

# The Student Resistance of May '68

*Interpreting the Events of May 1968  
through Michel Foucault's Framework  
on Resistance*

Teun Wasser (6228747)

Koenermaat 16, 7943JG Meppel

[t.wasser@students.uu.nl](mailto:t.wasser@students.uu.nl)

Dr. G. Von Frijtag

[G.G.vonFrijtagDrabbeKunzel@uu.nl](mailto:G.G.vonFrijtagDrabbeKunzel@uu.nl)

6587 words (excluding author's note and bibliography)

8-6-2020

# The Student Resistance of

## May '68

An Interpretation of the Student Protests

of May 1968 as a form of Foucauldian

Resistance



Poster One: "Be Young and Be Quiet," Atelier

## Table of Contents

Author's Note 4

Abstract 5

Introduction 6

1. A Foucauldian Conception of Resistance 14

2. The Experience of Power 20

3. A Visual and Literary Discourse of Resistance 28

Conclusion 37

Bibliography 39

## Author's Note

As a note, I would like to highlight the importance of historical research in our current time. At the time of this writing, the protests of the Black Lives Matter movements have pointed our attention to some of the flaws that are intrinsic to our current world and worldview. Particularly, the continuation of police aggression that disproportionately targets people of color, shows how we all need to bring about change in our current world. Especially now, with the experience of open forms of resistance against a group of people that is supposed to protect us, historical research can highlight the ways in which our world develops.

A couple of months ago, I started the writing of this thesis with an outlook on the world that has greatly changed as a consequence of the Black Lives Matters protest. In this process, I have increasingly come to notice that I was writing an unfinished history. Police aggression, though expressed in a variety of ways, continues to be an issue. Furthermore, the use of police aggression against a group of people that have been historically wronged, highlights the ways in which historians should continue to point-out the mistakes that have been made in the past. I believe that academics, and particularly historians, are responsible for analyzing the ways in which our world has developed and how it brings about the experience of division, racism and aggression. And, although my research was focused on a series of protests that occurred in a different world, it cannot be ignored that there are some striking similarities in these two protests that have occurred 52 years apart.

Change can take a long time, and, as seen from the continuation of police aggression and authoritarian attitudes, cannot always be ascertained by resistance. Nonetheless, we should aim to bring about change. Especially in an age of interdependency, we should try to use our voice to show our discontent with particular aspects of our world. Although including this note in a BA thesis might be regarded as highly inappropriate, I think of it as important to show how research can help us find parallels between the worlds of the past and present. Although this research was not meant to highlight this connection, it still did. The continuation of police aggression and racism should stop. I hope that this piece of research could show the ways in which police aggression and discourses of oppression could be regarded as fundamental in bringing about resistance.

## Abstract

This thesis develops a Foucauldian interpretation of the Parisian student protests of May 1968. It employs Michel Foucault's framework on resistance to interpret a series of sources that provide insight into the students' contextual experience. In doing so, it will analyze the extent to which the student protests match up with Foucault's conception of resistance. Particularly, the interpretation of a series of testimonies, booklets and posters that have been developed by the student protesters illuminate the ways in which the students perceived the society in which they lived, and their resistance that challenged this society. By employing a Foucauldian framework on resistance, it provides insight into the ways in which context and experience influence the rise of resistance. Furthermore, it provides an interpretation of resistance as an intrinsic part of resistance, which presents a different interpretation to the contemporary historiography that aims to classify the student protests through the use of a particular terminology such as revolution. It is deduced that the students' experiences with a changing university-system and governmental authoritarianism influenced the development of a discourse of resistance that, when spread, helped the development of mass-protests throughout France. It provides a perspective that takes into account the contextual situation of the students and their experiences with this situation, which is beneficial to a historiography that aims to illuminate the causality and consequentiality of May 1968.

# Introduction

The early months of 1968 witnessed the rise of student protests that aimed to bring about fundamental change in contemporary French society.<sup>1</sup> At that time, the change that the student protesters referred to, could be interpreted in multiple ways. While some wanted to bring about change in the contemporary university structure, others aimed to overthrow the French government and develop a completely new society.<sup>2</sup> The great diversity of ideals that underlined the student protests of 1968 continues to influence the development of different analyses of the causes, characteristics and consequences of May 1968. While this diversity of ideals complicates any classification of the events, debates about the events are often derived from particular classifications. To this day, public and academic debates are marked by a great variety of interpretations of the events. It can be said with certainty that the student protests aspired to bring about change. However, how this change should be interpreted remains up for debate.<sup>3</sup>

At the time of this writing, the événements are commemorated every ten years.<sup>4</sup> Generally, these commemorations are accompanied with a national

---

<sup>1</sup> Chris Reynolds, *Memories of May '68; France's Convenient Crisis*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press: 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Feenberg, and Jim Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets: the French May Events of 1968*, (Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2001), IX.

<sup>3</sup> Chris Reynolds, *Memories of May '68*, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this thesis, the terms; événements, resistance and protests will be used interchangeably to refer to the Parisian student protests of May 1968.

debate about their nature and legacy.<sup>5</sup> The public debates on 1968 show how time does not heal all wounds. Over fifty years after their occurrence, the student-protests continue to influence the French outlook on the past, present and future.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, viewpoints of the événements are often expressed in French politics and underline the great variety of interpretations that are included in the public debate.

Particularly, the outlook of two French presidents provide interesting examples of the broad scope of the public debate. In 2008, at the fortieth anniversary of the événements, the then president Nicholas Sarkozy, argued that the legacy of these protests should be liquidated.<sup>7</sup> Sarkozy's argument was derived from a perspective of the événements as a needless expression of social unrest caused by the rebellious yet affluent youth.<sup>8</sup> Ten years later, at the quinquenary commemoration, current president Emmanuel Macron supported the legacy of '68 by arguing that the political idealism of the événements should be safeguarded as a historical anomaly.<sup>9</sup> To Macron, the

---

<sup>5</sup> Aro Velvet, "40 Years Is Enough: Myth and Memory in French Commemorations of May 1968." (2010), [https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=uhf\\_2010](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=uhf_2010), 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Steven Erlanger, "Barricades of May '68 Still Divide the French," *New York Times*, May 4, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/30/world/europe/30france.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> David Chazan, " Student uprising of 1968 still dividing France as Macron mulls celebrations," *The Telegraph*, 18 March 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/18/student-uprising-1968-still-dividing-france-macron-mulls-celebrations/>

événements point-out the former influence and potential of political idealism, which was something that he admired.<sup>10</sup>

The arguments of the two presidents illuminate some of the ways in which the événements could be characterized. Often, such characterizations stem from the vast historiography of May 1968. Within the historiography of 1968, the development of new interpretations has provided different outlooks on this controversial period. In many cases, such interpretations further our contemporary understanding of the student-protests of May.

