integration needs an identification with the EU beyond political, economic, and legal grounds. What I am advocating is a cultural identification with a cosmopolitan viewpoint, whose actions will be performed in the education system. With reference to the teaching of history, Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal elaborate on the changes produced in Western Europe and, less substantially, in Southern and Eastern Europe.52 The same cannot be said about the teaching of literature, which still depends – dare I say it – on a “pre-Columbian” map of the EU. Second: a cosmopolitan reading may be an effective tool for overcoming the distance between past-oriented national memories and the anxiety of a globally shared European future.

**Europeanization in action: in/on the limits of European convergence**

*Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com*

On 12 December 2027 the first presidential elections will take place in the EU, a federal state of thirty-four states. Seven days later, presidents,

51 “If we transcribe this complex architecture onto a map, it becomes apparent that ‘Europe’ reaches as far west as Los Angeles and Vancouver and as far east as Vladivostok – and it included Turkey from the beginning, needless to say” (Beck and Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe*, 11).

prime ministers and monarchs will resign or abdicate, and national governors will take up their posts. The president will move into the Blue House in Strasbourg, the EU capital city. This is the overture of *Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com* (2004), the first novel of Spanish advertising executive Joaquín Lorente.

The presidential candidates are French socialist Evelin Midi, voted in through primary elections, and German conservative chancellor Leopold Schuster, elected by presidents of conservative parties. The usual political plot, with the candidates’ confrontation, international alliances with the US – whose president is republican Richard Ryan, an expert on Arab terrorism and former governor of Guantánamo – and China – the first world-power ruled by Xin Thu Lon, general secretary of the Chinese Party of Workers’ Capitalism, and political campaigns on pan-European TV programmes broadcast in English, the EU co-official language, becomes complicated when the movement “Ciudadanos de la Tierra” (“Citizens of the Earth”) emerges out of concern for a new kind of democracy.

A year before the presidential elections, enigmatic Once, a retired manager of a chain of seventy-four department stores, calls four renowned activists to a meeting at his house in the French Pyrenees: Chantalle Signoret, a civil servant of the French Department of Education; Julia Villarroya, a Spanish progressive judge; Igor Poliakof, a Czech doctor who manages a NGO in Brasil; and John Standson, a Scot who manages a company of processed food to be sold at low prices in the Third World. Under Once’s leadership, they set up a project, called “Democracia Filtrada” (“Filtered Democracy”), to change the democratic system. The aim of the project is that the EU presidency accepts a yearly audit, with new elections called if minimum standards are not satisfied. The core of the project is the “Manifiesto de los Ciudadanos de la Tierra” (“Manifesto of the Citizens of the Earth”), intended to achieve four simultaneous globalizations unlike the contemporary “globalización de la nada” (“globalization of nothing”): “Lo que os quiero proponer”, Once says, “es trabajar para provocar un cambio que haga posible la globalización, a un nivel básico y digno, de la alimentación, de la sanidad, del conocimiento y de la justicia”.54

54 *Ibid.*, 34: “I am proposing that we work in order to bring about a change that makes possible the globalization, at a basic and adequate level, of food, public health,
The Project of the “Ciudadanos de la Tierra” comes to the attention of the candidates and their campaign teams when it is supported by more than seventeen-million European citizens on the Internet, with the Irish highest in the ranking. The importance of the figures lies in the fact that these citizens will vote for the candidate who commits him/herself to implement the manifesto as a government programme and to call elections to amend the European constitution on the grounds of the “Democracia Filtrada”.

The movement of the four globalizations experiences serious setbacks. A counter-movement tries to take advantage of the project’s success by selling “Ciudadanos de la Tierra” merchandising. The project leaders are persecuted both by the “Agencia Europea de Movimientos Ciudadanos” (“European Agency for Citizens’ Movements”), located in Manchester, which mistakes them with a terrorist group, and by the US President, who is about to declare his seventh “preventive war”, this time against Saudi Arabia, and fears a socialist presidency in the EU as a result of the new European source of energy, hydrogen fusion. However, the support for “Ciudadanos de la Tierra” rises steeply when the project is promoted on the Internet and TV cultural programmes; when it is defended by the “Consejo Europeo de ONGs” (“European Council of NGOs”), “organizaciones … que desde el siglo pasado han ido activando y aglutinando el sentimiento de millones de voluntades para hacer aquello que a los gobiernos no les interesa”; and, most importantly, when it is put into practice both at the local level in a small town near Brussels and at the presidential level in Vanuatu, a small country in the South Pacific.

