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‘WRITING IS AN ACT, THE POEM A WEAPON AND DISCUSSION AN ASSEMBLY’: THE POLITICAL TURN IN *SOUFFLES* DURING MOROCCO’S 1968

ANDY STAFFORD

ABSTRACT

Using the recent publication in English translation of an anthology of texts from the Moroccan journal *Souffles* (Stanford University Press, 2016), this article is part of a wider project that links the journal’s moves to question Négritude with its postcolonial critique of folklorism. It considers the Moroccan journal as an archetypal May 1968 publication; first, by tracing the dramatic shift that *Souffles* makes between 1966 and 1969 from literary and cultural journal to revolutionary mouthpiece of Marxist anti-Zionism, and which takes place in a period of pan-Arabist crisis and during the social unrest of 1968–1971 in Morocco; and second, by looking closely at the theoretical and philosophical innovations of Abraham Serfaty, alongside the agitational poetry of Abdellatif Laâbi and the political theories emerging in sub-Saharan Africa and the Francophone Caribbean, that appear in *Souffles* in the wake of May 1968 in France. Finally, it locates an incipient Maoism in the radicalization of *Souffles*.

Keywords: *Souffles*; Morocco; pan-Arabism; Négritude; folklorism; poetry; Abraham Serfaty; Abdellatif Laâbi; René Depestre; Maoism

‘Le soleil n’a pas de patrie’—Abdellatif Laâbi.¹

[The sun does not have a homeland]

Introduction: May 68 and historical dissonances

By a strange turn of history’s wheel, Morocco in North Africa and Senegal in West Africa seemed to take a similar route, politically and chronologically, through the tumult of a global 1968. Both had failed uprisings and both were ‘late’ by starting in 1969. Senegal’s 1968 might have seemed more radical than Morocco’s.² However, this would be to forget 1965, when the Franco-Moroccan novelist Tahar Ben Jelloun was – as were thousands of others – arrested and put into a ‘correction’ camp after a riot of youths and the unemployed, at which hundreds, if not

a thousand, young protesters, were shot. The Casablanca riots of 1965, brutally repressed by King Hassan II's regime, showed graphically that the rulers of post-independence Morocco were going to be as cruel, if not worse, than the French Protectorate. Riots spread to other cities in Morocco (Rabat, the capital, in particular). These events, combined with the Arab nations' rout by Israel in the 1967 war, not to mention the French-inspired 'disappearance' in the same year of Morocco's socialist trade-union leader Mehdi Ben Barka, set the stage for the radical moment that emerged between 1968 and 1971 in Morocco. Crucially, these three years saw a shift in politics in the Global South, presenting a sharp move away from (and even a break with) Négritude, towards a more militant stance. Left-wing activists in Morocco were inspired by the call from Havana known as the 'Tricontinentale' and simultaneously angered by their compatriot Ben Barka's kidnap and murder on his way to Cuba to participate in the Tricontinentale's preparations.³ Indeed, intellectuals in Morocco began in late 1968 to integrate Guevarist and Maoist perspectives into their work, especially in the radical journal *Souffles* [breath or spirit], which was published in Rabat between 1966 and 1972.⁴ The implication is that the abandonment of Négritude in the late 1960s opened up, and led directly to, the growth of Maoist ideas.

Three crucial events – of very different proportions – have intervened since my 2009 article on *Souffles* and the Tricontinentale. First, Kenza Sefrioui's doctoral thesis on *Souffles* has been published as a book.⁵ Second, as well as the anthology of *Souffles* texts in English, a glossy box set of the journal has recently been published as a facsimile of all nineteen numbers, alongside a collection of conference papers.⁶ Finally, there has been the Arab Spring – and there are obvious parallels between Morocco in the 1970s and Egypt today, with Abdel Fattah al-Sisi and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces stronger than ever, even than under Hosni Mubarak! This analogy raises questions as to political strategy that naturally go beyond the analysis of a literary journal, and to which we will briefly allude in the conclusion.

Aspects we discuss here, and which have not yet emerged in the increasing scholarship on *Souffles*, are the influence of the journal and the dialogues it engaged in going east. These factors involved not only Palestine post-1967, the growth of pan-Arabism and the struggles across Africa in the late 1960s, especially in Lusophone Africa, but also the influence of Maoism and the cultural revolution. Sefrioui's 2013 study in French of *Souffles*, subtitled 'Espoirs de révolution culturelle au Maroc' ['Hopes for Cultural Revolution in Morocco'], is a thorough and thought-provoking analysis of *Souffles*, although it spends little time on the growing Maoist ideas

in the journal or on the notion of ‘revolution’, preferring a discussion of the ‘cultural’ elements and the aesthetics of subversion over a critique of certain aspects of Marxist ideas. Although Sefrioui and many commentators have noted how from 1969 onwards, with the growing street, student and strike movements in Morocco, copies of *Souffles* were waved about in the streets as if it were Morocco’s version of Mao’s *Little Red Book*, Sefrioui marginalizes the incipient Maoism in *Souffles* and the radical left’s strategy in Morocco. Indeed, it is unfortunate that very little has been written on 1960s and 1970s Maoism in Morocco.⁷ However, before considering the influence of Maoist political ideas, we start by exploring the cultural dimensions of the growing radicalization of *Souffles* across the late 1960s.

‘Culture nationale’ versus folklorism

In a country where over 80% of people were illiterate in 1968, Morocco’s radical poets and trade unionists grouped around the journal *Souffles* began to valorize the oral, vernacular and demotic aspect to Moroccan history, culture and politics, against the (mainly francophone) Western insistence on the primacy and the progressive nature of the written. Abdellatif Laâbi, Abdelkébir Khatibi, Tahar Ben Jelloun and Mostefa Nissaboury moved to merge critical theory with notions of orality in literature, as well as with popular and artisanal culture. Indeed, the focus of this article is on specifically *literary* and cultural journals, since *Souffles* was to become a rare example of a literary journal that ‘turned political’: it not only theorized postcolonial, decolonial and anti-colonial culture, but also then shifted away from culture to become a radical Marxist organ of struggle against its own Moroccan ruling class. There is in the case of Morocco (and of Senegal) a temporal dissonance between different May 68s, which has had an impact on journal culture globally. Nevertheless, this dissonance should not be allowed to underplay the global and complex domino effect of the period (nowhere more evident than in the Global South). However, the scope of this article would be too narrowly historical-materialist if these dissonances, both real – that is, political and intellectual – *and* perceived, and their fallout in culture were not traced. Indeed, Caroline Hoctan, in her anthology of French journals of May 68, uses the September 1969 (number 12) issue of Guy Debord’s *Internationale Situationniste*, and in particular the famous article ‘Le Commencement d’une époque’ [The Beginning of An Epoch], as a central example of how a journal had become radicalized despite its publication being

fifteen months after France's May 68.⁸ In short, Morocco in 1968 has some very real differences with Paris in May 68.

