Redrawing French Empire Comics

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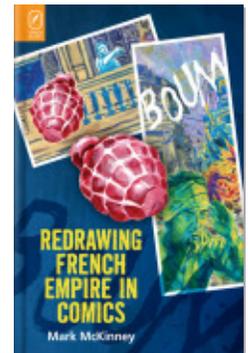
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5
THE VOYAGE OUT AND THE VOYAGE IN

New perspectives and new ethnic minorities

What is "the meaning of the colonial voyage" (Memmi 1985: 33) today? The "voyage out"—to colonize, survey or draw empire, for example—is a corollary to what Edward Said (1994b) calls the "voyage in."[1] I use these two tropes here to summarize some of the most important transformations in comics about French colonialism and imperialism. One of the meanings that Said gives to the voyage in is the arrival of exiles and immigrants in (former) colonial and imperialist countries and cities. It seems clear that Said saw himself as having made a voyage in, from Mandate Palestine to New York, where he was a University Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. In many ways French cartoonists from regions and countries formerly, or still, colonized by France have made a voyage in, to France as a (former) colonial and imperialist center. This is even true for cartoonists born and raised in France who are members of an ethnic minority group originating in a (former) colony, because they are citizens of a nation that has not yet accepted full responsibility for its colonial history and the far-reaching consequences of its imperialist actions in the past and present. For cartoonists this means—among other things—finding a place for their work within a comics literature still full of alienating stereotypes about the (formerly) colonized (McKinney 2011b). Today there are French cartoonists with family connections to a range of

(former) French colonies, including Algeria (Farid Boudjellal, Larbi Mech-kour, Kamel Khélif, Leïla Leïz), Benin (Yvan Alagbé), Cambodia (Séra, Tian), Ivory Coast (Marguerite Abouet), Guadeloupe (Roland Monpierre), Syria (Riad Sattouf) and Vietnam (Clément Baloup, Marcelino Truong). There has now even been a major comics publisher—Mourad Boudjellal, of Soleil Productions, based in Toulon—who has made a similar voyage in.[2] Several of these cartoonists come from ethnically mixed families: Alagbé, Baloup, Sattouf, Séra and Truong all have a French mother of European extraction; and one of the grandmothers of Farid and Mourad Boudjel-lal was Armenian. Some have represented *métis/se* [ethnically or culturally mixed] characters in their fictional or autobiographical comics (Alagbé, Baloup, Farid Boudjellal, Sattouf and Truong). Some have ethnically mixed children from their relationships with members of the ethnic majority group in France. Whether or not they, their forebears or their progeny are ethni-cally mixed, all of these cartoonists have a mixed cultural heritage, which has informed their work. In this volume I have focused on the history of colonialism and imperialism, which several of the cartoonists just men-tioned have thematized in their comics. Many of them have also represented contemporary, multicultural France in their comics, which is the main focus of my next book. On the other hand, some of these cartoonists have also published comics on themes that have no clear connection with colonial-ism, imperialism, exile, immigration or postcolonial ethnic minorities in France. There is of course no deterministic correlation between their ethnic and cultural background and their art. Nonetheless, several of these artists have created some of the most compelling, critical and nuanced accounts of colonial history and its aftermath. These cartoonists may act as "entre-preneurs de mémoire" [memory entrepreneurs], much as Sylvie Durmelat (2000) finds film director Yamina Benguigui doing in and around *Mémoires d'immigrés: L'héritage maghrébin* [Memories of Immigrants: The Maghrebi Heritage] (1998). By reconstructing aspects of French colonial history, they help to create a collective, cultural memory for immigrant ethnic minori-ties, but also for the French in general, who share that past in important ways (cf. Rigney 2005). Some in France resent and denounce this process because it can open up old wounds and may be or appear accusatory. They may also fear a cultural and social disintegration of France or an exacerba-tion of ethnic cleavages. However, creating comics with an ethnic minority perspective—whether Algerian, Vietnamese, West African or Caribbean—on colonial history can be part of a voyage in as a positive and necessary part of integration into French society and history. Certainly this activity can potentially lead to excesses, including what Said (1994b) decried as a

"rhetoric of blame" for past colonial misdeeds. Nonetheless, one should remember that French government administrations on the right and left have already recognized and repaired what have been presented as colonial injustices against people of European ancestry: for example, several laws have provided restitution for *Pieds-Noirs*[3] and even for former members of the OAS, although the latter was an illegal terrorist organization that attacked the French state and repeatedly attempted to assassinate President Charles De Gaulle. Given that, it is unfair to blame members of (other) post-colonial ethnic minority groups in France, including cartoonists, for pointing to the damage that French colonialism and imperialism inflicted or still inflict on their communities, both in their ancestral homelands and in the metropolitan center, or even for demanding reparations. It is perhaps surprising, then, that French cartoonists from formerly colonized groups such as the Algerians or the Vietnamese have not expressed demands for monetary reparations in their comics or in interviews. Instead, by depicting the negative effects on colonized victims they have represented the need for righting the historical record of colonialism. They have worked to decolonize comic-book representations, including by deconstructing colonial figures, such as the colonial adventurer. Of course this memorial and historical activity could certainly prepare the ground for demands for monetary reparations: public recognition that historical wrongs have been committed is a pre-condition for restitution and reparations.

