

FREEDOM 'EN FRANÇAIS': THE REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUAL AND  
PUBLICATION NETWORKS IN QUÉBEC, FRANCE, AND ALGERIA, 1963-1968

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A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of History in the College of Arts and Sciences.

Chapel Hill

2017

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## ABSTRACT

Sarah K. Miles: Freedom 'En Français': The Revolutionary Intellectual and Publication Networks in Québec, France, and Algeria, 1963-1968  
(Under the direction of Lloyd Kramer)

The 1960s were a turbulent time in leftist politics the world over. This thesis examines the publication networks that facilitated contact and solidarity between leftist radicals in Québec, France, and Algeria. From 1963, immediately after the Algerian War, to 1968, when massive protests kicked off in France, self-proclaimed revolutionary men in these three locations used publications as a means of establishing contact, developing ideas, and translating political experiences from one location to another. In particular, this thesis is interested in understanding how Les Éditions Maspero, a French publishing house, *La Révolution Africaine*, an Algerian magazine, and *Parti Pris*, a French Canadian magazine, reveal the remarkably similar conception these individuals held about what their role as revolutionary intellectuals was in 1960s liberation movements. I argue that the idea of the revolutionary intellectuals in these writings was one which was defined by their ability to demystify oppressive structures, share revolutionary ideology through writing, and act out the struggle they envisioned both in their own contexts and around the world. By studying revolutionaries' writing and the activist work that individuals undertook in order to solidify connections between locations, I highlight the importance of reciprocal intellectual exchange in developing political ideologies in France, Québec, and Algeria.

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“When the colonized intellectual writing for his people uses the past, he must do so with the intention of opening up the future...and fostering hope. But in order to secure hope...he must take part in the struggle. You can talk about anything you’d like, but when it comes to talking about that one thing in a man’s life that involves opening up new horizons, enlightening your country and standing tall alongside your own people, then muscle power is required.”<sup>1</sup> – Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)

## Introduction

When Frantz Fanon wrote these words, he had a clear idea in mind of what intellectuals could and should do to further their revolutionary cause. Originally published in 1961 by François Maspero, one of the most renowned radical publishers of the post-World War II era, Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* became a critique of the past and a guidebook for the future for intellectuals around the world. Fanon was only one of many inspirations for francophone intellectuals in the 1960s who looked to Marxist-Leninist and Third World theory to realize their dreams of revolution. In the francophone context, thinkers crafted a specific role for themselves through leftist publication networks and mutual intellectual inspiration. They saw themselves as revolutionary intellectuals who could serve as more than a vanguard for the people—they imagined that they would provide an education for the people, to help the oppressed understand and desire revolution. These revolutionary intellectuals read widely republished works from anticolonials in Havana, Dakar, Paris, Algiers, and Montréal. They traveled around the world,

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<sup>1</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Books, 2004), 167. Many thanks to all who helped me conceive, create, and survive through this project. In particular, I’d like to express my gratitude to my advisors and committee members in the history department at UNC whose corrections and suggestions were invaluable for my project from start to finish. My gratitude goes as well to my colleagues and friends who read drafts, scraps, and listened to me ramble about my project for hours on end—Emma, Steven, and Leah, I owe you a debt. Finally, my thanks to my family and friends who simply supported me throughout the process. A mes parents, mes frères, mes grand-parents, et mon prêtre préféré, merci infiniment.

writing and speaking of international events so regularly that one might have thought these events were happening across the street.

Intellectuals working in the wake of the Algerian War used their writing to tie ideas from the French metropole to leftist groups across the francophone world and back again, aided by the increasing ease of international travel and access to publications. While not all individuals were able to travel to converse with other like-minded francophones, almost all shared a sense of what it meant to be a revolutionary intellectual. The role of a revolutionary intellectual, as they defined it, was to absorb, translate, and apply to their own struggles a universal concept of revolutionary liberation. Revolutionary intellectuals wanted to understand revolution themselves and make the public understand why revolution was necessary, to want it for themselves. New publications provided space for intellectuals in France, Québec, and Algeria to work out what their role in the revolution might be and allowed them the opportunity to develop bonds of solidarity despite notable differences in national and cultural contexts.

Between 1963 and 1968, francophone radicals in Québec, France, and Algeria saw an opportunity to build international solidarity through their writing. Francophones' shared culture, language, and embrace of Dreyfusard universalist intellectualism provided a shared ground they used to develop a cohesive idea of the revolutionary intellectual. In this paper, I argue that through their interactions and publications, these individuals developed an idea of the revolutionary intellectual who served as more than a vanguard for the people. By writing about and translating revolutionary ideas, these intellectuals believed that they could show their people the relevance of far-away events for their own movements. Instead of limiting their role to that of a leader, to the possessor of knowledge, I argue, they conceived of the revolutionary intellectual as someone who brought truth to their people through demystification, emphasized

internationalism through their place in publication networks, and then let the people lead, using their resources as part of these networks to support the movement. Unlike many radical theorists before them, they took an active role in the revolutions they wished to inspire.

In the wake of the Algerian War (1954-1962), intellectuals found themselves in a chaotic world where they were particularly needed by revolutionary movements, but faced ever more barriers in their attempt to change history. Between 1963 and 1968, movements for national liberation, worker and peasant uprisings, and massive social upheavals inspired radicals and facilitated the development of international solidarity networks around leftist publications.<sup>2</sup> The ravages of the Algerian War, the death of major intellectual figures such as Fanon and Albert Camus, and a widespread frustration with pro-Soviet Communist parties' inaction led to the rise of the New Left in the 1960s, shaping a new identity for the revolutionary intellectual who had to answer to these changes.<sup>3</sup> Often seen as a radical break from the past, the student and worker protests of 1968 were, in my view, based on intellectuals' previous transgressions of social and political boundaries during the five previous years.<sup>4</sup> Between the end of the Algerian War and the events of 1968, revolutionary intellectuals used publications to develop a shared identity.

The men who authored leftist works—and they were, with only a few notable exceptions, men—were not all trained philosophers. Though many academics in France joined the New Left

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<sup>2</sup> These twenty years marked the height of the pre-détente Cold War, were the setting for Mao's Cultural Revolution, and saw a multitude of new states emerge from national liberation movements. See Michael Hunt, *The World Transformed: 1945 to the Present*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) for an overview.

<sup>3</sup> On the New Left in France, see Christoph Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c. 1950-1976*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Scholars have recently begun to contest the trope of the 'explosion of '68', though this change was a long time in the making. Gerd-Rainer Horn in *Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) notes the importance of several different early groups in establishing some of the ideas that are generally attributed to *les événements*, but does not explore publication networks nor conceptions of the revolutionary intellectual specifically. On the intellectual trajectory of *les événements*, see Julien Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

movement, the individuals who populated these groups represented a democratized vision of the intellectual. The intellectuals of the 1960s were writers, poets, and academics—individuals who undertook a wide variety of tasks, but were all committed to thinking through the details of socialist and anticolonial theory. They applied it to their own political lives, in their own contexts. In this age of revolutionary democratization, “intellectual” was a flexible term that applied to professors or the bourgeois in Algiers and Montréal just as easily as it did to poets or activists on the streets of Sétif and Rimouski.

This study examines three important publication sites that contributed to this discourse about the revolutionary intellectual. I analyze Les Éditions Maspero (1959-1982), the French publication house that published Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, the magazine *La Révolution Africaine* (1963-1968), a weekly publication supported by the independent Algerian government, and *Parti Pris* (1963-1968), a magazine operated by radical Québécois separatists. Both *La Révolution Africaine* and *Parti Pris* relied on the writings Maspero published in Paris; Maspero, in turn, advertised in these journals and published Québécois and Algerian radicals’ works. While each magazine was concerned with their own nations, they all relied on the interactions they had with the others to develop their thoughts and promote their efforts. Connected as they were, each magazine played a different role in this multifaceted network. Algeria, for example, was less reliant on images from Québec to articulate their desires, yet the fact that a North America revolutionary organization drew from the Algerian example bolstered *La Révolution Africaine*’s internationalist self-image. Despite these difference, the publications’ connections provided the material for an internationalist atmosphere in which intellectuals could cultivate their revolutionary movements, learn from other radicals, and spread their ideology to a broad audience.

Historians have noted the shattering impact of the Algerian War on France, as the French had to come to terms with the fact that their nation's most prized territory did not want to be part of France's future.<sup>5</sup> The startling brutality of the Algerian War forced many French intellectuals to face the hypocrisy of their nation's actions, establishing strong international ties between members of the developing New Left in both countries.<sup>6</sup> Historical scholarship on the influence of the Algerian War and its aftermath within the Hexagon, however, leaves out the complex reciprocal exchange between French intellectuals and their counterparts in Algeria, Québec, and other places. My study, by contrast, shows the impact of the French metropole on the rest of the francophone world and the equal—indeed, perhaps greater—impact of global and Third World intellectuals on French intellectuals' perception of themselves.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, scholarship on this subject is generally divided between studies of the intellectual impact of the Algerian War and decolonization on the French zeitgeist and studies of the physical impact of these struggles on

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<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, Paul Sorum, *Intellectuals and Decolonization in France* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); James LeSueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Dane Kennedy, *Decolonization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Connolly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Kalter's *The Discovery of the Third World* demonstrates the importance of the Third World on French intellectuals. His interest is not so much in understanding the mutually reinforcing processes at work, but rather in the complicated story of what the Third World provided for the New Left in France in the 1960s. He therefore does not address these feedback loops between France and the Third World.

the metropole.<sup>8</sup> By weaving the tales of non-French individuals and institutions in amongst the history of the ideas in France, I hope to bridge this intellectual narrative divide.<sup>9</sup>

Historians have recently begun to analyze the intellectual's changing role in this period. Richard Wolin argues that in the 1960s, "the specific intellectual had supplanted the universal intellectual...the democratic intellectual would replace the vanguard intellectual of the Jacobin-Bolshevik mold."<sup>10</sup> While the men I discuss in this paper certainly saw themselves as more democratic than their Bolshevik predecessors, I take issue with Wolin's assertion that they broke fully with the Enlightenment universalist intellectual, modeled on those of the Dreyfus Affair in the French case.<sup>11</sup> Instead, I see these men as the last gasp of what Zygmunt Bauman identifies as the intellectual desire to be a kind of legislator. These men felt they could make "authoritative statements," on the nature of oppression, legitimized by their access to "superior (objective) knowledge," as Bauman argues intellectual legislators did, though they remained unique in their

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<sup>8</sup> On the former trend, see Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006) or Paige Arthur, *Unfinished Projects: Decolonization and the Philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre* (New York: Verso Books, 2010). On the latter, see Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* or Anthony Clayton, *The Wars of French Decolonization* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Wolin attempts to do a similar project in his *The Wind from the East*. He demonstrates how French *gauchistes* attempted to reconcile their own political projects with the ideas of Maoism. In tracing both the rise and fall of French Maoism and French intellectuals' interest in it, Wolin does not, however, attempt to take seriously or analyze the intellectual implications or philosophy of these French figures. Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010). Richard White and Marc Matera provide examples of how to combine an intellectual history with the stories of individuals. I build on the framework they provide. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republicans in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Wolin, *The Wind from the East*, xii.

<sup>11</sup> See Eric Cahm, *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics* (New York: Longman, 1996); Jeremy Jennings and Anthony Kemp-Welch, *Intellectuals in Politics: From the Dreyfus Affair to Salman Rushdie* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

desire to make the people conscience of this supposedly objective knowledge.<sup>12</sup> They wanted not only to point out changing social and political realities, as Bauman's legislators would, but to make the non-intellectual understand and fully embrace these realities. I believe they should be understood as a distinct type of *revolutionary* modernist intellectual. I argue that studying the publication networks and international bonds these men developed is the best way to understand their conception and enactment of this idea of a revolutionary intellectual. Moreover, seeing these intellectuals as part of an Edenic world of revolutionary brothers who operated across and despite national boundaries adds to our understanding of leftist internationalism and the operation of the international New Left in the 1960s.

Publications provide an avenue to understand the intellectual trends and political and cultural imaginations of a society. Studying periodicals, magazines, and edition houses reveals the meaning of liberation for intellectuals involved in their production and for the students, activists, and revolutionaries who used these ideas to shed light on what they saw as the need to spark a global revolution to liberate those oppressed by capitalism and imperialism.<sup>13</sup> Relying on historians who have explained how key publications contributed to the resistance to the Algerian War and to the development of an anti-institutional culture that would lead to the events of global events of 1968, I extend their interpretations of "feedback loops" in publishing and the popular press in both time and geographical scope.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters: On modernity, post-modernity and intellectuals* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> France has a particularly long and rich history of politicized publications. On this topic, see Jean-Yves Mollier's comprehensive work on the press and politics in France, *Édition, presse et pouvoir en France au XXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), Julien Hage, *L'Édition politique d'extrême gauche au XXe siècle, essai d'histoire globale* (Lyon: Presse de l'ENSSIB, 2013), or Rémy Rieffel, *La Tribu des Clercs: Les Intellectuels sous la Ve République, 1958-1990* (Paris : Calmann-Levy, 1993).

