Part I

Landmarks

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1

Chronology

DANIEL DEFERT
*translated by Timothy O'Leary**

"What is this ever so fragile moment from which we cannot detach our identity and which will carry that identity away with it?"

Michel Foucault, *Essential Works*, III, 443

1926

October

The 15th, birth in Poitiers, at 10 rue de la Visitation, later rue Arthur Ranc, of Paul-Michel Foucault, to Paul-André Foucault, medical doctor, decorated with the Croix de Guerre, born at Fontainebleau July 25th 1893, and to Anne-Marie Malapert, born in Poitiers November 28th 1900. Surgeon at the Hotel-Dieu in Poitiers, Dr. Paul Foucault was a brilliant anatomist, according to the virologist Luc Montagnier, who followed his courses at the School of Medicine in Poitiers. He himself was the son of Dr. Paul Foucault, a doctor at Fontainebleau, son in his turn of Dr. Foucault, doctor to the poor at Nanterre, where a street commemorates his name and his work.

Anne Malapert, daughter of a surgeon – her father taught at the School of Medicine in Poitiers – always regretted the fact of being born too early for it to be possible for a woman to study medicine. Married in 1924, the couple had one daughter, Francine, born in 1925. While the paternal family was Catholic, and quite devout, the maternal

*Material in square brackets is by the translator. References with precise quotes from Foucault's works are given with page numbers to English translations, wherever possible. References to complete works/interviews from *Dits et écrits* are given with English title and EW volume number, or other source abbreviation; or, if untranslated, given as FDE, with text number (this number is consistent across the four-volume and the two-volume editions). Those with unwieldy reference details are given in the endnotes.

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family, more relaxed, tended towards a refined Voltairism. The father's sister was a missionary in China, the mother's brother was a pharmacist in Peru.

1930

Enters the kindergarten class at the Lycée Henri-IV in Poitiers, with special permission because of his age, in order not to be separated from his older sister.

From 1932 to 1936 attends the primary school of the Lycée.

1933

January

The 1st, birth of his brother, Denys, who will become a surgeon.

1934

July

The 25th, assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss by Austrian Nazis: "I think it was my first strong fright about death" (EW1, 124).

1936

Arrival in the family of an English nanny, to "speak with the children," who stays with them until the end of the war. Paul-Michel begins sixth class [Middle School] at the Lycée Henri-IV in Poitiers, where he mixes with the first child refugees from Spain.

1937

Paul-Michel surprises his father, who had predicted a career as a surgeon, by announcing that he will become a history professor. "A status not acceptable to the family," commented Foucault, "unless it were at the Sorbonne like cousin Plattard" – a famous specialist on Rabelais.

The Minister of Health replaces "the charming name 'asylum'," given by Esquirol, with "psychiatric hospital."

1940

May

The Foucault children are sent to the family property in Vendeuvre-du-Poitou, home of their grandmother Raynaud-Malapert, while the German army invades France.

June

In its Poitiers house, the family puts up relatives from Paris who are joining the exodus. On the 16th, Pétain orders a cessation of combat and replaces the Republic with a collaborationist "new order." The family house in Vendeuvre is partially requisitioned by German officers up until the opening of the Russian front.

October

The absence of teachers and the flight to Poitiers of schoolchildren from Paris disrupts school life; Paul-Michel is placed by his family in the Middle School of Saint-Stanislas, which is run by the Brothers of the Christian Schools [De la Salle Christian Brothers].

1942

June

He passes the first part of the Classics baccalaureate, with special permission because of his age.

Autumn

His philosophy teacher at Saint-Stanislas school is deported for Resistance activities. His mother arranges private philosophy lessons for Paul-Michel, given by Louis Girard, a philosophy student later known in Poitiers for his readings of the *Communist Manifesto*. Meanwhile, she arranges for the school to hire a Benedictine from the Abbaye de Ligugé, Dom Pierro, to teach philosophy.

1943

October

Student in the "hypokhâgne" class at Lycée Henri-IV in Poitiers, preparing for the entrance exam to the École Normale Supérieure.

1944

June

Allied bombardment of Poitiers, shortly before its liberation.

1945

October

After failing in the entrance exam for the École Normale, enters the "khâgne" class at the Lycée Henri-IV in Paris.

Jean Hyppolite, translator of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, teaches philosophy there. The high grades Hyppolite gives to Foucault's work are the beginning of his philosophical reputation.

December

Marriage of his sister, with whom he has remained very close.

1946

March

The 5th, at Westminster College, Fulton (Missouri), Winston Churchill announces: "An Iron Curtain has descended across the continent."

July

Paul-Michel Foucault is admitted to the École Normale Supérieure.

Summer

Annoyed at having mispronounced a quote at the oral exam for the École Normale, he starts to seriously study German.

Georges Bataille founds the journal *Critique*.

"To be 20 years old shortly after World War II . . . the urgent need of a society radically different from the one in which we were living, this society that had permitted Nazism" (EW3, 247).

At the École Normale, Foucault establishes long-lasting friendships and alliances with some of his peers: Maurice Pinguet, Robert Mauzi, Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Passeron, Jean-Pierre Serre, Paul Veyne, etc. His years at the École Normale are an unhappy period for Foucault, ill at ease with his physique and his sexual inclination.

1947

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, professor at Lyon, becomes a psychology tutor at the École Normale, responsible for preparing students for the *agrégation* [qualifying exam for university teachers]. His course on the union of the soul and the body in Malebranche, Maine de Biran, and Bergson shapes Foucault's first thesis project on the birth of psychology in the post-Cartesians.

Failure of the Moscow talks on Germany; beginning of the Cold War.

1948

Foucault obtains his BA in philosophy at the Sorbonne.

October

Louis Althusser, who returned to the École Normale in 1945 after five years in a camp in Germany, becomes a philosophy tutor and joins the Communist Party. In his autobiography (*L'Avenir dure longtemps*, Paris: Stock, 1992), he recounts that "the philosophical life at the École was not particularly intense; it was fashionable to distrust Sartre."

December

The Lysenko affair erupts. As a result, philosophers and scientists begin to take a strong interest in the relation between things said and their external conditions of determination. Bourgeois and proletarian science confront each other in the heart of the École Normale, notably in the teaching of Jean-Toussaint Desanti and Tran Duc Thao, philosopher and Vietnamese patriot, "the two hopes of our generation," according to Althusser.

Attempted suicide by Foucault (recounted by Maurice Pinguet in *Le Débat*, no. 41, Sept.–Nov. 1986).

1949

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, appointed as Professor of Psychology at the Sorbonne, gives his famous course on "The Sciences of Man and Phenomenology." At the same time, he introduces the students at the École Normale to Ferdinand de Saussure, which gives Foucault the taste for what he will call formal thought as opposed to structuralism. "He exercised a fascination for us" (Foucault's words, reported by Claude Mauriac in *Le Temps immobile*, Paris: Grasset, 1976, vol. 3, p. 492).

February

Thanks to his familiarity with optical tests, he is able to have his bad eyesight corrected.

Foucault passes the degree in psychology, created in 1947. During this period he alternates between work and violent anxiety; tempted by alcohol, he begins psychotherapy. "Reading Freud perhaps suggests to him that it is a good and healthy morality not to give up on the truth of desire" (Maurice Pinguet in *Le Débat*, no. 41). He writes his Diploma of Higher Studies in Philosophy on Hegel under the supervision of Jean Hyppolite.

1950

Foucault joins the French Communist Party (PCF). He later confided that the Indochina War had determined his decision. Nevertheless, he never made any reference to these circumstances in interviews when he discussed this period of his life. In February–March 1950, the communist students at the École Normale were indeed highly

mobilized against the Indochina War. Foucault took it very badly that the PCF at that time was exerting pressure on Althusser because of his private life, in order to make him break with his future wife, Hélène Legotien.

June

The 17th, another suicide attempt. In his biography of Althusser (Paris, Grasset, 1992), Yann Moulier-Boutang reports eleven episodes of suicide among the students of the École Normale in eighteen months, between 1952 and 1955. Even though he was reluctant to resort to psychoanalysis, Foucault saw a certain Dr. Gallot for a while. On the 23rd, he wrote to a friend who was worried about him, "Let me be silent . . . let me get used to facing things again, let me dispel the darkness that I had got used to surrounding myself in at midday." On the 24th, a position as assistant which had been promised to him at the Sorbonne is suddenly withdrawn, because of his political activities, he believes.

The musician Gilbert Humbert, a student of Messiaen, the closest witness in the years 1950–52, recalls an anxious young man, reciting Vigny, Musset, Éluard, Nerval by heart, and devouring Saint-John Perse, Husserl, Jaspers, and Bergson. He also reports the temptation of "limit experiences" in Bataille's sense. Recalling the same period, Maurice Pinguet writes: "My first image of Michel Foucault was of a cheerful young man with animated gestures, a clear and vigilant gaze behind rimless glasses; I heard in passing that it was all about *Dasein*, being towards death; I heard one of my fellow students declare with an air of expertise: 'Foucault is intelligent like all homosexuals.' Proof that he didn't know much about it" (*Le Débat*, no. 41).

July

Failure in the *agrégation*, which worries his fellow students, among whom there circulates the fantasy of a communist witch hunt. This brings Foucault closer to Althusser. Spends the summer studying Plotinus. With Gilbert Humbert, he discusses the theses developed at the time in the USSR by Andrei Zhdanov, extensively presented in *La Nouvelle Critique* and, in a more nuanced way, in Aragon's journal *Les Lettres françaises*; theses according to which every technique practiced in the West in music, philosophy, literature, and art in general, arises from a bourgeois formalism. He likes Mozart and Duke Ellington.

August

Study trip to Göttingen.

October

La Nouvelle Critique attacks Hyppolite and denounces the return to Hegel as the latest form of academic revisionism.

Brief treatment for detoxification: "I'm coming back from quite a distance," he writes. He discusses with his father the possibility of being hospitalized at Sainte-Anne Psychiatric Hospital. Is dissuaded by Althusser, who had been there for the first time in 1947.

Forcing himself to be "a good communist," he writes in the communist student paper and sells *L'Humanité*.

1951

Thinks about leaving France once his studies are finished. Considers Denmark. Reading Kafka and Kierkegaard, taught at the Sorbonne by Jean Wahl, who also introduces German philosophy, Heidegger, Husserl, and Nietzsche. Also thinks about leaving the PCF.

June

The 1st, visits Georges Duhamel to submit his candidacy to the Thiers Foundation, his only possibility of getting a research position without doing two years of teaching. The 14th, meets Pierre Boulez during a visit to the Abbaye de Royaumont, where Boulez tells him that every composer has been influenced by a writer, and that for him it was Joyce.

August

Passes the *agrégation* in philosophy. The topic he drew for the Lecture component was "sexuality," which had been proposed by Georges Canguilhem. He confides to Gilbert Humbert that he hasn't been a communist for three months.

October

Becomes a tutor in psychology at the École Normale, where his classes on Monday evenings quickly become well attended. Attending the classes over the years were Paul Veyne, Jacques Derrida, Jean-Claude Passeron, Gérard Genette, and Maurice Pinguet.

Works as a psychologist in the electroencephalography [EEG] laboratory of Dr. Verdeaux and his wife, Jacqueline, whom he had known in Poitiers during the war, in Professor Jean Delay's unit at Sainte-Anne Psychiatric Hospital.

As a Fellow at the Thiers Foundation, he begins his thesis on the post-Cartesians and the birth of psychology. Captivated by Malebranche and Maine de Biran. Spends time with Ignace Meyerson, director of the *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique*.

Dr. Morichau-Beauchant, the first French member of the International Psychoanalytical Association (letter to Freud, December 3, 1910), author of the first article on psychoanalysis published in France ("The Affective Relation in the Cure of Psycho-neuroses," *Gazette des hôpitaux*, November 14, 1911), friend of the Foucault family in Poitiers, gives Foucault his entire collection of early psychoanalysis journals.

Reading Heidegger. From now on, in the margins of pamphlets from the Communist Party cell in the École Normale, he begins to write notes, organized as plans for papers, on Heidegger and Husserl.

1952

Practices as a psychologist in Professor Delay's unit, where Henri Laborit is testing the first neuroleptic drug, marking the dawn of a psychiatric revolution.

May

Beginning of an intense relationship with the composer Jean Barraqué (1928–73). "Strange personality of this musician whom we didn't hesitate to call the most important figure in contemporary music since Debussy . . . the most ecstatic freedom under the most severe control of the pen," wrote André Hodeir ("La Musique occidentale post-webernienne," *Esprit*, special issue, January 1960). "Adorable, ugly as sin, terribly spiritual, his knowledge of bad boys touched on the encyclopedic. I was completely disconcerted at feeling called by him to explore a world of which I yet knew nothing, and where my suffering would surely follow me," Foucault wrote to a friend, according to whom the person who was seen as the only possible rival to Boulez produced "a transformation" in the young philosopher, ending his torment.

June

Completes his Diploma in Psychopathology at the Institut de Psychologie de Paris [Paris Institute of Psychology].

October

Leaves the Thiers Foundation and becomes a researcher in psychology in the Faculty of Arts at Lille, where, according to Canguilhem, A. Ombredane, the translator of Rorschach, was looking for somebody who was competent in experimental psychology. Leaves the Communist Party, with the assent of Althusser. The "Doctors' Plot," which reveals the anti-semitism of the USSR, in which so-called "Zionist" Jewish doctors were accused of plotting against Stalin, crystallizes the unease that Foucault is feeling in the PCF. The fact that a study on Descartes, which had been commissioned by the Party, has been significantly cut for publication has finally exasperated him. He studies surrealism with Maurice Pinquet.

1953

January

Foucault attends a performance of *Waiting for Godot*, which he considers to be a turning point. "[T]hen reading the works of Blanchot, Bataille . . ." (DL, 176). Foucault shares with Barraqué his enthusiasm for Nietzsche, whom he has discovered, and Barraqué shares his enthusiasm for serial music, Beethoven, and wine. Presents to the circle of communist students at the École Normale a short essay on materialist psychopathology, written at the suggestion of Althusser. Attends Jacques Lacan's seminar at Sainte-Anne Psychiatric Hospital.

March

The 5th, death of Stalin.

Barraqué reworks *Séquences*, composed in 1950 on texts by Rimbaud, for which he substitutes texts from *Ecce Homo* and the poetry of Nietzsche. Foucault's enthusiasm for René Char completely replaces that for Saint-John Perse. Intensive reading of German psychiatry from the inter-war years, on which he accumulates notes and translations, and also of theology (Barth) and anthropology (Haeberlin). Translates, without publishing, cases and articles by Binswanger (1881–1966), including "Delirium as a Biographical Phenomenon."

June

Daniel Lagache, Juliette Favez-Boutonnier, and Françoise Dolto create the Société Française de Psychanalyse [French Society of Psychoanalysis], which Lacan joins. Jacqueline Verdeaux and Foucault visit Binswanger, who introduced "*Dasein* analysis" into psychoanalytic and psychiatric practice, in Switzerland. They undertake the translation of his seminal text in existential psychiatry, *Dream and Existence*. They attend a "carnival of the mad" organized by the psychiatrist Roland Kuhn at the Münsterling Hospital.

Foucault works on interpretations of Rorschach cards, drawing on lectures of Kuhn, which are translated by J. Verdeaux with a preface by Bachelard. He studies the manuscripts of Husserl, which at that time were given by Van Breda to Merleau-Ponty and Tran Duc Thao, at the École Normale.

Receives his Diploma in Experimental Psychology from the Institut de Psychologie de Paris.

July

"[Drinking] a great deal, [no longer] unhappy, but [am] more alone than before. Replacing Althusser [as philosophy tutor at the École Normale] and no longer have time to work for [him]," he writes to a friend.

Writes a long article on the constitution of scientific psychology (FDE, no. 2). Thinks about breaking with a lifestyle to which his only tie is Barraqué's intelligence.

Roland Barthes publishes *Writing Degree Zero*.

August

Travels to Italy with Maurice Pinguet, who reports: "Hegel, Marx, Heidegger, Freud: in 1953, these were his axes of reference, at the time when his encounter with Nietzsche occurred . . . I can see Michel reading the *Untimely Meditations* in the sun, on the beach at Civitavecchia . . . But, from 1953, the direction of an overall plan was taking shape" (*Le Débat*, no. 41).

Foucault often said he had come to Nietzsche through Bataille and to Bataille through Blanchot. Later, he was to say that Nietzsche was revealed to him by Heidegger. In an unpublished passage from the interview with Trombadori in 1978 (EW3, "Interview

with Michel Foucault"), Foucault confided, "What bowled me over was reading an article which Sartre had written about Bataille before the war, which I read after the war, which was such a monument of incomprehension, of injustice and of arrogance, of spite and aggression, that I was from that moment implacably for Bataille and against Sartre."

September

Lacan gives his famous Rome Discourse, on "The Function and Field of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis." Gilles Deleuze publishes *Empiricism and Subjectivity*, his first book, dedicated to Jean Hyppolite.

October

Foucault gives a course on "Knowledge of Man and Transcendental Reflection," and some lectures on Nietzsche, at Lille. The Nietzsche that absorbs him is the writings of the 1880s. In his seminar at the École Normale, he works on Freud and Kant's *Anthropology*.

1954

January

In Paris, creation of Arcadie, the first so-called "homophile" association, which uses forms of action inspired by Freemasonry (the French text of Foucault's preface to HB was first published in this organization's magazine, *Arcadie*).

April

Publication of *Maladie mentale et personnalité* [*Mental Illness and Personality*] (Presses Universitaires de France), a small book commissioned by Althusser for a series aimed at students. "True psychology," Foucault writes in the conclusion, "like every human science, should aim to disalienate humanity." Here, Pinel is liberating once again the chained patients in the Bicêtre. While there is a commentary on Binswanger's existential psychiatry, the second part of the work is a justificatory account of Pavlov's reflexology. In his "Candidacy Presentation: Collège de France, 1969" (EW2), Foucault still gives 1953 as the publication date of this work [in fact, this doesn't appear in either French or English published text]. The manuscript seems to have been given to the publisher in the winter of 1952–53. At almost the same time, his long introduction to Binswanger's *Dream and Existence* appears in the phenomenology collection "Textes et études anthropologique," published by Desclée de Brouwer (DE). Still working as a psychology researcher at Lille and as a tutor at the École Normale, he gives a course on philosophical anthropology: Stirner, Feuerbach. Jacques Lagrange, who attends the course at the École Normale, also recalls the importance given to genetic psychology (Janet, Piaget, Piéron, Freud).

Fear of alcoholism. He later confides to Maurice Clavel (*Ce que je crois*, Paris: Grasset, 1975) that he wants to break with Jean Barraqué, leave France, and distance himself from his former training.

On the back of the typescript of *Mental Illness and Personality*, he writes a text on Nietzsche that was never published: "There are three related experiences: the dream, drunkenness, and madness"; he adds later: "All the Apollonian qualities defined in *The Birth of Tragedy* form the free and luminous space of philosophical existence." In 1982 he says to Gérard Raulet that he had "read Nietzsche in 1953 . . . from a perspective of inquiry into the history of knowledge – the history of reason" (EW2, 438). His friend, the numismatist Raoul Curiel, gives his name to the historian of religion Georges Dumézil, who is looking for a French language teaching assistant for Sweden.

July

The 20th, the Geneva Accords bring the Indochina War to an end.

October

Begins a course on "Phenomenology and Psychology."