In opposition to Europe and the West, the Global South, as typified by postcolonial Morocco, needed in 1968 to forge ahead with creating new modes of expression, informed by the past. But this valorization of national popular culture could not be romantically beholden to out-of-date and well-worn colonial and pre-colonial cultural forms. Rather, the Moroccan people's past had to be harnessed in order to build a new, free Morocco, devoid of the stereotypes created by France's (and Spain's) dominion over the country. The difficulty in doing so, however, was the challenge of not falling for the folklorism that had beset the previous generation, who, in the example of Ahmed Sefrioui's *contes* [tales], as in *Le Jardin des sortilèges ou le parfum des légendes* [The Garden of Curses or the Perfume of Legends] (1953), suddenly looked compromised in the newly-independent Morocco of the late 1960s.

In this context, then, *Souffles* finds itself in a unique position in anti-colonial intellectual history, to such an extent that it has recently been, partly, translated into English.⁹ English translation is rare and is generally reserved only for other major, world-renowned French-speaking journals from the radical 1960s period such as *Tel Quel*.¹⁰ Such is the avant-garde nature of the journal that Khalid Lyamlaḥy has recently suggested not only that we read *Souffles* as 'world literature', but also that its radical intertwining of written and visual forms develops in tandem with its growing politicization across the 1968 period.¹¹ Indeed, the more 'political' wing of the *Souffles* group, led by the poet Laâbi and the miners' union activist Abraham Serfaty, started to integrate into their radical ideas the scientific and anti-folkloric arguments being developed in Havana. In particular, Arab, and then Berber, orality became key elements in a new cultural politics proposed by *Souffles*. Two key questions then pertain to this shift. First, how did folklore come to look like a neo-colonialist morality? Second, how could *Souffles* square the promotion of orality with a critique of folklore?

At the same time, *Souffles* wanted to go beyond the heroic literature of the anti-colonial struggle (Mohammed Dib, Mouloud Feraoun, Kateb Yacine, Mouloud Mammeri), to establish an independent and modern Moroccan literature in French written by a younger generation coming to terms with the postcolonial polity.¹² Influenced more by Frantz Fanon and the radical poetry of Aimé Césaire than by the folkloric, indeed essentialist, approach to establishing postcolonial culture favoured by Léopold Senghor, the new poetics promoted by *Souffles* featured work by

the Haitian dissident René Depestre, alongside the writings of Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine, Rachid Boudjedra, Ben Jelloun and Laâbi, in what Khatibi called ‘un terrorisme lyrique, une violente recherche de la culture nationale’ [a lyrical terrorism, a violent search for a national culture].¹³ In the second number of *Souffles* (second trimester 1966), Khatibi had set the tone for this radical and violent, even terroristic, poetry. In three short and elliptical poems – ‘La Rue’ [‘The Street’], ‘Devenir’ [‘Becoming’] and ‘Émeute’ [‘Riot’] – he gestured towards the Casablanca riots of March 1965 which preceded his return to Morocco from Paris the same year.¹⁴ Indeed, Khatibi, a Casablanca-educated but Paris-trained sociologist, played an important role in Morocco’s 1968 as a journalist working for the radical newspaper *Lamalif* edited by Zakya Daoud, who worked under the pen name of Jacqueline Loghlam.¹⁵

Souffles forged this lyrical terrorism alongside a critique of Négritude that came to dominate the second half of the 1960s. From Depestre’s article in 1968, ‘Les Aventures de la négritude’ [‘The Winding Course of Négritude’] and his essay on revolutionary intellectuals from the Global South, to the report from the October 1967 Havana congress attended by the Angolan anti-colonialist Mario de Andrade, *Souffles* spearheaded a radical, left-wing and revolutionary critique of Négritude’s folklorism.¹⁶ Indeed, as early as 1966, Abdallah Stouky had called his review of the 1966 World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, ‘Les Nostalgiques de la négritude’ [‘The Nostalgics of Négritude’].¹⁷ Similarly, in the next number of *Souffles*, André Laude had published his ‘Préface à un procès de la négritude’ [‘Preface to Négritude on Trial’].¹⁸ However, it is Depestre’s 1968 critique that is most prominent, as it ends on a stark, radical note, alluding to a ‘dépassement’ [going beyond] of Sartre’s 1947 essay ‘Black Orpheus’: ‘The new Black Orpheus will be revolutionary or will not be’.¹⁹ Part of Depestre’s ‘new’ Black Orpheus was the forging of an effusive and guttural form of ‘oral’ poetry that challenged the more pastoral elements of Négritude’s poetic forms.

The splits in the Négritude movement were growing in this late 1960s period. Part of the Havana conference’s aim was to put Négritude ‘on trial’. Négritude had been seen as a crucial stage for decolonization in the 1950s, for rebalancing, as Aimé Césaire saw it, the stark cultural inequalities engendered by European colonialism and racial discrimination; but now here, in the late 1960s, Négritude was seen as part of a folkloric dead end. Martinican poet and playwright Daniel Boukman joined Depestre with his poem ‘Orphée nègre’ [‘Black Orpheus’] – extracts of which appeared in *Souffles* in 1967 – but also added to the critique of Négritude in the African

francophone journal *Jeune Afrique* [Young Africa].²⁰ However, there is only the faintest of echoes of this critique in the Paris-based journal *Présence Africaine* [African Presence] and whose readership of ‘petits fonctionnaires’ [civil servants] and ‘élite intellectuelle’ [intellectual elite] was in Boukman’s sights.²¹ Indeed, leftist Parisian journals of all types seemed, throughout the 1968–1972 period, to be impervious to the radicalization that is typified in France’s former African colonies by *Souffles* and *Jeune Afrique*.

May 68 journals in France: Radical but European-oriented?

In parallel with *Souffles* in Morocco, the radicalization of French-speaking journals during 1968 is not difficult to trace. This applies not only to *Tel Quel*, but also to its rival *Change* launched by Jean-Pierre Faye in 1968.²² Other Paris journals such as *Opus International*, the contemporary art journal launched in 1967, began also to radicalize. Having covered Poland’s March 1968 student uprising in number 6 (May 1968), *Opus International* published in June 1968 its special number (number 7) ‘Violences Mai 1968’ [May 1968 Violences] and maintained its international coverage in number 9 (December 1968) on the events in Czechoslovakia. It was not just Parisian journals that joined the uprising; *La Tour de feu* [The Tower of Fire], a radical poetry journal published in Charente in Western France that considered itself ‘socialist’ and ‘revolutionary’ since the 1940s, called its special number on May 68 ‘Orphée noir’ [Deliver us from dreams].²³ May 68 also saw the launch of a range of new radical journals, such as *Cheval d’attaque. Revue internationale d’expression ludique* [Attack Horse. International Journal of Playful Expression], a Franco-Belgian enterprise which published twenty numbers in Paris between 1968 and 1978. In its ‘numéro zéro’ [zero number], the songs of André Martel – those sung to the crowds in May 68 – were published (Martel had been a member of the Collège de ‘Pataphysique [Pataphysical College] since 1955, alongside Raymond Queneau and Boris Vian); and a poem by Bernard Noël, ‘L’Amour blanc’ [‘White Love’], appeared in number 1 (January 1969).