<sup>14</sup> Herve Hamon and Patrick Rotman, *Les Porteurs de Valises: La résistance française a la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris : Seuil, 1982), discuss the role of pro-Algerian intellectuals in France. For a broad overview of French anticolonial

While interactions between Algeria and France have been studied at length, Québec remains a blank page in histories of the 1960s or decolonization. The only majority francophone province of Canada, Québec in the 1960s was a hotbed of political activism spurred on by a radical separatist movement whose activism eventually led to two independence referendums in the 1980s and '90s.<sup>15</sup> The language barrier between Québec and surrounding centers of academic power, continuing anglophone Canadian prejudice against the province, and a relatively small population have all contributed to this scholarly silence. Yet these leftists saw themselves as part of a global revolutionary movement and Québec played an important part in Charles de Gaulle's effort to restore France's prominence on the world stage. The fact that a small group of self-identified anticolonial radicals operated for a decade in the heart of a powerful North American democracy suggests that there are connections between Québec and the rest of the world that should be reintegrated into the story of the 1960s.<sup>16</sup> Taken together, these three sites provide a sense of the broad and varied international connections that spurred a distinct idea of the ideal revolutionary intellectual.

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intellectuals, see Jean-Pierre Bondi's *Les Anticolonialistes (1881-1962)* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, S. A., 1992). For more on the events of May 1968, see Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Ben Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution: Mass-Circulation Books and the Cultural Origins of 1968 in Western Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72, no. 4 (October 2011), 613-636; Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, Robert Frank, Marie-Françoise Levy, Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, eds. *Les Années 68: le temps de la contestation* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> John Dickinson and Brian Young, eds., *A Short History of Québec*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); Susan Mann *The Dream of a Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). On the intellectual history of Québec separatism, see Robert Comeau, Charles-Philippe Courtois, and Denis Monière, eds., *Histoire Intellectuelle de l'Indépendantisme Québécois, Tome 1: 1834-1968*. (Québec: VLB Éditeur, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> David Meren, *With Friends Like These: Entangled Nationalisms and the Canada-Québec-France Triangle, 1944-1970* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012); Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011). For theories of nationalism addressing Québec, see Montserrat Guibernau, *The Identity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

## Background

The story of these francophone networks begins with a brief introduction to the publications that built them. François Maspero formally registered his publishing house, Les Éditions Maspero on February 20, 1959. Maspero came from a family active in the French Resistance to the Nazis and he continued his family's political activism in his opposition to the Algerian War. The French government seized fifteen of Maspero's works for openly advocating the Algerian cause. After the War ended, Maspero strove to support international solidarity through his publications: "More than a third of humanity, in those years 'was emerging' ... it was necessary to give them the room to speak," he explained in a later reflection on his work in the 1960s.<sup>17</sup> A relatively small network of activists ran Les Éditions Maspero.<sup>18</sup> They published French theoretical texts, translations, and a variety of manuscripts that intellectuals and radicals sent from around the world. In conjunction with this radical publishing house, Maspero established the magazine *Partisans* (1961-1972) to highlight the New Left's political line.<sup>19</sup> Both Les Éditions Maspero and *Partisans* promulgated leftist ideas, particularly those from the Third World and those that resisted traditional party politics.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> François Maspero, *Les Abeilles et la Guêpe* (Paris: Seuil, 2002), 167.

<sup>18</sup> For more on the group operating the publishing house, see Julien Hage, "Une Brève Histoire des librairies et des Éditions Maspero," in Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 95-130.

<sup>19</sup> Other intellectuals involved in this project were: Nils Andersson, Jean Carta, Gerard Chaliand, Marie-Therese Maugis, Jean-Philippe Talbo, and Fanchita Gonzalez Battle. For more detailed description of *Partisans*, see Chapter 5 of Kalter's *The Discovery of the Third World*.

<sup>20</sup> Maspero is generally understood to be a "united front" publisher. Publishing houses like his released a broad range of works, which all, of course, had a radical bent, but took different approaches and positions on a variety of

First released in early 1963 by the newly independent Algerian government, *La Révolution Africaine* was similarly committed to supporting internationalist leftism. The weekly magazine was originally led by Jacques Vergès and Zohra Drif, though its editorial board changed often.<sup>21</sup> Mohammed Harbi took over the editorial responsibilities in late 1963, becoming an influential leader for the journal, even if his tenure there was short. While its content shifted with changing political tides, the magazine remained committed to making known “the struggle of the peoples of these territories and [calling] on all men who love freedom and progress to fight at their side.”<sup>22</sup> *La Révolution Africaine* regularly published about and advocated for Third World political movements and sought to promote international socialism in Algeria and elsewhere. As the mouthpiece for the new Algerian government, *La Révolution Africaine*, which closed in 1968, was a vital source for francophone radicals looking for inspiration from this revolutionary nation.

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issues. By releasing a periodical, Maspero was affirming that he had a coherent political line he wished to espouse. The fact that periodicals had editorial boards and readers with particular expectations for what would be released ensured that a periodical was more likely to have a coherent political bent. For information on other more popular left periodicals, see Howard Davis, *Sartre and ‘Les Temps Modernes’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Anna Boschetti, *The Intellectual Enterprise: Sartre and Les Temps Modernes* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988); Duncan Thompson, *Pessimism of the Intellect?: A History of the New Left Review* (Monmouth, Wales: Merlin, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Vergès, a controversial lawyer, was famed for his anticolonialism and anti-Westernism. He was the son of a French diplomat, Raymond Vergès, and a Vietnamese mother. Born in colonial Siam, Vergès was raised on the island of La Reunion, but was educated in France and would go on to passionately defend anti-French activists around the world, including, controversially, the war criminal Klaus Barbie. Mark Kersetzen, “Meeting the Devil’s Advocate—An Interview with Jacques Vergès,” *Justice in Conflict*, August 26, 2013. <https://justiceinconflict.org/2013/08/26/meeting-the-devils-advocate-an-interview-with-jacques-verges/>. See also Erna Paris’ seminal work on the Barbie Trial, *Unhealed Wounds: France and the Klaus Barbie Affair* (New York: Grove Press, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> Editorial Board, “Why ‘African Revolution’?” *African Revolution*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1963). Note that this is the first translated English edition of the magazine to be released. These were produced monthly and shipped across the anglophone world. The call to arms in the original French, however, is relatively similar. For the remainder of this paper, most of the quotations from *La Révolution Africaine*, unless otherwise noted, will be from the original French editions.

In contrast to the Algerian socialists, Québécois leftists in the 1960s were constructing what they viewed to be an anticolonial struggle against the political and cultural domination of anglophone Canada and the capitalist oppression of the United States. As the first to argue that Québec should be understood as a colonized state, the young Montréalais who began the monthly magazine *Parti Pris* were largely dependent on international support to legitimize their struggle.<sup>23</sup> First published in October 1963 by five men—André Brochu, Paul Chamberland, Pierre Maheu, André Major, and Jean-Marc Piotte—*Parti Pris* grew to be a formidable publication.<sup>24</sup> An undated partial distribution list for the magazine noted that they provided 876 copies of the magazine to bookstores and libraries, not including individual subscriptions to the magazine.<sup>25</sup> Though its exact circulation numbers are unclear, *Parti Pris* was an influential publication. Their function in the revolution, they wrote, was to serve as an organ for “demystification,” helping the revolution to “become conscious of itself, as it occurs.”<sup>26</sup> The magazine analyzed contemporary Québec and provided contextualized interpretations of anticolonialism and socialism, borrowing from Les Éditions Maspero and *La Révolution Africaine* for information and inspiration. Québécois revolutionaries gained prominence on the

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<sup>23</sup> Leftists in Québec believed themselves to be part of the so-called Third World, due to their experiences with imperialism, the marginalization of their culture and language, and their economic oppression. Raymond Barbeau, a radical associated with the magazine, explored this connection in *Le Québec est-il une colonie?* (Montréal: Édition de l’homme, 1962). For more on this idea, see Mills, *The Empire Within*, 51-61.

<sup>24</sup> No single book about *Parti Pris* exists. For information on the magazine, see the chapter in Andrée Fortin’s *Passage de la Modernité: Les Intellectuels Québécois et leurs revues (1778-2004)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2006). A few individuals associated with the magazine have written post-facto accounts of their experiences during this period. See, for example, Malcolm Reid, *Notre Parti Est Pris: Un jeune reporter chez les écrivains révolutionnaires du Québec* (Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2009), Robert Major, *Parti Pris: idéologies et littérature* (Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1979), and Paul Chamberland, *Un Parti Pris anthropologique* (Montréal: Parti Pris, 1983).

<sup>25</sup> “Liste partielle des dépositaires de *Parti Pris*,” BANQ. Fond Éditions Parti Pris, MSS140, 2006-10-001/1208.

<sup>26</sup> “Presentations,” *Parti Pris*, vol. 1, no. 1 (October 1963), 4.

world scene over the course of the 1960s through their publications and political work and imagined themselves as a vital center of francophone radicalism.

In analyzing the ideas of revolutionary intellectuals, it is necessary to define a few terms I borrow from these publications. Intellectuals regularly described their work as intended to ‘demystify’ issues for the public. I use this word, as they did, to refer to the act of making legible to the general reading public ideas that were often addressed in Marxist-Leninist theory or in abstract academic discussions of decolonization. These intellectuals used socialist or anticolonial theory to show the public the truth, as they saw it, of the societies in which they all lived. Radicals believed that this truth, the universal reality addressed by Marx and supposedly identifiable in all societies, could be comprehended by analyzing oppression according to socialist principles. Finally, I necessarily refer to “the revolution”. This term carried different meanings for people across time and space, but for the purposes of this work, I will use the revolution to refer to the idealized process that these leftists believed would lead to the anticolonial, socialist liberation of the working class.<sup>27</sup>

This paper relies primarily on the publications of Les Éditions Maspero, and the writings of *La Révolution Africaine* and *Parti Pris*. These sources are supplemented by published works and interviews from relevant authors as well as archival material from the Bibliothèque et Archives National du Québec à Montréal (BAnQ) and oral histories I undertook in Québec.<sup>28</sup> The study is split into three sections, following the political imagination of these intellectuals. The first section details how intellectuals conceived of themselves as people who could

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<sup>27</sup> Both demystification (démystification) and revolution (révolution) are easy to translate from French to English. What I refer to ‘truth’ is alternately referred to by the French as ‘vérité’, ‘faits’ or ‘réalité’.

<sup>28</sup> Many thanks to the help and advice of the archivists at the BAnQ who were generous with their time and resources. Thanks as well to Jean-Marc Pottle and Gilles Bourque who agreed to speak with me after a simple email, welcomed me into their homes, and were incredibly generous with their time and thoughts.

demystify the truth of revolution to the public; the second addresses how intellectuals used their places in publications networks to enact the internationalism upon which this demystified truth relied; and finally, the third section follows the specific actions of a few individuals who embodied the ideal of the revolutionary intellectual. Each section begins with the story of an individual involved with one of the publications, who serves as a guide to the key ideas presented therein. The idea of the revolutionary intellectual was just one part of the francophone radicals' conception of anticolonial freedom that developed through continuous dialogue between 1963 and 1968. Analyzing the idea of the revolutionary intellectual, however, can demonstrate the impact of feedback loops on this intellectual milieu. This analysis underscores how reciprocal exchanges established a complex theoretical framework that helped revolutionaries conceive of liberation.

## Demystifying the Truth

A little after two in the morning in 1957 after a long night of waiting in police headquarters, several men were loaded into a van, brought to the Pont Neuilly—a bridge on the outskirts of Paris, on a road that now leads to La Defense—and thrown out onto the side of the road. Mohammed Harbi, a twenty-four-year-old Algerian member of the Fédération de France of the Front de Libération National (FLN), smiled a little as he told the tale. “I think they were just tired of processing people,”<sup>29</sup> he said. The raid in the Latin Quarter during which Harbi was arrested by the *Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire* also rounded up nearly a thousand others.<sup>30</sup> Of the many FLN members in France during the War, “there were only two of us who escaped arrest,” Harbi explains. “We were protected by our French comrades, all the time that we were struggling within France.”<sup>31</sup> Harbi’s connections to French radicals saved him. Indeed, the connections between Algerian revolutionaries and French radicals was essential to the FLN’s success throughout the Algerian War. He fundamentally believed that, despite the differences between his home and France, there were some amongst the New Left who understood the plight of Algerians and could contribute to their revolution.

Born in 1933, Mohamed Harbi was made the Federation de France’s press attaché in 1957 which allowed him to establish a wide network of contacts in France. His official task with

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<sup>29</sup> Mohammed Harbi, interview with Isabelle Mandraud, “Mohammed Harbi, ancien militant du FLN,” *Le Monde*, March 19, 2012. [http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2012/03/19/mohammed-harbi-ancien-militant-du-fln\\_1671067\\_3212.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2012/03/19/mohammed-harbi-ancien-militant-du-fln_1671067_3212.html).

<sup>30</sup> A French counter-intelligence organization active in the 1950s and ‘60s.

<sup>31</sup> Harbi, “Mohammed Harbi, ancien militant du FLN.”

the FLN was to establish “contact with French intellectuals...and to encourage them to support the FLN,”<sup>32</sup> bringing to their attention the plight faced by all oppressed peoples. Harbi continued to participate actively in the Algerian War over the next five years. He returned home only after independence, becoming an advisor to President Ben Bella. Once there, Harbi directed *La Révolution Africaine* until 1965 when a coup forced him into exile, though he recognized the unique nature of his own journey. “The revolution was lived differently by different groups and individuals,” Harbi reflected, yet he saw similarities between his own activity and that of other revolutionaries.<sup>33</sup> This Algerian intellectual used his writing in *La Révolution Africaine* to critique the choices of newly-independent Algeria, and he supported other writers who did the same. *La Révolution Africaine* discussed the affairs of the Algerian state and the ongoing struggles taking place across the Third World. They used this medium to explain Algeria’s revolution, showing others how this could be achieved in almost any anticolonial struggle. Harbi, writers of the *La Révolution Africaine*, *Parti Pris*, and members of Maspero’s publishing house, all used their positions to search for what they believed was the truth of revolution. These intellectuals’ position, they believed, afforded them the opportunity to see past the nuances of specific contexts to illuminate the similarities between a wide variety of different struggles against oppression.