The 15th, Dumézil informs him by letter of the vacancy of the position of teaching assistant and Director of the Maison de France in Uppsala, which he had himself filled twenty years earlier. "The position is one of the *top-jobs* [in English in the original] in cultural relations, with good future prospects. It has been held by linguists, historians, philosophers, future writers. I won't speak about the library, the Carolina Rediviva, one of the best in Europe, nor about the countryside, the forest two hundred meters from the town."

November

Beginning of the Algerian uprising.

1955

Enthusiasm of Foucault and Barraqué for *The Death of Virgil*, by Hermann Broch, discovered by Blanchot, upon which the musician will compose a gigantic musical cycle on which he was to work until 1968. "It [i.e. music] had as great an importance as reading Nietzsche," Foucault remarked ("Who are you, Professor Foucault?," in Jeremy Carrette, ed., *Religion and Culture*, London: Routledge, 1999, p. 97).

February

The journal *Critique*, in the person of Roland Caillois, reviews *Mental Illness and Personality*: "It's better than an introduction, it's an updating . . . It is surprising that the author thinks he has defined a materialism in psychopathology. An excellent scientific positivism, which in itself doesn't imply a metaphysical position. The word materialism is superfluous" (*Critique*, vol. 11, no. 93, pp. 189–90).

August

The 26th, Foucault is seconded for one year from the Ministry of Education to Foreign Affairs.

Autumn

Takes up the position in Uppsala. At this time, France is rebuilding its cultural relations. Washington, Moscow, and Stockholm – because of the Nobel Prize – are the important posts. The Cultural Relations Unit, on the fifth floor of the Quai d'Orsay [French Ministry of Foreign Affairs], thinks highly of the opinions of Foucault, who spends three years as teaching assistant in the Department of Romance Languages and Director of the Maison de France. Foucault is fascinated with questions about cultural organizations and cultural politics, an interest that will stay with him throughout his life. The Maison de France came to be much visited, notably by Jean-Christophe Öberg, who was later to play a role in the American–Vietnamese negotiations, and by Éric-Michel Nillson, future television director, to whom the first edition of *History of Madness* is dedicated – but nobody dined there if they were unable to recite René Char. The biologist Jean-François Miquel, in Uppsala at the time, reports that the talks given by Foucault were crowded; they were attended by one or other of the two Nobel prizewinners at the university, Svedberg and Tiselius.

November

Georges Canguilhem, philosopher and medical doctor, former member of the Resistance in the unit of Jean Cavaillès, succeeds Gaston Bachelard at the Sorbonne.

December

Foucault hosts Jean Hyppolite in Sweden, where he gives two talks on "History and Existence" and "Hegel and Kierkegaard in Contemporary French Thought."

At Christmas, in Paris, Robert Mauzi introduces Foucault to Roland Barthes, formerly of the Cultural Relations Unit. Beginning of a long friendship.

1956

Becoming accustomed to the "long Swedish night" and its "quality of exile": "A few hundred meters away, the immense forest where the world begins its genesis again; in Sigtrina, the sun no longer rises at all. From the depths of this scarcity there arises only the essential, which one loves to re-learn: day and night, evenings protected by four walls, fruit growing nowhere, and at times a smile" (letter to a friend, January 27, 1956).

Collette Duhamel commissions a short history of psychiatry for the publisher Éditions de la Table Ronde, which Foucault doesn't think of as an academic work, even claiming that he is no longer thinking about a career in France. A white sports Jaguar with black leather trim, with which he coordinates his outfits, speed records between Stockholm

and Paris, all indicate this rupture, and create among his friends the legend of a dandy phase.

Discovers the medical collection of the University of Uppsala Library. Gives a course on French theater, then a series of talks on "Love from Sade to Genet" (this is the period when, in Paris, Pauvert is sued for his republication of the works of Sade).

March

"I have a Nietzschean need for the sun" (letter to a friend). At Uppsala, meets Dumézil, to whom he will be linked his whole life by ties of friendship and patronage. He visits the scientific laboratory of Tiselius and Svedberg's Cyclotron. Also works on the translation of a neuro-psychiatry text by Weizsäcker. He hosts a visit by the Dominican scholar A. J. Festugière, specialist in Greek and Hellenistic philosophy and spirituality, with whom he will remain in contact his whole life.

1957

Infuriated by the time limits imposed on French doctoral candidates, Foucault decides to submit a shorter thesis in Sweden. His manuscript on the history of psychiatry, which in fact became a history of madness, is refused by Professor Lindroth, who had hoped for a more positivist approach. Announces a course on religious experience in French literature from Chateaubriand to Bernanos. All the while, he thinks about leaving for Frankfurt or Hamburg.

July

In Paris, where he works in the National Archives and the Library of the Arsenal every summer, he discovers *The View*, by Raymond Roussel, in the shop of the publisher José Corti, who advises him to buy the complete edition, which had become rare, from Lemerre (DL, 173–4).

Hosts Albert Camus, who has come to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature. In a talk that Jean-François Miquel recalls was dazzling, which hasn't been preserved, he presents the work of this great representative of post-war humanism to the Uppsala public. Foucault is convinced that the Swedes wanted to honor Algeria and made a mistaken analysis of Camus' political positions.

Hyppolite reads the manuscript of *History of Madness*. He advises him to turn it into a French thesis to be submitted to Canguilhem.

1958

February

Publication of the translation by Foucault and D. Rocher of the 1948 fourth edition of Viktor von Weizsäcker's *Der Gestaltkreis* (*Le Cycle de la structure*, Desclée de Brouwer, series "Bibliothèque de Neuropsychiatrie").

Maurice Pinguet leaves France for Japan. Foucault thinks about moving to Hamburg.

May

The 30th, returns hurriedly to Paris, with Jean-Christoph Öberg, in order to take part in the political events.

June

The 1st, investiture of General de Gaulle as head of the government.

September

The 28th, France adopts the Constitution of the Fifth Republic by referendum.

October

Foucault leaves Stockholm for Warsaw, which is still mostly in ruins. He is given the task of reopening the Center for French Civilization within the university. He sets himself up in the Bristol Hotel, above the café popular with the intellectuals at that time. There he rewrites *History of Madness*.

General de Gaulle, who is seeking political openings in the East, favors the French diplomatic mission in Poland, where he had been a military attaché in the 1930s. A highly Gaullist team accompanies the new ambassador, Étienne Burin des Roziers, a close friend of the general. Gradually, Foucault comes to play the role of cultural advisor to Burin des Roziers.

November

"Do you know that *Ubu Roi* is set in Poland, in other words nowhere. I am in prison: that is, on the other side, but that's worse. On the outside: impossible to come in; grating on the railings, the head hardly getting through, just enough to see the others inside, who are going around in a circle. A sign, they are already further away, one can do nothing for them, except to watch out for when they come around again and prepare a smile. But in the meantime, they've been kicked and no longer have the strength or the courage to respond. This smile isn't lost, somebody else will take it for himself and carry it away this time. Clouds continually rise from the Vistula. Nobody knows what light is any more. I am working on my 'Madness' which is in danger, in this outpouring of insanity, of becoming a little more like what it always pretended to be" (letter to a friend, November 22, 1958).

Christmas

Sends the manuscript, now very thick, of *History of Madness* to the formidable Georges Canguilhem, who declares: "Don't change anything, it's a thesis."

1959

In Warsaw, arising from the mutual esteem which grows between Burin des Roziers and Foucault, he develops views about De Gaulle's relation to institutions and to Algeria that are different from those of the French left, which at the time is chanting in the streets: "Fascism will not pass."

Familiar with Husserl and Brentano, Foucault develops ties with T. Kotarbiński, heir of the Lvov–Warsaw school and president of the Academy of Science.

Gives talks on Apollinaire in Kraków and Gdańsk. Thinks about moving to Berkeley, California, or to Japan, where Maurice Pinguet lives. Mixes with different Polish francophone circles. His thick manuscripts on imprisonment, along with the company he keeps, worry Gomułka's police, who trap him using a young interpreter and demand his departure.

September

The 14th, death of Dr. Paul Foucault.

October

The 1st, posted for three years to Germany, Foucault leaves Warsaw to direct the French Institute in Hamburg.

1960

Writes his complementary thesis *Genesis and Structure of Kant's Anthropology* and translates *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (this second thesis was published in 2008; see IA).

February

Writes the preface to the newly completed *History of Madness* (HM, xxvii–xxxvi).

April

Georges Canguilhem recommends him to Jules Vuillemin, head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Clermont-Ferrand, who in turn offers him a position as Associate Professor of Psychology. This is conditional on his publishing *History of Madness*. Brice Parain, at Gallimard, rejects the manuscript. Philippe Ariès, whose *Centuries of Childhood* is beginning to change French historiography, accepts it for the series "Civilizations and Mentalities" with Plon, under the exact title *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* [*Madness and Insanity: History of Madness in the Classical Age*].

In Hamburg, where he is friends with the Africanist scholar Rolf Italiaander, he on occasion shows Robbe-Grillet, Roland Barthes, or Jean Bruce, at that time king of the

detective novel, around the maze of the red light district in Saint Pauli. He arranges for a play by Cocteau to be staged.

June

The 19th, Cocteau writes to thank him.

October

Receiving his appointment at Clermont-Ferrand, he moves back to 59 rue Monge, Paris. Robert Mauzi introduces him to a philosophy student, Daniel Defert, just started at the École Normale in Saint-Cloud, who will be his partner from 1963 until his death (FL, 316).

Foucault begins that form of life very specific to French academe, consisting of living in Paris while teaching in the provinces.

1961

In Clermont-Ferrand, apart from Jules Vuillemin, Foucault is friends with the philosophers Michel Serres and Jean-Claude Pariente and the historian Bertrand Gille. In Paris, long days spent in the Bibliothèque Nationale, where, under the dome that overlooks the reading room, he will be seen working for years.

May

The 20th, submits his two doctoral theses at the Sorbonne. *Kant, Anthropology*: introduction, translation and notes, examined by Hyppolite; *Madness and Insanity: History of Madness in the Classical Age*: principal thesis, examined by Canguilhem and Lagache.

History of Madness is hailed by the historians Robert Mandrou and Fernand Braudel as an important contribution to the history of mentalities. Maurice Blanchot writes: "In this book which is rich, insistent and, through its necessary repetitions, almost unreasonable (and as the book is a doctoral thesis we witness with pleasure this clash between the university and unreason), several essential ideas are given expression" (*La Nouvelle Revue française*, no. 106).

Is appointed as an examiner for the entrance exam of the École Normale, of which Hyppolite is director.

The 31st, begins a series of radio broadcasts on France-Culture, on "History of Madness and Literature," which will continue until 1963.

July

Death of his grandmother Raynaud-Malapert, to whom he had been very attached.

The 22nd, interview in *Le Monde*, which presents him as "the absolute young intellectual: timeless" (FL, 7).

The inheritance from his father allows him to move into number 13, rue du Docteur-Finlay, at the top of a new building whose large windows look out, on one side, over what is becoming the modern Seine river front and, on the other, over what is the still vacant site of the old Vélodrome d'Hiver [Winter Cycle Track].

November

The 27th, finishes writing *The Birth of the Clinic*, which he described as the "out-takes" from *History of Madness*.

December

The 25th, starts writing *Death and the Labyrinth*.

1962

Urged by the publisher to reissue *Mental Illness and Personality*, Foucault completely rewrites the second part called "The Conditions of Illness," which becomes "Madness and Culture," a summary of *History of Madness* which is a long way from both the Pavlovian reflexology and the existential anthropology of 1954. It's title is now *Maladie mentale et psychologie* [*Mental Illness and Psychology*].

February

Makes the acquaintance of Gilles Deleuze, who publishes *Nietzsche and Philosophy* (Presses Universitaires de France).

March

The 18th, the Évian Accords bring the Algerian War to an end.

May

The 18th, Foucault notes: "Sade and Bichat, contemporaries who were both strangers and twins, placed death and sexuality within the body of Western man; these two experiences that are so little natural, so transgressive, so charged with a power of uncompromising opposition, and on the basis of which contemporary culture has founded its dream of a knowledge which could reveal *natural Man* . . ."

Appearance of the French translation of *The Origin of Geometry*, by Husserl, with a long introduction by Jacques Derrida. This book immediately becomes central to epistemological thought in Paris. Foucault, who had worked on this text a great deal in the 1950s, speaks now about "the importance of this very disappointing text," which forces him to further develop his notion of archaeology (letter**).

Is appointed Professor of Psychology at the University of Clermont-Ferrand, where he replaces Jules Vuillemin as head of the Department of Philosophy; Vuillemin succeeds Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who died unexpectedly on May 3rd 1961, at the Collège de France.

** "letter," without indicating recipient, denotes a letter sent to Daniel Defert.

September

Gives the manuscript of *The Birth of the Clinic* to Althusser to read.

The craze for structural analysis grows at the École Normale.

1963

January

Along with Roland Barthes and Michel Deguy, he joins the editorial board of the journal *Critique*. According to Jean Piel, brother-in-law of Georges Bataille, the editor, Foucault's participation didn't become effective until after the appearance of *The Order of Things* (1966) and ended in 1973, even though he let his name appear there until 1977.

March

The 4th, in a talk at the Collège Philosophique, Jacques Derrida criticizes Foucault's reading of Descartes' First Meditation in his *History of Madness*. Derrida had invited Foucault in a letter of February 3rd: "I re-read you during the Christmas holidays with a constantly renewed pleasure. I think I will basically try to show that your reading of Descartes is justified and illuminating at a deep historical and philosophical level which it seems to me can't be immediately shown or indicated by the text you draw on and which, I think, I wouldn't read in exactly the way you do." But the "structuralist totalitarianism" denounced by Derrida hurts Foucault, who is working precisely to differentiate his archaeology from structuralism. "Why does historicity always have to be thought as forgetting?" (letter).

April

Publication of *Naissance de la Clinique: Une archéologie du regard médical* [*The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*], in the series "History and Philosophy of Biology and Medicine," edited by Canguilhem at Presses Universitaires de France.

May

Publication of *Raymond Roussel* [*Death and the Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*] by Gallimard, in the series edited by Georges Lambrichs, hailed by Philippe Sollers in the journal *Tel quel* as "the birth of criticism." Its publication was to accompany a new edition of Roussel's oeuvre.

July

The Moscow Accords define peaceful coexistence.

Solzhenitsyn begins to collect accounts of the Gulag.

Holiday in Tangier and Marrakech with Barthes and Mauzi.

August

The 5th, "I have arrived at Vendeuvre. It's time for sheets of paper that are filled like baskets of apples, for trees that are pruned, books that are read line by line with a child's meticulousness . . . it's the wisdom of every summer" (letter). Corrects the proofs of his translation of Kant's *Anthropology* and of his homage to Bataille, who died the previous year (EW2, "A Preface to Transgression"). Reading Klossowski on Nietzsche. Takes notes on the relation between archaeology and critical philosophy.

The Quai d'Orsay [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] offers him the post as Director of the Institut Français in Tokyo, which he has wanted for a long time.

September

Is invited to a conference at Cerisy-la-Salle by the *Tel quel* group, who want "to take stock of the situation of literature after the *nouveau roman*." Beginning of personal relations with members of this group (Sollers, Pleynet, Thibaudeau, Baudry, Ollier, and also Édern Hallier, who had broken with Sollers in 1962), on whose books he will write a number of articles.

October

Turns down the chance to move to Tokyo in order to stay close to Daniel Defert, who is preparing for the *agrégation* in philosophy. Abandoning the planned follow-up to *History of Madness*, which was to be on the history of penal psychiatry, he begins "a book on signs." Intense work interrupts the rhythm of the late-night dinners with Roland Barthes in Saint-Germain-des-Prés; their relations become more distant.

November

Gives talks in Lisbon, where he sees Bosch's painting *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, and in Madrid. The 9th, a letter describing his viewing of *Las Meninas* in the Prado, the painting around which will crystallize the project of his "book on signs" (OT, chapter 1).

December

Re-reading Heidegger. Decides on a plan for *The Order of Things*.

1964

Long days researching at the Bibliothèque Nationale. In small school notebooks there follow reading notes, chapter plans, and drafts of articles. Reads *The Formation of the Concept of Reflex in the 17th and 18th Centuries* [untranslated] by Georges Canguilhem, who has become his "good teacher" since *History of Madness*.

Relations with Gilles Deleuze and Pierre Klossowski become regular; he also sees Jean Beaufret. In July, they get together with Karl Löwith, Henri Birault, Gianni Vattimo, Jean Wahl, Colli, and Montinari, who are editing a new edition of Nietzsche, at the conference on Nietzsche organized by Deleuze at Royaumont (EW2, "Nietzsche, Freud, Marx").

April

Gives talks in Ankara, in Istanbul ("The disillusionment of the orient"). Visits Ephesus ("in the footsteps of Heraclitus . . . I have never seen anything so beautiful") (letter).

August

The 10th, "I have the feeling that I'm getting close to a reconversion towards a total non-writing. That would really liberate me" (letter). Enthusiastically reads *Under the Volcano* by Malcolm Lowry.

September

Because of the American bombings in the Gulf of Tonkin, Daniel Defert doesn't take up the civilian position in Vietnam which he had requested in lieu of his military service. He is assigned to Tunisia, where Foucault soon joins him.

The appearance, "in train station bookshops," as Foucault liked to say, of a highly abridged version of *History of Madness* [translated as *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, 1967] in a new paperback series from Plon, "Le Monde en 10/18." Intellectual circles are divided at this time on the wisdom of these low-priced intellectual series. Happy with this popular edition, which went through many reprints, Foucault was disappointed when the publisher refused to republish the complete version. Foucault breaks with Plon. Foreign translations of *History of Madness*, except the Italian edition from Rizzoli in 1963, are based on the abridged version [a complete English translation, *History of Madness*, was published in 2006. See HM].

October

The 18th: "I'm redoing my damn signs all day long" (letter).

Spends time with Deleuze, Vuillemin, Desanti, Klossowski. Gives a course on sexuality at Clermont-Ferrand. With the majority of the Faculty, he opposes the nomination of Roger Garaudy as professor in the Department of Philosophy; a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, people say he is being imposed on by his old schoolfriend, Georges Pompidou (who is now prime minister).

December

Publication, by Vrin, of the translation of Kant's *Anthropology*. The introduction, which had been the complementary thesis, is reduced to a three-page note on the text, with this closing sentence: "The relation between critical thought and anthropological reflection will be studied in a later work." This is the announcement of *The Order of Things*, which Foucault is still calling his "book on signs."

Holding a public lecture position at Saint-Louis University, Brussels, he gives a talk on "Language and Literature."

Christmas

Visits Tunisia. The first draft of the book on signs is completed.

1965

January

The 5th, watching a plane taking off from Djerba Island, "the ground shaking at the edge of the sea," he scrawls on a postcard the words that will be the last sentence of *The Order of Things*.

Strong wish to go and live in the village of Sidi Bou Said, which looks over the Gulf of Carthage.

Participates, with Alain Badiou, Georges Canguilhem, Dinah Dreyfus, and Paul Ricoeur, in a series of philosophy debates for educational television and radio (for example, EW2, "Philosophy and Psychology").

Appointed to the commission to reform the universities set up by Christian Fouchet, De Gaulle's Minister of Education, he worries about the plan to multiply local universities without sufficient means. He prepares an alternative plan that makes complementary connections between these institutions within the framework of regional government, and which he submits to the prime minister's office, where Étienne Burin des Roziers has become secretary general.