However, there appeared very little dialogue with the Global South. Indeed, postcolonial dimensions were rare in French radical journals of 1968.²⁴ Only Maspero’s *Tricontinental* and the new journal of politics *Politique aujourd’hui* [Politics Today] seemed to buck this trend.²⁵ However, one important link for *Souffles* in France was the journal *Action Poétique* [Poetic Action] published by Pierre-Jean Oswald in Honfleur.²⁶ Oswald became the Paris-based distributor of the Casablanca-based publisher Atlantes that was created by *Souffles* in 1967.²⁷

Oswald also began in 1968 a new series of publications of African plays.²⁸ Indeed, in *Souffles* 12 (1968) there appeared extracts from Daniel Boukman's radical play on slavery *Les Négriers* [The Slave Ships] published by Oswald.²⁹ Bernard Jakobiak, member of the *Souffles* editorial committee, then published *Il y aurait un nous – Pour un théâtre de la parole* [There Would Be An Us – For A Radical Theatre of the Word] in the Oswald theatre series.³⁰ Nevertheless, it was not clear how Paris intellectuals in revolt in May 1968 were linked to those intellectuals in Morocco who were spearheading critique from the Global South of a compliant Négritude. This deafness, if not dissonance, made the early 1969 interview in *Souffles* with radical French theatre-director Jean-Marie Serreau all the more important.³¹

Brecht-inspired, Serreau was, as Noured Ayouch points out, the first in France to direct plays by Césaire, Depestre and Kateb, the latter during the Algerian War and the right-wing coup attempts in France in 1962.³² Serreau presented interesting parallels for *Souffles* with May 68 in Paris, making links between street theatre and the barricades in Paris and theatre in North Africa; he also pointed to some limitations, regretting the consumerist and commercial elements of street theatre that tried to benefit from the news cameras, especially Julian Beck's Living Theatre whose radical 'happenings' brought theatre into the streets thereby courting media attention. However, before we consider the critique of consumerism in *Souffles* in detail, we will first locate the journal in its dialogue with North-African and American radicals, in order to illustrate that, within the Maoism that underpins the journal's radicalization, Maghrebi, pan-Arabist and North-American influences also exist.

1968 as Morocco's Prelude to 1969?

As well as forging minor links with France in 1968, *Souffles* widened its purview to North Africa and the United States. The journal's *animateurs* [cultural activists] participated in the 'Festival culturel panafricain d'Alger' [The Algiers Pan-African Cultural Festival] in July 1969 when the Black Panthers were in exile there.³³ Alongside and simultaneous with the Harlem Cultural Festival of July–August 1969 (often dubbed 'the Black Woodstock'), it is suggested that the Festival d'Alger marked a turning point in, and radicalization of, anti-racism and the politics of the Global South. In Morocco, the year 1969 is the start of the true spirit of 1968's global uprisings. The assassination attempts on King Hassan II in 1971 and 1972 were already brewing in 1969; and these would become the pretext for the regimes' violent repression of the emerging

Marxist left in Morocco, of which *Souffles* was to become an organizing force, perhaps in a manner never seen before in the history of journals. This once radical poetry journal, both anti-colonial and conscious of neo-colonialism in Morocco's *makhzen* [aristocracy], became between 1969 and 1971 the 'cultural' organ of Morocco's Ila al-Alam party [To the Front]. This was a Marxist-Leninist outfit with Maoist leanings that in general favoured armed struggle over class warfare – and the Chinese Cultural Revolution looms large behind *Souffles*. Furthermore, this Maoist Marxism was developed specifically in relation to the Palestinian situation and to the armed, military solution that was preferred to the class-struggle-oriented solution across the region.

Indeed, despite the recent glossy facsimile republication of *Souffles* which is designed with aesthetes in mind, *Souffles* could not be accused of aestheticism. One might compare *Souffles* to *Lotus*, the journal of the Afro-Asian Writers' Association which launched in Tashkent in 1958, moved to Cairo in March 1968, after a spell in Colombo, where it began publishing in trilingual form — Arabic, English and French — and became known as *Lotus: Afro-Asian Writings*.³⁴ Here, in this comparison, we might underline the stark political radicalization that *Souffles* underwent. The last number of *Souffles* (12) in 1968 contains an extended editorial which sets out the journal's view of the militant and radical role of culture, and of the Moroccan intellectual within this, as part of its new Maghreb-wide organization the 'Association de recherche culturelle' [Association of Cultural Research].³⁵ However, according to Sefrioui, it is number 9 (1st trimester 1968) that presents the first signs of a 'discours révolutionnaire' [revolutionary discourse] especially in the report on the cultural congress in Havana.³⁶

We also find in this emblematic 1968 number 9 of *Souffles* clearer signs of a literature of revolt, a violence of the text, for example in Nissaboury's prose poem in French, 'Grotte' [Grotto].³⁷ The two other numbers of *Souffles* published in 1968, number 10–11, and number 12, maintain this double critique rooted in anti-folkloric essayism and literary terrorism. In number 12, Bernard Jakobiak, in a very early, Edward Said-like postcolonial critique, rejects the novels of Albert Camus as colonialist writing; and this number also contains the earliest radical poetry of Tahar Ben Jelloun (not long returned from the army 'correction' camp to which he had been sent after the riots of 1965), in 'L'Aube des dalles' [Dawn of Tombstones].³⁸ One other important development in *Souffles* in 1968 is the inclusion in the number 10–11 of radical Moroccan writings in Arabic – 'Generation Drive' by Mohammed Berrada and 'Afternoon, with

the Sun' by Mohammed Zafzaf.³⁹ The Arabic-speaking aspect of Moroccan culture – its contradictory status in relation to Moroccan literature in French – would soon be rewarded with the creation in late 1969 of *Anfas*, the Arabic version of *Souffles*.⁴⁰ Indeed, this move to make *Souffles* a bilingual network of radical culture in 1969 would be a crucial stage in the political changes undergone by the journal.

So far we have briefly compared *Souffles* to *Lotus* and noted that journals in France in May 1968 seemed to ignore what was happening in their African counterparts such as *Souffles* and *Jeune Afrique*. According to Marc Gontard, there is, however, another possible counterpart in France in this period: *Change*, an offshoot of *Tel Quel* and published also for a time by Seuil, is, Gontard suggests, a good comparison in France for *Souffles*.⁴¹ More Chomskyan than Saussurean, concerned with how language is creative rather than structurally constrained, it is *Change*, led by philosopher and former member of the Tel Quel group, Jean-Pierre Faye, that *Souffles* resembles possibly the most in terms of French radical journals of the May 68 period. Gontard suggests that this is seen best in the number 8 of *Change* published in 1971. However, as we have suggested, it is 1969 that best illustrates the post-68 radicalization of *Souffles*.