The Socialist candidate is the first to acknowledge that the support of “Ciudadanos de la Tierra” is the only way to be elected to the presidency. Evelin Midi commits herself to implement the manifesto, and on 12 December she is elected president of the European federal super-state. During her first mandate between 2027 and 2031, world hunger is reduced by 87%, public health and education increase to 79% and 73%, and the “Democracia Filtrada” system is exported to twelve countries. In

knowledge, and justice.”

55 Ibid., 205.
56 Ibid., 43: “organizations that since the twentieth century have aroused the feelings of millions in order to get done that which governments do not want to do.”
57 Ibid., 364.
2030, Midi is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and calls the world leaders to a meeting in the Azores to discuss the new role of the United Nations, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Human Rights Council.

La fi d’Europa

La fi d’Europa (2006) is the first adult novel of Àngel Burgas, a Catalan playwright and author of children’s literature. A choral novel, La fi d’Europa (The End of Europe) depicts characters united by a common aim, namely to destroy Europe. The characters form two groups: the German, linked to the second generation of the Red Army Faction (RAF), a terrorist group active in West Germany from the end of the 1960s to the end of the 1990s; and the Galician, variously called “Moviment de l’acció subversiva espanyola” (“Movement of Spanish Subversive Action”), “Guerrilla roja” (“Red Guerrillas”), “Ofensiva galegoalemanya d’alliberament” (“German-Galician Liberation Offensive”) or “Comando roig dels fantasmes del circ” (“Red Commando of Phantom Circus”) as a result of the components’ eccentricities (Adán, a poet-hermit who lives in Santiago de Compostela, Julián Ríos Cunqueiro, a decadent aristocrat) and physical traits (Rubén Escarcia Darosa suffers from cranial elephantiasis; Edmundo García Híjar suffers from dwarfism; Jacinto Estévez Sigüenza is mute).

The Galician group, funded by Julián Ríos, reaches an agreement with the German group, now called “Moviment Antiimperialista d’Alliberament” (“Anti-Imperialist Liberation Movement”), with the aim of occupying Europe, a multinational with headquarters in Berlin, and launching a manifesto, while the German group demands that Europe suspends its relations with another corporation, Fusion N Att, which has been accused of exploiting its workers in the Third World. The connection between the multinational Europe, described as the “rovell de l’ou del capitalisme” (“yolk of the capitalist egg”), and the EU itself is explicit. For both groups, their attacks against the corporation – whose facilities have a twenty-first-century pan-European aesthetics – have a

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58 Àngel Burgas, La fi d’Europa, Barcelona: La Magrana, 2006, 137.
59 Ibid., 193.
60 Ibid., 210.
61 Ibid., 180-81.
metaphorical significance,\textsuperscript{62} which Jules/Julio Montero, son of Galician emigrants to Germany, states in the following terms: “D’alguna manera, vaig pensar acabada la primera conversa amb la Maren Kressler, atacant l’Europa a la qual es referia ella, iniciava el meu camí de fugida d’aquella altra Europa engrandida i cosmopolita que s’havia quedat sense res per oferir-me.”\textsuperscript{63} Burgas uses the multinational corporation as the “seu metafòrica d’Europa”\textsuperscript{64} (“metaphorical headquarters of Europe”) to discuss both the contradictions and distress caused by integration. For the second generation of emigrants from the periphery (Galicia) to the European heartland (Germany), represented by Jules/Julio, the enlargement and cosmopolitanism of Europe have not satisfied the need for social justice felt by the first generation. For the second revolutionary generation, represented by Maren Kressler, the first generation’s anti-imperialist movement has been turned into an economic imperialism by that very generation itself, with the quest for utopia replaced by pragmatism, represented by Maren’s mother (Brenda), leader of the RAF first generation, now married to Carsten Saure, general director of Europe who “havia aconseguit reconduir l’empresa i fer-li guanyar un munt de diners amb les seves gestions agosarades, obrint territoris d’expansió més enllà del Pròxim Orient i consolidant la presència d’Europa en els mars de la Xina”.\textsuperscript{65} And for the Galician group, which represents Spain’s internationalization by way of a postmodern Almodovarian esthetics, the aim of becoming visible to the “societat del neoliberalisme”\textsuperscript{66} (“neoliberal society”) ends in complete failure.\textsuperscript{67} The