Rumors circulate that Foucault will be nominated as deputy director of higher education for the human sciences.

February

The 13th, "It wasn't signs, but order that I was talking about" (letter about his book on signs).

April

The 4th, "Finally finished the thing. Three hundred pages re-written, in a completely different balance, since Sfax [city in Tunisia]." Writes the preface: "A general theory of archaeology which I'm happy enough with." Plans to apply to the Collège de France in order to escape Clermont-Ferrand. Changes his mind, upon learning of the candidature of the historian Georges Duby.

May

The 2nd, Canguilhem excited about the manuscript of the "book on signs." Foucault finds out that a campaign relating to his private life, led by certain academics, is the reason why he wasn't nominated as deputy director of higher education.

The 14th, submits his manuscript to Lambrichs at Gallimard.

June

Roger Caillois sends him an enthusiastic letter about his manuscript and asks for a text for his own journal *Diogène* (OT, chapter 2). Burin de Roziers confides that he and Malraux [Minister for Culture] have new plans for him. The 9th, upset by the intrigues

against his nomination, Foucault travels to Sweden and applies to Elisabethville – soon to become Lubumbashi, when the country takes the name Zaire – where the logician Gilles-Gaston Granger is teaching at the time. The sociologist Georges Gurvitch presses him to apply for a chair in psychosociology at the Sorbonne. Foucault decides not to, finding too much hostility. Another trip to Sfax and Sidi Bou Said.

August

Visits the Nicolas de Staël retrospective in Zurich. He goes to see the works by Klee in the Basel Museum. Thinks about asking for a posting to Abidjan [Ivory Coast].

September

Althusser sends Foucault his *For Marx*, with this dedication: "Here's a few old things."

October

Invited to the Department of Philosophy in São Paulo [Brazil] by the philosopher Gérard Lebrun, a student, like Jules Vuillemin and Louis Althusser, of Martial Guéroult. There, he makes connections with the philosophers Gianotti and Ruy Fausto, the critic Roberto Schwartz, the poet Lupe Cotrim Garaude, and the psychoanalyst Betty Milan; he gives them a first taste of some chapters of *The Order of Things*. The planned speaking tour is ended by the shows of force that, week after week, consolidate the takeover by the generals, who will soon either sack or exile his friends.

1966

January

Creation at the École Normale, around Jacques-Alain Miller and François Régnault, of the Epistemology Circle, under the double inspiration of Jacques Lacan and Canguilhem. Its publication, the *Cahiers pour l'analyse*, claiming to represent "all the analytic sciences: logic, linguistics, psychoanalysis, aims to contribute to a theory of discourse." This circle responds to and differentiates itself from the creation, around Robert Linhart, of the Union of Young Marxist-Leninist Communists (UJCML), the first Maoist group among students.

While *The Order of Things* is in press, Foucault starts to reconsider the problems of method that he posed in that archaeology. "Philosophy is a diagnostic undertaking, archaeology is a method for describing thought" (letter).

Reads Whorf and Sapir. "No, that's not it, the problem isn't language, but the limits of sayability" (letter).

February

Accepts, with Gilles Deleuze, to oversee the publication in French of Colli and Montinari's edition of the complete works of Nietzsche.

March

The 11–13th, the central committee of the French Communist Party, meeting in Argenteuil, declares, against Althusser, that "Marxism is the humanism of our times."

The 28th, conference at the University Theater in Budapest. The planned conference on structuralism is thought, by the Hungarian authorities, to interest so few people that it is confined to the office of the rector. Foucault discovers that in eastern Europe, because of its origins in Russian and Prague formalist thought, structuralism functions as an alternative to Marxism. Foucault refuses to make the ritual visit to György Lukács, preferring to see the portrait of Jeanne Duval by Manet at the Museum of Fine Arts.

The 31st, his Hungarian contacts confide to Foucault how relieved they were to find in Aragon's journal *Les Lettres françaises* his long interview with Raymond Bellour, announcing the appearance of *The Order of Things*; now they will be less suspect in their own country (EW2, "The Order of Things"). Travels in the Puszta, to Debrecen: "I was rather moved to see that the theories of dear old Alth (Althusser) have traveled to the very depths of the Marxism of the steppes" (letter; EW3, "Interview with Michel Foucault"). Visits Bucharest.

April

Publication of *Les Mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* [*The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*], in the series "Library of the Human Sciences," which Pierre Nora has just started at Gallimard. His preferred title was "L'Ordre des choses" ["The Order of Things"], which was already used by Jacques Brosse in a book for which Bachelard wrote a preface; its reuse wasn't allowed. By persistence or forgetfulness, Foucault was later to use a chapter title from the same book to name a series: "Parallel Lives" (in which HB was published; FDE, no. 223).

May

Spends time with Derrida and Althusser. The 16th, Foucault states in an interview: "Our task is to free ourselves once and for all from humanism . . . it is in this sense that my work is political, insofar as all the regimes of the East and the West pass off their wares under the cover of humanism" (FDE, no. 37; FDE1a, 544). The first print run of *The Order of Things* is sold out in six weeks. The 23rd, *L'Express* introduces the book as the biggest revolution in philosophy since existentialism. From now on, the phrases "the death of man" and "Marxism exists in nineteenth-century thought like a fish in water," circulate in the press as emblematic of the work.

The 26th, an enthusiastic letter from René Magritte. Beginning of a correspondence in which Foucault questions him about his interpretation of *The Balcony* by Manet. Magritte wants to meet Foucault at the end of the year.

June

From now on, the press comments as much on the sales figures as on the book itself. The sales figures are seen as a symptom, the book itself as a rupture. 1966 is one of

the great years for the human sciences in France: Lacan, Lévi-Strauss, Benveniste, Genette, Greimas, Doubrovsky, Todorov, and Barthes publish some of their most important texts. Perceived up to that moment as a localized method, structuralism is suddenly recognized as a movement.

July

At Vendeuvre, six hours a day writing replies to attacks on "the death of man." "Even Jean Daniel after Domenach. Trying to say what philosophical discourse could be today" (letter). He works again on Husserl's *Formal and Transcendental Logic*, but this time in French translation. "For the first time, I've taken to reading detective novels."

Hyppolite's comment about *The Order of Things*: "It's a tragic book." "He is the only one to have seen it," confides Foucault.

September

Foucault decides to move to Tunis where he is offered, for the first time, a chair in philosophy (rather than psychology).

According to him, the media success clouded the reception of his work.

The dryness of the next book testifies to his wish to break with this kind of success. The 15th, François Mauriac devotes a part of his "Bloc-notes" to the anti-humanism of *The Order of Things* and concludes: "You would make Sartre likeable." From now on, Foucault follows what is said about "the death of man" from a distance and very selectively.

October

The 1st, Foucault obtains leave from the university to spend three years in Tunisia.

Sartre, in the issue of *L'Arc* that is devoted to him, attacks structuralism, rejects the tendency of Foucault and Althusser to privilege structures over history, calls archaeology a geology which replaces transformations with stratifications, and concludes: "Foucault is the last rampart of the bourgeoisie." The major intellectual journals maintain, right up to May 1968, the polemic against *The Order of Things*: *Les Temps modernes*, in January 1967; *Esprit*, in May 1967; *La Pensée*, in February 1968, etc.

November

Staying at the Hotel Dar-Zarouk, Foucault looks for a house on the wild slope of the hill over Sidi Bou Said. "I wanted to have an immediate rapport with the sea, absolute, without civilization" (letter).

The 12th: it's the first time since 1955 that he is teaching philosophy. The course on "Philosophical Discourse" carries on from *The Order of Things*. Gives a public course on Western culture. "The theory of discourse is still a shambles, 396 pages to re-do" (letter).

The 16th, "I found yesterday, this morning, just now, the definition of discourse that I've needed for years" (letter).

December

Writes a preface for a new edition of *The Port-Royal Grammar*, initially planned by Seuil (FDE, no. 60).

Is amazed at the insight the Tunisian students have into Althusser: "It's strange to see that what for us is pure theoretical discourse, here suddenly rises up into an almost immediate imperative" (letter).

The 9th, settles in under the long white archways described by Jean Daniel, who he met at this time, and which are the old royal stables in Sidi Bou Said. Forcing himself, according to Nietzsche's vow, to become every day a little more Greek, athletic, tanned, ascetic, he begins a new stylization of his existence.

Christmas

Camping with donkeys and camels on the Tassili-n-Ajjer plateau, Southern Algeria.

1967

January

Les Temps modernes (no. 22) joins the attack. Foucault contents himself with a response by private letter to the questions which had worried him in Michel Amiot's article "Michel Foucault's Cultural Relativism": "I decided not to provide the book with a methodological preface which would serve as a user's guide. I'm not at all writing to you to give you this explanation, but from respect for the seriousness of the discussion and from real sympathy for your text." He concludes: "Wishing to free history – at least the history of ideas – from a well-worn schema where it's a matter of influence, advances, setbacks, discoveries, realizations, I sought to define the ensemble of transformations which serve as the rules of an empirical discontinuity."

Occasional meetings with Chadli Klibi, at the time Tunisian Minister of Culture, future Secretary General of the Arab League.

The 31st: "I am fascinated by what's happening in China. The hope of finishing (*The Archaeology of Knowledge*) by the spring is put back to next year."

February

"History is, all the same, hugely enjoyable. One is less alone and just as free" (letter). Plan to write a text about the republication of Fernand Braudel's book on the Mediterranean, maybe even to write a book on historiography which would be an opportunity for another archaeology of the human sciences, showing this time that "epistemes" are not a periodization of worldviews. Reading Dumézil, something he will keep up all his life, and Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*, which he likes so much that he will come

to call himself a Trotskyite in 1968. His Tunisian students are, in effect, supplying Foucault with their interpretations.

March

The 14th, in Paris, gives a talk to the Cercle d'Études Architecturales [Circle for Architecture Studies], on "heterotopias," a repeat of a radio program on the same subject (EW2, "Different Spaces").

The 17th, at the Sorbonne, in Raymond Aron's seminar he presents the criteria according to which one can historically identify a cultural formation such as political economy across different epistemes. Raymond Aron adamantly wants to assimilate epistemes to *Weltanschauungen* [worldviews]. A debate which will contribute to the abandonment of the concept in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Behind this epistemological discussion, the two protagonists' tactics in relation to the Collège de France are being fine-tuned. The arguments presented at Raymond Aron's seminar will be developed in the second interview with Raymond Bellour (EW2, "On the Ways of Writing History").

Attends the premier of *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, at the Odéon Theater, a ballet by Béjart which uses the iconography that Foucault had highlighted in his study of Flaubert (EW2, "Afterword to . . .").

April

"I've stopped all writing to look a bit more closely at Wittgenstein and the English analytic philosophers" (letter). About the English analytic philosophers, he writes: "A style and level of analysis which I was floundering around looking for this winter. The barely tolerable anguish of this winter." At this time, Foucault is using the library of his colleague Gérard Deledalle, a rare, even unique specialist on John Dewey and American philosophy.

The 12th, *La Presse de Tunis* reports: "Every Friday afternoon, the biggest lecture hall of the University of Tunis is too small to hold the hundreds of students and visitors who come to follow the lectures of Professor Michel Foucault."

May

The journal *Esprit* dedicates a special issue to "Structuralism, ideology and methods." "Against the cold thought of a system which builds itself in the face of every individual or collective subject," Jean-Marie Domenach, editor of the journal, poses six questions to Foucault, of which he only agrees to answer the one on "the possibility of a political intervention arising out of a reflection on discontinuity and constraint." Irony of sorts, the long reply will appear in May 1968 (FDE, no. 57).

"I'm quite happy with the English analytic philosophers; they allow me to see how one can do a non-linguistic analysis of statements [*énoncés*]. To deal with statements in their functioning. But, they don't uncover that in which and that in relation to which they function. Perhaps an advance should be made in that direction" (letter).

Publication of *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* in Britain, with a preface by David Cooper, in the series "Studies in Existentialism and

Phenomenology," edited by Ronald Laing, who had previously dedicated *The Divided Self* to Binswanger. This publication is followed by an article by Laing, "Sanity and Madness – The Invention of Madness" (*The New Statesman*, June 16, 1967). As a result, *Madness and Civilization* is put under the banner of anti-psychiatry in English-speaking countries.

Still being both pursued and thwarted at the Sorbonne, Foucault finally gives up on that and applies to the new university in Nanterre, where he is appointed to a chair in psychology in June.

He is also appointed as an examiner for the entry exam to the École Nationale d'Administration.

June

The 1st, meeting with President Bourguiba.

Reading Panofsky: article in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, for which he begins to write more frequently (FDE, no. 51).

From the 5th to the 10th, during the Six Day War, anti-imperialist demonstrations break out against the US embassy, as well as pogroms against Jewish businesses, which had probably been sparked off by the authorities in order to facilitate the arrest of its opponents. The activist students more and more frequently hold their meetings at Foucault's apartment. Foucault notes: "They are sino-castrists." "In view of the great concern" that President Bourguiba shows him, the Tunisian authorities quickly install a telephone line in Foucault's apartment.

July

Returns to Vendeuvre: "There must be great powers in this little corner of the world, for me to feel more or less relaxed here" (letter).

"I'm getting to the bottom of Nietzsche. I think I am beginning to see why he has always fascinated me. An account of the form of the will to knowledge in European civilization, which has been ignored in favor of an analysis of the will to power" (letter).

August

The 15th, death of Magritte.

The 25th, finishes *The Archaeology of Knowledge*: "I still have to spend two or three months re-reading it this winter."

October

Foucault, guessing that the Ministry of Education is delaying its approval of his appointment at Nanterre, goes back to Tunis for another year.

Release of Jean-Luc Godard's *La Chinoise*, in which Anne Wiazemski, the pro-Chinese student, throws tomatoes at *The Order of Things*, a book which symbolized the negation of history, and therefore the negation of the revolution.

November

"I received a good questionnaire from *Cahiers pour l'analyse*," for a special issue on "Genealogy of the Sciences" (EW2, "On the Archaeology . . ."). Finishes "a little thing on Magritte" (EW2, "This Is Not a Pipe"). Promises Éditions de Minuit an essay on Manet to be called *Le Noir et la couleur*. From the 14th to the 19th, a short stay in Italy for the launch of the translation of *The Order of Things*, published by Rizzoli with an afterword by Canguilhem, "The Death of Man, or Exhaustion of the *cogito*." Meets Umberto Eco in Milan. Gives a talk on Manet. In Rome, meets Burin des Roziers, now French ambassador, who suggests he come to work as his cultural advisor, but this position is no longer of interest to Foucault.

December

Discovery of a lesion on his retina, which may be a tumor. "Long live the body which dies, nothing like it for getting rid of anxieties. I am editing. Fourth time in two years. I think I'm explaining myself quite well, excellent mood" (letter).

In the December issue of the journal *Preuves*, the historian François Furet remarks on a decline in ideology among French intellectuals, which he imputes to the triumph of structuralism over Marxism. "I will respond to that tangentially in my response to Domenach" (letter; see also FE, "Politics and . . .").

1968

January

Re-reading Beckett's work from 1950–53, and also Rosa Luxemburg.

The 15th, Alain Peyrefitte, Minister of Education and former fellow student from the École Normale, personally informs him of his appointment at Nanterre. On his way to Paris, Foucault meets a group of students from that university and is surprised: "Strange how these students speak about their relations with their professors in terms of class struggle."

February

A public lecture in Tunis on the Italian painting tradition, which is discreetly attended by Ben Salah, shortly to become prime minister. In France, the communist periodical *La Pensée* publishes three interviews that are critical of *The Order of Things*. A violent response from Foucault. The editors of the journal negotiate, through a series of letters, the attenuation of language that it had systematically taken from the arsenal of communist insults (FE, "Politics and . . .").

March

The 10th, *La Quinzaine littéraire* announces on its front page a Sartre–Foucault polemic. In fact, it's an attempt to provoke Foucault to respond to the comments by Sartre in the special issue of *L'Arc*. Foucault puts a quick end to this game (FDE, no. 56) [Foucault's

text is a condemnation of the publication, without his authorization, of FL, "Foucault Responds to Sartre"].

He is reading Che Guevara.

From the 15th to the 19th, demonstrations at the University of Tunis for the release of those students who have been imprisoned since the previous year. On the basis of photographs, the police arrest the main political leaders of the students, especially those from the Tunisian Socialist Study and Action Group, known as *Perspectives*, after the name of their journal. Some of them are tortured and charged with undermining state security. The activists who remain free secretly print their tracts in Foucault's apartment, where they hide their Roneo duplicating machine. In agreement with them, he decides to stay in Tunisia to give logistical and financial support to their defense. He meets with President Bourguiba and the French ambassador, Sauvagnargues, but without success. He arranges for the young secretary of the National Higher Education Union, Alain Geismar, whom he doesn't know, to come from Paris. He is criticized in France for not having made a dramatic exit from Tunisia.

The 22nd, the official beginning of the student movement at Nanterre. Foucault writes: "From here we look down on Nanterre." Student demonstrations in Warsaw, Madrid, and Rome.

April

Travels by car along the Sirte coast and visits Leptis Magna and Sabrata in Libya.

May

From the 3rd to the 13th, street demonstrations in Paris, occupation of the Sorbonne, which expands to become an almost total general strike in France. Foucault remains stuck in Tunis. Maurice Clavel writes in *Ce que je crois*: "When I got to Paris on May 3rd, I bought the newspapers at the Gare de Lyon and, seeing the headlines about the first student riots, I said to my wife with a strange calm: that's it, here we are, we've arrived . . . "Where?" she asked. Right in Foucault . . . because after all, wasn't *The Order of Things* the formidable prediction of the geological rupture of our human and humanist culture, which was bound to occur in May '68? I rushed to the offices of the *Nouvel Observateur* where, within a few minutes, I wrote five pages which started like this: a new Resistance has emerged today in Nanterre and at the Sorbonne . . . Did anybody think that the Death of Man would happen between the threshold and midnight, I am speaking of the publishers" [Clavel is referring to two leading publishers in philosophy and the humanities: Éditions du Seuil (threshold) and Éditions du Minuit (midnight)].

The 27th, in order to get to Paris, Foucault takes advantage of a special flight which happens to coincide with the meeting at Charléty Stadium of the leaders of the left, including Paul Mendès France, which Foucault attends.

June

The 16th, he writes from Tunis: "Here it's a big mystery." The Tunisian auxiliary police forces use a range of intimidatory practices to force Foucault to leave. At the end of

June, Foucault attends the last demonstrations and the meetings at the Sorbonne. Blanchot tells of how he spoke to Foucault at the Sorbonne without being sure if Foucault had recognized him (Maurice Blanchot, *Michel Foucault tel que je l'imagine*, Montpellier: Fata Morgana, 1986) [*Foucault/Blanchot*, New York: Zone Books, 1987]. Foucault never tried to meet him, saying he admired him too much to want to get to know him. The 30th, General de Gaulle's party convincingly wins the election organized by Georges Pompidou.

July

The Tunisian government sets up a State Security Court to try the students. Foucault decides to spend the summer in Tunisia.

September

Is contacted by Hélène Cixous to help in setting up an experimental university which Edgar Faure, Minister of Education, has decided to build, outside the Latin Quarter, in Vincennes.

The 9th, the trial of 134 student activists opens in Tunis. Foucault had handed information about their detention to French lawyers. However, the defense isn't given a chance to present its case. Ahmed Ben Othman is sentenced to fourteen years in prison, which he serves. The 30th, at his own request, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ends Foucault's secondment and he is reassigned to the University in Nanterre.