The historiography of May 1968 is stimulated by the decennial rise of public debates on the matter.<sup>11</sup> Particularly, this historiography reflects on the contemporary needs for an understanding of the événements. Outlooks on this period differ per contextual situation and spark the development of different interpretations that could further our understanding of the ways in which the événements influence our current worldview.<sup>12</sup> Occasionally, interpretations of the nature of the protests are underlined by similar characterizations that are represented in the public debate. For instance, the works of Raymond Aron<sup>13</sup> and Andrew Feenberg/ Jim Freedman<sup>14</sup>,

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Chris Reynolds, *Memories of May '68*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>13</sup> Raymond Aron, *The Elusive Revolution: Anatomy of a Student Revolt*, (London, Pall Mall Press, 1969).

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Feenberg, and Jim Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets: the French May Events of 1968*, (Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2001), IX.



illustrate the different historiographical outlooks on May 1968. Aron's analysis was developed shortly after the occurrence of the événements and presented a critical attitude towards the ways in which the protests were perceived at that time.<sup>15</sup> Aron regarded the protests as an example of the recalcitrant attitude of the students, and argued that the événements should be regarded as a tantrum of the *bon-enfants*, rather than a movement of change.<sup>16</sup> Feenberg and Freedman posit a different outlook on the événements, as they characterize the protests as a cultural turning-point or paradigm-shift.<sup>17</sup> Feenberg and Freedman deduced that the événements brought about a shift in societal attitudes in French society.<sup>18</sup> Particularly, the student protests illuminated the ways in which the youth distanced themselves from any form of technocracy, which resulted in a different relationship between a diverse youth and traditional adult-population.<sup>19</sup> While Aron attributes little importance to the événements, Feenberg and Freedman regard it as a historical turning points. These different attitudes emphasize the variety of interpretations in the historiography on '68. Particularly, they show how this variety is underlined by a great deal of characterizations that seemingly rule-out one another.

---

<sup>15</sup> Raymond Aron, *The Elusive Revolution: Anatomy of a Student Revolt*, 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 68.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Feenberg and Jim Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets*, IX.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 102.

The historiographical characterizations of 1968 provide delineated and detailed analyses of the ways in which 1968 could be understood. However, such characterizations limit the possibility of developing analyses that build on other forms of historical works, as a particular characterization can only be combined with works that characterize the events in similar ways. Arbitrary schisms that are caused by the great variety of characterizations introduce unnecessary problems of cooperation to a historiography that could benefit from analyses that are built on other forms of research. The development of an inclusive framework for analyzing the événements could avoid such issues while introducing new perspectives on the événements. Philosophy could provide a great resource to the development of such a framework.

The goal of this thesis is twofold. First, it aims to utilize a philosophical framework to analyze the événements in a way that allows further research to be connected to it. Second, it hopes to provide a different outlook on the événements by focusing on different aspects of the protests. It will reach these goals by utilizing Michel Foucault's conception of resistance to develop an interpretation of the student-protests that takes into account the students' contextual situation and experience thereof. The use of a Foucauldian framework and experience-based historical research will be geared towards an analysis of the ways in which the student-protests compare to Foucault's perspective on resistance. In other words, it will use a particular philosophical framework to develop an interpretation of the

événements that could be beneficial to the current understanding of May '68.

Methodologically, this thesis employs three chapters that provide an interpretation of the student-protests that is derived from Michel Foucault's conception of resistance.

The first chapter will elaborate on this conception of resistance by highlighting its implications for historical studies on resistance, and the ways in which resistance is characterized. It will build on two of Foucault's later works; *L'Histoire de la Sexualité*<sup>20</sup>, and *Punir et Surveiller*<sup>21</sup>, that encompass his general framework on resistance. Its interpretation of Foucauldian resistance is supported by an analysis of Foucault's *The Order of Things*, which points-out the epistemic considerations of Foucault's. The use of these works helps to define this philosophical conception. An understanding of Foucauldian resistance will be central to this thesis' interpretation of the événements. Therefore, an analysis of this framework is necessitated for a proper comprehension of this interpretation.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, translated by Robert Hurley, (New-York : Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>21</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish ; the Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan, (New-York : Random House, 1977),

<sup>22</sup> Chapter one will regularly use the term sovereign to describe an individual or group that exerts a lot of power. Foucault did rarely use this term, but the use of this term increases the clarity and focus of this chapter without changing Foucault's argument as, in contemporary society, it is the sovereign that exerts most societal power, as similarly argued by Foucault in his description of the Panoptic society in *Discipline and Punish*.

The second chapter will elaborate on Foucault's outlook on the causality of resistance. To Foucault, resistance is a central part in a general process of power, and is equally influenced by power, as it influences it.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, Foucault regarded power as a central causal factor to the development of resistance.<sup>24</sup> Any change in the contemporary power structure could bring about greater expressions of resistance.<sup>25</sup> Hence, an analysis of such changes could provide an explanation for the development of resistance. The second chapter will be geared towards an analysis on two contextual factors that impacted the experiences of the students. Particularly, since this interpretation involves students, it will look at the contemporary university structure and the ways in which it could have influenced the rise of resistance. Afterwards, it will look at the development of resistance and the ways in which this development was influenced by the government's initial reaction to resistance. Thereby, it will provide an interpretation of the students' experience of the interplay between power and resistance that could have influenced the rise of resistance. Chapter two will analyze a set of testimonies and booklets to provide an interpretation of the ways in which this experience might have influenced the development of resistance.

Finally, Chapter Three will build on the previous two chapters by analyzing the characteristics of resistance. Foucault argued that the development of

---

<sup>23</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.