*La Révolution Africaine*, *Parti Pris*, and Les Éditions Maspero developed a strikingly similar conception of the role of the radical intellectual. Though by 1963 these leftists had

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<sup>32</sup> “Chargé de presse et d’information” roughly compares to the American press attaché, but also involved seeking out alliances and useful information from sympathetic Frenchmen and women. Adam Shatz and Mohammed Harbi, “An Interview with Mohammed Harbi,” *Historical Reflections* 28, no. 2 (Summer 2002), 301-309.

<sup>33</sup> Mohammed Harbi, interview with Areski Metref, “Mohammed Harbi: ‘L’Algerie est un pays frustré d’une expérience nationale populaire,’” *Le Matin d’Algerie*, July 11, 2010. <http://www.lematindz.net/news/3209-mohamed-harbi-lalgerie-est-un-pays-frustre-dune-experience-nationale-popula.html>.

accepted that differences existed between leftist movements around the world, they thought it their task to link these struggles. Like other Marxists acting over the course of the twentieth century, these men believed in their ability to delineate universal laws that spoke to the nature of the world, to demystify structures of oppression through the application of Marxist-Leninist and anticolonial revolutionary theory.<sup>34</sup> By writing about these problems, francophone intellectuals believed they could shed light on injustice and bring them to the attention of the non-academic person, to the people writ large. These engaged intellectuals used their writing to adapt theories and practices of anticolonialism and socialist revolution from a variety of situations to enact them in their own locales. The revolutionary intellectual of the 1960s wanted to demonstrate similarities between oppressed peoples, applying Marxist-Leninist theories to make it clear how socialist revolution could liberate everyone.

The idea of demystification, for these revolutionaries, came from two francophone intellectuals they found particularly inspirational: Jean-Paul Sartre and Frantz Fanon. As previously noted, Fanon released almost all of his monographs with Maspero's publishing house, including *L'an V de La Révolution Algérienne* (1959), *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961), and a post-mortem release, *Pour La Révolution Africaine: écrits politique* (1964). Maspero's 1961 edition of Frantz Fanon's *Les Damnes de la Terre* included Sartre's notorious preface.<sup>35</sup> Les

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<sup>34</sup> These men thus fall squarely in what Bauman calls the legislator conception of the intellectual. As with most of the revolutionary left who draw their ideas from Marxist-Leninism, the men of these magazines believed there was a single truth of liberation which they could reveal and use to bring freedom to the people of the world. Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters*, 4-6. On the topic of the idea of the intellectual in France, see Sunil Khilnani, *Arguing Revolution: The Intellectual Left in Postwar France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), David Drake, *Intellectuals and Politics in Post-War France* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), or Eleanor Davey, *Idealism Beyond Borders: The French Revolutionary Left and the Rise of Humanitarianism, 1954-1988* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>35</sup> Sartre released *Le Procès Régis Debray* as part of Les Éditions Maspero's "Cahiers Libre," in 1968, bringing attention to the trial of the young Frenchman who traveled to Bolivia to fight with Che Guevara.

Éditions Maspero's support of Fanon even during the Algerian War was not inconsequential for its symbolic importance amongst the revolutionary left; Maspero's work suggested that France still had something to contribute to the revolutionary project.

Revolutionaries of the 1960s believed Sartre and Fanon to be articulating how the engaged intellectual could demystify a universal need for socialist revolution. The intellectual, according to these francophone writers, was responsible for making people understand the problems of the society in which they lived and highlighting how a revolutionary socialist movement could resolve them. The intellectual should "create the need for justice, freedom, and solidarity, and strain to satisfy these needs with his...works," Sartre wrote.<sup>36</sup> By highlighting the similarities between oppressive structures, Sartre believed that the intellectual could make evident the need for change and participate in changing them. "Thus, by speaking," Sartre wrote, "I reveal [the situation] to myself and to others *in order* to change it."<sup>37</sup> To the intellectuals of the 1960s in Québec, Algeria, and France, this change self-evidently meant revolution. Sartre's writings on decolonization and the Third World lent these movements further credence and gave them space to understand how their experiences of oppression could be linked to other global movements. Sartre believed in the necessity of such a global project, "In a world in which discrimination exists, not to acknowledge it would be to deny one's historical condition, and thus to participate in a mystified (hence erroneous) notion of the liberal abstraction of the human being."<sup>38</sup> Writing thus revealed both to the author and the reader the true nature of oppression. Sartre's theories acknowledged the difference between contexts, but still allowed francophone

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<sup>36</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, "The Nationalization of Literature," in *What is Literature? and Other Essays*, ed. Steven Ungar, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 287.

<sup>37</sup> Sartre, "What is Writing?" in *What is Literature*, 37.

<sup>38</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, quoted in English in Paige Arthur, *Unfinished Projects*, 12.

intellectuals to act as legislators by recognizing the similarities between oppressive structures. Moreover, these men were confident that the changes Sartre advocated in his writings would take the form of socialist revolution.

Fanon was important to these revolutionary intellectuals for his role in the Algerian War and for his desire to reveal people's alienation. Fanon believed that intellectuals could identify the needs of their people in the anticolonial struggle, using their writing to show why it should change. Fanon called on the intellectual to demystify the alienating forms of society. He argued: "We cannot go resolutely forward unless we first realize our alienation."<sup>39</sup> This was the central task of the revolutionary intellectual. For this Martiniquais, "the problem," when determining the nature of intellectual work, "is knowing what role these men have in store for their people, the type of social relations they will establish and their idea of the future of humanity...all else is hot air and mystification."<sup>40</sup> Writers had to be clear about the political intentions and clear in their writing. Algerian, Québécois, and French revolutionaries took this call to heart, using their writing to show how they, as intellectuals, would help their people establish a new, liberated country. The colonized intellectual, Fanon believed, was responsible for committing to the cause, for addressing "himself to his people."<sup>41</sup> The revolutionary intellectuals of the 1960s were inspired by Fanon. These men thought their position as committed revolutionaries would enable them to speak to their people and convince them of the need for revolution. That their message resonated primarily with those already on the political left only suggested, to these men, that they needed to continue their work of demystification.

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<sup>39</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 163.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 173.

The authors of *Parti Pris* were enamored with Sartre, using the Frenchman's ideas to understand how they could reveal oppression to French Canadians. Sartre believed writing could serve to rectify "a consciousness's alienation from itself," and "its alienation from others."<sup>42</sup> The intellectuals of *Parti Pris* read Sartre and believed it their duty to achieve this dis-alienation in Québec. Gaston Miron, a poet and contributor to the *Parti Pris*, wrote an article, "A Long Road," detailing how he himself demystified his own social position.<sup>43</sup> While reading the work of other leftist intellectuals, Miron "began to perceive what I objectively was," realizing "more and more...my condition as a humiliation and an injustice."<sup>44</sup> Engaging with other intellectuals, in other words, helped Miron to recognize alienation in his own consciousness. Taking seriously Sartre's argument that "the writer has chosen to reveal the world to man and...to reveal man to other men,"<sup>45</sup> Miron argued that the literature of *Parti Pris* served to rectify the second form of alienation. "Literature," Miron wrote, "is more than an expression, it is also an act, its action is one of unveiling and overcoming of alienation."<sup>46</sup> The writing Miron produced and the other writing put out by the magazine, then, was a political action which served this demystification. Being an intellectual, for the members of *Parti Pris* and for Sartre, meant putting pen to paper to reveal structures of oppression and show how their abstract ideologies could liberate Québec.

*Parti Pris* combined Sartre's idea of dis-alienation with their belief that, as Fanon had argued, the revolutionary intellectual could promote a unified national consciousness. Though

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<sup>42</sup> Arthur, *Unfinished Projects*, 27.

<sup>43</sup> Gaston Miron, "Un Long Chemin," *Parti Pris* 2, no. 5 (January 1965), 25.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>45</sup> Sartre, "What is Writing?" in *What is Literature?*, 38.

<sup>46</sup> Miron, "Un Long Chemin," *Parti Pris* 2, no. 5, 30.

the comparisons between Québec and other colonized locales were often vague and unconvincing, the authors relied on Fanon's language of the colonized intellectual to prove their point.<sup>47</sup> Miron believed that intellectuals should promote Québécois culture in the pages of *Parti Pris*, arguing that, "We, colonized writers, contribute to this coming to consciousness,"<sup>48</sup> of the people. Moreover, Fanon's dedication to the oppressed is constantly reflected in these men's writing. *Parti Pris* believed that their role was to "give voice to and...incarnate the needs of" the people and, taking their cue from Fanon, also to act on their side.<sup>49</sup> Instead of developing theory in words incomprehensible to the people, the partipristes had great respect for intellectuals who wrote for their country, "in a language practiced by all," in whose words "readers could find a familiar, vital universe."<sup>50</sup> As revolutionary intellectuals, the authors of *Parti Pris* thus saw themselves as those best equipped to reveal Québec's so-called colonization to their fellow French Canadians and thus to demonstrate the need for socialist revolution.

Sartre's role as a symbol of the French New Left remained more important for these Algerians than did his theories, unlike the role his work played for *Parti Pris*. Indeed, for the

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<sup>47</sup> This love for Fanon led the partipristes to be, if not part of, at least sympathetic to, the Front de Liberation du Québec (FLQ). This radical separatist organization assassinated Pierre Lapointe in 1970, an act with which many of the writers of *Parti Pris* were uncomfortable, even if it fit into the ideology they promoted. The FLQ's belief in violence was in no small part drawn from the writing of Fanon whom they encountered both through Maspéro's publications and, interpreted for their own context, in the pages of *Parti Pris*. For other examples of their use of Fanon's theories, see, for example, Paul Chamberland, "De la Damnation a la Liberté," *Parti Pris* 1, no. 9-11 (Summer 1964), 83 and Philippe Bernard and Gaetan Tremblay, "Culture Décolonisation," *Parti Pris* 4, no. 9-12 (May-August 1967), 102. For more on the FLQ, see Louis Fournier, *FLQ: The Anatomy of an Underground Movement*, trans. Edward Baxter (Toronto: NC Press, 1984).

<sup>48</sup> Gaston Miron, "Un Long Chemin," *Parti Pris* 2, no. 5 (January 1965), 31-32.

<sup>49</sup> "La Révolution, c'est le peuple," *Parti Pris* 1, no. 8 (May 1964), 2-10.

<sup>50</sup> Laurent Girouard, "Notre Littérature de colonie," *Parti Pris* 2, no. 5 (January 1965), 35. To this end, the writers were particularly interested in promoting 'joual', the working-class slang of Montréal and often wrote in this dialect in their articles. Yves Roberge, "joual," *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, published 2004, accessed November 14, 2017.

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195415599.001.0001/acref-9780195415599-e-829>.

writers of *La Révolution Africaine* the idea of demystification came more from Fanon than from the French existentialist. Yet Algerians admired Sartre's efforts to highlight oppression in France. They noted, for example, a conference on apartheid Sartre organized in which he "exposed the conditions of the blacks of South Africa"<sup>51</sup> to the audience. However, by 1966, *La Révolution Africaine* used Sartre's own theories to point out the perhaps limited power of writing: "Do 'les mots' still have some power? The Africans are waiting..."<sup>52</sup> Their rebuke of Sartre's political action in France demonstrates a familiarity with his work and a clear understanding of his geo-political importance. Though they critiqued the limited power of the French writers' words, *La Révolution Africaine* clearly still believed in the important place of using writing to bring others into their revolutionary project. "From time to time, a part of this structure [neocolonialism]...falls and unveils, in part, the dirt hidden underneath. This is how demystification is undertaken...it is necessary...to accelerate by all means this process which will allow our people...to shake...this virus..."<sup>53</sup> Each article they published on socialist movements was supposed to be another step towards dismantling neocolonial power in their country. *La Révolution Africaine's* authors believed that their writing accelerated Algeria's revolutionary project by showing their readers the underpinnings of oppression.

The Martiniquan intellectual Frantz Fanon became embroiled in the Algerian conflict and quickly became a political and intellectual symbol there. *La Révolution Africaine* underscored how Fanon's ideas could lead intellectuals to demystify the conditions that led to Third World revolution. Two issues in June of 1964 detail the "Revolutionary Thought of Frantz Fanon,"

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<sup>51</sup> "Paris: Une Conference sur l'apartheid," *La Révolution Africaine* 197 (November 18-24, 1966), 27.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> D. Bendimred, "Editorial: La Necessaire Demystification," *La Revolution Africaine* 193 (October 14-21, 1966), 3.

noting his ability to speak on—and therefore demonstrate to others—the “inhumane reality of humanity.” Hassan Hamdan wrote that Fanon’s analysis of the Algerian War “revealed...the meaning of the revolutionary future and its course.”<sup>54</sup> Intellectual work like Fanon’s allowed the people to see how contemporary events fit into a particular vision of the future—one that, for men like Hamdan, was revolutionary and socialist. Hamdan demonstrated in these articles the help his writing could help Algerians understand the human condition. *La Révolution Africaine* expanded on Fanon’s ideas and argued that intellectuals served an important role in promoting self-reflection.