Souffles in 1969, from poetry to politics

In the first number of *Souffles* of 1969 (the double numbered issue, 13–14) there appears Laâbi's agitational poem 'Mobilisation-tract'.⁴² But it is the cover and then the contents of the next number in 1969, number 15, that illustrate the shift in the journal's orientation. This special number on Palestine in 1969 indicates the political direction that the journal now takes. For the first time, there is a shiny cover with photographs and no longer Mohammed Melehi's action-painting of the black sun; and this number has a less academic/literary numbering system: from number 16–17 onwards, the journal is now numbered by pairs of months (for example, the number 18 is called '4^e année, mars–avril 1970' [4th Year, March–April 1970], and not categorized by 'trimestre' as it had been). Literature is not totally marginalized – subsequent numbers include Laâbi's review of Rachid Boudjedra's novel *La Répudiation*, for example; but, with Anouar Abdel-Malek's call for contributions to a new rubric – 'Sociologie des mouvements nationaux' [Sociology of National Movements] – *Souffles* the literary journal is now, here in 1969, much more inclined towards politics.

It contains a letter from Algeria's Argentinian ambassador, the historian Mostépha Lacheraf, praising the special number of *Souffles* on Palestine. The journal now has other new columns, '*Souffles-littéraires*' and '*Souffles-arts*', which are indeed cultural and literary; but the tone of this literary section is distinctly radical. In the first of these new rubrics, the Martinican poet Auguste Macouba salutes Che Guevara in an extract from his poem 'Le Cri antillais' [Antillean Cry], which was banned in French Martinique, and which is followed by Depestre's favourable review of Macouba's 1968 play, *Eia Manmille-là*, alongside Laâbi's poem 'Les Singes électriques' [Electric Monkeys] and Nissaboury's 'Après-midi d'un damné' [Afternoon of a Condemned Man].⁴³ Tahar Ben Jelloun develops the theme of political cinema in Morocco by including an interview with Senegal's Marxist director Sembene Ousmane, followed by a list of the resolutions adopted by Africa's radical filmmakers.⁴⁴ There is also a constructive, if critical, report on the 'Festival culturel panafricain d'Alger', in which the radical turn of *Souffles* across 1968 and 1969 is brought to bear on the warm words but weak political conclusions of the Festival: the only positive reviews of the Festival are given to the Guinea-Bissau intervention, to the combined intervention by the Portuguese colonies' delegations of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau/Cape Verde, to the presence of the Black Panthers in exile in Algiers and to René Depestre's paper, all of which are reproduced in this number of *Souffles*.⁴⁵ Depestre's account, written in Havana where he was in exile from Haiti, of the abuse of those involved in the Négritude movement by the murderous Duvalier regime, is augmented by a critique of the African and Caribbean personality inherited from the colonial period that is informed by the work of W. E. B. Du Bois and puts forward a revolutionary view of identity.

It is not simply that the 'editorial committee' is now called 'groupe d'action'. Also, there are opening sections called 'Action idéologique' [Ideological action], 'Nation arabe' [Arab nation] and 'Luttes ouvrières' [workers' struggles], which are all preceded by a highly direct editorial called 'A vous' [To You].⁴⁶ The beginning of this editorial is worth citing in full:

Souffles aborde une phase nouvelle. Nous en avons montré la nécessité. Nous l'avons annoncée. Cette nécessité, depuis longtemps sentie, ne pouvait être concrétisée que par la clarification de nos objectifs, la précision de nos options et partant de la formation d'une équipe décidée à assumer entièrement ses responsabilités. Cette équipe est maintenant constituée. Désormais, de nouveaux fronts de combat sont ouverts. Le débat n'en sera que plus collectif, le champ de vision plus large et les cibles plus précises.⁴⁷

[*Souffles* is starting a new phase. We had already shown the need for this. We have given warning. The only ways to make this long-felt necessity concrete was by clarifying our objectives, being precise about our options and creating a team ready to assume fully its responsibilities. This team has now been formed. From now on, the new battle-lines are drawn. The discussion will be all the more collective, the field of vision wider and the targets more precisely defined.]

Souffles is now no longer a poetry journal, but a ‘revue culturelle arabe du Maghreb’ [Arabic Cultural Review of North Africa] – ‘Voilà notre carte d’identité culturelle, la direction de notre bataille idéologique’ [This is our cultural identity card, the direction of our ideological battle].⁴⁸ There has been enough talk of peace, the editorial continues, of francophone neo-colonial tactics; instead, the ‘Palestinian Revolution’ shows the way to a new ideological and cultural ‘Renaissance’ of the ‘Arab Nation’. This editorial is also now a moment to reflect on the first four years of *Souffles*:

Ces quatre dernières années [...], malgré des limites, ont permis le travail de déblayage nécessaire, le dépassement progressif des multiples aliénations ou d’attitudes ambiguës [...], une phase de tension, de remise en question permanente, de réflexion, peut-être aussi parfois d’incertitude ou d’errance. Aujourd’hui, nous pensons pouvoir confronter en toute assurance les problèmes qui sont posés à notre culture et à notre société. Nous pouvons aussi porter la bataille là où l’idéologie coloniale ou néo-coloniale, l’idéologie bourgeoise ou technocratique tentent de s’implanter ou se réimplanter, de falsifier nos réalités et d’enrayer le mouvement inéluctable de libération de notre culture et de notre peuple.⁴⁹

[These last four years [...] have, within limits, favoured a clearing of the decks, a progressive leaving-behind of multiple alienations and ambiguous attitudes [...], all during a tense phase of permanent questioning, of reflection and perhaps sometimes of uncertainty and waywardness. However now, we feel fully assured in confronting all the problems that beset our culture and society. We feel able also to take the battle to where colonial, neo-colonial, bourgeois or technocratic ideology is trying to establish or re-establish itself, to where it tries to mislead us and impede the unstoppable movement of the liberation of our culture and people.]

The new, direct, precise and radical tone of this late-1969 editorial in *Souffles* is unmistakable, especially in its avant-garde rejection of consumer society:

Il ne s'agit plus aujourd'hui seulement de 'lâcher l'Occident', mais de barrer au détour la route à tous les résidus, relents, résurgences de ces idéologies cadavériques mais tenaces, en tout cas condamnés par l'Histoire.

L'écrit est acte, le poème arme, le débat assemblée.

Dernier avertissement au lecteur-consommateur.

À vous.⁵⁰

[It is no longer simply a question of 'leaving the West behind', but of blocking any return, continuation, or resurgence of those dead-in-the-ground ideologies, which might be persistent but condemned by History.

Writing is an act, the poem a weapon and discussion an assembly.

This is the final warning to the reader-consumer.

Over to you.]

For the 'action group' now writing for *Souffles*, any passivity exhibited by the journal's readership is no longer an option; to act politically *is* to fight against the backward ideas of colonial and capitalist society.