<sup>24</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

discourse plays a major part in the legitimization and spread of resistance.<sup>26</sup> In this regard, resistance is an expression of discontent with a particular expression or exertion of power. Any expression of power is underlined by a divisive and hierarchical discourse.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the discourse of resistance targets the divisive and hierarchical aspects of this discourse to distance itself from it.<sup>28</sup> This chapter will analyze the ways in which the students' discourse builds on some of their experiences with the discourse of those in power. It will interpret a set of posters to provide a visual and textual illustration of the ways in which the students spread their resistance.

Throughout these three chapters, this thesis will develop a Foucauldian interpretation of 1968. In doing so, it aims to contribute to the current historiography on the matter. By using a philosophical methodology and phenomenological focus, it hopes to provide a new outlook on the protests as a part of contemporary power-relations. Rather than opposing power, this thesis analyzes resistance as an integral part of power that targets particular exertions of it. Especially in a world in which ever more ways of control are developed, this analysis could provide insights into the ways in which the exertion of power influences resistance.

---

<sup>26</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 9.

<sup>27</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

# 1. A Foucauldian Conception of Resistance

This chapter will elaborate on Foucault's framework on resistance by analyzing his conception of it in ways that allow it to be used for this thesis' conception of resistance. Although Foucault's framework developed an extensive framework on resistance, his conception of it is greatly encompassed in the following quote; "*Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.*"<sup>29</sup> To Foucault, resistance is part of the same mechanics that power is a part of.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, an awareness of Foucault's understanding on power is necessary to encompass his understanding of resistance. Hence, this section will analyze the functioning of power and resistance and will continue with analyzing the causation and characteristics of resistance. In doing so, it will elaborate on Foucault's framework that has been used in this thesis' analysis of May 1968.

Foucault explained power to be an omnipresent phenomenon that encompasses every aspect of human experience.<sup>31</sup> It is a phenomenon that cannot be controlled by individuals, as it is expressed in the multiplicity of relationships that we deal with on a daily basis.<sup>32</sup> Whenever individuals

---

<sup>29</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

meet, they experience some form of power-relations which is generally hierarchical and divisive in nature.<sup>33</sup> For example, the relationship between friends is greatly influenced by previously-established reciprocal relationships. In such a friendship, a hierarchy exists between the two friends, as one has invested more into the friendship than the other. Generally, the experience of power-relations is rarely one of equality, as power is established in any form of inequality and division.<sup>34</sup>

Although power cannot be controlled by individuals, it can be manipulated or exercised by individuals. This exercise of power isn't enforced by the development of a particular discourse of power that can be strengthened through a variety of societal institutions.<sup>35</sup> In modern society, the sovereign often enforces particular power-relations that keep themselves in power. By developing a discourse that justifies the hierarchical relationships between them and others, and through the use of institutions, the sovereign could enforce the subjugation of society.

When doing so, the sovereign does not control power as a phenomenon but manipulates parts of it.<sup>36</sup> Foucault regarded the history of the prison, and similar histories of other institutions, to be marked by the increasing mastery of power-relations, which has enabled sovereigns and others to control power to such an extent that they could control

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 144.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 192.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>36</sup> As seen throughout, Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 1-308.

fundamental parts of the lives of individuals.<sup>37</sup> The contemporary mastery of exerting power allows the sovereign an extensive amount of societal control but, as they cannot control power in itself, control is not ascertained.<sup>38</sup> Others can acquire and exert sufficient levels power to resist the control of the sovereign. In this sense, resistance is a form of power and plays a crucial part in the general development of power.<sup>39</sup>

Resistance functions along the same lines as power does.<sup>40</sup> Resistance is not to be held by individuals and is expressed in the endless relationships between people.<sup>41</sup> For examples, a form of resistance is found in any form, of disagreement, as it stems from a particular hierarchy in opinion. Unlike the sovereign's exertion of power to ascertain a particular societal hierarchy, resistance can be exerted by an individual to interrupt the current power structure and enforce a different relationship.<sup>42</sup> The relationship between Power and resistance fluctuates and can influence changes in the contemporary power relations.<sup>43</sup> Equally, changes in those power-relations can influence the expression of resistance. Individuals who exert power aim to maintain their control by developing the ways in which they exert

---

<sup>37</sup> *The History of Sexuality*, 135.

<sup>38</sup> *Discipline and Punish*, 258.

<sup>39</sup> *The History of Sexuality*, 94.

<sup>40</sup> *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

<sup>41</sup> *The History of Sexuality*, 96.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Discipline and Punish*, 201.



power.<sup>44</sup> Throughout history, the sovereigns mastery of the exercise of power has been seen in the development of the prison, clinic, university and other institutions that have ascertained a particular hierarchical relationship.<sup>45</sup> Changes in the exertion of power could result in resistance as such changes enforce the awareness of the ways in which individuals construct parts of the contemporary power-relations.<sup>46</sup> In this regard, a change in the functioning of an institution that exercises power, could greatly impact the rise of resistance. Especially when awareness is spread, such resistance and the consequent discourse of resistance could enforce change in such institutions.

Resistance is a cardinal part of power and does not and cannot fundamentally oppose it.<sup>47</sup> Rather, resistance functions as adversary, a target, and handle to the contemporary power relations.<sup>48</sup> Generally, resistance targets particular exertions of power that enforce hierarchies by condemning individuals to the status of undesirables.<sup>49</sup> Undesirable or *indésirable* is used by Foucault to refer to a process that is known as branding. The discourses of those that exert power are riddled with different forms of branding that label individuals based on their presumed position in

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>45</sup> *The History of Sexuality*, 141.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

society.<sup>50</sup> Branding occurs almost exclusively in binaries whereas people could be labeled as good or bad, insane or sane and desirable or undesirable.<sup>51</sup>

In part, expressions of resistance are caused by individuals who do not identify with the branding that they have been assigned. This fact results in the development of a new discourse of resistance in which the labelling of the individual is reversed. Therefore, discourses of resistance mostly targets the sovereign, and utilizes a similar branding to enforce a good-bad hierarchy between the resisting party and sovereign.<sup>52</sup> Successful resistance could result in a permanent reversal of the previous discourse, as the previously undesirable parties have become desirable and change the societal norm.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, the discourse of a resisting party reflects directly on their views on society and the relations that they want to change. Resistance, as part of power cannot fundamentally change the functioning of power, as power is integrated in our ways of life through essential parts of it such as language, legislation and culture.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, resistance can bring about changes in the hierarchical functioning of societies, equally through forcing the sovereign to adopt changes, or dethroning the sovereign altogether.