Algeria’s active participation in the Third Worldist movement led them to combine the ambition to reveal alienation they took from Fanon and Sartre with examples and ideas from Latin America. The editors at *La Révolution Africaine* understood Latin American intellectuals to be the first to notice and illuminate the structures of oppression that permeated Latin American society. “Students and intellectuals were the first to become conscious of the necessity of changes which the countries of South America need.”<sup>55</sup> Then these individuals had a responsibility to reveal the necessity of changes to others. *La Révolution Africaine* argued that revolutionary intellectuals could enlighten the Latin American public on similarities amongst the Third World, thus acting against oppression. Indeed, the writers note that, in Cuba, “it was intellectuals who took direction of the guerrilla [movement].”<sup>56</sup> Intellectuals were the first notice oppression, then, according to the magazine, worked to bring this to light for the people. By

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<sup>54</sup>Hassan Hamdan, “La Pensée Révolutionnaire de Frantz Fanon,” *La Révolution Africaine* 71 (June 6, 1964), 19-20 and Hassan Hamdan, “La Pensée Révolutionnaire de Frantz Fanon,” *La Révolution Africaine* 72 (June 13, 1964), 18-19.

<sup>55</sup> “Amérique Latine: Une force révolutionnaire, les étudiants,” *La Révolution Africaine* 191 (October 3-10, 1966), 29.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

discussing the actions taken by Latin American revolutionaries, *La Révolution Africaine* was, in effect, undertaking the same sort of project they so admired in Latin America and in the writings of Fanon. Speaking of the similarities between Latin America, Asia, and Africa, they wrote, “the revolution passes through the countries of the Third World because of the principal contradictions which reside between oppressed peoples and the imperialist...countries.”<sup>57</sup>

Praising and acting as revolutionary intellectuals, *La Révolution Africaine* borrowed from Fanon and from other anticolonial examples to highlight the similarities between oppressed conditions. The editors argued that these examples showed how intellectuals’ work could enlighten the people on the conditions in their own nations that could be resolved, according to their logic, by socialist revolution.

From the outset, the Algerian and Québécois magazines spoke to their own ability to demystify conditions in their own nations as revolutionary intellectuals. Demystification was necessary, *La Révolution Africaine* wrote, as a process “which will permit our people, all of us, to shake...the virus that has been sowed on our path, to get rid of the complexes” that prevent “the real forces of progress and peace” from gaining traction against “the retrograde forces of discrimination, domination, and exploitation.”<sup>58</sup> Only once their writing had allowed the public to understand the problems plaguing Algeria could the socialist project progress. Similarly, *Parti Pris* explained that these magazines would “help the revolutionary class to become conscious of itself as a group.”<sup>59</sup> Publications could help as they represented an “effort of

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<sup>57</sup> S. P., “Conference de la Havane: Pour Une Initiative Anti-Imperialiste,” *La Revolution AFricaine* 153 (January 1-7, 1966), 16-17.

<sup>58</sup> D. Bendimred, “Éditorial: La Nécessaire Démystification,” *La Révolution Africaine* 193, (October 14-21, 1966), 3.

<sup>59</sup> “Éditorial: Lettre au Lecteur,” *Parti Pris* 1, no. 4 (January 1964), 2-3.

demystification...creating a revolutionary consciousness amongst the exploited classes.”<sup>60</sup> The publications contributed to this process by helping the well-intentioned inform themselves, discuss, then decide what ought to be done.<sup>61</sup> That many failed to recognize the reality to which leftists were pointing was, according to this logic, the fault of the veil which continued to hide self-evident truths—certainly not any flaw in their own internal logic. These authors believed that they could demonstrate to others the ways in which the people were oppressed, provide them with information on socialism, and then the people would naturally start a revolution. Radical differences between Montréal, Algiers, and Paris or the fact that many did not agree with revolution as the answer to social problems did not impair these intellectuals’ desire to provide a universal solution to local problems.

While intellectuals in France were not attempting to spur on revolution in their own country, they also saw themselves as engaged in a revelatory project: “We are part of a generation which saw the humanist values of our country dismantled. We know today that...colonial alienation can bring about the same deviations as Nazism...”<sup>62</sup> They linked the anticolonial struggle to their own fight in WWII to highlight, just as Fanon and Sartre had, the dangers of remaining in a state of alienation, thus tying themselves to the Third World. Maspero’s perception of the editor, moreover, showed how little the French saw themselves as producing theory, simply highlighting descriptions of supposedly objective reality. He described the editorial process as a chain which began at the actor on the ground and “on the other side of

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<sup>60</sup> Paul Chamberland, “Les Contradictions de La Révolution Tranquille,” *Parti Pris* 1, no. 5 (February 1964), 8.

<sup>61</sup> This is particularly evident in these three publications discussed here, but was certainly not limited to them. Kalter discusses how Maspero and the editorial board of *Partisans* saw their role in *The Discovery of the Third World*, 207-210.

<sup>62</sup> “A propos de la génération algérienne,” *Partisans* 1 (September-October 1961), 147.

the chain, there are the people who read, who become conscious...of what can happen..." when they act.<sup>63</sup> The editor, Maspero argued, lay "in the middle of the chain, intervening [only] a little." Writers, authors, and editors, then, Maspero believed, were not creating truth, not inventing new theories or ideas, but rather demystifying the Marxist, quasi-scientific truth that lay behind all these global events. Les Éditions Maspero provided a space in France for intellectuals to explain the situation in which they lived, illuminating current events and promoting leftist solutions to them.

*La Révolution Africaine* critiqued their own government and linked their project to other movements as a means of building socialism in Algeria. Mohammed Harbi wrote that, in Algeria, "The revolutionary power must not let its rigor be diminished. In this way will be created the conditions necessary for the total...application of the program of the Congress."<sup>64</sup> Once their country was established, Harbi believed, it was not a matter of revising their universalist mission for socialist revolution, but rather of applying it better, of applying their intellectual theory fully. Critiquing problems in independent Algeria was part and parcel of the project aimed at implementing socialist revolution, which could come about by demonstrating how their solution could be applied to any context. Moreover, the universalism of the magazine's project permitted them to speak on contexts which might otherwise appear radically different. In a discussion of the American Civil Rights movement the authors wrote, "these differences between the North and the South...corresponds exactly with...the traditional differences between all 'metropoles' and its 'colonies.'"<sup>65</sup> White southerners, in their metaphor, could be seen as the

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<sup>63</sup> Chris Marker, *Les Mots Ont un Sens*, April 1970, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNY-l7FuSnA>.

<sup>64</sup> Mohammed Harbi, "Éditorial: L'audace est payante," *La Révolution Africaine* 76, (July 11, 1964), 4.

<sup>65</sup> "Les Chemins de la Liberté: Le Pasteur King ou Malcolm X?," *La Revolution Africaine* (February 6, 1965), 12.

colonial agents of the capitalist center in the north. The author's decision to say that these differences corresponded "exactly" with "all" other colonial contexts demonstrates the universal nature of their critique. Despite what a modern lector might view as important differences, the authors of *La Révolution Africaine* claimed to speak to the reality they saw lurking behind these differences to show their readers how and why these struggles were linked. Demystification, for these Algerians, was both a means of supporting progress in their own contexts and explaining solidarity with others.

Revolutionaries in Québec also critiqued their government and fellows as a means to prompt their own hoped-for revolution. As a movement for national liberation, it is not surprising that *Parti Pris* criticized the Canadian government; they saw Ottawa as a colonial metropole that held firm control over Québec's financial and natural resources. The partipristes believed that it was their duty to demonstrate these problems to their people: "The Québécois are suspicious of...democracy? Let's show them that it has never existed in Canada..."<sup>66</sup> In their minds, explaining socialist ideas to the people was as important as showing them how these ideas could be implemented—something the authors did through their own action. Indeed, the magazine's authors would go on to establish their own political organization and lead study sessions to educate and train the public in leftist ideology.<sup>67</sup> *Parti Pris*'s writing would reveal oppression and dispel myths about their organization, showing people the alienation they endured. "[The Québécois] are scared of revolution? It is up to us to prove to them that the revolution is an act of

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<sup>66</sup> Pierre Bourgault, "Programme Politique et électorale," *Parti Pris* 3, (December 1963), 26.

<sup>67</sup> "La Constitution du mouvement parti pris," *Parti Pris* 2, no. 8 (April 1965), 45.

love and not of hate.”<sup>68</sup> Their magazine, they believed, could bring consciousness to the people and assuage the public’s fears of violent or anarchic radical groups.

*Parti Pris* also critiqued other leftists in Québec in their attempt to demystify what they saw as an anticolonial project for liberation. The magazine provided regular updates on the actions of “progressive forces of the nation,” by means of which they would “critique and demystify quotidian life in Québec,”<sup>69</sup> explaining why traditional political parties had supposedly failed the French Canadian population. The magazine used their power to explain the colonial situation in Québec to show how and why Marxist-Leninism would resolve the problems of the working-class. To this end, meeting records from 1965 note the partipristes’ intention to publish a “Militant’s Manuel” and engage in regular public instructional sessions which would help to educate the population of the province on the need for socialist revolution.<sup>70</sup> The partipristes intended to use their writing and these educational sessions to reveal oppressive structures for their people. They believed they were in a unique position to be able to hold such instructional resources to the working-class population of Québec, to show them why they should think of themselves as colonized and look to socialist revolution for liberation. The intellectuals of *Parti Pris*, just like those of *La Révolution Africaine* and Les Éditions Maspéro, wanted to shed light on the oppressive conditions of their own country that could be exploited to bring about revolution.

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<sup>68</sup> Pierre Bourgault, “Programme Politique et électorale,” *Parti Pris* 3 (December 1963), 26.

<sup>69</sup> Paul Chamberland, “Aliénation et Culture,” *Parti Pris* 1, no. 2 (November 1963), 22.

<sup>70</sup> Jean-Marc Pottle, “Compte rendu de la réunion du Conseil des responsables, les 5-6 juin 1965, pour évaluer l’année 64-65 et pour projeter l’année qui vient,” June 5-6, 1965. BAnQ, Fond Revue Parti Pris, MSS193, 2006-10-001/1586. It is unclear whether or not the manual was ever published, but the group did hold at least a few educational sessions throughout 1965 and 1966.

These magazines hoped to speak to a broad swath of the population including the working class, but they often highlighted youth and student movements as the most susceptible to their revolutionary message. The Algerian *La Révolution Africaine* believed that students in particular could learn from critiques of oppression printed in their pages, whether domestic or foreign. *La Révolution Africaine* suggested books released by Maspero as a source of material for such knowledge, noting important titles over the course of their publication. Student action in Algeria, *La Révolution Africaine* noted, was centered around the “defense of our socialist revolution” that required “the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and Zionism...”<sup>71</sup> Student activism, then, required a deep knowledge of all of these contexts. But the magazines all believed that, while students were particularly susceptible to the message of revolution they promoted, all people *should* be converted to the cause—however unlikely that might be. “...the [new] reality will not be possible until the majority of Québécois understand the necessity of...a revolutionary party,” André Bertrand Ferretti wrote for *Parti Pris* in 1965.<sup>72</sup> Ideally, these revolutionaries’ movement would liberate all peoples who had achieved demystification through Marxist-Leninist theory. However, in the day to day operations of these publications, most remained spaces firmly closed to women and the uneducated, a hypocrisy which did not seem not to have overcome the authors’ idealism.

While the situations in Québec, France, and Algeria appeared, on the surface, to be radically different, these intellectuals believed themselves uniquely able to show the applicability

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<sup>71</sup> The magazine becomes increasingly concerned with Zionism over the course of the 1960s, a development which parallels general anti-Zionist sentiment in the Arab world in this period. Though it was hardly their original point of contention in the Algerian War, editions of the magazine published after 1965 tend to list Zionism as one of their primary grievances alongside neocolonialism and racism. “Avant le séminaire des étudiants militants,” *La Révolution Africaine* 194 (October 22-29, 1966), 9.

<sup>72</sup> Andrée Bertrand Ferretti, “Ou Sont Les Bombes d’Antan,” *Parti Pris* 3, no. 1-2 (August-September 1965), 87.

of Marxist-Leninism to each case in order to demonstrate how, they believed, a similar socialist revolution could be undertaken everywhere. The idea of demystification, based on Sartre and Fanon's writings, allowed the publications in Québec and Algeria to "diffuse an ideology which believed itself to be a totalizing response to a situation which was itself global."<sup>73</sup> Likewise, Les Éditions Maspero did not to reject the universalist ideas of the revolutionary left, but it also wanted to "combat 'the demented pride of Europe, which pretends to make laws for the world.'"<sup>74</sup> This was still a universalist vision, but one that was not exclusively European. Fanon and Sartre provided revolutionary intellectuals with the idea the engaged intellectual that allowed authors in the 1960s to support a new anticolonial project. Like older leftists, they still believed in a universally applicable mode of liberation, but they also believed that the Third World had to be included in the development of this universalizing process.

In late 1964, when Mohammed Harbi was still writing for *La Révolution Africaine*, he called for re-arming the people in order to avoid the failure of the ideal socialist revolution he believed he had been working towards.<sup>75</sup> His call was ignored and he fled Algeria in 1965, fearing for his life. Yet Harbi's exile did not lead him to reject the idea of the revolutionary intellectual he had developed. Instead, Harbi shifted his intellectual project from other revolutionary locales whose problems needed to be explained to Algeria itself, whose failure to secure a revolutionary project he now wished to understand and describe. Throughout the academic career he undertook in France, Harbi wrote about the failures and successes of revolutionary Algeria. Still searched-for by the conservative government in Algeria which sent

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<sup>73</sup> Robert Major, *Parti Pris: Idéologies et littératures* (Québec: Hurtuboise HMH, 1979), 27.