Throughout this new militant period of *Souffles*, we do hear echoes of the European 1968.⁵¹ For example, in his poem 'Mobilisation-tract', published in the first number of *Souffles* in 1969 (and the last of his poems to appear in the journal), Laâbi adopts and adapts the defence of Daniel Cohn-Bendit that French students and workers used to stop his deportation from France – 'We are all German Jews'; 'de gaulle multiplie ses frasques / et se retire grand seigneur' [de gaulle keeps making mischief and then nobly retires], writes Laâbi, and 'Ho ho hochiminh' is his allusion to the slogan that rang out across the American and European movements defending Vietnam against American aggression.⁵²

But Laâbi's poem is much more about the Global South – Palestine, Vietnam, Cuba and the French Caribbean, Angola, Mozambique – and, also, Morocco:

bonne année camarades
camarade tu consommes
tu t'empiffres
le maroc est le plus grand consommateur de whisky du monde
[...]
tu te méfies de l'héroïsme
l'aventurisme
le terrorisme
des poètes
race bizarre à taux de suicide curieusement élevé
ça sent mauvais tous ces détours
n'est-ce pas
tout cet organico-physiologico-érotico-lyrico-mal orienté
avec si peu de citations
de refrains
si peu de références
tu te coules doucement ta petite vie de lutteur entre deux week-end
à repas pour dix
tu observes les arrêts
les transitions
les interdits de dépassement
à la vitesse qu'il faut
comme dans le code de la route
tu consultes la table des lois
de notre temps bien sûr
sûr de toi
sûr de vous
camarades[.]⁵³

[happy new year comrades
comrade you are consuming
you are stuffing yourself
morocco is the world's biggest consumer of whisky

you are suspicious of the heroism
adventurism
terrorism
of poets
bizarre race with a curiously high suicide rate
all these detours smell bad
don't they
all this organic-psychological-erotic-lyrical-badly oriented
with so few quotations
refrains
so few references
you enjoy your petty revolutionary life between two weekends
and meals for ten
you respect the stop signs
the transitions
the do-not-pass signs
within speeding limits
following the rules of the road
you consult the tables of the law
of our times of course
sure of yourself
sure of yourselves
comrades]⁵⁴

‘Mobilisation-tract’ is also now concerned with a radical critique of consumer culture – in a manner that resembles the final line of the ‘À vous’ editorial cited above: the ‘Dernier avertissement au lecteur-consommateur’.⁵⁵ It suggests not only that Laâbi is the politically militant poet of *Souffles* who, alongside Abraham Serfaty, is radicalizing the Moroccan left in 1969, but also that his cultural politics take a further terroristic turn, a Maoization of culture.

Maoism in 'Souffles'

Woe to revolutionists who make a revolution
only halfway. They only dig their own graves.⁵⁶

It is Abraham Serfaty, a Jewish-Moroccan former member of the Moroccan Communist Party, who carries the Maoist ideas into *Souffles*. His Maoism, with its activism and militant urgency, has, however, none of the intellectualism and theoreticism of the *China-chic* adopted famously by *Tel Quel* between 1968 and 1975. In a two-part analysis, in 1968 and 1969, the former mining engineer articulated the importance of Mao's Marxism for the newly-independent countries of the Global South.⁵⁷ Serfaty had just resigned his management position in the Moroccan phosphates industry, in protest at the treatment of the Khouribga miners. Indeed, the bitter strikes in the phosphate mines between 1968 and 1971 dovetailed with the Saharawi independence movement in Western Sahara which Serfaty and *Souffles* were among the first to support.⁵⁸

Serfaty's brief but impressive overview of the myth of 'Western superiority', following Herbert Marcuse, locates the domination of the world by Western capitalism and imperialism, neither in technological nor in scientific superiority (easily disproven by an analysis of early Chinese societies); but in the turn, during the Renaissance period, towards individualism characterized as a 'cultural revolution' of sorts. Indeed, citing Marcuse's work on 'one-dimensional' humanity, Serfaty's theory seems to fit with Depestre's critique of colonialism's perversion of human personality and the subsequent call (mentioned above) for a 'Black Orpheus'. In an early critique of the technocratic process behind the development of the computer in the United States, Serfaty points to the petty-bourgeois belief of certain intellectuals in France in the 'revolutionary' work of 'Control Data' on computing; against this, Serfaty prefers the idea of 'avoir sa tête "dans les étoiles"' [having one's head 'in the stars'], as an alternative to a faith in capitalism.⁵⁹ Though Serfaty seems to accept Marcuse's theory that capitalism has turned humanity into an object, he regrets that Marcuse cannot operate the necessary 'dépassement' (getting past) that the (so-called) 'socialist countries' have managed to enact.⁶⁰

Serfaty's is then a classically May 68 critique of petty-bourgeois technocracy, of advanced capitalism's twisting of personality into individualism. In the second part of his

analysis, the Maoist dimensions to his argument begin to appear. He begins the second part by suggesting that May 68 in France showed the antagonism between an individualist technocracy in the developed world on the one hand and a collective communism in the developing world on the other; and that the latter was no different, in essence, from the struggles in Vietnam and in Palestine. Against the rationality of individualistic capitalism exposed by Marcuse, Serfaty counterposes the human creativity of collective struggle.⁶¹ However, it is the elevation of ‘Arabic’ ambivalence, as contradiction and negation, that begins to indicate the equipollence attributed to Mao’s thought on dialectics. Here he rejects the ‘negative’ dialectics of Marcuse’s conclusion to capitalism’s ‘Unidimensionality’ with which the Frankfurt School theorist had regretted the manner in which the ‘facts and the alternatives are there like fragments which do not connect’, in a ‘world of mute objects without a subject, without the practice which would move these objects in a new direction’.⁶²

Against the perceived stasis in Marcuse’s dialectic, Serfaty counterposes a Maoist dialectic of contradiction.⁶³ Thus a ‘Control Data’ technician does not understand contradiction in the way a Moroccan peasant does: the latter sees a good harvest one year change into its opposite the following season.⁶⁴ The ‘Culture nationale’ that *Souffles* now wishes to see developing is a revolutionary and creative one, but one which is fully aware of the ‘ambivalence’ of Arabic culture, even ‘pre-dialectical’, and above all able thereby to reconnect its Islamic past with a future socialist society. This is precisely Mao’s philosophy of contradiction – one which Serfaty recommends in his bibliography alongside Lenin’s work on philosophy.⁶⁵

Indeed, looking back on this period in 1992, in an interview not long after his release from prison, Serfaty made clear his own interest in China.⁶⁶ If the October Revolution in Russia was a crucial world event for him, it had nevertheless led, in Morocco and globally, to an impasse in the Moscow-influenced communist parties, whether in the countries of the Global South or elsewhere. In founding, along with *Souffles*, *Ila al-Alam* in 1969, Serfaty was looking both to the Chinese revolution and to Cuba’s.⁶⁷ Serfaty was certainly the political brains behind *Souffles*, and the impetus behind the journal’s shift in 1968 and 1969 towards becoming an organ of political struggle. In each of the numbers of *Souffles* between 1969 and 1971, it is Serfaty who supplies the focused political analyses (on African class struggle; on Israel; on Francophonie, neo-colonialism and development).