Members of other ethnic groups, including the European majority, can assist ethnic minority cartoonists, say by helping them to redraw empire in ways that revisit colonial history and reconstruct memory to undermine the colonial affrontier separating (ex-)colonizer from (ex-)colonized: for example, Mathieu Jiro drew the two *Chính Tri* books scripted by Baloup (2005, 2007), on interwar anticolonial activism and the Vietnamese nationalist movement, and Martine Lagardette produced a dossier about *métissage*, published in *Jambon-Beur: Les couples mixtes* [Ham-Butter/Arab: Mixed Couples] (Boudjellal 1995a), and another about Boudjellal's mixed, Algerian and Armenian heritage, and the Armenian genocide by the Turks, for the second edition of *Mémé d'Arménie* [Grandma from Armenia] (Boudjellal 2006b). Other publications by ethnic majority cartoonists may play a similar role: for example, *Les oubliés d'Annam* [The Forgotten Ones of Annam] (1990–91) and *Azrayen'* (1998–99), by Lax and Frank Giroud, focus on the history and memory of the two longest French wars of decolonization, and present favorably several Vietnamese, Algerian and French characters who criticize colonial violence (see Chapters 3 and 4, above). In the remainder of this concluding chapter I continue my examination of the

voyage out and the voyage in. Here as throughout this study, my focus is on comics (re)published since 1962, although I occasionally refer to earlier works that have not been reissued.

The voyage out, the voyage home and the voyage back

In the pre-1962 French comics and cartoons studied here, one finds a variety of characters who made the voyage out to the colonies: administrators, adventurers, doctors, foreign criminals or provocateurs, missionaries, reporters, sailors and soldiers. For most, the voyage out consists of attempts to undertake what was seen as France's civilizing mission, in its secular and religious dimensions. Conquest and related military violence are generally presented as a duty to pacify and a right to self-defense (against indigenous outlaws[4] and foreign provocateurs[5]), and colonization as an obligation to civilize peoples and to fructify [mettre en valeur] otherwise untended natural resources. Characters who make the voyage out sometimes remain abroad more or less indefinitely: an extreme case would be the martyred missionaries in "Parachutés au Laos" [Parachuted into Laos] (Verdon and Perrin-Houdon 1951–52) and in *Charles de Foucauld* (Jijé 1994, serialized 1959), but there are also settlers depicted as living in French colonies,[6] even when challenged or besieged by local nationalists, in various French comics from the period.[7] Those who return to France may pine for the colony that they left behind, as the retired father does at the beginning of "Parachutés au Laos" (Verdon and Perrin-Houdon, no. 215 [14 January 1951]). Representations of colonial exploration and discovery in such comics are generally designed to cultivate support for colonialism among young French readers while amusing them. It informs them about supposedly primitive and exotic peoples, and about ancient civilizations now replaced by European empires, including the French one. Art historian David Kunzle (1990: 298–307; 2007) has analyzed how nineteenth-century European cartoonists sometimes took a critical look at the imperialism of their own governments. He attributes this to the class positions of cartoonists and their readers: members of the middle and working classes were less likely to benefit directly and significantly from imperialism than the ruling class did, and they often paid a higher price for it, including through military service. However, in the twentieth- and twenty-first-century French comics that are my primary focus here, there is little critique of French colonialism, or a disengagement from its values, until after 1962.[8] Mainstream comics publishers, cartoonists and their readers generally supported French colonialism during approximately the first half of the twentieth century. Some Pieds nick-