<sup>74</sup> Maspero, quoted in Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 16.

<sup>75</sup> Harbi and Shatz, "An Interview with Mohammed Harbi," 301-309.

him into exile, he is renowned for his studies of the FLN, the Algerian War, and the process of French decolonization writ large.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, Harbi has been called “the preeminent engagé Algerian intellectual of the past four decades.”<sup>77</sup> Harbi, *La Révolution Africaine, Parti Pris*, and those who operated Les Éditions Maspero saw demystification as a central part of the role of the francophone anticolonial intellectual in these years. Demystifying the oppressive structures of each context allowed these revolutionary intellectuals to demonstrate the value of socialism, applying a universal theory of liberation to radically different locales.

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<sup>76</sup> See, for instance, Mohammed Harbi, *Le FLN, mirage et réalité des origines à la prise du pouvoir (1945-1962)*, (Paris; Éditions Jeune Afrique, 1980), or Harbi and Benjamin Stora, *La Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Pluriel, 2000).

<sup>77</sup> Quote from Arun Kapil, in Adam Shatz, “An Arab Gadfly With a Memorable Bite,” *The New York Times* (February 22, 2003). Accessed October 6, 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/22/books/an-arab-gadfly-with-a-memorable-bite.html>.

## Sharing the Truth

In the heart of the Latin Quarter, on a quiet cobblestone street surrounded by bistros and bicycles, a bespectacled *bibliothécaire* opened a store dedicated to the dissemination of leftist texts. When the doors of La Joie de Lire—The Joy of Reading—first opened in 1957, François Maspero was barely 25 years old. Marked by his family's experience in the Resistance, Maspero took their political legacy to heart, but would pursue quite a different career over the course of his long life.<sup>78</sup> He became a respected anticolonial publisher and his publication house was well-known in the francophone world. Between the shelves of La Joie de Lire a veritable who's who of anticolonial activism and leftist thought came together for conversation. Filled with texts from Lenin, Sartre, Fanon, Che, and Marx, the stacks of *chez Maspero* were renowned as a meeting place for revolutionaries and radicals from around the world. The Guinean-Portuguese Amilcar Cabral, the Cuban poet Nicolas Guillen, the African-American writer Richard Wright, communist intellectuals like Claude Roy and Roger Vailland, even such notable writers as Aimé Césaire and Alioune Diop could be found in the cramped quarters on the Rue St. Severin.<sup>79</sup>

Known for the atmosphere of his bookstore and the role his texts played in promoting anticolonialism in France and abroad, Maspero was often identified as the idealized revolutionary intellectual. He could be seen climbing to the top of a ladder in La Joie de Lire in

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<sup>78</sup> François's brother Jean's participation in the student Resistance group Franc tireurs et partisans (FTP) led to the arrest and deportation François' parents. His father, Henri, died a few days before the liberation of the Buchenwald and his mother, deported to Ravensbrück, was forever scarred by her captivity. Jean escaped and joined the ranks of the American army, but was killed in combat before the end of the War. Maspero, *Les Abeilles et la Guêpe*, 57-74.

<sup>79</sup> Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 107-108.

his bare feet, reorganizing books or filling a gap where a text had been stolen by one of the many thieves that plagued the bookstore.<sup>80</sup> He had a clear sense of what it meant to do this work. For militant editors, Maspero said in a 1966 interview, “It’s not a matter of following a political line;” instead an editor’s catalogue must “give people a chance to see, to open wide the windows” to the world through their works.<sup>81</sup> Les Éditions Maspero published every sort of leftist text, promoting in particular writing from Third World authors to give readers a wide range of knowledge.<sup>82</sup> The works Maspero published informed radicals, his advertising helped other struggling leftist publications, and his personal activism was inspirational to many in the New Left.<sup>83</sup> La Joie de Lire was a “crossroads of interrogations and hopes for the construction of another world,”<sup>84</sup> while the publishing house, Les Éditions Maspero, published works that allowed readers to “truly understand what was in the mind of a revolutionary.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> The bookstore had regular problems with so-called ‘revolutionary thieves’; young leftists would take books instead of paying for them both for financial reasons and as a revolt against the capitalist intellectual market. This would become such a problem that a fund would eventually be established to help La Joie de Lire stay afloat. Also, Maspero was known for conducting much of his work around the bookstore barefoot. Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 49.

<sup>81</sup> François Maspero, quoted in Jean-François Held, ‘La Joie de faire Lire. Comment François Maspero se bat et pourquoi...’ in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, August 24, 1966, pg. 24. Cited in Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 101.

<sup>82</sup>For more on this, see Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*, 193-200.

<sup>83</sup> Maspero traveled to Cuba at least three times in his life, spent time in Eastern Europe to examine Soviet and post-Soviet life, and explored the *banlieues* of Paris. Once he retired from editorial work, he wrote extensively on his experiences in this work, but even at the time he was regarded as an important example of how to both theorize and live out one’s politics. Maspero himself details much of this in *Les Abeilles et la guêpe* and his life is described in Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*. For a brief overview, see Thierry Paquot, “François Maspero (1932-2015). Partisan de la liberté,” *Hermès, La Revue* 72, no. 2 (2015), 251-256.

<sup>84</sup> Pierre-Jean Balzan, Bruno Guichard, and Alain Leger, “Preface: François Maspero, notre allié substantial,” Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 7.

<sup>85</sup> Narrator, Chris Marker, *Les Mots Ont un Sens*, 8:00-8:20.

Using these tools, Maspero both lived out and shaped what it meant to be a revolutionary intellectual, highlighting and supporting works that spoke the truth of revolution from around the world. Moreover, Maspero insisted on the wide-scale publication of small paperback books known as *livres de poches* whose price made them accessible for students and working-class revolutionaries. Paperback books facilitated contact between the elite world of academics and the more democratic world of educated consumption developing in the 1960s.<sup>86</sup> In contrast to demystification, sharing the revolution meant bringing information about each group's revolutionary experiences to other places, which provided support to radical movements and increased their own international legitimacy. International solidarity was a central facet of the socialist revolutionary project, and intellectuals were uniquely positioned to form bonds between revolutionary groups. The revolutionary intellectual, therefore, was responsible for the translation of texts, the dissemination of information about one's own struggle to others, and the circulation of information on anticolonial fights taking place across the world as a means of enacting internationalism. Revolutionary intellectuals who collaborated alongside François in Les Éditions Maspero, the young men of *Parti Pris*, and the journalists of *La Révolution Africaine*, all described this process and stressed the importance of intellectuals, such as themselves, who would spread the revolution.

*Parti Pris*' internationalism was predicated on feedback loops that connected them to other anticolonial movements. They sought to place themselves squarely in this revolutionary world and to demonstrate to their readers why other international events were informative for their own context. The men of *Parti Pris* argued that their movement was intended to bring

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<sup>86</sup> For more on the increasing importance of these "Livres de Poches" see Ben Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution," 613-636.

attention to Québec on the world stage and prove its interconnection with other national liberation movements. “The advent of a nation concerns the world,” the authors of *Parti Pris* wrote in 1965, “and the world conditions all births.”<sup>87</sup> Fomenting an independence movement meant opening up their project to the world, *Parti Pris* argued. These authors recognized that the international press generally ignored their province, so they used an international analysis to bring attention to the work they were doing. “*Parti Pris* intends to affirm a global solidarity which, taking into account the specific traits of our situation, includes Québec in the vast movement...of minority peoples and societies...”<sup>88</sup> The authors used their writing to show that their province was one of these movements. Intellectuals in Québec argued that it was their responsibility to maintain contact with radicals in publication networks in order to prove their internationalism.

The authors of *La Révolution Africaine* also promoted the international facet of their work to show their country’s importance on the world stage. The magazine regularly highlighted Algeria’s participation in Third World affairs. For instance, they celebrated Algeria’s participation in the 1966 Tricontinental Conference which would be “the center of the future great global anti-imperialist bloc.” Participation in the Conference by Algeria and “all these revolutionary movements” the authors continued, “will provide to...anti-imperialist movements an impulse for the unification of anti-imperialist struggle on a global scale.”<sup>89</sup> By writing about Algeria’s participation in such conferences, the authors lauded their government’s internationalism, taking it upon themselves to show the people of Algeria the value of their

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<sup>87</sup> Jacques Brault, “Un Pays à Mettre au Monde,” *Parti Pris* 2, no. 10-11 (June-July 1965), 19.

<sup>88</sup> P.C., “Editorial: Le Rapport Parent,” *Parti Pris* 2, no. 7 (March 1965), 8.

<sup>89</sup> “La Conférence de la Havane,” *La Révolution Africaine* 155 (January 15-21, 1966), 22.

contributions to other revolutionary movements. The readers of *La Révolution Africaine* accepted this message as a commitment. A CGT worker wrote in to the magazine saying, “Bravo, comrades of the FLN, in your party international solidarity between workers is not only a principle, but a reality. I wish that my comrades from France read this letter...and accords the same...support to Algerian workers.”<sup>90</sup> That a French worker praised the Algerians’ international solidarity (and that the Algerians’ reprinted it) underscores the magazine’s belief in internationalism and the importance they placed on convincing the people to undertake such revolutionary practice themselves. The authors of *La Révolution Africaine* emphasized internationalism, arguing that socialist theory provided a global service in disseminating the truth of revolution.

Publications reprinted international events and socialist theory to show their people how revolution could be achieved. This was particularly important for the French, who saw few practical revolutionary examples in their own recent history. As Maspero once stated, “what mattered...was to create instruments for those who wish to use them. As a political militant in a profession connected to information, the most effective form of action, for me, was to bring the two together, by fusing my militancy with my profession...for myself, the task of publishing their works and to get them talked about.”<sup>91</sup> Maspero believed it important to provide examples, words from those who were succeeding at political agitation and revolutionary activity. He intended his books to share important truths with those “brothers making the revolution.”<sup>92</sup> Les

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<sup>90</sup> “Grace a un militant...un militant de base de la CGT,” *La Révolution Africaine* 70 (May 30, 1964), 2.

<sup>91</sup> François Maspero, interview, “Le Long combat de François Maspero,” *Le Nouvel Observateur*, September 27, 1976, 56-57. Patrick King, trans., “The Long Struggle of François Maspero (1976),” *Viewpoint Magazine*. Republished May 27, 2015. Accessed September 23, 2017. <https://www.viewpointmag.com/2015/05/27/the-long-struggle-of-François-maspero-1976/>.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

Éditions Maspero's catalog provided an "internationalist lens" through which France could be viewed.<sup>93</sup> In order to achieve this, Maspero disseminated the theory produced in France for revolutionaries abroad and provided international revolutionary thought to those in France. Of the titles Maspero published between 1959 and 1974, 240 were from or about the Third World, an average of 16 publications on this subject a year.<sup>94</sup> The first publisher of all of Fanon's works, Les Éditions Maspero would also become famous for releasing the first French editions of works by Fidel Castro and Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, the writings of Malcolm X and James Baldwin's writings on blackness in America, and Rosa Luxembourg's "On the Accumulation of Capital."<sup>95</sup> Les Éditions Maspero's translations of these texts provided both the French and other francophone radicals access to international examples that aided them in their own struggles.

Although the French government kept close tabs on Les Éditions Maspero, the material resources available to a French publishing house lent it some power to provide aid to revolutionaries across the francophone world. The publication house was not highly profitable, but the *Association des amis des éditions François Maspero* provided some financial cushion for these revolutionary projects.<sup>96</sup> This financial support and general French interest in anti-government critiques meant that French intellectuals had remarkable leeway in spreading the

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<sup>93</sup> François Maspero quoted in Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives*, 86. The Parti Communist Français (PCF) was also involved in leftist publishing. Established long before Les Éditions Maspero, the PCF's publishing house(s) were important sources of leftist thought, but considering the fact that the PCF was discredited by its lack of action in the Algerian War for many New Leftists, I maintain that Les Éditions Maspero remained the pre-eminent Third Worldist publishing house in France in this period. For more on the PCF, see Marie-Cécile Bouju, "Books for the Revolution: The Publishing Houses of the French Communist Party, 1920-1993," *Script and Print* 4, no. 36 (2012), 230-242.

<sup>94</sup> Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*, 196.

<sup>95</sup> Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 211-228.

<sup>96</sup> Yves Lacoste was the most important of several wealthy supporters of Maspero's publication house. Julien Hage, "François Maspero: Publisher, (P)artisan," *Viewpoint Magazine*, May 27, 2015, accessed September 23, 2017. <https://www.viewpointmag.com/2015/05/27/François-maspero-publisher-partisan/>.

word of socialist internationalism.<sup>97</sup> In the first edition of Les Éditions Maspero's magazine *Partisans* in 1961, the editors recognized their role in this process:

We fight so that, in the transformation of the world, France doesn't become one of the elements of destruction, but rather that she assumes a constructive role...this is why we support, in particular, the Algerian Revolution. We support this in a much grander context, of which this is only one element: the emergence of the Third World...we have opted for the unconditional aid to all people, to all nations, fighting for their independence.<sup>98</sup>

French revolutionary intellectuals believed their writing and publishing could play an essential role in spreading the truth they had demystified for the revolutionary classes. Les Éditions Maspero's resources allowed them to translate, print, publish, and publicize francophone works that were useful to revolutionaries in Québec and Algeria. Moreover, the publishing house provided a place for radicals from the Third World to speak about their situation in their own words. Jean-Marc Piotte of *Parti Pris* noted the value of Maspero's service, arguing that the important leftist works could only be read "through Maspero...the most important leftist publishing house of the day."<sup>99</sup> Leftists in Québec and Algeria saw the sharing of revolutionary ideas as Les Éditions Maspero's central contribution to their projects.