\textsuperscript{62}Ibid., 165.
\textsuperscript{63}Ibid., 139: “Somehow I thought, after my first talk with Maren Kressler, that by attacking the Europe she was referring to I could flee from the other Europe, enlarged and cosmopolitan, that had nothing to offer me.”
\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 165.
\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 182: “had managed to steer the company in order to earn a lot of money as a result of speculative investments, with new expansion plans beyond Near Orient and strengthening Europe’s position in China.”
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., 167.
\textsuperscript{67}“Lorca agrada pel seu exotisme …. Els estrangers valoren allò pintoresc, la imatge típica i tòpica d’Espanya, que ja no és només la de pandereta i faralaes, sinó també aquella més nova i surrealista, més cutre …. Em refereixo a la barreja tan espanyola de Cela, Dalí i Almodóvar” (ibid., 79: “Lorca is liked because of his exoticism. Foreign people look for what is picturesque, Spain’s clichés, which comprise not only the tambourine and faralaes, but also a newer, surreal, and seedier image. I am referring to that mixture, so Spanish, of Cela, Dalí, and Almodóvar”).
manifesto, titled “Manifiesto iracundo” (“Irate Manifesto”), is ultimately not read. We have partial news of it thanks to Àlvar, a Catalan teacher of Spanish who stresses its outdated flavor: “Les paraules ‘capitalisme’, ‘burguesia’ i ‘revolució’ apareixien gairebé a cada paràgraf, i no ho feia, en canvi, el substantiu ‘diversitat’, molt en voga actualment, i que s’esqueia a molt dels conceptes que el grup defensava.”

The revolutionary struggle against Europe comes to an end with all the characters coming back to their everyday activities in the locations where they began their journeys to Berlin, a city that “havia pres una importancia crucial en el panorama de la nova Europa” (“had increased in importance within the new Europe”). Hella, an unwitting accomplice in the conspiracy, concludes that the new Europe “ja no està per a revolucions …. Estem lluny de presenciar una revolució amb totes les de la llei, i jo … crec que només la poden propiciar els poètes amb les seves armes.”

Europa

Europa (1997) is the ninth novel of Tim Parks, a British author who has lived in Italy since 1981. Shortlisted for the Booker Prize in 1998, the year the award was won by Arundhati Roy’s The God of Small Things, Parks’ novel depicts a group of foreign language lectors at the University of Milan who, with the support of their students, travel to the European Parliament in Strasbourg to hand in a petition against the Italian government. The reason is that lectors, unlike their Italian colleagues, receive smaller salaries and are not eligible to long-term contracts.

The novel is based on real events, an Italian 1980 discriminatory law, implemented by Silvio Berlusconi, of whom one of the characters in the novel says: “Horror is Berlusconi becoming president for life.” The main character, Jeremiah Marlowe, an English lector whose real reason to support the claim is to be a little bit longer with his ex-mistress, involuntarily becomes the group’s spokesman and, hence, responsible for defending the group’s claim before the EU Parliament Petitions

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68 Ibid., 233: “The words ‘capitalism’, ‘bourgeoisie’, and ‘revolution’ were used almost in every paragraph, unlike the word ‘difference’, so fashionable nowadays, although it suited so well the concepts they were advocating.”
69 Ibid., 58.
70 Ibid., 238: “the new Europe is no longer a terrain for revolutions. We are not to witness a real revolution. I think that a real revolution can only be conducted by poets.”
Committee, whose vice-president, Welsh MEP Owen Rhys, had been previously contacted by Vikram Griffiths, a lector with a “deep Indian voice and incongruously Welsh accent”.\textsuperscript{72}

Told through Marlowe’s inner monologue, the story draws together the love plot (between Marlowe and the French lector, Marlowe and his ex-wife, Griffiths and his ex-wives, lectors and students, etc.) and the political plot of the EEC building process. Both threads are so interwoven that, for Marlowe, the lectors’ situation equals the integration of the twelve member-states:

I might have discovered some rhetoric to suggest that the whole process of European integration hung on the resolution of the lectors’ crisis at the University of Milan …. A test case, I would have said. A test case in the application of the collective will to establish a new and more acceptable reality.\textsuperscript{73}

Marlow is not the only character who travels to Strassbourg to achieve an objective different from that set by the group. His French ex-mistress, whose name is not known until the end of the novel – a situation that mirrors the Phoenician princess alluded to by the novel’s title but without a role in the novel, goes to the European Parliament to have better options for a “Euro scholarship”\textsuperscript{74} to fund a year in Brussels. She is doing research for an essay titled “A Future Constitution for a United Europe”\textsuperscript{75} which deals with “the construction of a European identity”.\textsuperscript{76} The central issue of the essay is the concept of “pooled sovereignty”,\textsuperscript{77} which, even though it is not defined, Marlowe equates with another of his ex-mistress’ concepts, “negotiable identity”, formulated as a kind of “flexibility” and “spirit of compromise”.\textsuperscript{78}

The novel is deeply ironic regarding the European project, either because of the latter’s technocratic nature,\textsuperscript{79} or the illegitimate purposes it can serve, such as those of Marlowe, his ex-mistress, and all the lectors.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 239.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 149.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 196.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 195.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 160.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 21.
in general, their Italian salaries actually being higher than what they would be paid in their respective home countries. Marlowe cannot avoid being suspicious of Euroenthusiasts, a feeling caused by the anxiety at a new space whose borders and rules are not known. The journey from Milan to Strassbourg is, therefore, a myth of initiation whereby Marlowe, the other lectors, and the students experience Europeanization in action. Longing for a kind of sovereignty when “each country … exercis[es] all the power it had at its disposal to get, so far as was possible, what it wanted, what it perceived, that is, was in its, and only its, best interests”, they face a Europe “in turmoil” due to the Bundesbank’s decision not to reduce interest rates; a homogeneous landscape, a “ubiquitous Euro-architecture” of which even non-EEC countries, such as Switzerland, take advantage of; the use of Europeanism as a sort of postmodern religion, with temples of its own, such as the European Parliament “Meditation Room”.

In short, the characters, a symbolic international community, face a Europe that, like the Phoenician princess, has been abducted and changed into a foreign country:

> We are lost, I reflect, this is the truth about my colleagues and myself in this coach, we are lost in this foreign country that isn’t ours, this Europe that may or may not exist, and we wouldn’t know what to do if we had to go home.

Minutes after Marlowe has begun his speech in the “Petitions Committee”, the Greek lector comes into the meeting room and announces that Griffiths has committed suicide in the European Parliament toilets. The session closes, and the lectors come back to Milan, except for Marlowe, who stays in Strassbourg to hand in the petition the next day. Sitting in the “Meditation Room” of the “putative heart of Europe”, Marlowe assesses the events of the last two days and leafs through The European, which details the number of casualties in Bosnia, the Bundesbank’s resolutions, the devaluation of the lira, and the

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80 Ibid., 40.
81 Ibid., 71.
82 Ibid., 68.
83 Ibid., 55.
84 Ibid., 26.
85 Ibid., 11.
death of Griffiths, that “Indian Welshman … feckless fragment of the British Empire”. Marlowe’s last decision is to apply for a job at the European Parliament.

In *Human, All Too Human* Friedrich Nietzsche foretells an age that – after breaking the bond between human experience and one place – “gets its meaning because in it the various world views, customs, cultures are compared and experienced next to one another, which was not possible earlier, when there was always a localized rule for each culture, just as all artistic styles were bound to place and time”. For Nietzsche, this is the “age of comparisons”. For Ulrich Beck, comparison is a basic tool for the dialogic imagination demanded by methodological cosmopolitanism as a result of the “coexistence of rival ways of life in the individual experience, which makes it a matter of fate to compare, reflect, criticize, understand, combine contradictory certainties”. For *Europa*’s Marlowe, “one seeks comfort in comparison. One constantly, obsessively, compares one’s own story with everybody else’s, until, not finding quite the like, one realizes that one’s banality lies precisely in uniqueness.”