October

Foucault enthusiastically reads texts by the American Black Panthers: "They're developing a strategic analysis which is free of the Marxist theory of society" (letter). The 27th, on the boat trip back to Marseille, Foucault learns of the death of Jean Hyppolite. His widow sends him Hyppolite's collection of Beckett's work. He will bring their names together in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France.

November

Parliament transfers a part of the state power over universities to councils of elected teachers and students; and replaces the division of knowledge into Faculties with multidisciplinary groupings. The new university in Vincennes is supposed to test out this organization of powers and knowledges. Edgar Faure, the new Minister for Education, wants Foucault to manage the experiment. He refuses to do this, confining himself to recruiting teachers for the Department of Philosophy, with the advice of Alain Badiou, who is close to Althusser at this time. With Serge Leclaire, a Lacanian psychoanalyst, he sets up the first Department of Psychoanalysis in a university. With the sociologist Jean-Claude Passeron, he wants to promote a multidisciplinary approach to science and politics, rather than a Faculty of Human Sciences. He gives Alain Badiou the task of trimming the manuscript of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

The press denounces the recruiters of the experimental university at Vincennes, most of whom are leftists.

December

He is appointed as Professor of Philosophy at the Experimental University Center of Vincennes.

1969

January

Official opening of Vincennes, a test for the university: for the political powers, which had assembled all the key players from literature and the human sciences, and for the student movement, which wants to test the extent of its autonomy. At the first conflict, the police intervene. Foucault takes part in the physical resistance to the police and in the overnight occupation of the buildings. He is arrested and spends the night in a police station with 200 students.

The 19th, Foucault takes part in a tribute to Jean Hyppolite at the École Normale Supérieure, along with Althusser, Suzanne Bachelard, Georges Canguilhem, François Dagognet, Martial Guéroult, Michel Henri, Jean Laplanche, Jean-Claude Pariente, and Michel Serres. He writes the foreword for the publication of this tribute by Presses Universitaires de France, in January 1971. He contributes a text, which is his most important on the relation between Nietzsche and genealogy (FDE, no. 67; EW2, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History").

February

The 10th, Foucault is invited to the conference center at the *Mutualité*, to speak at a meeting protesting the expulsion of thirty students from the University. He is very happy to take part as a demonstrator and not as an intellectual. Sartre speaks at this same meeting, but their paths don't cross. Contat and Rybalka report that "At the meeting, Sartre came across a poster which said: 'Sartre, be brief.' The reception Sartre gets from the students at this meeting marks the starting point of Sartre's future development: for the first time he feels that he is directly opposed" (Jean-Paul Sartre, *Œuvres romanesques*, Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1981, p. xci).

At Vincennes, Foucault gives a course on "Sexuality and Individuality," which develops the research program announced in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and which covers the history of heredity and of racial hygiene; and another course on "Nietzsche and Genealogy."

The 22nd, gives a talk at the Société Française de Philosophie, at the invitation of Henri Gouhier. He speaks about the function of the author, extending the work of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. In this text, he makes clear his distance from both Derrida and Barthes. Published in the relatively obscure *Bulletin de la Société de philosophie*, the text is considered to be no different from Barthes' text on the death of the author and has little impact in France, compared to its career within literary theory in the US (FDE, no. 69) [partial translation, LCP, "What is an Author?"; for a later, modified, version, see EW2, "What is an Author?"].

March

The 13th, publication of *L'Archéologie du savoir* [*The Archaeology of Knowledge*] by Gallimard. The dry descriptions of things he had said in previous works, and his way of differentiating himself from structuralism all frustrate expectations.

On his invitation to London to give some talks at the French Institute, he learns that the Quai d'Orsay [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] doesn't want him to talk at English universities, because it would be disagreeable if he were to publicly express his disapproval of the regulations governing universities (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, no. 227, March 17–23, 1969; also FDE, no. 65). He refuses to speak about philosophy to the usual audience for cultural relations events and instead opens up a free discussion with the British students about their concrete commitments. It turned out that he was never again to give a talk in England.

April

The 27th, General de Gaulle loses the referendum to promote regionalization and the participation of employees in company ownership, and he resigns.

Foucault's first visit to the university at Buffalo.

May

The 30th and 31st, at a conference on Cuvier, organized by Canguilhem at the Institute for the History of Science, Foucault discusses the problem of the author in scientific disciplines (FDE, no. 77).

July

Along with Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Jacques Le Goff, Gérard Genette, and Michel Serres, he takes part in a radio series on new historical methodologies.

August

The 4th, *Le Nouvel Observateur* reports that *Literatournaïa Gazeta*, journal of the Soviet Writers' Union, criticizes Foucault: "What annoys Foucault about Marxism is its humanism. Being the only source of revolutionary transformation in the world, Marxism is the authentic and real humanism of our time."

November

The 30th, a meeting of the professors of the Collège de France votes to rename the Chair in History of Philosophical Thought, held by Jean Hyppolite, into the Chair in the History of Systems of Thought. Following tradition, the name of the intended appointee to the chair is never mentioned during the vote. The proposal for the chair is presented by Jules Vuillemin: "The philosophical tradition of the project which I am presenting doesn't find its place in the Cartesian theory of the substantial union of thought and extension." Evoking, briefly, the history of concepts, Vuillemin declares: "As for con-

cepts, theoretical books describe them so abstractly that their date and their origin appear to be alien to their nature." He concludes: "Abandoning dualism and founding a non-Cartesian epistemology demands more: to eliminate the subject while keeping thought; and to try to construct a history without human nature." The same day a new Chair in Sociology of Civilization is also created, These two projects of course were intended for Foucault and Raymond Aron. Paul Ricœur and Yvon Belaval were also candidates for the chair in philosophy.

December

The 6th and 7th, the journal *L'Évolution psychiatrique* dedicates its annual two-day meeting to criticizing *History of Madness*.

1970

January

The new Minister for Education, Olivier Guichard, refuses to give national recognition to the degree in philosophy from Vincennes. Too many of the courses, he says, are devoted to politics and Marxism (FDE, no. 78).

The 21st, Gallimard publishes *Études de style*, a collection of essays by Leo Spitzer. Foucault translated the essay "Linguistics and Literary History" (*Linguistics and Literary History: Essays in Stylistics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948) under the title "Art du langage et linguistique."

March

Is invited to the Department of French Literature at the State University of New York, Buffalo, which at the time was the center of French studies in the United States. Has difficulty getting his visa due to past membership of the French Communist Party. Gives talks on the search for the absolute in *Bouvard and Pécuchet*, and on Sade. Donald Bouchard, José Harari, and Eugenio Donato will go on to publish the modified version of "What is an Author?" which he presents there (EW2, "What is an Author?"). Forms friendships with Olga Bernal, head of the Department of French Literature, and with Mark Seem, who goes on to translate Deleuze. American universities are experiencing strong protest movements against research being carried out for the military. Foucault supports the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) movement, which faces many costly court cases. "In short, I haven't left Paris for a second, not even by one centimeter" (letter). Gives a talk at Yale.

April

A trip through Faulkner country. Goes up through the Mississippi valley as far as Natchez, where he stays at The Elms, an historic home from the Spanish period.

The 12th, Foucault is nominally elected to the Chair in the History of Systems of Thought by a meeting of the professors of the Collège de France. On this occasion, he

publishes "Candidacy Presentation: Collège de France, 1969" (EW2). The Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, which has a consultative role, fails to ratify the vote.

The 30th, a so-called "anti-rioters" law introduces into French law the principle of collective legal responsibility, targeting the organizers of political demonstrations.

May

Writes the preface to the *Œuvres complètes* [*Complete Works*] of Bataille (FDE, no. 74). Gallimard hopes that the authority of the new professor at the Collège de France will protect it from censorship, which is extremely heavy at this time. For the same reason, Foucault writes in the press in support of *Éden, Éden, Éden* by Pierre Guyotat, which is also published by Gallimard and is prefaced by Michel Leiris, Philippe Sollers, and Roland Barthes (FDE, no. 79).

The 27th, the government dissolves the Gauche Prolétarienne (GP) [Proletarian Left], a Maoist non-Leninist movement which was born out of a fusion of the anti-authoritarian student-led Movement of March 22nd and the UJCML [Union of Communist Marxist-Leninist Youth].

June

In the now underground GP, Daniel Defert joins those who are working to maintain contact with the imprisoned activists and to prepare for their trials.

Publication, in *La Pensée*, of a long article by Althusser on state apparatuses, distinguished according to whether they use violence or ideology. Foucault is critical of this distinction, to which *Discipline and Punish* will later respond extensively.

The 17th, the nomination of Foucault to the Collège de France is ratified by the Minister of Education.

August

The 8th: "I had promised an afterword for the re-publication of *The Order of Things*, but now these things are of no interest to me" (letter). Re-reads Kravtchenko and the American historians of science.

September–October

Invited to Japan, where he is still known only for *The Birth of the Clinic* (translated in 1969) and *Mental Illness and Psychology*, translated in 1970 by Dr. Miyeko Kamiya, a psychiatrist and sister of Professor Maeda, holder of the Chair in French Civilization, both of whom he had met in Paris in 1963–1964. His works on literature had just been introduced by Professor Moriake Watanabe. Gives three talks: "Manet," "Madness and Society," "Return to History." He visits Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, and Kyoto (FDE, no. 82; EW2, "Madness and Society"; EW2, "Return to History"). He tells Moriake Watanabe that he is writing a book on systems of punishment and the history of crime in Europe. Mikitaka Nakano, editor of the journal *Paideia*, prepares a special issue on the relation between philosophy and literature in his work. He wants to include an article by

J. Miyakawa on Derrida and Foucault, as well as Derrida's article "Cogito and the *History of Madness*." Foucault offers to respond to the article by Derrida.

Gallimard repurchases the rights to *History of Madness* and prepares to publish the complete version, which includes Foucault's analysis of the Cartesian "cogito" that had disappeared from the abridged version in 1964. This is the edition that will be translated into Japanese (HM, "Reply to Derrida").

On his return to Paris, Foucault reads the Stoics and Deleuze, who has just published *Difference and Repetition* and *The Logic of Sense* (EW2, "Theatrum Philosophicum"). He writes a long text on Manet and painting, as well as an unpublished study on Andy Warhol's Marilyn Monroe series.

November

Gives a talk in Florence on Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, a painting which fascinates him as the inverse of *Las Meninas* by Velázquez.

December

The 2nd, inaugural lecture at the Collège de France. Foucault explicitly addresses the question of power and distinguishes between the critical and the genealogical projects.

From now on, every Wednesday at 5:45 p.m., for thirteen sessions a year, there will be a new course each year in which he will explore the hypotheses and the research materials of his future books. To an audience that is international from the start, he announces the theme of this first course as "The Will to Knowledge," which sets up an opposition between two opposing models: those of Aristotle and Nietzsche. On Mondays, at 5:30 p.m., he holds the seminar, which this year focuses on the beginnings of penal psychiatry in the early nineteenth century.

1971

January

Nostalgic for the lost luminosity of the Gulf of Carthage, Foucault moves to the top of a building with large windows at 285 rue de Vaugirard.

February

The 8th, on the occasion of a press conference with lawyers for the Maoist activists who are on hunger strike to obtain the status of political prisoners, Foucault announces the creation of the Groupe d'Information sur les Prisons [Group for Information on the Prisons] (GIP), for which he lists his home as the headquarters. In December 1970, a "popular tribunal," with Sartre as prosecutor, had tried to find out what caused and who was responsible for the mining accident at Fouquières-lès-Lens. Doctors presented evidence about miners suffering from silicosis. Daniel Defert suggested to the *Gauche prolétarienne* that they should convene a similar commission of inquiry into

the situation in the prisons, as a way of expanding awareness of the hunger strike which the activists had begun on January 14th. Foucault enthusiastically agrees to manage the activities. But he completely changes the strategy, removing any appearance of a tribunal, in order to make it into a social movement. He launches what he calls "intolerability inquiries," in which it's a matter of both collecting information about, and revealing, what is intolerable, but also of provoking this intolerability. On the advice of the magistrate Casamayor, he invites Jean-Marie Domenach and the historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who had denounced the use of torture during the Algerian War, to lead the project with him (FDE, nos. 86, 87, 88, 90).

The 21st, publication by Gallimard of *L'Ordre du discours* [*The Order of Discourse*], the text of his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, which restores passages that had been shortened or changed due to limitations of time.

The 28th, Foucault is attacked by George Steiner as "the mandarin of the hour," in the *New York Times Book Review*.[1]

March–April

Across France, activists from the GIP have questionnaires secretly brought into prisons. Families bring fragments of information obtained from prisoners to Foucault's home.

April

A visit to Montreal, where Foucault is invited by McGill University. He is questioned about his experience with the GIP. Meets activists from the independent Québecois movements, the MDPPQ and the FLQ. Meets Chartrand, Robert Lemieux, and Gagnon and visits Pierre Vallières, author of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*, in prison.

May

The 1st, Foucault, J.-M. Domenach and around ten members of the GIP are held at the gates of a prison as "agitators." A police officer hits Foucault and shouts: "Heil Hitler!" (FDE, no. 90).

The 20th, invited by his Tunisian friends, Foucault gives a talk on Manet at the Tahar Haddad Club. He makes a vain attempt to influence the authorities in favor of the detained activists.

The 21st, publication of the first pamphlet from the GIP, *Enquête dans vingt prisons* [*Inquiry in Twenty Prisons*], a collection of responses to the questionnaires arranged and prefaced by Foucault, without indication of his name (Champ Libre, "Intolérable" series).

The 29th, the journalist Alain Jaubert, who wanted to accompany an injured person in a police wagon after a demonstration relating to the French West Indies, is himself left bloodied at a hospital and is charged with hitting and injuring an officer. Foucault sets up a commission of inquiry into the facts with Denis Langlois, a lawyer with the Human Rights League, and presents the results of their investigations at a press conference (FDE, nos. 92, 93). The Jaubert case mobilizes journalists who more and more

have to confront police tactics. Creation of the Libération news agency, managed by Maurice Clavel, which will be the embryonic nucleus of the newspaper *Libération*. At the same time as the Jaubert case, Foucault meets Claude Mauriac through Maurice Clavel. There is at this time a convergence between certain left-leaning Gaullists and the extreme left (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3).

June

Catherine von Bülow brings Jean Genet to rue Vaugirard; he is preparing a text in defense of the black American activist George Jackson, who has been held at San Quentin and Soledad for eleven years with no release date. Foucault and Genet decide to write the text together and they begin to meet frequently. Catherine von Bülow goes to the United States to visit Jackson and Angela Davis in prison.

In Paris, the "Maoists" want to organize a popular tribunal on the police, on the model of the popular tribunal at Fouquières-lès-Lens. Foucault expresses his disagreement on the question of popular tribunals in a debate with Pierre Victor (alias Benny Lévy), leader of the *Gauche prolétarienne*, and with André Glucksmann, both identified as "Maoists" by *Les Temps modernes* (PK, "On Popular Justice . . .").

The 18th, the Minister of Justice, René Pleven, protests to the editor of *Le Monde* about the summary of the GIP brochures that had appeared in the newspaper on June 8th. However, he finds no error that would allow the GIP to be pursued in the courts.

July

The daily newspapers and radio are allowed into the prisons, a victory for the GIP, which is becoming popular in detention facilities. On the subject of the prisons, Foucault says: "This new preoccupation has come to me as a real escape from the weariness I was feeling in relation to literature."

August

At Vendeuvre, Foucault does research on the history of judicial practices. Re-reads *Journal du voleur* [*The Thief's Journal*, Jean Genet]. Genet, who says he has never re-read the book, asks anxiously, "Does it hold its own?"

The 10th, Foucault is contacted by lawyers for Christian Riss [a young activist] who had been shot at point-blank range by two police officers outside the Jordanian embassy, which was being attacked by demonstrators. Riss is dumped by the police beside a barrier. Foucault, Clavel, and Domenach hold a press conference. Clavel declares, "The Republic is in danger." At this event, Foucault meets Thierry Mignon, a lawyer for Iranian dissidents. With Jean Genet, he plans to condemn the lavish celebrations that the shah is preparing in Persepolis.

The 21st, assassination of George Jackson in prison. Catherine von Bülow attends the funeral and, with Genet, Deleuze, Defert, and Foucault, in the collection *Intolérable*, she publishes "L'Assassinat de George Jackson," a critique of the information released in the US.

September

From the 9th to the 13th, a prison revolt with hostage-taking at Attica prison in New York State.

The 21st and 22nd, in the Clairvaux prison in France, two inmates, Buffet and Bontemps, take hostage and kill a guard and a nurse. Public opinion, in part, blames the contaminating influence of Attica, which is supposedly due to the flow of information into the prisons. The debate about maintaining the death penalty replaces, in the press, the denunciation of the situation in the prisons. Foucault will speak out publicly several times against the death penalty (FDE, no.113; FL, "The Anxiety of Judging"; EW3, "Governmentality").

October

Publication of *Habits neufs du président Mao* [*The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*] by Simon Leys. Foucault is highly receptive to this critique, especially since the death in mysterious circumstances of Lin Biao. Very skeptical, he questions the filmmakers Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan on their return from China.

The 27th, Djellali Ben Ali, a 15-year-old Algerian, is killed by a building caretaker in the Parisian neighborhood of La Goutte d'Or, in which thousands of North African migrants live. An ordinary crime, or an organized racist crime? The neighborhood ignites under pressure of the Palestine committees, which are jockeying with the Gauche Prolétarienne in an area that is under twenty-four-hour police control.

November

Begins the course "Penal Theories and Institutions" which outlines, from antiquity to the nineteenth century, the juridico-political matrices of certain types of knowledge. From 1970 to 1976, the courses at the Collège de France will constitute a complete series on the development of norms in disciplinary society. The Monday seminar on medico-legal expertise will see the "invention" of Pierre Rivière, a provincial case of parricide from the early nineteenth century, which Foucault had found in the *Annales d'hygiène*. The history of penal psychiatry was always a continuation of *History of Madness*.

The 7th, at La Goutte d'Or, a migrant demonstration on the theme of: "We will avenge Djellali." Foucault comes back from it convinced that the activists want a terrorist response. An armed response or a democratic response: this was a dilemma that the Maoist extreme left, which was the most active at this time, faced in several domains. Foucault regularly expresses his opposition to terrorism.

The 11th, he rents at his own expense the large theater at the Mutualité center, to hold a meeting on the prisons. Several thousand people crowd in to see a film made at Soledad and San Quentin prisons. The families of convicted criminals and former inmates speak in public for the first time.

The 27th, the Gauche Prolétarienne chooses, in this particular case, the "democratic way," which takes the form of a call from the intellectuals to the Arab workers. This is

the occasion for the first meeting, at La Maison Verte, a hall in La Goutte d'Or, of Sartre and Foucault, along with Jean Genet (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 291). This is the occasion from which we have the photo in which can be seen, side by side, Sartre, who is very weak but untouchable by the police, and Foucault, speaking into a loud-hailer, beside Glucksmann and Catherine von Bülow. Foucault, Claude Mauriac, and several other intellectuals lead the Djellali committee, which has the task of leading the inquiry into the existence of a politically organized racism. They open an office in the neighborhood. Genet recounts to the Arabs his experience in the Palestinian camps, but doesn't want to "play at the intellectual by speaking out on French affairs; he prefers to be alongside Palestinians and Black Panthers, who are so much more outcasts that it makes him feel like he is here acting in his capacity as a poet." At the end of December, he distances himself from all this as he moves closer to the Communist Party.