By the mid-1960s, Les Éditions Maspero was sufficiently influential that a partnership could grant others legitimacy in the eyes of the international left. Many organizations thus sought support from Les Éditions Maspero. As this further promoted his publishing house abroad, François was happy to help. Maspero offered readers of *La Révolution Africaine* "special gifts" if

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<sup>97</sup> For more on the French tradition of leftist critique, see Tony Judt, *Marxism and the French Left: Studies on Labor and Politics in France, 1830-1981* (New York: New York University Press, 2011) or Sorum, *Intellectuals and Decolonization in France*.

<sup>98</sup> Editorial Committee (Maspero, Nils Andersson, Jean Carta, Gerard Chaliand, et al.) *Partisans*, no. 1, Sept-Oct., 1961, 4-5.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with the author, June 29, 2017, Montréal, Québec, 12:50-13:30.

they paid for a subscription; for example, if subscribers to *La Révolution Africaine* filled out a printed form in 1964, they would be gifted Claude Estier's *Pour l'Algerie*, published by Les Éditions Maspero.<sup>100</sup> Les Éditions Maspero bought advertising space and provided gifts to readers of the Algerian magazine, no doubt granting them intellectual credibility and providing some financial support. *La Révolution Africaine* returned the favor by reviewing the French house's books. A 1966 edition of the magazine described nine books as worthwhile reading for subscribers, four of which were from Les Éditions Maspero.<sup>101</sup> These examples speak to the importance Les Éditions Maspero placed on sharing their content with readers in Algeria and emphasize the connections between the two editorial teams. While the Québécois magazine was never an equal beneficiary of this partnership, the editors at *Parti Pris* still emphasized works released by Maspero. Indeed, *Parti Pris* advertised several times for *Partisans*, Maspero's magazine.<sup>102</sup> These publication networks were valuable in promoting intellectual connections; they provided a revolutionary education for individuals across vastly different contexts by literally giving them books or suggesting other publications that could be informative for the sympathetic reader. Publications tangibly supported one another by advertising key books and recently released issues and partnering with other revolutionary publications.

These magazines thus promoted international struggles to emphasize the need to understand the truth of revolution from other international contexts as a means to better develop their own movements. In a 1965 article, the magazine quoted Algerian President Ben Bella's

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<sup>100</sup> "2 Cadeaux," *La Révolution Africaine* 71 (June 6, 1964), 3.

<sup>101</sup> "A Noter: Livres," *La Révolution Africaine* 196 (November 2-10, 1966), 34. These included James Boggs and Robert Williams, *Le Révolution aux Etats-Unis?*, Le Chan, *La Révolution Paysanne du Sud-Vietnam*, Maurice Godelier, *Rationalité et Irrationalité Economic*, and Malcolm X, *Le Pouvoir Noire*, all published at Maspero.

<sup>102</sup> *Parti Pris* 2, no. 5 (January 1965), 91 and *Parti Pris* 3, no. 3-4 (October 1965), 69.

promise for “‘unconditional aid against imperialism, colonialism, and racism.’”<sup>103</sup> The Québécois thought their own movement fought against the same essential structures and argued that Ben Bella’s statement was “a real contribution to international socialist thought.”<sup>104</sup> Referencing the Charte d’Alger, Algeria’s outline for their own nation, Ben Bella spoke to a vastly different audience than the one reading his words in Québec a year later. Yet the partipristes saw Ben Bella’s words, not just as a lesson for Algerians, but as a model for their own struggle. By the late 1960s, Québec drew increasingly not just from Algeria, but also from neo-colonial examples in Latin America and the United States.<sup>105</sup> *Parti Pris* elaborated in their writing why this international collaboration was necessary. In a 1966 article entitled “Viet-nam, USA, Québec,” Luc Racine wrote:

In effect, international conflicts are more or less directly the result of the fundamental incapacity of the capitalist economy to find a solution...What the Québécois left can do...is multiply its contacts with what exists of the left in the United States and with revolutionary movements in Latin America, so that it may be possible to elaborate, in concert with these groups, a coherent policy of the pan-American left.<sup>106</sup>

Revolutionary intellectuals took it upon themselves to create such networks. To do so, *Parti Pris* exchanged letters and attempted to partner with Latin American and American radicals.<sup>107</sup> The partipristes believed that Latin Americans’ “experiences help us to better grasp the limits of terrorism and the impossibility of guerrilla war in a country...where the rural masses integrate

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<sup>103</sup> “Algérie, an III,” *Parti Pris* 2, no. 9 (May 1965), 58.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>105</sup> For more on the relationship between Algeria and Québec prior to 1963, see Magalie Deleuze, *L’une et l’autre indépendance, 1954-1964: les médias au Québec et la guerre d’Algérie* (Québec: Point de Fuite, 2001).

<sup>106</sup> Luc Racine, “Viet-nam, USA, Québec,” *Parti Pris* 4, no. 1-2 (September-October 1966), 12-18.

<sup>107</sup> The magazine and subsequent publishing house sent and received many such letters from Cuba, Venezuela, and other American and Latin American organizations. BAnQ. Fonds Revue Parti Pris. MSS193, 2006-10-001/1586.

themselves more and more into the capitalist sector.”<sup>108</sup> The challenges and mistakes of Latin American revolutionaries provided the magazine with a blueprint for revolutionary action. Regardless of the veracity of such comparisons, *Parti Pris* detailed the limits and tactics of other revolutionary struggles for their readers to show them how to achieve a revolution in Québec.

Similarly, *La Révolution Africaine* detailed international movements to support these struggles and draw lessons for Algerians. “Africa in its entirety is in a revolutionary situation,” they wrote, “to ignore this fundamental truth is to condemn ourselves to making only superficial analyses.”<sup>109</sup> Committing themselves to an analysis of this revolutionary situation, the writers at *La Révolution Africaine* saw the need to spread international experiences of revolution as part of their role as revolutionary intellectuals. Throughout the 1960s, they published articles about revolutionary struggle as far away as Haiti, Syria, and Vietnam.<sup>110</sup> They were particularly interested in the struggles of Latin American revolutionaries; in an article discussing American influence on the continent, *La Révolution Africaine* explained the similarities between these neocolonial conditions and their own, citing Huberman and Sweezy’s *Ou va l’amerique latine?*, published by Les Éditions Maspero, to do so.<sup>111</sup> Speaking about and cooperating with international leftists painted Algerian intellectuals as legitimate revolutionaries who teach their

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<sup>108</sup> Gabriel Gagnon, “Politique Internationale: Les Leçons de l’Amérique Latine,” *Parti Pris* 4, no. 3-4 (November-December, 1966), 105-107.

<sup>109</sup> “La Révolution Africaine,” *La Révolution Africaine* 1, no. 70 (May 30, 1964), 5.

<sup>110</sup> “Saint-Domingue: La Lutte va-t-elle reprendre,” *La Révolution Africaine* 193 (October 14-21, 1966), “Syrie: L’offensive impérialiste dans le monde arabe,” *La Révolution Africaine* 194, (October 22-29, 1966). They spoke of Vietnam regularly, as it quickly became a fixture of anti-imperialist struggle the world over. For example, see, “Vietnam: La Détermination du Président Johnson,” *La Révolution Africaine* 196 (November 2-10, 1966). On the importance of the Vietnam War in the international community, see Lien-Hang Nguyen’s *Hanoi’s War: An international history of the war for peace in Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

<sup>111</sup> “La Carotte ou le Bâton?” *La Révolution Africaine* 71, (June 6, 1964), 12. They cite Leo Hubermann and Paul M. Sweezy, *Ou va l’amerique latine?* (Paris: Les Éditions Maspero, 1964).

readers about others revolutionary experiences. *La Révolution Africaine* insisted, "...the exchange of experiences and methods between movements in Latin America, Asia, and Africa is of the highest importance."<sup>112</sup> Describing the experiences of other anticolonial activists was of vital importance to these authors, just as it was for the Québécois.

Les Éditions Maspero similarly contributed to the internationalization of revolutionary struggles by educating readers about Third World movements. The members of *Parti Pris* and *Les Revolution Africaine* went a long way to ensure that their struggle was discussed internationally and Les Éditions Maspero provided French support for this endeavor. For example, Maspero published thirteen books about Algeria between 1963 and 1968, not counting works that discussed the Maghreb or other African revolutionary movements.<sup>113</sup> The French publishing house had less interest in Québec, yet *Parti Pris* succeeded in releasing a series of their published articles with Les Éditions Maspero in 1967, thereby securing their place on the world stage as a legitimate revolutionary struggle. Jacques Berque, a pied-noir émigré and sociologist, wrote the introduction to *Les Québécois*. Berque wrote: "The man from Québec, second-rate Canadian...[has] remained cut off from the world for so long" that he is denied the right to be viewed in conjunction with his fellow oppressed persons.<sup>114</sup> Berque stressed that the Québécois, "colonized amongst the colonizers, confined in his exception, is understood by no

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<sup>112</sup> S.P., "Conférence de la Havane: Pour Une Initiative Anti-impérialiste," *La Révolution Africaine* 153 (January 1-7, 1966), 16-17.

<sup>113</sup> For a full publication list of Les Éditions Maspero, see Guichard et al, *François Maspero et les Paysages Humain*, 207-215.

<sup>114</sup> Jacques Berque, "Preface," in *Les Québécois* (Paris: Les Éditions Maspero, 1967), 12. "Il est vrai que l'homme du Québec, canadien de seconde zone, et français noir, est resté si longtemps coupe du monde, tellement enfonce dans son anomalie, renvoyé paître sous la houlette de ses prépondérants, qu'on lui dénie ce qu'on accorde, pour le principe, à l'ouvrier blanc des U.S.A., allié axiomatique du negres. Les choses sont ainsi faites que l'homme du Québec, ce colonise d'entre les colonisateurs, claquemuré dans son exception, n'est plus compris de personne."

one.”<sup>115</sup> Les Éditions Maspero, by publishing such works, attempted to rectify this. *Les Québécois* gave *Parti Pris* an international opportunity to share Québec’s revolutionary experience.

Berque emphasized the internationalism already present in the Québécois movement as he introduced Maspero’s new book:

Their cause wants to escape its solitude. We saw them take up the cause of the Algerians. Their pressure forced the federal government to continue relations with Cuba. Their university attracts young Haitians. Their independence contributes to the resolution of the inexorable problems of Antillean futures. They sympathize with the struggle of black Americans. They took up struggles on the side of autochthones, Eskimos, and Indians. In short, they are being born into the world by bearing it themselves.<sup>116</sup>

Berque’s preface legitimized the Québécois revolution and explained why international activists should understand and accept this as a Third World movement and thus draw lessons from it. The fundamental problem of the Québécois revolution, he wrote, “concerns us all. Will the world, if not unifying under a single domination, submit itself to a single uniform type?”<sup>117</sup> Just as *Parti Pris* and *La Révolution Africaine* used international examples to draw lessons for their own context, Les Éditions Maspero spread information from struggles in Québec and Algeria as a means of promoting the work of intellectuals there and showing how these struggles could be informative to others. Influenced perhaps by Maspero’s publicity, the Algerian government requested a subscription to *Parti Pris* in 1968.<sup>118</sup> By sharing global experiences and methods of revolution, Les Éditions Maspero, *La Révolution Africaine*, and *Parti Pris*

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>118</sup> S. Aberand, BQ132. BANQ. Fond Éditions Parti Pris, MSS140, 2006-10-001/1208.

demonstrated the importance of the committed radical intellectual whose work could provide lessons for other movements.

François Maspero took seriously his role as a radical intellectual, believing that he must share revolutionary truth, even though he was unable to convey such truths alone. In 1965, the Cuban government brought Maspero to Havana to consult on a Cuban edition of Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. Coinciding with the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, Maspero's visit that year resulted in his agreement to publish the French version of the now famous magazine *Tricontinental*.<sup>119</sup> When he returned to Cuba in 1967, Maspero's had just published Régis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution?*, whose author was arrested while fighting in Bolivia with Guevara. "I had to defend him," Maspero said of Debray, "to make known to the world the reasons for his engagement."<sup>120</sup> Maspero believed that his greatest contribution to the international socialist revolution was sharing the truth of revolutionary struggle widely, through publications like those of Debray and through connections with magazines like *Tricontinental*. Radicals in Algiers and Montréal also wanted to support international collaborations, but Les Éditions Maspero's fame and access to First World wealth made it the most capable of doing so. Relying on a shared purpose, Les Éditions Maspero, *La Révolution Africaine*, and *Parti Pris* all emphasized the lessons they could learn from international contexts to understand domestic struggles and highlighted the lessons others could take from their experiences. What distinguished francophone intellectuals between 1963 and 1968 was that, in addition to deciphering structures of oppression and sharing their experiences

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<sup>119</sup> Maspero, *Les Abeilles et la Guêpe*, 202.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

and methods of revolution, they were also committed to undertaking direct political action to support these aims.