In 1992, Serfaty restates his continued belief in Maoism:

[I]n the Chinese countryside, socialism is taking root. It is an extraordinary phenomenon that this advance is taking place in a country where the working class is very weak. It could only be realized on the basis of the ideas of Mao Zedong, which must be assessed above all on their own strengths. For all the third world, there is here matter for reflection.⁶⁸

And when quizzed about the dramatic events of Tiananmen Square in 1989, Serfaty set out the key Maoist idea on history:

My conclusion remains unchanged – that socialism in China continues to be built, in one way or another, in an original way, devoid of any previous model. That is, if we do indeed believe that socialism, as a transitional phase between the capitalist mode of production and the communist mode of production, is tainted by the flaws of capitalism, and does not easily escape from it.⁶⁹

This is, of course, Serfaty speaking twenty years after the event of the political turn of *Souffles*. Can we therefore legitimately infer any hint of Maoist strategy in *Souffles*, *Ila al-Alam* and the ‘23 March’ group’s activities (so named after the Casablanca riots of 1965)?⁷⁰

Maoism is clear to see in the politics, influences, tactics and strategy expounded by the political *Souffles* of 1969–71. Beyond the support for the Viet-Cong against American imperialism, for the peasantry in Maoist China and even for Albania, *Souffles* also has a political and cultural line that looks decidedly Maoist.⁷¹ This involved the primacy of armed struggle, a praise of orality and radical folklore, overly student-oriented within the Union nationale des étudiants marocains (UNEM) [National Union of Moroccan Students]; and alongside support for teachers’ strikes and especially the Khouribga miners’ strike (between September and November 1971), *Souffles* encouraged the movement to organize in the rural regions rather than in the cities.⁷² Indeed, 1970 saw battles in the rural Gharb region where local farmers fought against the sale of land to big land-owners – at exactly the same time as the Khmer Rouge took control of the Cambodian countryside; villages and communes such as Moulay Bouazza in the Middle Atlas and Goulmima in the High Atlas launched guerrilla movements in March 1973, leading to the crushing of the ‘Tanzim’ armed group. The rest, as they say, is history; in Morocco, this history in the 1970s and 1980s, the so-called ‘years of lead’, was one of intense state repression

of the left that had risen between 1965 and 1973. We cannot blame *Souffles*, Serfaty, Ila al-Alam or any of the radical left for these failed uprisings; but we can learn from them.

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NOTES

¹ Title of a poem written in Kenitra prison, Morocco, sometime between 1975 and 1976, republished in *Le Poème permanent*, in Abdellatif Laâbi, *Œuvre poétique*, 2 vols (Paris: Editions de la Différence, 2006–2010), I, 188–89. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

² See Andy Stafford, ‘Senegal: May 68, Africa’s Revolt’, in *1968: Memories and Legacies of Global Revolt*, ed. by Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke (New York: German Historical Institute, 2009), pp. 129–35.

³ The Tricontinental Conference of January 1966 was a gathering of countries that focused on anti-colonial and anti-imperial issues during the Cold War era, specifically those related to Africa, Asia and Latin America. See Paula Barreiro López, ‘Cultural Guerrilla: Tricontinental Genealogies of 1968’, in *Transnational Solidarity: Anticolonialism in the Global Sixties*, ed. by Zeina Maasri, Cathy Bergin and Francesca Burke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), pp. 75–98.

⁴ See Andy Stafford, ‘Tricontinentalism in Recent Moroccan Intellectual History: The Case of *Souffles*’, in *New Transatlanticisms*, ed. by Thea Pitman and Andy Stafford (= *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 7.3 (2009)), pp. 218–32. The name *Souffles* has many connotations in French. ‘Souffle’ can mean ‘breath’, ‘breathing’ or ‘breeze’; but also ‘spirit’ or ‘inspiration’. *Anfas* in Arabic can be a girl or boy’s name, meaning ‘spirits’, ‘souls’, ‘breaths’ or ‘persons’.

⁵ KENZA Sefrioui, *La Revue Souffles, 1966–1973. Espoirs de révolution culturelle au Maroc* (Casablanca: Éditions du Sirocco, 2013).

⁶ *Revue Souffles* (Casablanca: La Croisée des chemins, 2016); *Une saison ardente. ‘Souffles’, 50 ans après*, ed. by Abdellatif Laâbi (Casablanca: Éditions du Sirocco, 2017).

⁷ For example, in her recent overview, *Maoism: A Global History* (London: Bodley Head, 2019), Julia Lovell ignores Morocco.

⁸ Caroline Hoctan, *Mai 68 en revues* (Paris: IMEC, 2008), pp. 289–90, 243–75.

⁹ See *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology from the Moroccan Journal of Culture and Politics*, ed. by Olivia Harrison and Teresa Villa-Ignacio (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

¹⁰ See *The ‘Tel Quel’ Reader*, ed. by Patrick French and Roland-François Lack (London: Routledge, 1998).

¹¹ See Khalid Lyamlahy, ‘A “Boundless Creative Ferocity”: The *Souffles* Generation, Moroccan Poetry and Visual Art in Dialogue’, in *Multilingual Literature as World Literature*, ed. by Jane Hiddleston and Wen-chin Ouyang (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), pp. 51–68.

¹² See Andy Stafford, “‘Dynamite explosée dans les arcanes pourries des vieux humanismes’”. A Literature of Politics or a Politics of Literature? *Souffles*, 1966–1972’, in *La Revue. The Twentieth-Century Periodical in French*, ed. by Charles Forsdick and Andy Stafford (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 97–114.

¹³ Abdelkébir Khatibi, ‘De la critique du langage à la lutte des classes’, *Le Monde*, 17 December 1971, p. 17. For a study of this violence, both literary and political, in *Souffles*, see Anouar El Younssi, ‘*Souffles*–*Anfās* and the Moroccan Avant-Garde Post-Independence’, in *Journal of North African Studies*, 23.1–2 (2018), 34–52.

¹⁴ Abdelkébir Khatibi, ‘Poèmes’, *Souffles*, 2 (1966), 16 <<http://clicnet.swarthmore.edu/souffles/s2/6.html>> [accessed 1 June 2023]; for the English translation, see ‘Poems’, trans. by Lucy R. McNair, in *Souffles-Anfas*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 37–38.

¹⁵ See the anthology of translated articles in *Lamalif: A Critical Anthology of Societal Debates in Morocco During the Years of Lead (1966–1988)*, ed. by Brahim El Guabli and Ali Alalou (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022); see also Andy Stafford, ‘The “Souverainement Orphelin” of Abdelkébir Khatibi’s Early Writings: Sociology in the *Souffles* Years’, in *Abdelkébir Khatibi: Postcolonialism, Transnationalism and Culture in the Maghreb and Beyond*, ed. by Jane Hiddleston and Khalid Lyamlahy (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), pp. 53–76.

¹⁶ René Depestre, ‘Les Aventures de la négritude’, *Souffles*, 9 (1st trimestre 1968), 42–46 <https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S09DRAF_42nn_9.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as ‘The Winding Course of Négritude’ by Laura Reeck, in *Souffles-Anfas*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 120–25. Mario de Andrade, ‘Réflexions autour du congrès culturel de la Havane’, and René Depestre, ‘L’Intellectuel révolutionnaire et ses responsabilités envers le Tiers-Monde’, *Souffles*, 9, 34–42 <https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S09DRAF_34g_9.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

¹⁷ Abdellah Stouky, ‘Le Festival mondial des arts nègres, ou les nostalgiques de la négritude’, *Souffles*, 2 (2nd trimestre, 1966), 41–45 <<http://clicnet.swarthmore.edu/souffles/s2/13.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as ‘The World Festival of Negro Arts, or The Nostalgics of Négritude’ by Laura Reeck in *Souffles-Anfas*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 39–45.