Foucault is invited to Eindhoven by the Dutch Television Foundation for a debate on the question of human nature with Noam Chomsky (MFI, "Human Nature . . ."). Chomsky comments on this interview in *Language and Responsibility* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1979).

December

The 4th, Foucault takes part in a demonstration by prisoners' families, organized by the GIP, outside the Ministry of Justice at Place Vendôme, against the collective punishments applied to inmates in reprisal for the events at Clairvaux. These reprisals and this external support are the starting point of thirty-five prison revolts during the winter of 1971–72. Notably at Toul, then at Nancy, which Foucault visits. A small group of Maoists around Robert Linhart, disagreeing with Foucault's supposed "ultra-left" positions, elicits more and more rebuttals from Sartre on the question of the prisons.

The 9th to the 13th, riots follow one after another at Ney de Toul prison. Foucault investigates the rituals of violence that distinguish the forms of rebellion undertaken by young and old inmates.

The 10th, release of the second GIP pamphlet, *Le GIP enquête dans une prison modèle: Fleury-Mérogis* [*The GIP Investigates in a Model Prison: Fleury-Mérogis*], produced by Jacques-Alain Miller and François Régnault (Champ Libre).

The 16th, at a press conference in Toul, Foucault reads a deposition by Dr. Édith Rose a prison psychiatrist, "on what she has seen and heard during the exercise of her functions." For Foucault, this deposition is typical of the action of a specific intellectual (FDE, no. 99).

1972

January

The 5th, Foucault takes part in another meeting at Toul. Sartre sends a message denouncing the "regime which keeps us in a concentrationist universe" (*Le Monde*). The

15th, revolt at the prison in Nancy. Commenting on the history of the GIP, Foucault tells the *Nouvel Observateur*: "We had arrived with our questions on the cold and hunger, and the prisoners responded with other ones, those same questions which are today at the heart of the revolts and the demands: working conditions, legal protection of inmates inside prisons, the right to information, release and the abolition of the police record" (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, January 17, 1972, special issue: *Les Prisons de Pleven*).

The 18th, with Sartre, Michelle Vian – who now helps to maintain friendly relations between Sartre and the GIP, with whom she is an activist – Deleuze, Claude Mauriac, Jean Chesnaux, Alain Jaubert, a total of about forty people, Foucault organizes a sit-in in the lobby of the Ministry of Justice, in order to have the demands coming from different prisons heard.

February

The 25th, killing of the Maoist militant Pierre Overney by a security guard at the Renault factories in Billancourt. During the demonstration held that evening, Foucault is questioned by the police. In the following days, he drives Sartre to the factories in Billancourt once or twice. The 26th, a day of protests by the GIP at Nancy with men and women who had been imprisoned for supporting the Algerian National Liberation Front. They write: "The current revolt by a mass of prisoners, largely made up of young people who are sent to prison mostly because of social injustice, this revolt, we support it, we ask everybody to support it and we personally undertake to work beside these inmates to achieve their demands and to gain the dignity to which all people have a right, even when they are in prison" (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, March 6, 1972). The police crack down hard on the demonstrators.

March

The 8th, the Nouvelle Résistance Prolétarienne (NRP) [New Proletarian Resistance], an underground branch of the Gauche Prolétarienne, kidnaps a Renault executive in reprisal for the killing of Overney. There seems now to be a serious risk of terrorism in France.

Republication of *The Birth of the Clinic*, without the terms, concepts, and turns of phrase which had encouraged a structuralist interpretation, and with a marked attention given to the analysis of discursive formations.

Publication of *Anti-Oedipus*, the first volume of Deleuze and Guattari's *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Foucault jokes to Deleuze: "We have to get rid of Freudo-Marxism." Deleuze replies: "I'm taking care of Freud, will you deal with Marx?" In a special issue of *L'Arc* (no. 49) dedicated to Gilles Deleuze, there is a discussion in which the two philosophers focus on the question of power, which is becoming one of the major themes of political debate (FL, "Intellectuals and Power").

Several groups are established on the model of the GIP: Group for Information on Health (GIS), Group for Information on Asylum (GIA), and later, Group for Information and Support for Migrant Workers (GISTI). Foucault works with the GIS on a manifesto on medicine. The Maoists set up truth and justice committees around a number of legal cases, thus replacing the plan for a tribunal on police bans.

Foucault returns to Buffalo and is greatly struck by the economic downturn and unemployment. Becomes interested in the political history of the New Deal. His American seminars are on "The Will to Truth in Ancient Greece: Hesiod, Homer, the Forms of Trial in the *Iliad*, *Oedipus the King* by Sophocles, and *The Bacchae* by Euripides," and on the history of money.

April

The 7th, a talk in Minneapolis on "Cérémonie, théâtre et politique au XVII siècle" ["Ceremony, Theatre, and Politics in the 17th Century"] at the Fourth Annual Conference on 17th-Century Literature.

The 21st, he visits Attica prison (FL, "On Attica") with J. K. Simon, a professor at Buffalo, and meets the Attica Defense Committee. He points out not only the repressive but also the productive functions of carceral power.

The GIP publishes *Cahiers de revendication sortis des prisons* [*List of Demands from the Prisons*], which carries out the transformation from revolt to a discourse of political demands. This list is prepared by Hélène Cixous and Jean Gattègno.

May

A series of discussions, up until September, on the history of community facilities; with the Centre d'Études, de Recherches et de Formation Institutionelles (CERFI) [Centre for Institutional Study, Research and Training], which is run by Félix Guattari.

June

Republication by Gallimard, in the "Bibliothèques des Histoires" series, of the complete version of *History of Madness*, minus its original preface (HM, xxvii–xxxvi). Deleuze convinces Foucault to include the previously published "Madness, the Absence of an Œuvre" (HM, 541–549); to which he adds a rewritten version of the reply to Derrida which he had presented in Japan the previous year (HM, "My Body, This Paper . . . ," 550–574).

The 8th, trial of the Nancy revolt participants. The national press says: "It's a trial of the penitentiary situation." The extreme left press denounces Foucault: "The immortal author of the *History of Madness*, who as if by chance comes to us from Warsaw" (*Minute*). Ariane Mnouchkine transcribes the closing arguments of the trial and the Théâtre du Soleil mounts a dramatization, which is also staged in workers' dormitories. Foucault and Deleuze play the roles of police officers.

Foucault is dismayed at the growing moralism which invades political discourse, especially in relation to the crime at Bruay-en-Artois, around which the Maoists mount a political campaign in April. Foucault goes there and speaks to the miners. He doesn't publish anything. He meets François Ewald, who is teaching philosophy at Bruay, and who will become his assistant at the Collège de France from 1977.

September

Meets with Genet, who recounts his memories of Mettray [reformatory], while he is working on his "book about punishment" (*Discipline and Punish*).

October

At the invitation of the Department of Romance Studies at Cornell University, he gives talks on "Knowledge in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*," on "Literature and Crime," and on "The Punitive Society."

Publication of a special issue of *La Nef* (no. 49), which, in the guise of an anti-medicine manifesto, publishes a summary of a roundtable discussion between the GIS and Michel Foucault. The GIS specifies that, like the other information groups, its objectives are: to uncover the secret which consolidates certain power structures; to break down the distance between researchers and subjects in the doctor–patient relation; and to oppose medicine for profit.

November

The 6th, beginning of the seminar on "Pierre Rivière and his Works" at the Collège de France: a collaborative effort to prepare the documents for publication.

The 24th, Foucault chairs a meeting at the Olympic Ice Stadium in Grenoble; in front of 1,500 people, he accuses certain members of the "underworld," whom the militants of the Red Aid organization found it too dangerous to name, saying they are probably implicated in the racket-related burning of a dance hall, in which a large number of young people had died (FDE, nos. 112, 113).

December

The GIP decides to dissolve itself.

The 8th, publication of the first issue of the journal of the Comité d'Action des Prisonniers (CAP) [Prisoners' Action Committee]. The released leaders of the recent prison revolts set up this first ever French organization of inmates. Foucault stays in the background. The autonomy of speech has been achieved: "For too long we have asked delinquents for their recollections, not their ideas." At the same time, Dominique Éluard, Vercors, and Jean-Marie Domenach, with the support of Deleuze and Foucault, set up the Association de Défense des Droits des Détenus (ADDD) [Association for the Defense of the Rights of Inmates].

The 16th, a demonstration along the Grand Boulevards after the killing of Mohammed Diab, a migrant worker, in a police station in Versaille. Genet, Mauriac, and Foucault, who called for the demonstration, are once again arrested and, manhandled by the police, they spend a part of the night at Beaujon Hospital (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vols. 2, 3, 9). Mauriac felt that the press spoke too much about the blows they had received, but Foucault responded: "We should say that we were hit more so that the Arabs would be hit less. We have to shout for the Arabs who cannot make themselves heard" (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 430).

Foucault embarks on an analysis of power relations on the basis of "the most condemned form of war: not Hobbes, not Clausewitz, not the class struggle, but civil war" (letter).

Release of the film *Les Prisonniers aussi* [*Prisoners Also*], made by René Lefort and Hélène Châtelain for the GIP.

The 29th, a new law increases the role of judges in the oversight of the enforcement of punishments and allows certain convictions to be excluded from the police record. The abolition of the police record had been a demand of the GIP.

Foucault takes part in setting up the new newspaper *Libération*. He suggests the inclusion of a chronicle of workers' history in relation to contemporary events, and a column devoted to the gay movement (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 422).

1973

January

Publication of the fourth GIP pamphlet, *Suicides dans les prisons en 1972* [*Suicides in the Prisons in 1972*] (Gallimard, "Intolérable" series), collected and introduced by Gilles Deleuze.

The 3rd, first lecture of the course on "The Punitive Society" (initially called, "The Disciplinary Society"), in which Foucault contrasts societies of exclusion with societies of internment.

February

At the request of Ahmed Baba Miské – later spokesperson for Polisario [the Western Sahara Liberation Front] – Foucault agrees to be the nominal editor of the journal *Tempête,* later *Zone des tempêtes*, in order to protect it from censorship (FDE, no. 121).

The 22nd, for the first issues of *Libération*, Foucault conducts a discussion with José Duarte, a sacked activist worker from the Renault-Billancourt factory (FDE, nos. 117, 123).

March

Writes a preface for an exhibition by the painter Rebeyrolle, whom he admires.[2] From his contacts with the Maeght Gallery, there emerges the idea of a study of Picasso's *Las Meninas*. The text was not published.

The 8th, in Claude Mauriac's words: "This is the first time I've handed out leaflets in the streets. Foucault replied, laughing, 'Me too'." They are handing out fliers for the Comité d'Action des Prisonniers (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3).

The 12th, setback for the Union de la Gauche in the legislative elections.

Appearance of a pirated edition of fragments of the course on "The Punitive Society," a practice that begins to develop overseas also.

April

Foucault once again takes up the study – which he had begun while working on *History of Madness* – of the *lettres de cachet* at the Arsenal library.

The 2nd, writes the preface for Serge Livrozet's book, *De la prison à la révolte* (FDE, no. 116). Finishes a first draft of the book on prisons (*Discipline and Punish*).

May

Series of talks in Montreal ("It hardly seems like the restive Quebec of 1971") and in New York, where he works on Colqhoun and Bentham in the New York Public Library, "a library with nearly all the dead people in the world in the middle of a city with nearly all the living ones" (letter).

From the 21st to the 25th, visits the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC) in Rio de Janeiro. Some of his talks are published later under the title "Truth and Juridical Forms" (EW3). Has meetings with doctors and psychiatrists to discuss the history of social medicine. On this occasion, he sketches a history of hysteria. His Brazilian friends convinced him of the political action that could be taken on the basis of social medicine and of the nefarious influence of the American psychologist B. F. Skinner on their Brazilian colleagues – some of whom were collaborating with the police. Forms a connection with the philosopher and epistemologist Roberto Machado. The 30th, gives a talk at Belo Horizonte on psychiatric institutions, then visits some towns in Minas Gerais, and makes a long voyage down the Amazon from Manaus to Belém, a town for which he is to remain very nostalgic.

July

In Besançon, visits the Lip factory, which has been taken over by worker-management, a development seen as a continuation of the anti-authoritarian movement of the years 1968–1972. Foucault declares to his companions: "This isn't about an anti-authoritarian struggle, it's about unemployment." He visits the Ledoux saltworks at Arc-et-Senans (PK, "The Eye of Power"). In Vendeuvre, he gets back to work on his "book about punishments: the great technologies of individualization: clinical medicine, psychiatry, pedagogy, criminology" (letter).

August

The 10th, death of Jean Barraqué. Foucault has only seen him once since the 1950s.

September

Publication of the documents that were collected, studied, and annotated by participants in Foucault's Collège de France seminar, *Moi, Pierre Rivière . . .* [*I, Perre Rivière . . .*] (Gallimard-Julliard, "Archives" series). This book is a huge success, owing to the popularity at the time of provincial ethnologies.

October

The 12th, the Gauche Prolétarienne dissolves itself discreetly, thus marking the end of one form of leftism.

He is summoned by the judicial police as a co-responsible for the GIS leaflet *Oui, nous avortons* [*Yes, We Abort*], which argued in favor of the legalization of abortion (EW3, "Summoned to Court").

Sponsors two studies by CERFI, which is run by Félix Guattari, on the genealogy of normalizing facilities (in health and education) (EW3, "The Politics of Health . . ."); and on the analysis of the role of urban facilities in town planning (see, the *Annuaire du Centre coordinateur de la recherche urbaine pour la France* [*Journal of the Coordinating Centre for Urban Research in France*], 1973–74)

Publication of *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* [*This is Not a Pipe*] by the Fata Morgana press in Montpellier, a reissue of the homage to Magritte, along with two letters from the painter (Foucault's letters were sold with Magritte's studio, in London, in July 1987).

December

The journal of CERFI, *Recherches*, dedicates a special issue to "Équipements du pouvoir" ["Power Apparatuses"], a summary of the studies carried out under its influence.

1974

January

Explains to K. S. Karol, a journalist who had been imprisoned in the Soviet camps, his perplexity about China (FDE, nos. 133, 134).

Begins the course on "Psychiatric Power" and the seminar which will alternate its focus between eighteenth-century hospital architecture and medico-legal expertise in psychiatry since 1850.

March–April

Gives talks at the University of Montreal. In his apartment at Côte-des-Neiges [Montreal], he rewrites several parts of his "book on punishment."

April

The 25th, the Portuguese Movement of the Armed Forces overthrows the regime of Marcel Caetano. The French intelligentsia warmly welcomes the so-called "carnation revolution." Foucault, for his part, doesn't make the trip to Portugal (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 531).

The 26th, the journal *Recherches* is prosecuted for "affront to decency by means of a book," for having published the *Grande Encyclopédie des homosexualités* [*Grand Encyclopedia of Homosexualities*]. Deleuze and Foucault are called as witnesses. Foucault declares, from the stand: "When will homosexuality receive the same rights of expression as so-called normal sexuality?" (FDE, no. 138).

May

The 19th, election of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing as President of the Republic. The new president wants to inaugurate a "de-escalation" of political life, which he wants to extend also to relations with the intellectuals. Lucie Faure, first of all, and then Lionel

Stoléru, try to organize a meeting for him with Foucault, but Foucault continues to refuse.

June

Publication of the French translation of *The Gulag Archipelago* by Solzhenitsyn.

July

Apart from renewed prison revolts, social unrest is no longer so violent. Alain Badiou's very small Maoist group tries to move the struggle to the ideological domain, especially to film. Foucault contributes to this debate in *Les Cahiers du cinéma* (FL, "Film and Popular Memory"). He is very enthusiastic about the new German cinema (Schroeter, Sylberberg, and Fassbinder). He had wanted Werner Schroeter to make a film of *Pierre Rivière*. He spends time with the Swiss director Daniel Schmidt, and he meets Fassbinder.

The 29th, a press release signed by Jean-Marie Domenach, Michel Foucault, and Claude Mauriac on behalf of the ADDD calls on the government to "discuss in the open the penitentiary system": "Four years ago the problem of the prisons was brought before the public by the political prisoners' strikes during the winter of 1970–1971. For four years, in relation to all these revolts, the authorities have blamed outside interference. They have arrested or questioned those 'responsible.' For four years, they have tried to stop the truth from emerging and have driven out the doctors and chaplains who, as at Toul, had the courage to speak. Nothing has changed today, not even the men who were responsible for the inertia back then and promise reforms now" (*Le Monde*, no. 9186, July 28–29).

August

The 26th, in Vendeuvre, Foucault finishes his book "on punishment." "My outcasts are incredibly familiar and repetitive. I want to work on other things: political economy, strategy, politics" (letter). René Allio, the filmmaker, suggests making a film of *Pierre Rivière*.

September

Discussion with legal practitioners on the intrusion of the human sciences into the judicial world (FL, "White Magic . . ."). The Veil law (January 17, 1975) legalizes the termination of pregnancy under some circumstances.

October–November

Organizes two seminars in Rio de Janeiro on "Urbanization and Public Health" and "Genealogy of Psychoanalysis within Psychiatric Practice in the 19th Century." He gives six talks, one of which, on nineteenth-century psychiatry, is given in the context of a course on social medicine at the State University. Only some of these talks have been published (EW3, "The Birth of . . ").[3] "It's a matter of conducting an historical discourse, coded, the only way possible. To all appearances, things are harder now than last year, the recession is very worrying; people working in social medicine tell me that

you can't understand anything unless you see what kind of life those 26 million people (of the north-east) are living" (letter). He goes to Recife.

1975

January

The 6th, recommencement of the seminar, which he tries to restrict to a small number of researchers, on medico-legal expertise in psychiatric affairs; he plans to turn this into a publication. Broaches the question of "dangerousness" (EW3, "About the Concept . . ."). Works on the Charcot archives at the Salpêtrière. On Wednesday the 8th, at 5:45 p.m., begins the course entitled "The Abnormals" on the annexation of abnormality by psychology.

February

Writes the catalogue essay for an exhibition by the painter Gérard Fromanger, who had just come back from China; on this occasion he did extensive research on the relation between painting and photography at the end of the nineteenth century, work which carried on the analyses of the image which he undertook around Manet.[4]

The 25th, his lecture at the Collège de France focuses on the Christian characterization of the body as flesh.

Publication of *Surveiller et punir, naissance de la prison* [*Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*], in the "Bibliothèque des Histoires" series at Gallimard. From now on, Foucault's political activities begin to influence the reception of his books. The historian Jacques Revel, writes in *Le Magazine littéraire* (no. 150): "We knew about his political engagements, his activities in the GIP. People were sort of expecting a militant book, but I'd say they are disappointed . . . The militancy of this book is not at all where one would have thought it to be. This is where, no doubt, the detour through history finds its critical function." There follows something of a silence on the part of historians. The left, which is attached to the central place given to the state in Marxist analysis, is cautious about the idea of micro-powers; they reproach the book for its nihilist vision, where there is room for neither resistance nor freedom. They denounce the inevitability of social control, the futility of the idea of reintegration, and the role played by the human sciences, as well as the book's more radical critique – even more radical than *History of Madness* – of the reforming measures of the Enlightenment. The book quickly gains an international audience.

March

The 5th, the Collège de France lecture focuses on the Christian technology of the government of individuals.