## Enacting the Truth, engaging in ‘La Lutte’

Born in 1940 to a traditional Catholic family outside of Montréal, Jean-Marc Piotte was frustrated by Québec’s conservative political scene and disturbed by the Catholic Church’s power in the province.<sup>121</sup> His family, like many of those of the *Parti Pris* authors, was working class and francophone.<sup>122</sup> At the Université de Montréal, Piotte was introduced to Freud, then to Marx through the writings of Henri Lefebvre. The ideas of European intellectuals allowed him to “analyze Québécois society and, by this analysis, understand the causes of social inequality.”<sup>123</sup> His full politicization, though aided by French Marxist theorists like Lefebvre, developed when he met other young intellectuals in Montréal who combined the existent socialism and nationalism with atheism, a radically new concept.<sup>124</sup> “We were five,” when *Parti Pris* first started, Piotte explained in an interview, “I was probably the one who knew the most Marxism—though I certainly didn’t know much—and was the most driven by the desire for action.”<sup>125</sup> Piotte ceded his primary role in the Québécois magazine in mid-1965 when he went to France to continue his education, but the men who came after him were equally interested in the revolutionary project the early authors had begun. He is but one notable example of how the

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<sup>121</sup> Jean-Marc Piotte, *Un Parti Pris Politique* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1979), 12-14.

<sup>122</sup> Yvan Perrier, “Un certain espoir, de Jean-Marc Piotte, Montréal, Les Éditions Logiques, 2008, 185 p.” *Politique et Sociétés* 28, no. 3 (2009), 227.

<sup>123</sup> Piotte, *Un Parti Pris Politique*, 14.

<sup>124</sup> Piotte met André Major, who would go on to be a co-founder of *Parti Pris*, and Raoul Roy, in his early 20s. Roy directed *Revue Socialiste*, an independentist, but more traditionally religious magazine through the early 1950s. Piotte, *Un Parti Pris Politique*, 14 and Piotte, interview with author, June 29, 2017.

<sup>125</sup> Piotte, interview with the author, June 29, 2017.

*Parti Pris* intellectuals promoted a radical praxis—the combination of theory and action embraced by radicals in the 1960s.

Examining a few prominent individuals associated with *Parti Pris*, Les Éditions Maspero, and *La Révolution Africaine* allows the historian to explore their interpretations of this praxis. Indeed, though intellectual historians often overlook the role of individuals in transporting ideas across time and geographical space, I wish to note why and how so many individuals involved in these networks actually took part in the revolutionary struggles they analyzed in their writings. I highlight three individuals involved in these networks to examine how they conceived of revolutionary struggle and how they, as Fanon suggested, took part in it. Jean-Marc Potté, Jacques Berque, and Patrick Straram, all of whom will be discussed in this section, embody the revolutionary intellectual who went beyond demystifying social structures and sharing revolution around the world by taking an active role in what they saw as revolutionary activity. These cases also highlight these so-called revolutionaries' failure to have an inclusive vision of liberation—Straram was a notorious womanizer, *Parti Pris* and Les Éditions Maspero rarely included female authors or discussed women's liberation—but studying their efforts remains important for understanding their embodiment of the last aspect of this revolutionary vision. Intellectuals from these publications wished to provide theories for revolutionary activity and to enact such theories to bring about the revolution, they saw "inaction in the face of...injustice...as an act of collaboration."<sup>126</sup> Simply writing about injustice was not enough. These men believed to be committing themselves to their politics through their actions. They bolstered their writing with what they believed to be effective political action by attempting

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<sup>126</sup> Davey, *Idealism Beyond Borders*, 8.

to embody the international solidarity and revolutionary sentiment they wished to spur in the people. These authors did not simply speak the revolution, but wished to take part in it.

In a 2017 interview, a seventy-seven-year-old Jean-Marc Pottle sat down gently in his apartment in Montréal and set his cane against the wall behind him. He spoke of his revolutionary activity more than fifty years ago as his pale blue eyes focused on the floor, trying to remember specific details of those days. “As we were starting [the magazine in Montréal], I left to go agitate in the Bas Saint-Laurent...It was a project organized by the federal government...but, I said to myself, even if I have to work on reforms, we’ll get the people on our side and we’ll turn them around.”<sup>127</sup> He was convinced, through the example of Chinese and Third World communists, that the Québécois peasantry would spark revolution. Pottle would return to Montréal later in 1963, disillusioned with his efforts to get the rural class of the Gaspé and the North Shore to become Marxists. Instead of mobilizing farmers, Pottle worked closely with the editorial board of the magazine, writing and editing content, organizing the political wing of the organization, the Mouvement de Liberation Populaire (MLP), and agitating for “action on the basis of class struggle.”<sup>128</sup> The MLP, under Pottle and the partipristes’ leadership, wished to “assure the formation of militants who wished to work for the social, economic, political, and cultural liberation of Québec,” and to “work towards the formation of a revolutionary party.”<sup>129</sup> Through his work among the rural classes in Québec and his

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<sup>127</sup> Generally referred to as the “Bas Saint-Laurent,” the region Pottle refers to here encompasses an area on the south shore of the Saint Lawrence from Kamouraska in the West to the Matapedia Valley, shortly before the Gaspé peninsula in the east. It is a predominately agricultural and particularly religious. Pottle, interview with the author, June 29, 2017, Montreal, Québec. 2:00-2:51. He talks about this project as well in *Un Parti Pris Politique* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1979), 16-18.

<sup>128</sup> Pottle, interview with author, June 29, 2017.

<sup>129</sup> Le Bureau Exécutif, “La Constitution du mouvement Parti Pris,” *Parti Pris* 2, no. 8 (April 1965), 45.

participation in radical politics, Piotte believed himself to be living out the ideas of Marxist-Leninism he admired.

Late in 1965, Piotte left to study the work of Antonio Gramsci in France under Lucien Goldmann, convinced that he needed a more detailed understanding of socialist thought.<sup>130</sup> Gramsci “had an original vision,” of the world, Piotte said, “and he placed an emphasis on culture, so that’s what made me study him.”<sup>131</sup> Piotte soon produced the first French-language translation of Gramsci’s works. His book, *La Pensée Politique de Gramsci* was subsequently re-translated into three different languages.<sup>132</sup> The problems he faced in reconciling Marxist-Leninist thought with the cultural problems of Québec and his frustration with the barriers radicals faced there led Piotte to seek out answers through his studies in France. He eventually received his doctoral degree in sociology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and promptly returned to Montréal.<sup>133</sup> Over the course of his life, Piotte has been a theorist, writer, political activist, and a teacher. He has agitated amongst the working-class in Montréal, supported the Québécois separatist movement and socialist political organization, founded a leftist magazine engaged in the struggle, and traveled to France, Italy, and Spain. Piotte worked for Québécois independence, despite, as he put it, “the inexistence of a revolutionary historical

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<sup>130</sup> Piotte remembered, jokingly, that he missed the great upheavals of Europe. He noted having been in Italy during the French revolts of ’68 and residing in Paris during the great Italian revolts. Piotte, interview with author, June 29, 2017.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Notably Japanese, Spanish, and Portuguese. Jean-Marc Piotte, *La Pensée Politique de Gramsci* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1970). When asked if he would have preferred to publish with Maspero, Piotte replied that, in retrospect, that might have been the better decision. Piotte’s thesis director, Lucien Goldmann, “would have let me publish with Maspero,” Piotte said in an interview. He simply had not thought to look beyond the publishing house with whom Goldmann worked, the Éditions Anthropos. Piotte, interview with the author, June 29, 2017.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

model.”<sup>134</sup> He argued that through research, intellectual activity, and political action liberation for the province was possible. Québec’s unique history and political and social challenges, Pottle argued, did not justify “the abandonment of the search for avenues of hope.”<sup>135</sup> His intellectual projects and his political action, then, were meant to secure for himself and his fellow radicals that hope for liberation. Just like many of the other partipristes, Pottle both grappled with the idea of the radical intellectual and lived out what he thought was an appropriately engaged life, even when his Québécois community resisted his efforts.

All of the intellectuals in these organizations were internationalist; in fact, many of them had already lived transnational experiences before they became involved in the publication. Jacques Berque (1910-1995) was born to a French pieds-noirs family in provincial Algeria. Berque’s father, Augustine, was a scholar of Muslim culture in the Maghreb, a career Berque followed. As a young man Berque worked for as an agronomist with the French government in Morocco; his (over)enthusiasm landed him a post with Seksawa tribe in the foothills of western High Atlas.<sup>136</sup> Drawing on his experience in Morocco, Berque published a report entitled *Pour une politique nouvelle de France au Maroc* (1947) which linked his anthropological knowledge with the French political program.<sup>137</sup> The political uproar his report caused made Berque realize the political implications of his work. He left government service and became a professor of Contemporary Islam at the Collège de France, all the while supporting leftist movements through

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<sup>134</sup> Pottle, *Un Parti Pris Politique*, 24.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ernest Gellner, “Jacques Berque, a fighter for Arab culture—archive 1995,” *The Guardian*, July 11, 1995, published July 11, 2017. Accessed October 10, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/11/jacques-berque-algeria-arab-culture-france>.

<sup>137</sup> Duvigneaud, “Berque, Jacques: 1910-1995,” *Encyclopaedia Universalis* (online), accessed April 14, 2017. <http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/jacques-berque/>.

his advocacy of Third World movements.<sup>138</sup> A traditional intellectual and academic, Berque was never fully integrated into the “Left Bank” world of Paris. However, his participation in Maspero’s publication of *Les Québécois* indicates that he was not unknown to New Left circles in Paris.<sup>139</sup>

In early 1962, Berque spent a semester teaching in the department of Anthropology at the Université de Montréal. He became friends with *Parti Pris* contributor and poet Gaston Miron and was inspired by the radicalism he saw in the city.<sup>140</sup> When he returned to France, he wrote an article entitled “Les Révoltés du Québec,” republished by *Parti Pris* in December 1963 that highlighted the nature of the Québécois struggle for decolonization. He argued that his fellows in the French New Left should support this fight.<sup>141</sup> By providing the first major recognition of the partipristes’ work, Berque became an important figure for Québécois radicals, as historian Sean Mills notes.<sup>142</sup> He was, Pottle recounts, “Our great ambassador in France...if we ever had editions republished in France, it was because of Berque.”<sup>143</sup> Through the networks he developed while in Montréal, Berque became a significant international ally for the radicals at *Parti Pris*.

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<sup>138</sup> Sarah Diffalah, “Qui est Jacques Berque, inspirateur de Chevenement pour l’Islam de France?” *L’obs*, August 29, 2016. Accessed April 14, 2017. <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/societe/20160829.OBS7072/qui-est-jacques-berque-inspirateur-de-chevenement-pour-l-islam-de-france.html>.

<sup>139</sup> Gellner, “Jacques Berque.”

<sup>140</sup> Mills, *The Empire Within*, 65.

<sup>141</sup> Originally published in the *France-Observateur*. Jacques Berque, “Les Révoltés du Québec,” *Parti Pris* 3 (December 1963), 48-51.

<sup>142</sup> Mills writes, “...international legitimacy was both incredibly valued and hard to attain, and Berque’s endorsement lent much-needed academic prestige to the framework outlined by Montréal radicals.” *The Empire Within*, 65.

<sup>143</sup> Pottle, interview with author, June 29, 2017.

Berque's support for radicals in Québec was part of his wider advocacy for other revolutionary movements; indeed, he also contributed to *La Révolution Africaine*. Berque published in the magazine a series of "Travelogues" over the summer of 1965 in which he detailed his travels through the country and argued that the revolution had liberated Algeria culturally as well as politically. "Algeria, like these dancers before me, liberated her legs and her hair,"<sup>144</sup> he wrote. These part-ethnographic, part-political descriptions of the country shone a positive light on Algerian socialism and described the revolutionary locale from a French perspective.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, his academic publications provided many Frenchmen and women a glimpse of the Arab world he knew rather intimately. He published books such as *Les Arabes d'hier a demain* (1960), *Le Maghreb entre deux guerres* (1962), *L'Égypte: imperialisme et revolution* (1967), all of which addressed the history and conditions of the Arab world and the Maghreb.<sup>146</sup> His scholarly work drew European attention to these societies, analyzing them from a Marxist perspective.

Berque also wrote more detailed Marxist texts for *La Révolution Africaine*. In a 1964 interview called, "The Weight of Texts," Berque explained the connection between the colonized and Marx's industrial proletariat: "The conditions...are analogous, but not identical."<sup>147</sup> He also discussed the importance of contacts between France and Algeria, stressing the transnational relevance of concepts such as alienation and 'de-personalization'. In his discussion of the latter, Berque said to *La Révolution Africaine*, "This theme of 'depersonalization' that renders, among

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<sup>144</sup> Berque, "Journal de Route," *La Révolution Africaine* 132 (August 7, 1965), 23.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 22-23; Jacques Berque, "Journal de Route," *La Révolution Africaine* 133 (August 14, 1965), 21-23.

<sup>146</sup> Berque, *Les Arabes d'hier a demain* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1960); *Le Maghreb entre les deux guerres* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962); *L'Égypte: impérialisme et révolution* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967).

<sup>147</sup> Jacques Berque, "Le Poids des Textes," *La Révolution Africaine* 76 (July 11, 1964), 8-9.

other things, the option of revolution possible in a society of abundance and in the movement for independence of French Canadians—to which Algerians should pay close attention—will be the theme that provides the motor for our times.”<sup>148</sup> Berque articulated the idea of cultural alienation and the proletariat in a way that was accessible to the Algerian readers and brought attention to other radical movements that served as examples—like the movement in Québec.

Berque provided theories of decolonization and detailed information about the Maghreb in French and served as a point of contact between disparate leftist networks. Berque moved regularly between groups of revolutionaries, producing theory that shone light on oppressive colonial conditions, teaching others about these truths through his university work, and acting as a revolutionary himself. He is a quintessential example of what it meant to be a radical for these francophone groups in the 1960s: prone to travel, influenced by his personal background, and connected to key publications, but not entirely different from the other authors involved in these networks.