¹⁸ *Souffles*, 3 (3rd trimestre 1966), 32–36 <<http://clicnet.swarthmore.edu/souffles/s3/8.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]. In an interesting comparison, Laude considers Etienne Léro, instigator of the radical *Légitime Défense* journal in the 1930s, as an example that only Césaire has not ignored; in particular he calls Dakar 1966 an ‘œuvre d’inter-Etats’ [an inter-States work] (p. 35).

¹⁹ See Jean-Paul Sartre, *Black Orpheus*, trans. by S. W. Allen (Paris: Gallimard, 1963); Depestre, ‘The Winding Course of Négritude’, p. 125.

²⁰ See Daniel Boukman, ‘Orphée nègre’, in *Souffles*, 6 (2nd trimestre 1967), 10–22 <<https://clicnet.swarthmore.edu/souffles/s6/5.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; Boukman, ‘La Négritude en question’, in *Jeune Afrique*, 531 (1971), 59–61.

²¹ Boukman, ‘La Négritude en question’, p. 60.

²² Much has been written on *Tel Quel* and May 68; one of the best critical accounts is given in Danielle Marx-Scouras, *The Cultural Politics of ‘Tel Quel’: Literature and the Left in the Wake of Engagement* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), pp. 141–74.

²³ *La Tour de feu*, 98–99 (July–September 1968); see Hoctan, *Mai 68 en revues*, pp. 169–70, pp. 300–01.

²⁴ Even Maurice Nadeau’s resolutely internationalist journal *Les Lettres nouvelles* only covered May 1968 in Germany, Britain and the USA; see John Hearsom, ‘Revues étrangères’, *Les Lettres nouvelles* (September–October 1968), 185–88.

²⁵ See [Anon.], ‘Maroc: merci M. Franco’, *Politique aujourd’hui*, 232 (March 1970), p. 128; and [Anon.], ‘Le 14^e anniversaire de l’Indépendance marocaine sous le signe de la répression’, *Tricontinental*, 4 (1970), 107–09; see also Stafford, ‘Tricontinentalism in Recent Moroccan Intellectual History’, p. 232, n. 47. Indeed, the otherwise excellent website *Revues littéraires* lists Moroccan journals in French separately

but, strangely, does not mention *Souffles*: see <<http://www.revues-litteraires.com/>> [accessed 1 June 2023].

²⁶ *Action Poétique*'s editorial board included Jacques Roubaud, the key member of OULIPO, and Elisabeth Roudinesco who was part of the board of *Change*; and, in the wake of May 1968, the journal published its support for the Writer's Union: see 'Union des écrivains pourquoi?', *Action Poétique*, 37.2 (1968). This support was also expressed in *Les Lettres nouvelles* (September–October 1968), 155–59; but one glance at the list of signatories (pp. 155–56) reveals an exclusively European orientation.

²⁷ See 'Création de la collection "ATLANTES"', *Souffles*, 5 (1st trimester 1967), 45

<<http://clicnet.swarthmore.edu/souffles/s5/12.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]. A good example of an early Atlantes publication is Abdellatif Laâbi, *L'Œil et la nuit: roman-itinéraire* (Casablanca: Atlantes, 1969).

²⁸ For example, a dramatized account of the Fort-de-France uprising of 1959 in Martinique, Auguste Macouba's 1968 play *Eia! Man-maille-là* (translated as *Right On Young Brothers*, and, elsewhere, as *Children of the Land*) was published in September 1968 as number 6 in Pierre-Jean Oswald's 'Théâtre africain' series; the series ran from 1968 to 1976 and published nearly 100 plays. Macouba's play was prefaced in 1968 by Depestre; and this 'A-propos' doubled up as Depestre's review of the play in *Souffles*, 16–17 (1969), 55–56

<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S1617/55x_16.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023]. The Editions P. J. Oswald suffered a financial collapse in 1977 and its Paris shop in Rue des Écoles, as well as its publication lists, were then taken over by L'Harmattan.

²⁹ Daniel Boukman, 'Les Négriers ou interrogé l'oiseau-comète n'a pas répondu...', *Souffles*, 12 (4th trimester 1968), 29–37 <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/5.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

³⁰ Jakobiak's play appears in a series strangely called 'Théâtre en France' (Honfleur: P. J. Oswald, 1969). Jakobiak ran a rival journal based in Fez, *Barbare*, which, launched in 1967, published work by Césaire, Victor Serge, George Jackson. Later, with Ghislain Roupault, Jakobiak published, in the journal and in its supplements, Laâbi's poetry written in Kénitra prison during the 1970s, sometimes under the pseudonym Ali Ghassane.

³¹ Noured Ayouch, 'Entrevue avec Jean-Marie Serreau', *Souffles*, 13–14 (1st and 2nd trimester 1969), 16–22 <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1314/3.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as 'An Interview with Jean-Marie Serreau' by Edwige Tamalet Talbayev, in *Souffles-Anfas*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 162–71.

³² Ayouch, 'An Interview with Jean-Marie Serreau', p. 162.

³³ Teresa Villa-Ignacio, 'Decolonising Violence: Revolutionary Affinities between the US Black Power Movement and the Moroccan Journal *Souffles*', *Journal of North African Studies*, 23.1–2 (2018), 13–33.

³⁴ See Hala Halim, 'Lotus, the Afro-Asian Nexus, and Global South Comparatism', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 32.3 (2012), 568–83.

³⁵ [Anon.], 'Programme de recherche et d'action d'A.R.C.', *Souffles*, 12 (4th trimester 1968) 3–9, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/2.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

³⁶ Sefrioui, *La Revue Souffles, 1966–1973*, p. 68.

³⁷ E. M. Nissaboury, 'Grotte', *Souffles*, 9 (1st trimester 1968), pp. 15–17

<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S09DRAF_15b_9.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

³⁸ Bernard Jakobiak, 'Camus le colonisateur sublimé', *Souffles*, 12 (1968), 22–28

<<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/4.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as 'Camus the Colonizer in Denial' by Lucy R. McNair in *Souffles-Anfas*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 145–53; Tahar Ben Jelloun, 'L'Aube des dalles', in *Souffles*, 12 (1968), 38–43

<<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/6.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as 'Dawn of Tombstones' by Teresa Villa-Ignacio in *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 154–61.

³⁹ Mohamed Berrada, 'التور الجئل', *Souffles*, 10–11 (2nd and 3rd trimesters 1968), p. 4

<<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1011/a2a.html>> [accessed, with alphabetical

help from Archie Stride, 6 April 2023]; trans. as 'Generation Drive' by Maya Boutaghou and Hoda El Shakry in *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 138–41; Mohamed Zafzaf, poem in Arabic, *Souffles*, 10–11, p. 30

<<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1011/a10a.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as 'Afternoon, With the Sun' by Ghenwa Hayek, in *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 142–44.