April

Foucault begins to spend time with Ilios Yannakakis. Having been a member of the Communist Party in Greece and Czechoslovakia, he teaches Foucault about the different dissident intellectual groups in eastern Europe (FDE, no. 155).

The 7th, *Le Nouvel Observateur* publishes a feature on "The High Priests of French Academia": Lacan, Barthes, Lyotard, Foucault. "At the Collège de France, the old lecture theater, which doesn't seem to have changed since Bergson's time, is black with people, including the platform. When Foucault enters the arena, quickly, briskly, like somebody diving into water, he climbs over bodies to get to his chair, pushes back the microphone to make space for his papers, takes off his jacket, turns on the lamp and starts, at a hundred miles an hour. His voice is strong and clear, relayed by loudspeakers, which is the only concession to modernity in a room that is barely brightened by the dim light coming from stucco lamp shades. There are 300 seats and 500 people, crowded together, filling up the smallest free space. Foucault explains: "I promised myself I would address the concerns of the present. This year, I will explain how the notion of the abnormal has developed over the centuries. Next year, I think I will talk about political thought relating to the military. I always try to talk about subjects that can serve a maximum number of people. I provide them with tools which they can use later on in any way they please in their own fields, whether they are psychiatrists, psychologists, doctors, teachers, or whatever" (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, no. 543: 54).

April–May

First trip to California, at the invitation of Leo Bersani in the Department of French Literature at Berkeley. Two, unpublished, talks have been preserved: "Discourse and Repression" and "Infantile Sexuality before Freud." He is invited to the universities at Irvine and Claremont. His interview with Deleuze, which is translated in the journal *Telos*, attracts many students (FL, "Intellectuals and Power"). Discovers the hedonistic culture developed by Californians around drugs, takes LSD at Zabriskie Point in Death Valley: "Drugs: a break with this physics of power, work, consumption, localization" (letter). He is fascinated by those small communities – Zen, vegetarian, feminist, homosexual – which produce styles of existence that he approaches with the same curiosity with which Max Weber had, in the past, approached the analysis of American sects.

On his return, Foucault resents the need to explain his career path in a book of interviews he is working on with the journalist Roger-Pol Droit. Disappointed, Foucault soon cancels the project, which he had hoped would be closer to a dialogue than an interview.

September

The filmmaker René Allio, whose film *Les Camisards* (1972) Foucault had liked, begins filming *Pierre Rivière* at the scene of the crime in Normandy, using people from the area. The stage has already captured *Pierre Rivière*, which has been played in many theaters. Foucault: "We've found an amazing boy, who lives alone . . . writes a journal" (referring to Claude Hébert). Claude Mauriac: "And who you are going to incite…" Foucault: "No, his mother is dead" (*Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 531). Foucault plays the role of a judge in the extended version, which was never released.

The 19th, Catherine von Bülow asks Foucault to take action against the imminent execution of eleven Spaniards who were fighting against the Franco regime. They prepare a protest in Madrid, with Jean Daniel, Régis Debray, Claude Mauriac, Costa-

Gavras, Jean Lacouture, Laudouze, a Dominican priest, and Yves Montand. According to Claude Mauriac (*Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 546), Foucault writes the following manifesto: "Eleven men and women have been condemned to death. They were condemned by special courts in which they were not granted the right to justice. Not the justice which demands proof before being condemned. Not the justice which gives the accused the right to defend themselves. Not the justice which guarantees the protection of law, no matter how serious the crime. Not the justice which protects the sick, or which prohibits the abuse of prisoners. In Europe, we have always fought for this justice." The signatories include Malraux, who had once been condemned to death in Spain, Pierre Mendès France, Louis Aragon, Jean-Paul Sartre, and François Jacob. Régis Debray has the manifesto translated into Spanish by Santiago Carillo, leader of the Spanish Communist Party.

The 22nd, at the Madrid Tower Hotel, Yves Montand reads the manifesto at a press conference. Plain-clothes police officers expel the journalists at gunpoint, take away the seven-member French delegation in a police van, and deport them from Spain. The international press meet them at Roissy airport [Paris]. Many demonstrations take place in towns all around France and overseas, but without managing to stop the execution of the militants.

The 27th, on the night of the demonstration outside the Spanish embassy in Paris, a Spanish student asks Foucault to give a talk on Marx. Foucault explodes: "Don't talk to me about Marx any more. I never want to hear that guy's name again. Go talk to the people who make that their trade. Who are paid for that. Who are the bureaucrats of that. As for me, I have completely finished with Marx" (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 3, p. 581).

The 29th, the appearance in *Le Nouvel Observateur* (no. 568, p. 41) of an appeal from the seven-member delegation: "Send a copy of the manifesto to every address in Spain that you happen to know." In the editorial of this issue, Jean Daniel writes: "When the seven friends organized this little commando operation in Madrid . . . they didn't know at the time that France had opposed a Dutch resolution to make representations to Franco. The press release that announced the departure for Madrid of our seven friends must have gone all around the world . . . It must have been read at the Élysée Palace by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. In a matter of minutes, France's position had changed. These seven intellectuals had succeeded, beyond their own expectations, in moving nine European countries to support the Spanish opposition."

October–November

Return to the University of São Paulo (October 5 – November 18): he gives talks on psychiatrization and anti-psychiatry. "Freud and Marx endlessly. Political activism is carried out by former union leaders and intellectuals" (letter). October 29th, a journalist called Herzog is killed in a São Paulo police station. At the university, Foucault reads a leaflet about this murder written by the students. A strike is held. Foucault has the feeling that he is being followed all the time. The French diplomatic service informs him that it is them, in order to protect him. Returns to New York, where he stays once again at the Roosevelt Hotel. "New York is unbearable after Brazil."

November

The 19th, at Columbia University he takes part in a debate on "Medicine, Violence, and Psychiatry": "Forgive this digression which appears to be speaking only incidentally about mental hospitals and not about medicine at all. Except that a new character has been introduced in this new technique, which is now constantly present in the ritual of torture: the doctor. At doctor is now present at practically all the important tortures. His role is first of all to say what torture will be most effective, and, secondly, to give medical examinations to make sure that the patient is not a heart case, for example, and at risk of dying. Thirdly, the doctor administers various kinds of injections to revive the patient so that he can physically withstand the torture and, at the same time, suffer it psychologically in the harshest manner" (text established by Sylvère Lotringer and John Rajchman).[5]

Makes a proposal to the Collège de France that a Chair in Literary Semiology be established for Roland Barthes.

December

Publication in the journal *Cinématographe* of an interview on Pasolini's film *Salo*. "A young man, Gérard Dupont, came and said: if you give me this interview I will get 500 francs. So I gave it to him, I said anything at all so he would get his 500 francs . . . I took the opportunity to finally say what I had on mind about Sade" (Claude Mauriac, *Un Certain Rage*, Paris, Grasset, 1977, pp. 34–35; EW2, "Sade: Sargeant of Sex").

The 11th, in his review of *Discipline and Punish*, Gilles Deleuze emphasizes the role of political struggles between the writing of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and this book: 'A writer, no, a new cartographer' " (*Critique*, no. 343).

The 18th, Foucault takes part in a demonstration in favor of the creation of a labor union for soldiers.

1976

January

The 7th, first lecture of this year's course, entitled "Society Must Be Defended." From now on the lectures take place at 9:30 a.m., in order to discourage an excessively large audience. Foucault announces that he wants to bring to an end five years of research in which power mechanisms have been treated as mechanisms of repression. He tests the hypothesis that war is a model on which one can understand power relations. Meets the dissident Leonid Plioutch, who has arrived in Paris. The journalist K. S. Karol tells him he thinks it's an urgent matter to dissociate the world of socialism from repressive Soviet society. Foucault replies: "I tell you, I wouldn't even go that far any more."

In his lecture on the 14th, Foucault says that "for roughly the last five years, it has been the disciplines; for the next five years it will be war, struggle, the army . . . Power can only be exercised through the production of truth."[6] Pasquale Pasquino and Alessandro Fontana undertake the translation of these two lectures, which appear in Italian

in a collection called *Microfisica del potere* [*Microphysics of Power*] (PK, "Two Lectures"). Some earlier texts, on justice, psychiatry, and medicine, were published in Germany under the same title (*Mikrophysik der Macht*, Berlin: Merve Verlag).

February

The 4th, supports a petition that was signed by a large number of intellectuals and the leaders of the Socialist Party, denouncing the French authorities' silence on the violation of human rights in Iran.

March

The 29th, a talk at the University of Montreal during a week dedicated to discussing alternatives to the prison. "To the question about an alternative to the prison, one has to reply with an initial misgiving, an initial doubt or an initial burst of laughter, as you will; and what if we didn't want to be punished by them or for those reasons or if we didn't want to be punished at all? What if, after all, we couldn't really tell what it means to punish?" (unpublished typescript). He announces his intention of writing a book on military institutions. Stops over in New York, from which he returns, according to Claude Mauriac, preoccupied with relations between the US and Europe.

May

Gives talks at Berkeley and Stanford.

June

A long interview with Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino on the political significance of his works before and after 1968. This interview is included in *Microfisica del potere* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977) (EW3, "Truth and Power").

July

Works with Michelle Perrot and Jean-Pierre Barouh on a republication of Bentham's *Panopticon* (FL, "The Eye of Power"). Asks the Collège de France for a one-year sabbatical in 1976–77.

August

At Vendeuvre, he finishes *The Will to Knowledge* (HS1). "I'm trying to draft the introduction using the *lettres de cachet*. For many years I thought I knew what I wanted to say, but the moment I try to retrieve it I realize it's all gone" (EW3, "Lives of Infamous Men"). "I've been thinking again about studying political contestation in relation to knowledge and scientific institutions, from Oppenheimer to Chomsky in the US and the contemporary USSR" (letter). Considers moving to the Wilson Center in Washington, to which he has been invited.

November

The 1st, gives a talk in the Department of Philosophy at Bahia University [Brazil]. A critique of the juridical conception of power, of Marx and Freud, of social democracy,

and of state involvement in the field of sexuality. "Everybody is talking to me about the doe-eyed parricide (Pierre Rivière), I really like that, he's famous all around the world" (letter).

Another trip to Belém and to Recife with Roberto Machado. "You suddenly see this South American poverty which is completely different from what you see in the towns. You have the feeling that it goes on for thousands of kilometers."

December

Publication of *La Volonté de savoir* [*The Will to Knowledge*], the first volume of *Histoire de la sexualité* [*The History of Sexuality*, volume 1: *An Introduction*]. Foucault had conceived of this book as a manifesto in which it was a matter of taking a stand. As with *Discipline and Punish*, he frustrates public expectations, this time by criticizing the repressive hypothesis, which was dear to the liberation movements. The book is presented as an introduction to a six-volume history of sexuality, but Foucault confides that he doesn't intend to write them. He envisages changing his mode of writing: that form of rather anonymous speech, shrouded in the Pierre Rivière documents, had captivated him. This is how he wants to deal with hermaphroditism, or the question of true sex, using the documents about the Alexina B. case that he found in the *Annales d'hygiène*.

Also in 1975 Foucault had asked Gallimard to give an advance of 200,000 francs to René Allio so he could make the film *Pierre Rivière*. The publisher's lawyer had forced Foucault, who at the time had no additional obligations to them, to sign an exclusive contract of five years' duration. So Foucault decided that his next book (which was *The History of Sexuality*, volume 1: *An Introduction*), would be very short and that he wouldn't write another one for five years (something that many people have interpreted as a crisis in his thought).

1977

January

The 15th, publication of *La Vies des hommes infâmes*, which is an anthology of prison records from the Hospital at the Bastille, in *Les Cahiers du chemin*, Georges Lambrichs' journal: "Brief and strident words which the most unsubstantial creatures exchange with power" (EW3, "The Lives of Infamous Men"). From this anthology the project turns into a series, with the publication of the Herculine Barbin memoir by Gallimard (FDE, no. 223).

The 24th, talking about *History of Sexuality*, volume 1, *L'Express* writes: "This torch of progressive thought, at the forefront of the campaign for sexual liberation and the lifting of sexual repression, declares 'We're fed up with sex' . . . First of all, we have to swallow and digest this shock." Gilles Deleuze thought that the book increased the distance between them, even more than the episode of the *nouveaux philosophes*, which occurred at the same time and in which Deleuze had taken part (*Minuit*, no. 24, May 1977). He felt that Foucault thought he was hostile to his work and that Foucault was

moving in a new direction for which he needed support that he couldn't find in Deleuze. In fact, the *History of Sexuality*, volume 1, was more enthusiastically received in the feminist and gay movements than it was in intellectual circles. It is possible that this made Foucault even more attentive to what was emerging in these movements.

Writes the preface to Mark Seem's English translation of *Anti-Oedipus* (EW 3, "Preface . . .").

In the US, a huge interest in Foucault's work develops with the translation of *Discipline and Punish*. Publication of *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice, Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault* (Cornell University Press), edited by Donald Bouchard. This is a collection of texts from the period 1962–1972 on the relations between discourse, language, and literature.

February

The 8th, along with David Cooper he signs an appeal written by Victor Fainberg and the journal *Change* for the release of Vladimir Borissov from the special psychiatric hospital in Leningrad (PPC, "Confinement . . .").

March

In Moscow, publication of a translation of *The Order of Things*, which quickly enjoys a semi-alternative distribution throughout the Soviet bloc. The reception of the book is facilitated by the teaching of the Georgian philosopher Merab Mamardachvili.

The 23rd, the man who had killed Pierre Overney is executed by the Armed Nuclei for Popular Autonomy (NAPAP), which relaunches the debate about terrorism in France.

April

The left wins the municipal elections. Worried about a victory in the national elections, which it doesn't want, the French Communist Party urges a renewal of the Common Program for government.

The journal *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* publishes a series of historical studies of the prisons, which opens with a critique of *Discipline and Punish* by the historian Jacques Léonard. This provides an opportunity for a debate with the historians. Foucault will respond to this in "La Poussière et le nuage" ["Dust and Clouds"] (FDE, no. 277).

May

Writes the review of André Glucksmann's *Maîtres penseurs* [*Master Thinkers*] for *Le Nouvel Observateur* (FDE, no. 204). Former leftists seem to be abandoning Marxism one by one. In an article in *Nouvelles littéraires* on June 10, 1976, their leader, Bernard-Henri Levy, groups them together under the name that is on everybody's lips: the *nouveaux philosophes*.

The 12th, the commission for the reform of the Penal Code invites Foucault to give his opinion on the articles of the Code that relate to sexuality.

The 19th, Foucault takes part in a retreat for the Magistrates Trade Union in Goutelas. With the possibility that the left could come to power in March 1978, Foucault criticizes the increased role of social regulation that the Socialist Party wants to give to judges and to the judiciary – as expressed in *Liberté, libertés* (1976), a collection edited by Robert Badinter.

June

The 17th to the 19th, at the Socialist Party convention in Nantes, Michel Rocard presents his distinction between two political cultures on the left: one, Jacobine, state-centered, accepting the alliance with the communists; the other, decentralizing and regionalist, refusing the alliance, and which will soon be called the "second left."

The 21st, Leonid Brezhnev is welcomed to France by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, at the same time as the dissident movement is more and more in the news. André Glucksmann and Pierre Victor, Sartre's blind secretary, ask Foucault to organize a counter-demonstration. They invite the public to meet the dissidents from eastern Europe at the Récamier Theater. The invitation is given by Barthes, Bourseiller, Daix, Glucksmann, Foucault, Jacob, Mauriac, Sartre, and Schwartz. The dissidents include Leonid Plioutch, Dr. Stern, Vladimir Boukovski, Andreï Amalrik, and Natalia Gorbanevskaïa. Alexandre Galitch, accompanied by his guitar, retells, in Russian, stories that go around the Gulag from camp to camp. Solzhenitsyn had refused to take part in a demonstration with Sartre.

Foucault takes part in a street demonstration and a meeting at Pleyel Hall in support of the dissident Armenian filmmaker Parajdanov.

July

The 4th, a television broadcast on TF1 of a program on Maurice Clavel, who had invited to his house in Vézelay the *nouveaux philosophes*, as well as Philippe Sollers and Foucault.

Foucault signs a manifesto organized by Félix Guattari and twenty-eight French intellectuals against the repression of Italian "autonomist" workers who were described by Berlinguer as "untorelli," or "plague-carriers," during violent protests in Bologna. Nevertheless, Foucault doesn't take part in the protests that follow, in order not to appear to be supporting terrorism.

Einaudi publishes *Microfisica del potere*, translated into Brazilian and into German under the title *Dispositive der Macht*. These political texts will circulate widely amongst the "autonomist" groups in Italy and the "alternative" groups in Germany and will influence the political reception of Foucault's work. These texts appear in Australia under the title *Power, Truth, Strategy* (Sydney: Feral, 1979) and in the US under the title *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

August

Vendeuvre. Foucault writes on the Church Fathers. He goes to Bayreuth for the centenary *Ring*, produced by Patrice Chéreau and directed by Pierre Boulez, by whom he was invited.

September

Takes part in a "second left" forum on the left and social experimentation, organized by *Le Nouvel Observateur* and the socialist self-management journal *Faire*, at which, according to Edmond Maire, it's a matter of "if not finding an alternative to the Common Program, at least throwing off the yoke of the dominant culture" (FDE, no. 207).

The 27th and 28th, the French Communist Party breaks with the Union of the left, a break which is interpreted as having been forced by the Soviet Union which fears its effect in the satellite countries.

September–October

The Italian journal *Aut-Aut* (no. 61) publishes an article called "Rationality and Irrationality in the Political Critique of Deleuze and Foucault," in which Massimo Cacciari, an Italian communist philosopher, attacks *Discipline and Punish* and *Rhizome*, by Deleuze and Guattari, texts which are becoming more and more popular among the Italian extreme left.

October

An interview on madness and dissidence with the journal *Change* – which emerged from a break with *Tel quel* when this movement moved closer to the French Communist Party, and then to Maoism (PPC, "Confinement . . .").

The 13th, an interview in Paris with S. Hasumi on power and knowledge, designed as a precursor to Foucault's second trip to Japan (FDE, no. 216).

The 24th and 26th, a talk at a "Law and Psychiatry" symposium in Toronto at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, on "The Evolution of the Notion of the 'Dangerous Individual' in 19th-Century Legal Psychiatry." This is a summary of his 1976 seminar at the Collège de France (EW3, "About the Concept . . .").

November

The 16th, Klaus Croissant, a lawyer for Andreas Baader's Red Army Faction, is extradited from France to the Federal Republic of Germany, where he is charged with aiding terrorism. Foucault protests against the conditions of the extradition; he is violently harassed by the police in front of the Santé prison (FDE, nos. 210, 211, 213, 226; EW3, "Letter to Certain . . .").

December

Writes a preface for an inquiry into military tribunals that supports the movement in favor of the legalization of conscientious objection (FDE, no. 191).

Visits Berlin, West and East. Meets with the alternative movement at the Free University. A debate on the prisons. He is arrested by the Federal Police, along with Peter Gente and Heidi Paris, his editors at Merve Verlag, and Daniel Defert, because of the resemblance

between Heidi and the Red Army Faction militant Inge Viett, who was being hunted everywhere at the time (FDE, no. 217).

Publication of issue 70 of *L'Arc*, *La Crise dans la tête*, which is announced as a special issue on Foucault. Foucault rejects this personalization. In fact, the question posed by the special issue was whether Foucault supported the claim, made by the *nouveaux philosophes*, that modern totalitarianism derived from Enlightenment philosophy. The issue addressed some elements of the crisis in the dominant political ideology of the left.