The novels I have selected for this article are, at different levels, impressive examples of the “age of comparisons”. Their characters, who experience a transnational social space in constant structural change due to the negotiation between national interests and supranational European institutions, do not stop comparing the new present in which they are living with a past of virtual certainties and a future of absolute uncertainties, both past and future feared and longed for.

In *Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com*, Once, Chantalle, Igor, John and Julia consider the EU presidential elections to be an opportunity for changing the integration direction by way of a citizenship activism that makes of Europe, the “vieja Europa” (“old Europe”), not a super-power “por delante de los Estados Unidos y China” (“that overtakes the US and China”), but a model of democratic participation close to what Jürgen Habermas has called “constitutional patriotism”, the “conditions of common life and communication among different, coexisting forms of

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86 Ibid., 253.
90 Lorente, *Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com*, 12.
life with equal rights”. This dissociation has an adequate reflection in the novel when Socialist candidate Evelin Midi, after meeting with Once, makes use in her electoral campaign of political broadcasts where the “momentos aciagos” (“tragic moments”) of European history are re-written by way of “Forrest-scenes”, from Giordano Bruno’s death to Hitler’s speeches, or Bush, Blair and Aznar’s meeting in the Azores. In *La fi d’Europa*, comparison is seen either as a confrontation of generations (the first and second RAF generations, the first and second emigrant generations) or as confrontation between more or less Europeanism (the German and Galician groups), all this with an underlying reflection on the role that the “new Europe” is defining for the *unbekannte Leute* (“unknown people”), a label the novel might apply – as the old activists, such as Brenda, explicitly do – to the “indefensos” (“defenceless people”), “desvalguts furibunds” (“irate helpless people”) who have not found a place in the new European geography. In *Europa*, the international community of lectors constantly compares national clichés with their real cohabitation, their old “national” identities, reassured by strong ideas about “Englishness”, “Spanishness”, “Irishness”, etc., with hybridization. This hybridization adopts two critical stances. The first is linguistic, when characters are surprised by their own new ways of speaking both their native and second languages (Christine’s English and the Frenchness of her laugh, Georg’s German-Italian pronunciation). The second is love related, linked to the international couples of the novel. As a synecdoche of European integration, these international love affairs seem to announce an inevitable failure:

I ask, jokingly, if others present are aware what the divorce rate is in marriages between people from different European countries …. I tell them fifty per cent higher than an average in each of the countries concerned. Fifty per cent.

The greatest exponent of hybridization as the inclusion of Others’ otherness is Griffiths’ “Welsh Indianness”, an “embodiment of two

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91 Habermas, “Historical Consciousness and Post-Traditional Identity”, 10.
94 Parks, *Europa*, 49.
Local Rooms with a Cosmopolitan View?

ethnic minorities”,95 a martyr in the “pseudo-chapel”96 of the European Parliament.

But comparisons do not stop at the diegetic level. The reader is also invited to compare, as characters do. The reader compares his/her experience with that of the characters. The reader compares his/her experience of European integration with that depicted by the novels. This is the cosmopolitan reading I was referring to in the second section of this essay. One of the main outcomes of these comparisons is to check how “banal cosmopolitanism” has become such a first-hand experience for European citizens. Europe does not equal the sum of its countries. Europe has become the Other (see, with a different meaning, Cowles and Curtis), a geography of geometry as variable as the enthusiasm and apathy it conceals. When Griffiths says they are going to “appeal to Europe”, Marlowe does not know whether to laugh or ask “Where, sorry? as though genuinely unaware that such an entity existed”.97 Europe’s familiar otherness may be measured by the number of banal acts in our everyday lives, from the trust or distrust in Europe’s power – in Marlowe’s terms – “to set right whatever wrongs had been done to us”,98 to an incipient polyglottism and an emergent monolingualism or a Eurolandscape as abstract at its symbols: “his … tie … has on its blue background that circle of yellow stars which symbolizes our European solidarity, twelve identical yellow nebulae encircling a void.”99