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> *The History of Sexuality*, 42.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 92.

<sup>54</sup> *The History of Sexuality*, 5.

In sum, Foucault regarded resistance as an integral part to the functioning of power-relations. Resistance usually targets instances of sovereigns exerting great levels of power to maintain societal hierarchies that are beneficial to them. Such instances of power exertion come to light in a period in which the sovereign strengthens their exertion of power as a consequence of changes in the structure of power. Consequently, changes in the functioning and exertion of power can be regarded as a precursor to expressions of resistance. When spread through a discourse of resistance, resistance can stimulate the development of a new discourse in which the resisting party is no longer branded as undesirable.

## 2. The Experience of Power

The first chapter elaborated on a Foucauldian framework on resistance. Generally, resistance is caused by fluctuations in the exertion and expression of power. In this chapter, a series of testimonies and booklets is analyzed to develop an interpretation of some of the students' experiences with changes in the contemporary power-relation. Specifically, it will analyze changes in the French university structure and the ways in which the government responded to initial expressions of resistance. The university plays a central role in enforcing particular power-relations on the lives of students. Changes in such system could provide an explanation of the rise of resistance later that year. Furthermore, the government's dealing with resistance could explain the sudden rise of resistance at the Night of the Barricades. By comparing these changes to some students' contextual experiences, this chapter will analyze the correlation between contextual change, the experience thereof, and rise of resistance.

From the early 60s onwards, the French government initiated a set of reforms that fundamentally changed the functioning of the French universities. This resulted in a completely new experience at university, as the university structure had remained mostly untouched since medieval times. Part of the explanation of these reforms is found in the International status of the French universities of '68. After the Second World War, the

French state assessed the international status of the French university system and concluded that it was subpar to the likes of universities in Great Britain and the United States.<sup>55</sup> As a response to the decreasing international prestige of the universities, the state decided to reconstruct the university so that it could function in an increasingly competitive world.<sup>56</sup> Through processes of commodification, the government aimed increase the universities output knowledge and students.<sup>57</sup> This was ascertained by enforcing more deadlines, examinations and assignments as part of the curriculum.<sup>58</sup>

These measures were combined with the development of the *Baccalauréat*, which increased the participation of lower-class students at university.<sup>59</sup> All who passed the Baccalauréat (Bac) were allowed to attend university. The introduction of the Bac would transform the university in a more open institution, but a recent boom in the student-population forced the government to reverse the Bac. Furthermore, the Baccalauréat was replaced with a highly competitive system in which only the best of the best could attend university.<sup>60</sup> All considered, the measures were put in place to

---

<sup>55</sup> Sénat, *Première Session Ordinaire de 1965-1966*, Paris: Imprimerie des Journaux officiels, 1966, 4-10.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>57</sup> Marianne Debouzy, "The Americanization of the French University and the Response of the Student Movement 1966-1988," *American Studies International*, (October 1997).

<sup>58</sup> Sénat, 12.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>60</sup> Richard Wolin, "The Triumph of Libdiminal Politics," in *The Wind from the East French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, (2010), 79.

safeguard the development of the French university by increasing deadlines, examinations and competitiveness to increase the qualitative output of the students.

In many sources, the university reforms were described as enforcing a consumerist ideology on the university system.<sup>61</sup> The implementation of more deadlines and examinations under the guise of improving the students' abilities in the labor market was not well perceived as it limited the time for *loisirs*. Some students described the university as a menopause of the spirit that solely functioned as a factory for the production of civilians that conformed to the government's capitalist agenda.<sup>62</sup> Within this narrative, professors were regarded as messengers of a government that became increasingly capitalist, and in this sense, the university had become a means of the state that raised students to become the *nouveaux Bourgeoisie*.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> As asserted in L'Internationale Situationniste et des Étudiants de Strasbourg, "De La Misère en Milieu Étudiant," (December 1966), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=1188>.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 2-5.

<sup>63</sup> Comités de Grève, "L'Université Critique," *Droit Économie*, (Paris, 1968), 2.

Furthermore, the replacement of the Bac with a highly competitive admissions-system enforced the idea of the university as a selective institution that enforced societal hierarchy.<sup>64</sup> Part of this critique was reflected in the recurrent critique of the Gaullist government as an authoritarian sovereign.<sup>65</sup> The ‘universal truths’ that were spread by the university were regarded as part of the government’s agenda.<sup>66</sup>

The critique governmental authoritarianism was clearly expressed in the notorious altercation between student leader; Daniel Cohn Bendit and Minister of Youth and Sports; François Missoffe. In late 1967, Missoffe visited the Nanterre campus to inaugurate a new pool.<sup>67</sup> During the formality, Cohn-Bendit raised his voice to address the government’s neglect of the students’ concerns with a series of reforms that limited male students’ movement across campus.<sup>68</sup> Missoffe responded by telling Cohn-Bendit to cool-off in the pool, thus ignoring Cohn-Bendit’s argument altogether.<sup>69</sup> Thereupon, Cohn-Bendit exclaimed Missoffe’s attitude as authoritarian<sup>70</sup>, a claim that was furthered in *L’Université Critique*.<sup>71</sup> The

---

<sup>64</sup> UNEF, ‘‘Motion Votée le 14 Juin 1968,’’ (Paris, Jun 14, 1968).

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Comités de Grèves, ‘‘L’Université Critique,’’ 2.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Wolin, ‘‘Events of May 1968| Background Significance & Facts,’’ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2017).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Comités de Grève, ‘‘L’Université Critique,’’ *Droit Économie*, (Paris, 1968), 1-12.

students' experience with the government's neglectful attitude brought about the development, spread and aggravation of resistance throughout 1968.