Publication of *Politiques de l'habitat, 1800–1850* (Paris: Corda, 1977), a series of studies led by Foucault from 1975 to 1977 and carried out by a team of researchers attached to his chair: Jean-Marie Alliaume, Blandine Barret-Kriegel, François Béguin, Danièle Rancière, and Anne Thalamy.

An Iranian Maoist student tells him to watch out for events which, in the coming months, are probably going to occur in the religious centers of Iran.

1978

January

The 4th, starts the course entitled "Security, Territory, Population" which, after opening with the question of power, quickly moves on to the question of "governmentality," which is as new for him as it is for his audience.

The 9th, start of the public seminar on the crisis of juridical thought at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and of a separate seminar on "The Genealogy of Societies of Security," which is led by François Ewald. Foucault regularly expressed his desire to run a seminar restricted to a small group of researchers, even though the rules required that all teaching at the Collège de France should be open to the public. During the two years in which he worked on governmentality and liberal political reason, the small group of researchers from his seminar regularly met in his office; this is where the nominalist themes, developed by Paul Veyne, were discussed ("Foucault Revolutionizes History"[7]). Foucault and Veyne begin to have regular discussions around his new interest in Greek and Roman antiquity. He writes the preface to the English translation of Georges Canguilhem's *The Normal and the Pathological*, in which he identifies a concept of the ethics of the intellectual as much as a philosophy of the concept.

He works on the second volume of *The History of Sexuality*, in which he plans to focus on the Christian idea of the flesh. It will be a genealogy of concupiscence that addresses the practice of confession in Western Christianity and the direction of conscience as it developed after the Council of Trent. The manuscript of this work will be completely destroyed. He considers founding a journal that would republish the best economic and political analysis from the international press, and he looks into getting finance for this project. Travels to Berlin with André Glucksmann and Catherine von Bülow for the so-called "Tunix" meetings, at which the alternative left looks for a new strategy. Seated beside Laing and Cooper, he doesn't speak about anti-psychiatry, but about the political

role of intellectuals. In Hanover, he takes part in a demonstration in support of the political scientist Peter Brückner, who has been prohibited from teaching or speaking at his university.

February

A seminar on musical time at IRCAM [Institute for Research and Coordination in Acoustics and Music], with Pierre Boulez, Gilles Deleuze, and Roland Barthes.

The 1st, the lecture given on this day can be seen as the first lecture on the history of governmentality. This lecture will be published in Italy by the journal *Aut-Aut*, with the title "Governmentality" (EW3).

March

The 2nd, the socialist weekly newspaper *Politique-Hebdo* questions Foucault about his voting intentions in the upcoming legislative elections of March 12–19 (FDE, no. 227). Foucault replies that he doesn't have to publicly announce his electoral choices; for him, that would be to occupy a position of authority and not a position of critique. He will say the same thing on the occasion of the presidential elections of 1981. This withdrawal from electoral discussion lays the groundwork for the controversy which later erupts between Foucault and the socialists over the "silence of the intellectuals." At the same time, Maurice Clavel writes in *Le Quotidien de Paris*: "The May '68 demand to change life won't be achieved with the bloodless ideologies of a dead century" (March 2, 1978). The left fails in the legislative elections.

April

From the 2nd to the 29th, a second trip to Japan, organized by the French cultural attaché Thierry de Beaucé. Gives a talk at the Faculty of Liberal Arts, University of Tokyo, on "Sexuality and Power."

The 13th, discussion with specialists in Kyoto on Zen Buddhist mysticism compared to Christian mysticism. A presentation by Foucault on Christian pastoral care. He has been preparing for this trip for several months, and has read Demiéville, Herrigel, Watts, and Suzuki. In Fukuoka, he visits a psychiatric hospital and a prison, meeting magistrates and psychiatrists.

The 17th, discussion at the University of Kyushu on power, analyzed through practices in psychiatric hospitals and prisons in Japan and France. Travels to Hirado where the first Jesuits had arrived.

The 20th, a seminar with Moriaki Watanabe at the University of Tokyo on the *History of Sexuality*.

The 23rd, a stay in the Seionji Temple in Uenohara, at the foot of Mount Fuji. Practices Zazen postures under the guidance of a monk who had represented Japan in martial arts at the Munich Olympics.

The 25th, a roundtable discussion on Marxism with Ryumei Yoshimoto (FDE, no. 235), with whom he will maintain a correspondence on Hegel and Marx. Has discussions

with Ichio Asukata, president of the Japanese Socialist Party, who has just returned from China, about the experience of municipal management in Yokohama, Grenoble, and Bologna. Meets the political scientist Maruyama Masao.

The 26th, a televised interview on NHK about intellectual movements in France: "What interests me here is history and the limits of Western rationality. This question is inevitable because Japan is not in opposition to Western rationality."

Publication of *Vingt ans et après* (Paris: Grasset), by Thierry Voeltzel, a series of interviews on the pleasures and commitments of "a 20-year-old boy and an older friend," who readers assumed was Michel Foucault.

May

Since the "Foucault effect," to use the expression coined by Rovatti, editor of *Aut-Aut*, is so strong among the Italian extreme left, the Italian publisher Rizzoli, a shareholder in *Corriere della sera*, offers Foucault the chance to publish a regular opinion column, which Foucault turns down. As an alternative, he suggests forming a group of intellectuals to report on the world of ideas.

The 20th, the Society for the History of the French Revolution, of which Maurice Agulhon is president, organizes a discussion between Foucault and a group of historians, on the basis of Jacques Léonard's text on *Discipline and Punish*, which had appeared in *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*. The papers will be published along with two afterwords, by the historian Maurice Agulhon and Foucault, in *L'Impossible Prison* [*The Impossible Prison*] (FDE, no. 279).

The 27th, gives a talk at the French Society for Philosophy, which is published with the title "What is Critique?" in the *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, in 1990. Foucault announced to Henri Gouhier, who chaired: "I hesitated for a long time over the title of this talk, but the only one that fits is *What is Enlightenment?*" His reading of Kant's minor works on history, especially in the Piobetta edition (Paris: Aubier, 1947), has become a constant habit, and one that remained with him until his last days.

Publication by Gallimard of *Herculine Barbin, dite Alexina B* [*Herculine Barbin*], a case of hermaphroditism, in the series "Parallel Lives." Starting from the descriptions in a psychiatric report, Foucault had found, from Île d'Oléron to La Rochelle, the locations and the archives of this story of the medico-legal determination of true sex. He thinks about using some similar cases to produce one of the volumes of the *History of Sexuality*. The young writer Hervé Guibert, whom he had met the previous year, turns the book into a script for a film in which Isabelle Adjani agrees to play the title role.

June

The 17th, Cavallari, the head of *Corriere della sera*'s Paris bureau, works out a program for the column on ideas with Foucault. Foucault suggests one by Susan Sontag on Vietnam, one by Alain Finkielkraut on the United States, one by Arpad Ajtony on Hungary, and one by Jorge Semprun on Spain.

July–August

Foucault is hospitalized for a few days at the Vaugirard Hospital, after being run over by a car in front of his apartment. As a result of this trauma to the cranium, without loss of consciousness, he suffers from migraines for almost one year. In 1980, at Sartre's funeral, he will say to Claude Mauriac: "Since then, my life has changed. The impact of the car threw me onto the hood and I had time to think: it's finished. I'm going to die. I was fine with that" (Claude Mauriac, *Le Temps immobile*, vol. 6).

August

Rizzoli responds positively to the program for the column on ideas, while the events in Abadan attract international attention to Iran. Foucault agrees to inaugurate the series. He sets about doing research on Iran.

September

The 16th, he arrives in Tehran, to which he has rushed following the massacre at Jaleh Square, in which the shah's troops shot at protesters. Foucault arranged the trip through Thierry Voeltzel and Iranian exiles who were close to Karim Sandjabi. With Claire Brière and Pierre Blanchet, journalists from *Libération*, he goes to the most troubled spots in the conflict.

The 20th, in Qom, the religious capital, he meets Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, one of the most important liberal religious leaders and a follower of the spiritual tradition of Shi'ism. His assessment strongly influences Foucault's view of events. Mehdi Bazargan, president of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, acts as their interpreter. Foucault meets representatives of most of the political groupings. At this time the Ayatollah Khomeini, who is in exile in Iraq, is still unknown in the West.

The 24th, on his return to Paris, he writes his first articles for the *Corriere della sera*, convinced, contrary to public opinion, that the shah's army, which is disintegrating in the face of the Islamist uprising, can no longer exercise political control.[8] In Paris, meets Bani Sadr, just before the arrival of Khomeini into exile in France. Foucault is never to meet Khomeini.

October

The 16th, *Le Nouvel Observateur* publishes a translation of one of his articles from the *Corriere*, in which he uses the phrase "political spirituality" – an expression closely connected to his thinking about political and ethical subjectivation. It provokes anger on the left, except among the very youngest. There follows an extensive exchange of letters, both public and private (see *Le Monde*, letter from Claude Roy, September 1979).

November

Dr. Bernard Kouchner, Jacques and Claudie Broyelle, and Alain Geismar make an appeal for a "Boat for Vietnam" to help the boat people. They are supported by Sartre, Aron, Montand, Signoret, Foucault, Rocard, Clavel, Barthes, Ionesco. Support for the boat people introduces a new rift within the left intelligentsia.

Foucault undertakes a systematic rereading of Thomas Mann.

The 9th, Foucault's second trip to Iran. He tries to see the same people as on his first trip, so that he can follow the evolution of their views. He says he is concerned to know how, outside of Marxism, it is possible today to constitute the criteria that are essential for a collective existence. A trip to Abadan, where there is a strike at the oil refineries. Representatives of the People's Fedayeen explain to him their reasons for supporting Khomeini.

The 15th, returns to Paris, where he writes his final articles.[9]

The 19th, the Italian weekly *L'Espresso* publishes without permission a fragment of a text written for *Aut-Aut* as if it were part of a debate between Foucault and the Italian communist philosopher Massimo Cacciari and "other supporters of the Gulag." There follows a polemic with the Italian communists, which Foucault ends with a letter to *L'Unità* (FDE, no. 254).

December

Duccio Trombadori, a journalist at *L'Unità*, suggests a debate with Italian Marxist intellectuals and sends Foucault about a dozen pages of questions. Through a series of interviews, this becomes an intellectual biography of Foucault (EW3, "Interview with . . .").

The American Philosophical Association organizes a session on Foucault's work in Washington. Notable participants include Hayden White, Reiner Schurmann, Hugh Silverman, and Peter Caws.

1979

January

The 7th, he makes this note: "Not to pass universals through the shredder of history, but to pass history through a form of thought that refuses universals. What history then?"

The history of confession led him to study the early texts of the Church Fathers, Cassian, Augustine, and Tertullian. A new subject matter slowly emerges for the second volume of *The History of Sexuality: Confessions of the Flesh*. The study of the early Christian texts turns his genealogical research toward the Greek and Latin texts of late antiquity.

The 10th, beginning of the course entitled "Birth of Biopolitics," which in fact will focus on liberal governmentality. The Monday seminar, which is announced with the title "Method in the History of Ideas," focuses on the techniques of risk management in modern societies.

The 31st, he declares in his course: ". . . the state does not have an essence. The state is not a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power. The state is nothing else but . . . a perpetual statification" (C-BB, 77).

February

The 1st, the triumphal return to Iran of Khomeini, who has been in exile in France, in Neauphle-le-Château, since October 1978. Bani Sadr suggests that Foucault should return to Iran which him, an invitation that Foucault declines.

March

The 6th, Foucault is attacked in the newspaper *Le Matin*, in the context of International Women's day, for his support of the Iranian Revolution.

The 14th and 15th, Foucault hosts at his home the Israeli–Palestinian colloquium organized by *Les Temps modernes* (no. 398, September 1979). Sartre had found it difficult to find a discreet location, because of fear of attacks.

The 17th, paramilitary groups begin to execute opponents of the new Iranian regime.

The 23rd and 24th, he attends two days of discussions on "Nuclear Energy and Energy's New Order." He doesn't take part in the discussions and he refuses to visit a nuclear plant.

The 24th, publication of *Iran: La Révolution au nom de Dieu* [*Iran: Revolution in the Name of God*] (Éditions du Seuil), by Claire Brière and Pierre Blanchet. The book closes with an interview with Foucault who emphasizes the extent to which "the collective will of the Iranian people impressed him and that will wasn't articulated according to our schemas of revolution." The book provokes several responses which concentrate their hostility on Foucault; even though most of the arguments attacked don't come from the afterword, but from the book itself. Foucault is very upset.[10]

The 26th, writes the preface for the French translation of Peter Brückner's *Ennemis de l'État* [*Enemies of the State*] (FDE, no. 256).

He asks Ronald Laing to write an article on the collective suicide of the Jones sect in Guyana, a sect that had planned to move to the Soviet Union.

April

The 1st, in the first issue of France's first homosexual newspaper *Le Gai Pied*, Foucault publishes an article in favor of suicide, for which he is criticized in *Le Monde* and other newspapers (FL, "The Simplest . . ."). Foucault is reputed to have come up with the punning title.[11]

The 14th, he publishes an open letter to Mehdi Bazargan in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, in which he condemns the actions of the Iranian regime and tries to influence Bazargan, then prime minister of Iran, and thought to be himself opposed to terrorism.[12]

The 22nd, death of Maurice Clavel in Vézelay.

June

The 20th, side by side with André Glucksmann and Bernard Kouchner – who had fitted out the boat *Île de Lumière* as a hospital boat off the coast of Bidong Island [a Vietnamese

refugee camp in Malaysia] – Foucault organizes a press conference at the Collège de France, attended by Sartre and Aron, in support of increasing the number of Vietnamese boat people accepted into Europe, especially France.

August

The 17th, in a report on "Very Important People of the World," in the Japanese magazine *Shukan Posuto*, Foucault declares: "The problem of the refugees is a harbinger of the great migration of the 21st century" (FDE, no. 271).

October

From the 10th to the 16th, he gives the Tanner Lectures at Stanford University. Under the title "Omnes et Singulatim," he presents a summary of his work on governmentality (EW3). Discusses his work with Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, who plan a book "On the Ordering of Things: An Interpretation of Michel Foucault and Martin Heidegger."

The 19th, he gives a talk at the University of Sacramento.

1980

January

Signs the petition against Georges Suffert, whose articles may have encouraged the assassination, on May 4, 1978, of the militant communist Henri Curiel, a brother of Foucault's close friend Raoul Curiel.

Beginning of the course "On the Government of the Living," in which his work turns to focus on truth-saying. The seminar focuses on liberalism. He plans to dedicate the following year's seminar to nihilism in the late nineteenth century.

The 24th, he signs a manifesto in defense of the Polish "Flying University" movement, in the *New York Review of Books* (no. 21–22, p. 49).

February

Interview in *Le Monde*, in which he wishes to remain anonymous: Foucault is designated as "The Masked Philosopher" (EW1). Due to the illness of Sartre, Foucault is increasingly called upon to play the role of major intellectual, something he refuses to do. This desire for discretion will instigate the future polemic about the silence of the intellectuals.

March

The 26th, death of Roland Barthes as a result of a traffic accident.

April

The 19th, Sartre's funeral. Foucault joins the enormous cortège which accompanies the philosopher from Broussais Hospital to the cemetery at Montparnasse.

May

Along with the lawyers Christian Revon and Jacques Vergès, Foucault prepares a manifesto for the so-called "free defense" movement. Article 2 declares: "It is not because there are laws, it is not because I have rights, that I have the capacity to defend myself; it is to the extent that I defend myself that my rights exist and that the law respects me. It is, therefore, the dynamics of the defense that gives a value to laws and rights that is, for us, indispensable. A right is nothing unless it comes to life in the defense which provokes it; and only defense gives valid force to the law." And Article 3: "In the expression 'defend oneself,' the reflexive pronoun is all important. In effect, it's a matter of inscribing life, existence, subjectivity in the very reality of the individual within the practice of law. To defend oneself doesn't mean to take the law into one's own hands. That would be to want to carry out justice oneself, that is, to identify with a form of power and then to carry out its action for one's own part. To defend oneself, in contrast, is to refuse to play the game of these forms of power and to make use of law to limit their actions" (in *Pour la défense libre*, supplement to the journal *Actes*, no. 24–25, preparatory document for the court hearings on "free defense" at La Sainte-Beaume, May 23–26, 1980). According to Christian Revon, Foucault wrote this text.

July

Buys an old monks' house in Verrue, close to Vendeuvre-du-Poitou, where he hopes to go and work with his friends.

August

Attends the final, triumphant performance of Chéreau and Boulez's *Ring* at Bayreuth (EW2, "The Imagination . . .").

Publication of Alan Sheridan's *The Will to Truth* (London: Tavistock), the first full-length study of Foucault in English.

September

Publication of *Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (Brighton: Harvester Press), edited with commentary by Colin Gordon, one of the editors of the British journal *Ideology and Consciousness*.

October

The 20th and 21st, invited by Berkeley's Howison Lectures Committee to give two talks on "Truth and Subjectivity." Eight hundred people are packed into Wheeler Hall to hear Foucault speak about the beginnings of Christian confession, while outside another seven hundred try to get inside. For the first time since the 1970s, the police have to intervene on the Berkeley campus (*The Daily Californian*, November 1, 1980). He leads a seminar on "Sexual Ethics in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity." Gives most of these talks directly in English. In a *Washington Post* (March 15, 1981, p. 14) review of the books by Donald Bouchard, Colin Gordon, and Alan Sheridan, Leo Bersani describes this period: "I witnessed, a few months ago, the enlivening, if startling, spectacle of over

a thousand Berkeley students avidly listening to Foucault's lectures on the shift in hermeneutic strategies of the self from Seneca to the early Church Fathers. In those meticulous comparative readings of ancient texts, the attentive young audience might have recognized the work of an extraordinary scholarly scapegoat taking on himself the oppressive knowledge of our perhaps unnecessary selves and – sweet reminiscence of the much maligned '60s – clearing the field of self and perhaps even of sex for the sake, precisely, of new economies of pleasure."

November

In New York, in the context of the James Lectures, he runs a seminar in English with Richard Sennett, at the Institute for Humanities at New York University, which was partly published under the title "Sexuality and Solitude" (EW1).

The 16th, learns of the death of Hélène Althusser. He will visit Althusser at the psychiatric hospital, and later at his home, until the end.

The 17th and 24th, gives talks at Dartmouth College, on "Subjectivity and Truth" and "Christianity and Confession."[13]

Has many discussions with Michael Denneny, a student of Hannah Arendt. He thinks he sees a change in the American homosexual community, in which the theme of friendship is beginning to replace that of sexual liberation (EW1, "Friendship . . ."). At the end of one talk, he asks the audience to accompany him to a demonstration after the murder of a gay man in Greenwich Village. At the invitation of Mark Blasius, he gives a talk at Princeton on "The Birth of Biopolitics."

December

Decides to stop giving his seminar at the Collège de France, but maintains the two-hour lectures which from now on will focus on the immediate research for his books.

1981

January

The 7th, under the title "Subjectivity and Truth," his course begins to investigate techniques of the self as modalities of self-government. As Chair in the History of Systems of Thought, he sponsors a monthly seminar on the sociology of law, co-organized by François Ewald. Foucault, who had hoped to develop some work on law, will participate in the seminar on philosophy of law that is held in 1982–83.