As I have suggested in the second section, the importance of a cosmopolitan reading lies in its power to overcome the distance between a past-oriented memory and the anxiety at a shared European future. One of the main causes of the cosmopolitan crisis is the weakness of agency, as evidenced by the lack of a “real political arena”,100 a public sphere, a “communicative space”101 in Europe. The novels in/on the limits of European convergence may cause the reader to realize that his/her anxiety, similar to the one experienced by respondents to the

95 Ibid., 130.
96 Ibid., 243.
97 Ibid., 5.
98 Ibid., 192.
99 Ibid., 134.
Eurobarometer, is only the logical consequence of inhabiting – in Beck and Grande’s terms, an “unfamiliar transnational society”.\textsuperscript{102}

Some of these novels advocate for specific actions to implement agency. Ciudadanos de la Tierra.com is by far the most explicit in this respect with its proposal for a “thick democracy” that changes the purely representative model.\textsuperscript{103} We do not have enough evidence yet about how a cosmopolitan reading may implement agency. But some coincidences are most telling. In Europa, Marlowe and his ex-mistress represent an interpretive micro-community. Their fields of specialization are, respectively, Xenophon, Thucydides, Plato and Aristophanes and Chateaubriand, Benjamin Constant, Duchesse d’Abrantès, and Michelet. When they re-read these “European classics” from a cosmopolitan point of view, they ask themselves whether the universalism of these authors would not be more properly another variety of Eurocentrism. We do have examples of such interpretive communities in real life. One can be found in university classrooms, with an international audience unthinkable a few decades ago. What are the new meanings of “national literature” and “European literature” when lecturing to such an audience? Another is provided by virtual reading clubs, such as the one sponsored by Euroregional institutions (the Galicia-North Portugal Virtual Reading Club is a case in point). These interpretive communities foster different ideas of Europe as a result of their institutional bonds. They shape a complex and not wholly unequivocal idea of Europeanization, in response also to external powers. And if in La fi d’Europa Hella tells us that only poets may conduct a real revolution, in 2008 and 2009 the Brussels Poetry Collective elaborated a European Constitution in verse.

The novels I have discussed here ask several questions about Europeanization as cosmopolitanization. I plan to address these questions, and others, in more detail in future analyses. But let me just mention one important issue (contrary to what Daniel used to think in El año de Gracia) – the understanding of Europeanization as a new kind of Robinsonnade, a citizens’ journey to an unknown destination, to a Europe-island “wherever its borders might eventually be established”.\textsuperscript{104} The Robinsonnade has two main axes: the journey and the transformation of the destination until it becomes a real Utopia. Of both

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{102} Beck and Grande, \textit{Cosmopolitan Europe}, 36.
\textsuperscript{103} Curtin, \textit{Postnational Democracy}, 53-54.
\textsuperscript{104} Parks, \textit{Europa}, 197.

\end{footnotesize}
axes, the novels I have selected deal mainly with the first. Therefore, some caution is necessary when comparing the eighteenth-century cosmopolitan *Robinsonnade* with the twentieth- and twenty-first-century cosmopolitan *Robinsonnade* linked to Europeanization.

Regarding the utopian axis, one should recall Fredric Jameson’s link between utopianism and federalism, the latter concept being so problematic for him: “if it were not so outworn and potentially misleading a term, federalism would be an excellent name for the political dimensions of this Utopian figure.” As Jameson himself proposed Europe as an example of a “would-be federal association”, maybe, in the light of what has been discussed here, an option is to replace federalism with cosmopolitanism. But that would take us well beyond the limits of this article. However, I wish to call attention to a peculiar fact. Jameson does not trust federalism’s power, unlike nationalism’s, to attract a “passionate investment”. This was Benedict Anderson’s point: “in themselves, market-zones, ‘natural’-geographic or politico-administrative, do not create attachments. Who will willingly die for … the EEC?” The moment to conclude whether the novel is a productive form for re-presenting the EU as an imagined community has not arrived yet. In any case, the privilege of the journey, and not of Utopia, tells us that, were the novel to effectively re-present the EU, the mechanism would not be that of a “logic of unequivocalness”, which demands self-sacrifice for the homeland, but a cosmopolitan “logic of equivocalness”, which causes the citizen to answer the question “where is Europe?” as Marlowe does: “To be invented.”

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106 Ibid., 225.
107 Ibid., 226.