A second experience of the students is deduced from the recurrent description of the university and government as repressive institutions.<sup>72</sup> The spread and rise of the student protests was regularly met with arrests, police aggression and severe injuries. This period of police actions started with the police's entering of the Nanterre campus and the consequent arrest of a group of student-protesters. The entering of the university was regarded as impermissible and met with great resistance from students, bystanders and officials of the university.<sup>73</sup> As time progressed, altercations between the students and police aggravated and left a physical and mental impact to groups of students that were involved in such altercations some of their experiences had been written down in a booklet that included testimonies of different French citizens.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Alain Geismar, "Nous ne Maintiendrons Pas l'Ordre," *Niveau 3*, (May 1968).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> UNEF, "Les Témoignages sûr la Répression", *Censier Libre*, (May 1968), 1-28.



Three of these testimonies give insight into the particular ways in which an aggravation of violence occurred. Firstly, on May 24, a male student aimed to traverse the Place de La Bastille, where a protest was happening.<sup>75</sup> The student was just passing through and was in possession of an ID card and did not hold any arms.<sup>76</sup> Nonetheless, the student was arrested on suspicion of being part of the student protests.<sup>77</sup> The student was transported to the police bureau and released shortly thereafter.<sup>78</sup> Secondly, a young woman found herself at a police blockade and presented her ID, when doing so, the police responded violently, and she started to run away.<sup>79</sup> Suddenly, she got injured when she fell as a consequence of being struck by a policeman.<sup>80</sup> She had to be brought to the hospital afterwards.<sup>81</sup> Lastly, a testimony of a high-school student shows the ways in which the police treated the student protesters. who recalls looking out of the window of the apartment where he lived and seeing a group of students being assaulted by the police.<sup>82</sup> The students were on their way home from a protest, had gotten isolated from the group and were suddenly attacked by the police.<sup>83</sup> During the brawl, a

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

young woman was hit and immobilized.<sup>84</sup> She needed surgery right after.<sup>85</sup> The booklet also includes a series of testimonies from non-students such as clerks, hospital personnel and bystanders that have written down similar testimonies.

A generalization of these experience illuminates three concerns that were often included in the other primary sources that have been analyzed. First, it was mentioned that individuals regularly experienced the mass-use of violence by police. Second, individuals, and mostly bystanders, were regularly attacked and arrested by the police on suspicion of involvement. And third, people experienced a massive abuse of power, as elaborated on by the testimony of a doctor who aimed to help an injured student but was not allowed entrance despite the student's critical condition.<sup>86</sup> Recurrent experiences with an abuse of power and violence explain recurrent critiques of the government's usage of police forces which resulted in characterizations of the government as a fascist institution that controlled the population through authoritarian means.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>87</sup> *L'Université Critique*.

In this section, a series of booklets and testimonies has been analyzed to interpret the students' experiences with two developments that caused fluctuations in the contemporary power-relations. The sources recurrently mention the impact of changes in the university and the government's repressive response to the student-protesters. The students aimed to acquire political power and a say in the university administration but when doing so, they were met with neglect and repression. It can be argued that these experiences played a part in the development of resistance. Possibly, such protests were fueled by police entering the university and regularly using violent means to strike down the protests. Thus, the students experienced an increasingly consumerist and repressive discourse. In the next section, this discourse is connected to the discourse that was developed by the students to analyze the ways in which this contextual experience might have influenced their discourse of resistance.

### 3. A Visual and Literary Discourse of Resistance

The previous two chapters have developed an interpretation of the student-protesters' experiences with contemporary fluctuations in power. This chapter will elaborate on these experiences by analyzing the ways in which the students vocalized their resistance. To Foucault, resistance is marked by the development of a form of discourse that is in opposition to an experience of the discourse of the sovereign. A selection of posters and other primary sources will be interpreted to illustrate and analyze parts of the discourse of the students and the ways in which this discourse ties into their contextual experiences.<sup>88</sup> In doing so, it will conclude this thesis' analysis of the experiences of the student-protesters of May 1968.

The student protests of May '68 were accompanied by the production of a great deal of posters. Most of these posters were developed in two Ateliers - the *Atelier Populaire* and the *Atelier Des Beaux Arts* - that were utilized by students and likeminded individuals to spread the ideals of their resistance and critique of contemporary French society. A selection of these posters is included to illustrate the extent to which the posters could be related to the students' contextual experiences.

---

<sup>88</sup> These posters have been included in a collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Gallica, "Les Affiches de Mai 1968 dans Gallica," <https://gallica.bnf.fr/blog/04052018/les-affiches-de-mai-68-dans-gallica?mode=desktop>.



Poster Two:  
"The Same Problem, The Same  
Battle," *Atelier Populaire*, (Paris,  
May 1968).

Poster Two was developed to highlight the solidarity between workers and students. This expression was part of the student-worker alliance that underlined the resistance of '68.<sup>89</sup> The poster illustrates a worker on the left, as deduced from the apron, and a student on the right, as deduced from the turtleneck. The caption states; "*The Same Problem, the Same Battle*" which complements the visual aspects of the poster. The caption implies a similarity in the issues of students and workers which can be connected to some of the students' critiques on the university-structure.<sup>90</sup> In the sources, it was regularly argued that the university was reformed to fit the needs of an increasingly consumerist society.<sup>91</sup> In this sense, the similarities between

---

<sup>89</sup> Sans Tampon, "Le même problème, la même lutte," Poster, *Atelier Populaire*, in Bibliothèque Nationale de la France; <http://expositions.bnf.fr/mai68/grand/044.htm>.

<sup>90</sup> Especially when relating it to *l'Université Critique*.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

the students' and workers' concerns could be tied to the increasing pressures on productivity and efficiency. In other words, the university had become a factory of knowledge that would produce students as ready to be integrated in a consumerist society.