Other individuals who participated in the networks of publication were similarly transnational. Born in 1934, Patrick Straram was a French leftist who moved to Québec.<sup>149</sup> He was a notorious womanizer, a world-traveler, and yet another example of the ways in which intellectuals from these networks lived out their theories. A member of the Situationist International (SI) during his brief stay in Saint-Germain, France, Straram was among the members of the SI who developed the idea of “critical practice,” a combination of ideology and action he would promote in North America.<sup>150</sup> Despite his interest in French politics, Straram

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>149</sup> For more on Straram, see Marc Vachon, *L’arpenteur de la ville: l’utopie urbaine Situationniste et Patrick Straram* (Montréal: Triptyque Press, 2003).

<sup>150</sup> McKenzie Wark, *The Beach Beneath the Street: The Everyday Life and Glorious Times of the Situationist International* (New York: Verso Books, 2011), 38. Vachon argues in *L’arpenteur de ville* that Straram continued to

left for Canada in 1958 to avoid service in the French military that would likely have sent him, somewhat ironically, to Algeria.<sup>151</sup> After a few months in western Canada, Straram settled in Montréal and befriended André Brochu, one of the founders of *Parti Pris*.<sup>152</sup> Between his commitment to leftist action and his friendship with Brochu, who introduced Straram to the magazine's editors, Straram was a natural fit for *Parti Pris*.

Radically internationalist, Straram spent his years in Canada writing, producing films, and, often, travelling beyond the bounds of this nation, both intellectually and physically. Straram fostered relationships with individuals around the world and received postcards from friends and lovers—of which he often had more than one—in France, California, Martinique, Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, Italy, Mexico, and Egypt.<sup>153</sup> He made early contact with the Soviet embassy in Canada because of his interest in film and connected radicals in Montréal and those in Paris, California, and Italy who could help promote the province's struggle.<sup>154</sup> When he came to *Parti Pris*, Straram presented himself as an expert on jazz, and his clever writing and original ideas would allow him to write a serial section entitled, "Interpretations of Daily life," in which he discussed the connection between art, quotidian life, and socialist revolution.<sup>155</sup>

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correspond with notable situationist Guy Debord until at least 1965. He suggests that, despite his distance from the primary centers of Situationist activity in Europe, Straram continued to embody this ideology in his political action in Canada.

<sup>151</sup> Wark, *The Beach Beneath the Street*, 38.

<sup>152</sup> Potte, interview with the author, June 29, 2017.

<sup>153</sup> These postcards are accessible through the BAnQ. See Fonds Patrick Straram, MSS391, S1, SS1, D1-10. 2006-10-001/4500.

<sup>154</sup> Patrick Straram, "Nationalité? Domicile?" *Parti Pris* 2, no. 10-11 (June-July 1965), 59.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

In his articles on quotidian life, Straram articulated his idea of the connection between the work of artists, such as himself, and the intellectuals of the revolution:

Painters of the Renaissance...Shakespeare, Diderot, Rimbaud and Lautreamont, the invention of the Lumiere brothers and Jean-Luc Godard, the blues, then jazz, 'modern art' and the replacement, through which we are living, of a written culture by an audio-visual culture, aren't these just as much motors serving the elucidation of conditions of possibility of existent man, as much as Marx, Engels, and Lenin...? Is it not the case for both that the same work is done, to finish at the same end: the global dis-alienation of man, so that he can finally live as a man?<sup>156</sup>

Straram argued that art and literature were just as much part of the project of dis-alienation as was socialist theory. He viewed this as central to developing individual consciousness and making leftist theory accessible to the public. The art and literature that Straram and other revolutionaries in this time produced was connected to their revolutionary action as intellectuals and revelators of the revolution. Going beyond the traditional leftist emphasis on social class and class consciousness, Straram and others in this period instead argued that culture and national identity were formative parts of a revolutionary identity as well. Art, these men believed, was one of the many means of elucidating and sharing the revolution, adding a cultural dimension to political processes.

Straram became a relatively famous author, radio broadcaster, and world traveler who went by the name "Le Bison Ravis." He drew from international intellectuals and his experiences abroad. Inspired by Guevara's theory of the revolutionary new man, or so he said, Straram left Canada for Berkeley, California in 1968 to collaborate with the Black Panthers. He wrote an article for *Parti Pris* while there, detailing the steps he saw them taking: "Categorical refusal of the established order. First...politicization next, during the action, **on and according to the**

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<sup>156</sup> Patrick Straram, "Interprétation de la vie quotidienne," *Parti Pris* 3, no. 5 (December 1965), 64.

**terrain.**”<sup>157</sup> By going to California and aiding in the struggle of black Americans, Straram felt that he was mirroring the Panthers’ steps: living among the people and taking concrete action. Yet he had not given up on the liberation of his adopted homeland. Québec’s struggle, he wrote in this final article, the last one ever published in *Parti Pris*, was to “make the Québécois *peuple* understand that it wants its struggle for liberation. And it won’t be in theorizing about the left that this will come to pass.”<sup>158</sup> Instead, it was by taking Fanon’s writings to heart, by embracing the revolutionary example of Che and Castro and acting amongst the people that Straram, the revolutionary intellectual, could actively contribute to the province’s liberation.

Straram shows the active role the revolutionary intellectual of this period took; he was certainly more than an armchair theorist. Like Pottle and Berque, Straram took his revolutionary role to heart and travelled across the world in order to facilitate contacts among peoples and places, among revolutionaries and radicals from California to Moscow to France. His writing in *Parti Pris* articulated the everyday oppressions of the Québécois, his personal networks around the globe allowed him to share the truth of the revolutions he experienced, and he travelled and agitated widely to serve this political and social movement in as many ways as he could. Straram passed away in 1988, just prior to the second independence referendum in Québec. His life and actions underscore the importance of transnational contacts and networks for the development of radical ideas at this time.

The lives of Jean-Marc Pottle, Jacques Berque, and Patrick Straram are demonstrative of the ideology of the revolutionary intellectual of the 1960s. While they are all unique, I selected these men for their relative similarity to other individuals involved in the publication networks

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<sup>157</sup> Emphasis in original. Patrick Straram, “A la Sante de Rudi Dutschke et Quelques Autres Folk-Rock Mirabellenwasser,” *Parti Pris* 5, no. 8-9 (Summer 1968), 67.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 68.

discussed in this study. Though each intellectual had a distinct story to tell, they held international aspirations and participated in deep transnational networks, thus showing the importance of such networks for the radical intellectual of this time. While the francophone revolutionaries of the 1960s, then, were particularly valuable for their ability to demystify forms of oppression and societal structures and for their desire to share revolutionary ideas across space and time, they were all the more important for the ways in which their day to day lives fulfilled the conditions of possibility enabled by such a unique historical and cultural moment. Many more individuals from *Parti Pris*, Les Éditions Maspero, or *La Révolution Africaine* could be discussed here, but these men in particular suggest the determination to live out revolutionary theories and the importance of individual action in the history of ideas.

## Conclusion

The idea of the intellectual that developed in the 1960s had foundations in global publication networks. Each group of radicals grounded their theories of the revolutionary intellectuals' responsibilities on similar conceptual bases and consumed one another's writings to better understand the moment of global liberation in which they were living. Built on the idea that intellectuals were obligated to be more than just privileged men sitting in smoky salons, leftists from France, Algeria, and Québec used these publishing networks to create a new image: the intellectual as someone who used his or her station to demystify oppressive structures, share information about the revolution, and liberate their people through action. These men's idealism admittedly overlooked important differences between locales—Algeria and Québec, by the late 1960s, had little in common—and ignored their exclusion of women from their revolutionary ranks, but their effort to unify people across time and space remains important.

Les Éditions Maspero was the only of these three nodes that remained active after 1968. François Maspero continued to lead *Partisans* and the publishing house until 1982, when he ceded control to François Geze, who renamed the house La Découverte. Maspero remained dedicated to political struggle until his death in 2015. *Parti Pris* closed its doors after a final edition released in the summer of 1968. Gilles Bourque, a member of the editorial board from 1965, argued that this was due to frustrations between two factions—those who supported the Parti Québécois and those who advocated for non-parliamentary action.<sup>159</sup> The publication house associated with *Parti Pris*, Les Éditions Parti Pris, operated into the 1980s. Many members of

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<sup>159</sup> Gilles Bourque, interview with the author, July 5, 2017, Ulverton, Québec.

*Parti Pris* continued their political work, becoming authors, activists, journalists, and professors. Associations between French and French Canadian government officials and between radicals in both places strengthened over the course of the decades after 1968.

*La Révolution Africaine* also closed its doors in 1968. Unfortunately, readers can trace the development of Algerian autocracy through the pages of the magazine in the years leading up to this. *La Révolution Africaine*'s praise of the Algerian government became more adamant after the 1965 coup that ousted President Ben Bella and their critiques became less vociferous. Moreover, by 1968, a new generation of young people had been trained in Arabic, not in French. Political and social changes in Algeria over the course of this decade made it increasingly difficult to critique the government and ill-advised to use of French for official publications; by 1968 it is unsurprising that the government shuttered this francophone internationalist magazine. Additionally, such changes challenged the development of ties between radicals in the West and in Algeria. Interactions between France and Algeria continued after 1968, but they hardly resembled those thoughtful, earnest connections between leftists that marked interactions in the early 1960s. Interestingly, some connections between Québec and Algeria remained into the 1970s. The Front de Liberation du Québec (FLQ) established a base in Algiers and continued operations there in the years after 1968, but this group did not represent a majority of even the Québécois left.<sup>160</sup>

The five years between 1963 and 1968 were unique in the power and prevalence of international solidarity amongst leftists. Alliances were made between radicals in Berkeley and Montréal, in Algiers and Hanoi, Beijing and Havana and Paris; their dramatically different

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<sup>160</sup> For more on the FLQ, see the seminal work by Louis Fournier, *F.L.Q.: The Anatomy of an Underground Movement*, trans. Edward Baxter (Toronto: NC Press, 1984).

contexts seemed less important than the dreams they shared. For francophone activists, a communal identity, shared intellectual history, and ease of communication facilitated efforts for international solidarity. Based on the spirit of this moment, intellectuals from Paris, Montréal, and Algiers built networks centered around publications which remained powerful through the events of 1968.<sup>161</sup> The experience of internationalism, a transnational reading culture, and the inter-personal connections solidified over the course of the 1960s allowed revolutionary intellectuals to join in political action when the sparks of First World revolution flew in 1968. Publishers like Maspero and magazines like *Parti Pris* and *La Révolution Africaine* helped to produce what historian Kristin Ross called, “an extremely articulate cross-section of...students, knowledgeable in world affairs, non-xenophobic in their outlook, and capable of mounting an argument.”<sup>162</sup> Believing that they had found a moment ripe for radical changes to society, these dreamers imagined that previously existing francophone networks could become political as well as intellectual, permanent rather than fleeting.

For writers at *Parti Pris*, *La Révolution Africaine*, and Les Éditions Maspero, the idea of the revolutionary intellectual was part of a systematic effort to integrate intellectuals with the working-class people they wanted to liberate from oppression. Revolts that erupted around the world in the late 1960s demonstrated the importance of this precedent. The protests of 1968, in France and elsewhere, relied on individual defiance of traditional social and political boundaries between intellectuals and the everyday person. Yet these transgressions were not wholly new. Instead, the intellectuals who made up transnational publication networks discussed here laid the groundwork necessary for the social and political changes wrought by these protests. Spanning

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<sup>161</sup> I base this argument loosely on Gerd Rainer-Horn’s idea of a period’s ‘spirit’ in *Spirit of ’68*.

<sup>162</sup> Ross, *May ’68 and Its Afterlives*, 87.

the gap between the Algerian War and Mai '68, these intellectuals were able to redefine what it meant to write, speak, and act the revolution. The work of the New Left helped bridge the gap between early twentieth-century conceptions of the leftist intellectual and the radically democratic conception of the people's power promoted by leftists during and after 1968. Indeed, these activists worked to resolve a crisis for intellectuals that loomed large at the close of the Algerian War and in many ways succeeded in bringing the intellectual closer to the people, allowing them a still prominent, if newly democratic, role in the revolution.

Along with the connections detailed here between France, Algeria, and Québec, intellectuals at these magazines interacted with a wide swath of other radical movements in the 1960s. They forged bonds with the Black Power movement in the United States, anti-Vietnam War groups, and Latin American revolutionary movements. When viewed holistically, the existence and operation of these international networks demonstrates the power of international solidarity and emphasizes the importance of studying often overlooked connections. These networks demonstrate the possibilities unleashed in a moment when, for many, it seemed possible to challenge the Western system of colonies and nation-states. Radicals in the 1960s imagined that such transnational movements could liberate oppressed peoples, establish and maintain new nations, and stand up to the imperialism of the West and the Soviet monopolization of socialist discourse. These individuals truly believed in the transformative power of international solidarity and lived their lives according to their belief in the possibility of a future that could be egalitarian, global, and just. Though their practice overlooked or excluded significant portions of the population, revolutionary intellectuals of the 1960s used their writing to work as modern legislators of Marxist-Leninist universalist truth. They acknowledged some difference, but borrowed freely from one another to explain how a future predicated on

revolutionary socialism could liberate people in a wide variety of contexts. Reviving these lost futures is one of the more important tasks of historians of the twentieth century.

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