March–April

Refuses to support the last-minute petitions in favor of the election of François Mitterrand as president, according to the principle, which he often reaffirmed, that an intellectual is not an electoral director of conscience.

May

The 4th and the 25th, he invites France Fernando Henrique Cardoso, of São Paulo University, to the Collège de France to speak about "The emergence of new societies in the Third World."

The 10th, on the evening of the presidential elections, he joins the crowd at Place de la Bastille, with the Rabinows. He refuses to make any comment to journalists who question him. To a young high school student who comes to tell him how difficult she had found his texts in philosophy class, he promises with a laugh: "Those were the woes of capitalism, now under socialism that's all finished!"

Gives six lectures in the Faculty of Law at the Catholic University of Louvain, under the auspices of the Franqui Chair, on "Do Wrong, Speak the Truth: The Function of Confession in Justice." Leads a seminar on the origin of "social defense." On this occasion, he video-records a long autobiographical interview.

The 31st, in *Libération*, he recalls the role of the extreme left in the socialist victory and the way in which he had been able to work with them on certain projects, relating to the organization of health, psychiatry, and penality.

June

In Geneva, with Bernard Kouchner and Yves Montand, he takes part in the creation of the Against Piracy Action (APA) Committee, in support of the boat people. He supports the right to intervene in international politics in the name of the "right of the governed" (EW3, "Confronting . . .").

The 23rd, members of the Communist Party become government ministers (which he disapproves of).

September

The 30th, abolition of the death penalty in France.

October–November

Mark Poster invites him to the Davidson Conference Center in Los Angeles for a symposium on "Knowledge, Power, History: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Works of Michel Foucault" (October 26 – November 6). Once again, he has difficulties acquiring a US entry visa, this time because the American administration believes he had harbored Khomeini. He meets members of the Frankfurt School, notable Leo Lowenthal and Martin Jay (see William Hackman, "The Foucault Conference," *Telos*, no. 51, 1982).

To mark the occasion, *Time* magazine publishes a report on "France's Philosopher of Power," in which Foucault declares: "It is not so much power that interests me but the history of subjectivity" (*Time*, no. 46, November 16, 1981). He visits Berkeley, where there is a proposal to set up a Foucault–Habermas seminar, which could become

permanent. Habermas wants to call his part of it "Modernity." His critique of postmodernism contributes to orienting the reception of Foucault in Germany and the US.

December

The 14th, Claude Cheysson, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, announces that since the imposition of martial law in Poland by General Jaruzelski is an internal matter, France obviously will not intervene. Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault call for a protest: "The French government should not, like Moscow and Washington, pretend that the instigation of a military dictatorship in Poland is an internal matter which allows the Polish people to decide their own destiny. That is an immoral and untruthful claim . . . Are good relations with the French Communist Party, therefore, more important than the crushing of a workers' movement under the heel of the military? In 1936, a socialist government found itself confronted with a military putsch in Spain; in 1956, a socialist government found itself confronted with repression in Hungary. In 1981, the socialist government is confronted with a coup in Warsaw . . . We would like to remind it that it promised to support the obligations of international morality, against Realpolitik." This protest, which "proved to be a watershed" (*Le Monde*, July 27, 1983), is joined by several hundred intellectuals and, on December 23rd, the French Democratic Confederation of Workers (CFDT) suggests that they join in common cause, in the spirit of Solidarność [Solidarity]. The editor of *Le Monde*, Jacques Fauvet, reacted sharply against "these 'left-wing intellectuals' [*sic*] who haven't come to terms with May '81." Lionel Jospin, Secretary of the Socialist Party, attacks the authors of the petition on the radio. Jack Lang, the Minister for Culture, contrasts "the absolute loyalty of the Communist ministers with the typically structuralist silliness of the intellectuals" (*Libération*, December 23, 1981). The CFDT sets up a support committee for Poland. Along with two exiled members of the organizing committee of Solidarność and a Japanese representative from Sohyo [Japanese trade union] in Paris, Foucault spends several months looking after the accounts and the expenses of the support committee. "I felt like I was forcing him to waste precious time. For example, he was a member of our financial control committee. I remember his long reports, packed full of figures. I couldn't stop myself from thinking that he had better things to be doing" (Seweryn Blumsztajn, head of Solidarity in France).

Foucault is introduced to the filmmaker Werner Schroeter, to whom he confides: "I don't distinguish between people who make of their existence a work and those who make a work during their existence" (FL, "Passion . . . ," p. 317).

1982

January

The 6th, start of the course on "The Hermeneutics of the Subject."

April–May

He protests against the arrest of Jacques Derrida in Prague. When Derrida is released, the two philosophers meet once again. Foucault regularly meets with Alexandre Adler,

specialist on the Soviet Union. He gives several interviews to promote the publication of works by Kenneth Dover and John Boswell on the history of homosexuality, works whose translation he had commissioned.

The 18th, in Grenoble, he gives a talk to the Department of Philosophy on the *Dream Interpretation* of Artemidorus, a work that has recently been retranslated by his friend André-Jean Festugière. This talk will become the first chapter of *The Care of the Self*.

In an interview with Gérard Raulet, he replies to the criticisms of Habermas (EW2, "Structuralism . . .").

May–June

With John Searle, Umberto Eco, Thomas Sebeok, and others, he takes part in the Third International Summer Institute for Semiotic and Structural Studies at the University of Toronto (May 31 – June 26). He leads a seminar on "Telling the Truth about Oneself." He examines the rules of confession from the point of view of spiritual transformation. He analyzes texts by Seneca ("On Tranquility of the Mind"), by Cassian (*The Institutes of the Cœnobites*), and by Augustine (*The Confessions*). He gives a talk on "The Care of Self in Ancient Culture." From now on, he works regularly on the Stoics. In an interview destined for the Canadian periodical *Body Politic*, he explains how his "sexual politics is different from the liberation movements" (EW1, "Sex, Power . . .").

June

He considers resigning from the Collège de France and earning his living from the permanent seminar that he is offered at Berkeley as well as from his publishing royalties.

July

He suffers from a persistent sinusitis.

August

The 9th, a bloody attack on Goldenberg, a Jewish restaurant on rue des Rosiers. From now on Foucault eats in this restaurant as often as possible as a sign of resistance against terrorism.

The 28th, the president's office announces a major arrest of international terrorists. Three Irish people are arrested in Vincennes by the anti-terror group established under direct presidential control. Foucault points out the irregularities of this event in the press (FDE, no. 316). This is the first blunder of the new government, the truth of which will be clearly revealed in 1985.

September

The 14th, invited to lunch by François Mitterrand at the Élysée Palace, with Simone de Beauvoir, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, etc., to talk about the Middle East, especially Israel. Foucault asks about Lebanon, the president replies: "It's stuffed." That evening he learns of the assassination of the president-elect [of Lebanon], Bachir Gemayel.

The 22nd, with Simone Signoret and the medical doctors Bernard Kouchner, Jacques Lebas, and Jean-Pierre Mauber from the humanitarian organization Médecins du Monde, he travels to Poland to escort a truck filled with medicine and other authorized supplies. Three thousand kilometers, during which they each take turns to drive the station wagon. They visit Auschwitz. They are not allowed to meet Lech Wałęsa. On their return, Simone Signoret and Foucault recount the events on television.

October

Publication of *Désordre des familles, lettres de cachet des archives de la Bastille* (Paris: Gallimard-Julliard, "Archives" series) [untranslated]. This is a co-authored book, without specification of contributions, by the historian Arlette Farge and Foucault.

October–November

He gives a seminar in the Department of Religion at the University of Vermont in Burlington, on "Technologies of the Self" (October 15 – November 5). The transcripts are published without being reviewed by him.[14] He considers editing the material assembled for this seminar into a book on techniques of the self. He suggests a book called *The Government of Self and Others* to Éditions du Seuil.

1983

January

Under the title "The Government of Self and Others," Foucault begins his course on *parrhesia*, the notion of truth-speaking in ancient culture, which will actually occupy him for two years.

February

Appearance at Éditions du Seuil of the collection *Des travaux* [*Works*], edited by Foucault, Paul Veyne, and François Wahl. It's an old project of Foucault's, to promote academic research outside of the mediatized circuits of general publishing. It's in this collection that he plans to publish *Le Gouvernement de soi et des autres* [*The Government of Self and Others*], a work that would link together ethics and politics, and for which he had outlined several plans around Alcibiades, or the idea of care of the self and political life; Epictetus, on listening, writing, and the practice of the self; self and others.

March

At this time, the enormous manuscript of the second volume of the *History of Sexuality*, which he now calls *The Use of Pleasure*, is comprised of four sections:

– The Use of Pleasure, which itself is divided into two chapters: Concept and Principles; An Example – Dream Interpretation.
– The Practices of Temperance;

– The Culture of the Self;
– The Demand for Austerity, which is divided into three chapters: The Body; The Wife; Boys (EW1, "On the Genealogy . . .").

From the 7th to the 22nd, Habermas is invited by Paul Veyne to give a series of talks at the Collège de France. Habermas and Foucault meet several times; Habermas recounts his intellectual biography, talks a great deal about Nietzsche, and inquires about the French Communist Party.

Publication of *Michel Foucault, an Annotated Bibliography*, by Michael Clark (New York: Garland Publishing). This is the first major bibliography of works by and on Michel Foucault, comprising close to three thousand entries.

Foucault reads Rosenzweig, and says he is disappointed. He confides to Bernard Kouchner his intention to stop writing and doing library research. Kouchner suggests that he should go on a mission with Médecins du Monde and offers him responsibility for the next "boat for Vietnam."

April

Visits the retrospective Manet exhibition at the Grand Palais and confides to Roger Stéphane and Françoise Cachin, the exhibition curator, that he has a thick manuscript on Manet.[15]

April–May

Appointed Regent Lecturer at Berkeley. Gives a talk on the arts of the self and on writing the self. He records several discussions on the current state of his work with Paul Rabinow, Hubert Dreyfus, Charles Taylor, Martin Jay, Richard Rorty, and Leo Lowenthal, the last representative of the Frankfurt School. Part of these discussions are included in Dreyfus and Rabinow's *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition, 1983).

May

Publication in *Le Débat* of an interview between Foucault and Edmond Maire [Secretary General of the CFDT] on the crisis that is gripping the union movement (FDE, no. 334). Foucault worked extensively to prepare his questions, reading internal documents from the CFDT, consulting economists, and also Simon Nora and Pierre Rosanvallon. This was the starting point for a series of discussions published under the title *La CFDT en questions* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). Foucault continued to reflect on the union movement, on the system of social protection, and on the politics of health. He concluded: "Let us, rather, try to give sense and beauty to an effacing death" (EW3, "The Risks . . . ," p. 381).

July

The new government spokesperson, Max Gallo, explains to Foucault his concerns about the relations between the government and society. He wants to arrange a meeting

between the philosopher and the president. Foucault replies that "these tasks are up to the Socialist Party."

The 26th, Max Gallo tries to remobilize the intellectuals, who have been absent since the controversy surrounding Poland, on the side of the Socialist Party. He publishes an article in *Le Monde* entitled, "Intellectuals, Politics, Modernity."

The 27th, *Le Monde* begins an inquiry into what it calls "the silence of the intellectuals." Foucault immediately informs the newspaper that he won't be responding to this inquiry, since he doesn't consider himself to have been silent, given his work alongside the CFDT since the imposition of martial law in Poland. The press seizes on the theme until the middle of August, particularly emphasizing Foucault's withdrawal – a key case, according to the *Herald Tribune* – his silence, his long stays across the Atlantic, and the revelation that in 1981 he had refused the position of cultural attaché to the US (something Foucault thought was more an exile than a favor). He doesn't speak publicly about this campaign until 1984 (FL, "The Concern . . .").

Creation of the "Tarnier Academy." Bernard Kouchner, André Glucksmann, Yves Montand, and a group of friends begin to have meetings with him in the amphitheater of the Tarnier Hospital, in order to focus on the international political situation.

Foucault suggests publishing a "white paper" on socialist politics. He poses the question: "Is there a problematic of government for the socialists, or do they only have a problematic of the state?" In the autumn, he suggests to his students in Berkeley that they do a history of governmentality from the 1930s. He reads the works of Jaurès, Blum, and Mitterrand.

August

The material for *The Use of Pleasure* is redistributed over two volumes; he also rewrites the preface (EW1, "Preface . . .").

September

After drafting *The Use of Pleasure*, which he now thinks is complete, he travels in Andalusia, from Grenada to Cordoba.

October–November

Foucault is once again invited to Berkeley, where, in six talks, he traces the history of *parrhesia*, from the tragedies of Euripides through the crisis in the ancient democratic institutions. He gives two talks at Boulder and at Santa Cruz. Returns extremely fatigued and thinner.

Robert Badinter, who is Minister of Justice, publishes an interpretation of *Discipline and Punish* that draws on Rusche and Kirchheimer, in the Freudian journal *L'Âne*. Foucault makes his disagreement known to Badinter. This is the start of a relation between the two men that slowly takes form in a plan for a research center in philosophy and law, which Foucault wants to function as a base for the researchers who are working with him, and which François Ewald will manage.

Considers the possibility of not giving his course at the Collège de France. Tries not to cause concern to his entourage. Undertakes to translate, with Martin Ziegler, Norbert Elias's *Die Einsamkeit des Sterbendes* [*The Loneliness of the Dying*].

December

The 29th, he consults Jean-Paul Escande, who recommends several detailed pulmonary examinations.

1984

January

After a course of antibiotics, he regains his vitality. He writes to Maurice Pinguet: "I thought I had AIDS, but an intensive treatment has set me back on my feet."

February

Once again fatigued, he begins his course at the Collège de France on *parrhesia*. Until the end of March, he is correcting the proofs of the second volume of *History of Sexuality*.

March

The group of Berkeley students with whom Foucault intends to work on the transformations of governmentality in the 1930s, send him a plan written by Keith Gandall, David Horn, and Stephen Kotkin, which proposes to study how Western societies had reconstructed, after the First World War, a program for social life, a new economic planning, and new political organizations. They plan five studies on the emergence of a new political rationality: the Welfare State and progressivism in the United States; fascism and the organization of leisure in Italy; state welfare in France and urban experimentation in the colonies; the construction of socialism in the USSR; Bauhaus architecture and the Weimar republic.

He has regular consultations at the Tarnier Hospital, where his doctors have the impression that his only question is: "How much time do I have left?" In 1978, speaking of the death of Philippe Ariès, he had talked about "the play of knowledge and silence that the sick person accepts in order to remain in control of his secret relation to his own death."

The 10th, while correcting the proofs of *History of Sexuality*, he receives a visit from Claude Mauriac and some representatives of workers from Mali and Senegal who have been evicted from their lodgings by the police and are asking for his help. He writes several letters on their behalf.

April

Re-reads Kafka's *Journal* and gets back to work on the manuscript of *The Confessions of the Flesh*. At his last lecture on *parrhesia*, he mentions changes he will have to make in his interpretation. Jacques Lagrange hears him saying: "It's too late."

The 6th, Foucault gives a party at his place in honor of William Burroughs, who comes with the poet Bryon Geysin. This will be his last party.

May

Publication of a special issue of the *Magazine littéraire* on Foucault, on the occasion of the publication of volumes 2 and 3 of *History of Sexuality*. Here he speaks out on the "silence of the intellectuals" (FL, "The Concern . . .").

The 14th, publication of *The Use of Pleasure*. He sends a text to *La Revue de métaphysique et de morale* for its special issue on Georges Canguilhem. Having promised an original text, all he can do is send them a corrected version of the text he had given to the 1978 English edition of *The Normal and the Pathological*: "I can't do any more work on this text, if you find stylistic errors, don't hesitate to correct them" (letter to the editor).

The 29th, agrees to be interviewed at his home by André Scala, a young philosopher who is close to Gilles Deleuze. Foucault, exhausted, speaks for the first time about the importance of his reading of Heidegger. He is not able to edit this interview and he entrusts its definitive form to Daniel Defert (FL, "The Return of . . .").

June

The 3rd, Foucault has an attack and is hospitalized by his brother, Denys, at Saint-Michel Hospital, which is close to his home.

The 9th, he is transferred to La Salpêtrière, to the neurology unit which overlooks the old buildings in which Charcot had worked.

The 10th, he is placed in intensive care.

The 20th, during a remission, he receives the third volume of *History of Sexuality*, *The Care of the Self*.

The 25th, at 1:15 p.m., the death of Michel Foucault.

The 29th, after a short ceremony at La Salpêtrière, his body is taken to Vendeuvre-du-Poitou, where it is buried, in the presence of close friends, family, and locals.

Contrary to a tenacious legend and also contrary to French medical tradition, which maintains confidentiality on the cause of death, at the request of his family a communiqué giving a clinical description of AIDS is published by Professor Castaigne and Dr. Sauron: "Michel Foucault was admitted on June 9th 1984 to the unit for illnesses of the nervous system at La Salpêtrière, in order to carry out additional examinations which were made necessary by neurological symptoms that were complicating a septicemic condition. The examinations revealed the existence of areas of cerebral suppuration . . . An extreme aggravation removed all hope of therapeutic intervention, and death occurred on June 25th at 1:15 p.m."

Michel Foucault had written, prior to leaving for Poland in September 1982, a final will to be opened "in case of accident." It comprised only three recommendations, including: "Death, not invalidism" and "No posthumous publications."

Notes

1 "Monstrosities in Criticism," *Diacritics* 1:1 (Fall 1971), pp. 57–60; "Foucault Responds," *Diacritics* 1:2 (Winter 1971), p. 60.
2 "The Force of Flight," in J. Crampton and S. Elden, eds., *Space, Knowledge, Power: Foucault and Geography* (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2007), pp. 169–172.
3 See also "The Crisis of Medicine or the Crisis of Antimedicine?," *Foucault Studies* 1 (Nov. 2004) (http://www.foucault-studies.com). Translated by Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., William J. King, and Clare O'Farrell.
4 "Photogenic Painting," in G. Deleuze, *Gérard Fromanger* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 1999), pp. 81–104.
5 See FL, "Schizo-Culture: On Prison and Psychiatry," p. 172. This published version is slightly different from the one Defert gives in the "Chronologie."
6 FC-FDS, 21–22. Strangely, the second sentence is omitted from the English translation, C-SMD, 23–24.
7 Paul Veyne, "Foucault Revolutionizes History," in A. Davidson, ed., *Foucault and his Interlocutors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 146–182.
8 J. Afary and K. B. Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*, tr. Karen de Bruin and Kevin B. Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). For the series of four articles, see pp. 189–209.
9 "The Revolt in Iran Spreads on Cassette Tapes" and "The Mythical Leader of the Iranian Revolt," tr. Karen de Bruin and Kevin B. Anderson, ibid., pp. 216–220, 220–223.
10 "Iran: The Spirit of a World without Spirit. Foucault's Conversation with Claire Brière and Pierre Blanchet," tr. Alan Sheridan, ibid., pp. 250–260.
11 The phrase *gai pied* (literally "gay foot") is a homophone of *guêpier* (hornet's nest).
12 "Open Letter to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan," in Afary and Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution*, tr. de Bruin and Anderson, pp. 260–263.
13 "Subjectivity and Truth" and "Christianity and Confession," in S. Lotringer, ed., *The Politics of Truth* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2007), pp. 147–191.
14 See, L. Martin, H. Gutman, and P. Hutton, *Technologies of the Self* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
15 *Manet and the Object of Painting*, tr. Matthew Barr. (London: Tate Publishing, 2009).