Another reading of the poster implies that the students did not agree with their education as the *nouveaux Bourgeoisie*. The students thought of themselves as to workers. This implies a particular comparability in the experiences of students and workers. Furthermore, it implies a certain distancing from their societal roots as the offspring of the current *Bourgeoisie*. Through neglecting their branding and cooperating with the workers, this poster could imply a dual critique of French society and the ways in which hierarchical structures were preserved therein. The students' abandonment of their societal status greatly reflects on their viewpoints of this society. Since they aimed to achieve fundamental change, they had to shake off their branding to avoid being part of the controlling class or group.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Poster Three:  
Comité D'Action Lycéen, "We Participate,  
they Select", *Atelier Populaire*, (Paris, May

Poster Three portrays an industrial filter that filters a group of people into smaller compartments.<sup>92</sup> From left to right, the compartments read; "Main D'oeuvre" (workforce), "Main D'oeuvre Spécialisée" (specialized workforce), "L'agrès" (the apparatus), and lastly, "Elite". Presumably, the poster refers to experiences with social hierarchy, as the labelling of the people determines the compartment or context in which they live. The caption, which states; "We Participate, They Select)" could be understood as a claim about the arbitrary nature of social hierarchy. Supposedly, this nature is enforced by those who are in power, as they benefit from this current structure. This perspective is in line with experiences of the university as a selective institution that raises students to become the new

---

<sup>92</sup> Comités D'Action Lycéen, "Nous Participons, Ils Selectionnent," poster, Atelier Populaire, (Paris, May, 1968), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9018051c.item>.

rulers of society. In this sense, the university is part of the government's societal filter as it enforces hierarchical relationships through the selective nature of the university.



Poster Four:  
Ecole nationale supérieure des Arts  
décoratifs 'Hitler holding a mask of

Poster Four depicts Adolf Hitler wielding a mask that depicts the face of Charles de Gaulle.<sup>93</sup> At the time, de Gaulle was the president of the French Republic. He was regularly regarded as responsible for the police violence that occurred throughout the year.<sup>94</sup> The poster implies the characterization of de Gaulle as a fascist and authoritarian leader. Such depictions were regularly supported by characterizations of the French riot-police as

---

<sup>93</sup> Ecole nationale supérieure des Arts décoratifs, *Atelier des Beaux-Arts*, (Paris: May 1968) in Gallica, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9014069t.r=hitler%20de%20gaull?rk=21459;2>.

<sup>94</sup> *Motion Votée le 14 Juin*.



members of the Schutzstaffel.<sup>95</sup> The poster could be referring to recurrent experiences with governmental neglect and aggression as a response to the student-protests. The direct experience with levels of police violence, that regularly left people injured, could have contributed to this. In this sense, the depiction of de Gaulle as Hitler could be related to the students' experience of the university's support of the government's agenda and proclaiming of universal truth. Similar to Hitler, de Gaulle enforced his ideology and meets resistance with violence.

Furthermore, the poster illustrates Hitler as wearing an armband that depicts the Cross of Lorraine, the symbol of the French resistance during the Second World War.<sup>96</sup> De Gaulle used to be a central figure in the French resistance, and the depiction of him as Hitler could imply a perspective of de General as transforming into the person that he used to combat.<sup>97</sup> Such a characterization symbolizes the student protesters as parts of the French resistance, which would justify their resistance as a resistance against totalitarianism.

---

<sup>95</sup> "SS," Atelier Populaire, (Paris, May, 1968), *V&A*, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O75984/ss-poster-atelier-populaire/>.

<sup>96</sup> More on this in Thomas and Michael Christoffersson, "France During World War II; From Defeat to Liberation," (*Fordham University Press*, volume one, 2006).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*



Poster Five:  
"The Voice of His Master," *Comité Ecoles  
d'art*, (Paris, May 1968).

Poster Five illustrates president Charles de Gaulle holding a television that states "*The Voice of His Master*".<sup>98</sup> The poster could be understood as a critique of the Gaullist government's control over the media, which is supported by an extensive number of other posters that broadly critique governmental censorship.<sup>99</sup> This particular poster resembles a recurrent critique of the government's utilization of the media to spread advertisements in order to stimulate civilians to purchase and conform to the mechanisms of a consumerist society.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, it is in line with a set of critiques that targeted the government's enforcing of their own

---

<sup>98</sup> "La Voix de son Maitre," *Comités Ecoles d'art*, (Paris, May 1968), *Gallica*, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9018241p.item>

<sup>99</sup> "Les Affiches de Mai 1968 dans Gallica," <https://gallica.bnf.fr/blog/04052018/les-affiches-de-mai-68-dans-gallica?mode=desktop>.

<sup>100</sup> *L'Université Critique*, 8.

viewpoints on society, which that was regarded as a way to hypnotize the people into submission.<sup>101</sup>

Interestingly, the students' development of affordable booklets, posters, flyers and graffiti avoids the government's control over the media. The physical sources of the students could not be censored by the media. Furthermore, the use of a set of sources that was affordable and viewable by most implied the inclusivity of the movement, as people did not have to purchase their involvement in the protests.

It can be argued that the discourse of the students was in line with some of their experiences with the French university and police. The discourse could be summarized as a critique of societal hierarchy, consumerism, authoritarianism, and media-censorship. In this sense, it confirms the influence of their experiences with governmental repression and consumerism. Furthermore, the students opposed their branding as the nouveaux-Bourgeoisie by comparing themselves to the French workers. The forms of their discourse also avoid the government's control over the media to communicate their ideals, as the use of posters and pamphlets allows for the spread of equally visual and textual sources that could not be censored by the media. In this sense, the students' discourse was involved an open critique of French society and aimed to avoid the French state's control over substantial parts of this society. Lastly, the students implied an inclusive movement, and their discourse does not solely portray their

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

neglect but tells us about the ways in which they perceived their resistance. One of the ways in which they did so, was by reflecting their resistance against the backdrop of depictions of the state as Nazis. Such depictions justified the students' resistance and could have enforced the spread of their resistance.

## Conclusion

This thesis was devoted to the development of a Foucauldian narrative on the student protests of 1968. It aimed to answer the question of to what extent a Foucauldian interpretation of the student-protests, could contribute to our understanding of the events.

Firstly, a focus on the student protests as a form of Foucauldian resistance gives insight into the ways in which the interplay of contextual developments of power and the experience with that, influence the development of resistance in 1968. Some of these experiences were related to perceptions of their government as an authoritarian institution that utilized the university to continue societal hierarchy. Its changing of the university-structure was regarded as a consequence of the increasingly consumerist turn the government had taken. The experience of changes brought about an initial rise of resistance that was fueled by police aggression.