⁴⁰ There are no Arabic texts in *Souffles*, 16–17 (December 1969–January 1970), as *Anfas* was soon to appear as a separate arabophone version.

⁴¹ See Marc Gontard, *Violence du texte. La littérature marocaine de langue française* (Paris: L'Harmattan/SMER, 1981), p. 18.

⁴² Curiously, 'Mobilisation-tract' is not collected in Abdellatif Laâbi, *Œuvre poétique*, I. This is strange, since other parts of Laâbi's poetic œuvre published in *Souffles* between 1966 and 1969 were subsequently collected in book form whilst he was in prison; see Laâbi, *Le Règne de barbarie*, ed. by Ghislain Ripault (Fez: Barbare, 1976). For a bilingual edition, see *The Rule of Barbarism*, trans. by André Naffis-Sahely, Pirogue Poets (New York: Archipelago, 2012).

⁴³ See *Souffles*, 16–17 (1969–1970), 37–46

<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S1617/0_1.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁴⁴ Tahar Ben Jelloun, 'Entretien avec Sembene Ousmane', *Souffles*, 16–17 (1969–70), 50–51

<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S1617/50t_16.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023] trans. as 'Interview with Sembene Ousmane' by Laura Reeck, in *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 218–22.

⁴⁵ The 'Dossier' on the Festival d'Alger was written collectively by *Souffles*, 16–17 (1969–70) and includes a 'Manifeste culturel africain', 7–13. This is followed by: 'Intervention de la délégation guinéenne' called 'La culture africaine', 14–22; 'Intervention commune des mouvements de libération des colonies portugaises, M.P.L.A. – FRELIMO – P.A.I.G.C.', 23–25, 49; René Depestre, 'Les Fondements socio-culturels de notre identité', 26–31; and Abraham Serfaty, 'Salut aux Afro-Américains', 32–33 <https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S1617/0_1.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁴⁶ By, respectively, Hassan Benaddi, 'J. B.', and Abraham Serfaty, *Souffles*, 16–17 (1969–1970), 4–6.

⁴⁷ Editorial, 'à vous', *Souffles*, 16–17 (1969–1970), 3

<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S1617/03a_16.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ There is a moving account by the Moroccan poet and intellectual Mohammed Bennis, a young man studying in Paris in May 1968 who left France for Morocco a month later 'no longer the same person'; see Mohammed Bennis, 'France: A Journey to Freedom', in *1968: Memories and Legacies of Global Revolt*, ed. by Gassert and Klimke, pp. 199–203 (p. 203).

⁵² Abdellatif Laâbi, 'Mobilisation-tract', *Souffles*, 13–14 (1969), 27–31

<<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1314/6.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]; trans. as 'Mobilization-tract' by Olivia C. Harrison, in Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, *Souffles-Anfas: A Critical Anthology*, pp. 175–80 (pp. 175, 178).

⁵³ Laâbi, 'Mobilisation-tract', *Souffles*.

⁵⁴ Laâbi, 'Mobilization-tract', trans. by Harrison, p. 177.

⁵⁵ Editorial, 'à vous'.

⁵⁶ Louis de Saint-Just, *Œuvres complètes de Saint-Just*, 2 vols (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle 1908), I, 414 (my translation).

⁵⁷ See Serfaty's two-part analysis, 'Cultures et progrès scientifique', *Souffles*, 12 (1968), 10–21, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/3.html>> and *Souffles*, 13–14 (1969), 7–15, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1314/2.html>> [both accessed 6 April 2023].

⁵⁸ See Jordie Matorell, 'The Struggle of the Saharawis, History and Perspective', *In Defence of Marxism*, 19 June 2006, <<https://www.marxist.com/struggle-saharawis-history-perspectives.htm>> [accessed 15 December 2022].

⁵⁹ Serfaty, 'Cultures et progrès scientifique (1)', *Souffles*, 12 (1968), 20–21, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/3.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁶⁰ Serfaty, 'Cultures et progrès scientifique (1)', 19, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s12/3.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023]. Here, Serfaty does not seem to have abandoned his earlier illusions about a Stalinist Soviet Union, nor does he mention the Barthesian critique of Stalinist 'magic-authoritarian' language that Marcuse deploys.

⁶¹ Serfaty, 'Cultures et progrès scientifique (2)', *Souffles*, 13–14 (1969), 7, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1314/2.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁶² Herbert Marcuse, 'Conclusion' to *One Dimensional Man*, in *The New Left Reader*, ed. by Carl Oglesby (New York: Grove Press, 1969), pp. 32–40 (p. 37).

⁶³ However, Serfaty does not mention the end of Marcuse's conclusion which points to the 'specter' which is 'there again, inside and outside the frontiers of advanced societies', the 'underdog' that seems to refer to the emerging postcolonial societies such as a Morocco, a Vietnam, a Cuba or a Palestine, which, led by China, might be examples of the 'barbarians threatening the empire of civilization'; Marcuse, 'Conclusion', p. 40.

⁶⁴ Serfaty, 'Cultures et progrès scientifique (2)', p. 11, <<https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/s1314/2.html>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁶⁵ Serfaty, 'Cultures et progrès scientifique (2)', p. 15.

⁶⁶ See Joe Hayns, Roberto Mazzachiodi and Abraham Serfaty, 'Decidedly Marxist: An Interview with Abraham Serfaty', *Europe Solidaire Sans Frontières*, 5 March 1992 <<http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article48214>> [accessed 15 December 2022] and in French in Abraham Serfaty, *Dans les prisons du roi. Ecrits de Kenitra sur le Maroc* (Paris: Messidor/éditions sociales, 1992), pp. 237–47; on Mao and Maoism, see pp. 190, 207–08, 210, 240–41.

⁶⁷ See for example the 1972 co-authored article by Serfaty for Ila al-Alam with Adellatif Zeroual, 'VIVE LE MARXISME-LÉNINISME-MAOÏSME! VIVE LA GUERRE POPULAIRE !', 10 September 1972, <<http://etoilerouge.chez-alice.fr/docrevinter3/maroc3.pdf>> [accessed 15 December 2022].

⁶⁸ Serfaty, 'Decidedly Marxist' <<http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article48214>> [accessed 15 December 2022].

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ On the links between the two organizations, see Ghassane Koumiya, 'Post-68 Uprisings and the Rise of the Moroccan Marxist-Leninist Movement', 22 May 2018, <<https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3838-post-68-student-uprisings-and-the-rise-of-the-moroccan-marxist-leninist-movement>> [accessed 15 December 2022].

⁷¹ See the articles on China's Cultural Revolution in Beijing University; and on China's rural secondary schools in 'La révolution culturelle à l'université de Pékin', *Souffles* 20–21 (1971), 32–35 <https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S2021/32i_20.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁷² See, in the final number of the journal, Ahmed Tariq, 'Le Combat des mineurs de Khouribga', *Souffles*, 22 (1971), 9–11 <https://www.lehman.edu/deanhum/langlit/french/souffles/S22/9c_22.HTM> [accessed 6 April 2023].

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