Secondly, the framework gives insight on the ways in which resistance is characterized by such experiences. An analysis of the great deal of sources that were developed by the students suggests that the students' development of a discourse of resistance targeted the functioning of the French state and society, and the function of students therein. The students opposed their branding and fueled their arguments by their experiences. In this sense, the

framework provides an explanation of the ways in which experience can be used to fuel resistance.

Lastly, the framework has developed an interpretation of the ways in which discourse, experience and context influence one another. This relationship could help the development of new analyses of 1968 that could contribute to the debates on the matter. By explaining the student protests as part of a contemporary fluctuation in the exertion of power, the framework gives insight into the ways in which the relationship between power and resistance influenced the students. In doing so, it provides not only an explanation of the ways in which resistance was fueled by expressions of power, but also provides an explanation of why certain issues that were tackled continue to persist. Resistance is part of the power-structure and cannot transcend it. Similarly, the student-protests could not enforce a toppling of power in itself.

By using Foucault's framework on resistance and connecting this to the experiences of the students, this thesis provides an interpretation of the ways in which an interplay of context, experience and resistance influenced the événements. By focusing on these experiences, this thesis has developed an interpretation of history from within, which could further a comprehension of how the students perceived their world and how this influenced their resistance.

# Bibliography

## Secondary Sources

I.Anderson, Kevin. "Resistance versus Emancipation: Foucault, Marcuse, Marx, and the Present Moment." *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society & Culture*, 2012. <http://logosjournal.com/2013/anderson/>.

II.Baggett, Justin L. "L'héritage' Is In the Streets: The Text, Images and Legacy of May 1968." Honors Thesis, 2012. [https://aquila.usm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1273&context=honors\\_theses](https://aquila.usm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1273&context=honors_theses).

III.Barker, Colin. "It Was like a Rocket: A Fantastic Display': Reflections on May '68." rs21, May 28, 2018. <https://www.rs21.org.uk/2018/05/28/it-was-like-a-rocket-a-fantastic-display-reflections-on-may-68/>.

IV.Bourg, Julian. *From Revolution to Ethics : May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought*. Montreal: Mcgill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

V.Chazan, David. "Student Uprising of 1968 Still Dividing France as Macron Mulls Celebrations." *The Telegraph*, March 18, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/18/student-uprising-1968-still-dividing-france-macron-mulls-celebrations/>.

VI. Debouzy, Marianne. "The Americanization of the French University and the Response of the Student Movement, 1966-1986." *American Studies International* 28, no. 2 (October 1997): 23–36. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41280769>.

VII. Erlanger, Steven. "Barricades of May '68 Still Divide the French." *The New York Times*, April 30, 2008, sec. World. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/30/world/europe/30france.html>.

VIII. Feenberg, Andrew, and Jim Freedman. *When Poetry Ruled the Streets: The French May Events of 1968*. Albany, N.Y.: State University Of New York Press, 2001. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=3407882>.

IX. Fomerand, Jacques. "Policy Formulation and Change in Gaullist France: The 1968 Orientation Act of Higher Education." *Comparative Politics* 8, no. 1 (October 1975): 59. <https://doi.org/10.2307/421453>.

X. Karlsen, Mads Peter, and Kaspar Villadsen. "Foucault, Maoism, Genealogy: The Influence of Political Militancy in Michel Foucault's Thought." *New Political Science* 37, no. 1 (August 26, 2014): 91–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2014.945251>.



XI.Keller, Kate. "Fifty Years Later, France Is Still Debating the Legacy of Its 1968 Protests." *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 18, 2018. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/fifty-years-later-france-still-debating-legacy-its-1968-protests-180968963/>.

XII.Kelly, Mark G E. *Foucault and Politics : A Critical Introduction*. Edinburgh University Press, 2014.

XIII.Lopes, Antonio. "The University as Power or Counter-Power? May 1968 and the Emergence of a New Learning Subject." *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* 5, no. 1 (April 7, 2014): 31–49. <https://doi.org/10.3384/rela.2000-7426.rela9022>.

XIV.Miller, James. "Foucault's Politics in Biographical Perspective." *Salmagundi*, December 1993, 30–44. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40548409?seq=1>.

XV.Morar, Nicolae, Thomas Nail, and Daniel Smith. "Introduction: Between Deleuze and Foucault." In *Between Deleuze and Foucault*, 1–37. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

XVI.O'Farrell, Clare. "Kathryn Medien, 'Foucault in Tunisia: The Encounter with Intolerable Power', *The Sociological Review* 2019." *Foucault News*, September 12, 2019. <https://michel-foucault.com/>

[2019/09/12/kathryn-medien-foucault-in-tunisia-the-encounter-with-intolerable-power-the-sociological-review-2019/](https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv5nph62).

XVII.Pagis, Julie. "1 The Roots of Participation in May '68." In *May '68: Shaping Political Generations*, 23–80. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv5nph62>.

XVIII.Pickett, Brent L. "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance." *Polity* 28, no. 4 (June 1996): 445–66. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3235341>.

XIX.Poirier, Agnès. "May '68: What Legacy?" *The Paris Review*, May 1, 2018. <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2018/05/01/may-68-what-legacy/>.

XX.Prost, Antoine. "1968: Mort et Naissance de l'universite Francaise." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 1, no. 23 (July 1989): 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3769873>.

XXI.Resnik, Julia. "The Democratization of the Education System in France after the Second World War: A Neo-Weberian Glocal Approach to Education Reforms." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 55, no. 2 (June 2007): 155–81. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8527.2007.00372.x>.

XXII.Reynolds, Chris. *Memories of May '68 : France's Convenient Consensus*.

Cardiff: University Of Wales Press, 2011.

XXIII.Rubin, Alissa J. "Printing a Revolution: The Posters of Paris '68."

*The New York Times*, May 4, 2018, sec. Arts. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/04/arts/design/may-1968-paris.html>.

XXIV.Salonen, Laura, and Heta Pöyliö. "Historical Dataset of Major

Educational Reforms in Europe in 1950-1990." Working Paper, 2017.

<https://>

[www.google.com?url=sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjJiZPkmDpAhVKm6QKHfiHAQoQFjABegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fresearch.utu.fi%2Fconveris%2Fgetfile%3Fid%3D27879945%26portal%3Dtrue&usg=AOvVaw28CFggnRm6h00nae3NNDvI](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjJiZPkmDpAhVKm6QKHfiHAQoQFjABegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fresearch.utu.fi%2Fconveris%2Fgetfile%3Fid%3D27879945%26portal%3Dtrue&usg=AOvVaw28CFggnRm6h00nae3NNDvI).

XXV.Scott, A. O. "The Spirit of '68." *The New York Times*, April 27,

2008, sec. Movies. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/27/movies/27scott.html?action=click&module=RelatedCoverage&pgtype=Article&region=Footer>.

XXVI.Silvera, Alain. "The French Revolution of May 1968." *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 47, no. 03 (May 1971): 336–54. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26443428>.

XXVII.Staricco, Juan Ignacio. "The French May and the Roots of Postmodern Politics." *Rassegna Italiana Di Sociologia* 1, no. 3 (2012): 447–72. <https://doi.org/10.1423/38248>.

XXVIII.Steinfels, Peter. "Paris, May 1968: The Revolution That Never Was." *The New York Times*, May 11, 2008, sec. World. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/11/world/europe/11iht-paris.4.12777919.html>.

XXIX.Velmet, Aro. "40 Years Is Enough: Myth and Memory in French Commemorations of May 1968." Undergraduate Paper, 2010. [https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=uhf\\_2010](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=uhf_2010).

XXX.Warde-Aldam, Digby. "How May 1968 in Paris Changed the Way We View Protests." Artsy, May 14, 2018. <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-1968-paris-changed-way-view-protests>.

XXXI.Wolin, Richard. "May 1968: The Triumph of Libidinal." In *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy*

*of the 1960s*, 70–108. Princeton: New Jersey: Princeton University  
Press, 2010. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7sjjv>.

## Primary Sources

I.Booklet: [Anonymous], "Revolte étudiante mouvement politique chute du pouvoir?" (23 May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=1429>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

II.Poster: Atelier Populaire, "Hitler Behind Mask of de Gaulle, in *Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/99471822/>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

III.Poster: Atelier Populaire, "SS," in *V&A Collections*, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O75984/ss-poster-atelier-populaire/>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

IV.Pamphlet: Comités D'action Lycéens (CAL), "1000 blessés 3 morts gaz de combat," (May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=178>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

V.Booklet: Comité D'Action Ouvrier-Étudiant Révolutionnaire de la Sorbonne, "Charogenes: Vous Voulez Faire de la Révolution un Souvenir on en Reparlerla Bientôt," *Insurrection*, (May 1968), in The

May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=723>, last accessed; 2-7-2020.

VI.Booklet: Comité D'Action Révolutionnaire de la Sorbonne, "Mai 68" (May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=1042>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

VII.Pamphlet: Comité de Défense Contre la Repression, "Vive L'Unité Ouvriers et Des Étudiants a Leur Service," (May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=180>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

VIII.Pamphlet: Comité de Grève, "Étudiants," (May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=176>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

IX.Booklet: Comité de Grève, "Universite Critique," *Droit Économie*, (May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=809>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

X.Booklet: Comité Revolutionnaire Culture Agissante, "Un Peuple, Un Pays, Un Chef," (28 May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=3441>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

XI.Booklet: Commissions Témoignages et Assistances Juridique UNEF, "Les Témoignages Sûr La Répression," *Censier Libre*, (4 June 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=735>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

XII.Booklet: Commissions Témoignages et Assistances Juridique UNEF, "Les Témoignages Sûr La Répression," *Censier Libre*, (4 June 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=735>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

XIII.Collection: Gallica, "Les Affiches de Mai 1968 dans Gallica," <https://gallica.bnf.fr/blog/04052018/les-affiches-de-mai-68-dans-gallica?mode=desktop>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

XIV.Booklet: Militants du C.R.I.R, "La Lutte Contre L'Exploitation du Proletariat et La Critique de la Societe de Consommation," (Paris, May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=1222>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

XV.Booklet: L'Internationale Situationniste et des Étudiants de Strasbourg, "De La Misère en Milieu Étudiant," (December 1966), in



The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=1188>, last accessed 2-7-2020.

XVI. Newspaper: Paul Fraisse, "Le Vice du Plan Fouchet," (9 March 1966), [http://referentiel.nouvelobs.com/archives\\_pdf/OBS0069\\_19660309/OBS0069\\_19660309\\_010.pdf](http://referentiel.nouvelobs.com/archives_pdf/OBS0069_19660309/OBS0069_19660309_010.pdf), last accessed 2-7-2020.

XVII. Official Document: Paul Pauly, "Premiere Session Ordinaire De 1965-1966," *Sénat*, (2 November 1965), in The May Events Archive, [https://www.senat.fr/rap/1965-1966/i1965\\_1966\\_0032\\_05.pdf](https://www.senat.fr/rap/1965-1966/i1965_1966_0032_05.pdf), last accessed 2-7-2020.

XVIII. Booklet: Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur, "A Quoi Sert L'Université?", *Niveau 3*, (7 May 1968), in The May Events Archive, <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/cgi-bin/Mai68?Display=567>, last accessed; 2-7-2020.

XIX. Collection: Victoria University of Toronto Archives, "Paris Posters", [https://digitalcollections.vicu.utoronto.ca/RS/pages/search.php?ref=10015&search=may%2C+1968&order\\_by=relevance&offset=0&restypes=1%2C2%2C3%2C4%2C5%2C6%2C7%2C9&starsearch=&archive=0&per\\_page=54&default\\_sort\\_direction=DESC&sort=DESC&context=Root&k=&curpos=&go=up&place=10015](https://digitalcollections.vicu.utoronto.ca/RS/pages/search.php?ref=10015&search=may%2C+1968&order_by=relevance&offset=0&restypes=1%2C2%2C3%2C4%2C5%2C6%2C7%2C9&starsearch=&archive=0&per_page=54&default_sort_direction=DESC&sort=DESC&context=Root&k=&curpos=&go=up&place=10015), last accessed 2-7-2020.