elés [Leadfoot Gang] episodes are among the rare exceptions, but they too remain suffused with colonial racism: in black Africa, the French protagonists simply replace the local French colonial authorities in order to extract the very same benefits (labor and profit) from the colonized for as long as they are able—until Louis Forton sends his characters elsewhere (McKinney 2011b). The vein of related European French-language picaresque comics and cartoons featuring civilian tourists and travelers (i.e., not on a colonial mission per se) extends forward from early in the second wave of French colonialism and from the beginnings of the comic art form (cf. Groensteen 1998): e.g., Rodolphe Töpffer's *Histoire de Monsieur Cryptogame* [*Story of Mr. Cryptogame*] (first sketched in 1830),[9] Cham's *Les voyages d'agrément* [Pleasure Travels] (1849), Christophe's travels of the Famille Fenouillard (from 1893),[10] and the adventures of "Zig et Puce" (serialized beginning in 1925; cf. Groensteen 1998: 16–19; McKinney 2011b). Although the voyage out in those tales is often perilous—and their European protagonists are usually relieved to return home, if they are able to—the stories mostly do not critically investigate or undermine the colonial project. On the contrary, the voyage out in them is enabled by, and an occasion for, colonial occupation and domination. And the mild mockery of the foibles of metropolitan French tourists to Algeria in *Gringalou en Algérie* [Gringalou in Algeria] (Pinchon and Noé n.d.; serialized 1947) does not question French colonial ideology in the least: if the gullible tourists are distracted and easily fleeced (thereby generating humor), it is by pernicious Algerian thieves and highway bandits, whose criminal activities in the comic implicitly help justify the French colonial presence.

The voyage out to French (ex-)colonies, as depicted in comics created since 1962, is a more complex affair. Cartoonists often draw upon the same colonial-era set of outward-bound characters, especially in comics set in the colonial past. Though with significant differences from colonial times, the French voyage out remains marked by the humanitarian paradigm analyzed by Pierre Halen (1993a, 1993b) in Belgian colonial-era and post-independence comics about the Congo. Exoticism and colonial nostalgia are also important motivators of the voyage out. However, today's cartoonists often point to a disjuncture between professed humanitarian ideals or an ideology of (neo)colonialism and, on the other hand, reality in the (neo)colony. This debunking can be disinterested, cynical or in the service of another ideal, such as anti-colonialism. In recent works the French slave trader or slave owner[11] sometimes replaces the European liberator of slaves, such as David Livingstone[12] or Savorgnan de Brazza, who were celebrated in earlier comics.[13] Although colonial soldiers and administrators often professed an ideal of service to the colonized, the violence and repression for which they

were responsible can make it difficult to take seriously their humanitarian claims. The voyage out by the French soldier has therefore dramatically changed in some recent comics. In *Déogratias* Stassen (2000) represents a French soldier first enforcing ethnic discrimination before the genocide in Rwanda and and later helping bands of Hutu killers to escape during the French military Opération Turquoise, which Stassen represents as neo-colonial support of the defeated Habyarimana regime. The soldier's transformation into a sexual tourist in Rwanda after the genocide completes Stassen's satire of French military neo-colonialism. In *D'Algérie* [About/From Algeria], Morvandiau also draws a clear line from colonial violence abroad to racism in France today, via the actions and words of Jean-Marie Le Pen, who volunteered as a soldier in both Indochina and Algeria (see above, Chapter 4).

By contrast with colonial administrators and soldiers, missionaries may been seen as more noble, for example in *Le dragon de bambou* [The Bamboo Dragon] (Truong and Leroi 1991), and even saintly, as in the hagiographic *Théophane Vénard: Dans les griffes du tigre* [Théophane Vénard: In the Tiger's Claws] (Brunor, Bar and Gilles 2007), about a Catholic priest martyred in Vietnam in 1861—its defense of illegal French Christian proselytizing in Vietnam does not differ from pre-1962 works, except perhaps through some criticism of French military and political leadership for ineffective support of missionaries. However, the role of missionaries is sometimes different in recent comics (cf. Delisle 2007, 2008, 2010). Christian missionaries are featured in comics about post-independence Vietnam (*L'ombre du triangle* [The Shadow of the Triangle] [Christin and Aymond 1999]), Rwanda (*Déogratias* [Stassen 2000]) and Algeria (*D'Algérie* [Morvandiau 2007]). *L'ombre du triangle* updates the humanitarian paradigm (Halen 1993b) by depicting Father Kevin Morissette, a French-speaking Canadian who teaches at a Catholic missionary school and was formerly a chaplain in a military commando, as now helping to fight international drug trafficking. In *Déogratias* and *D'Algérie,* the cartoonists date the implantation of missionaries back to colonial times, but their roles in the two books are radically different, even opposed. In Stassen's fiction a cynical and predatory Belgian missionary flees in 1994 to save his own skin, leaving behind most of his African parishioners to be slaughtered in the genocide. In his family history in comics, Morvandiau presents his *Pied-Noir* missionary uncle, a Père blanc [White Father] in the Berber city of Tizi-Ouzou, as intensely dedicated to the Algerians (Figure 5.1), to the point of remaining with them during the bloody civil war, leading to his assassination in 1994—supposedly by an Islamist GIA group, but which had perhaps been infiltrated and directed by the Algerian army (cf. Miller

Figure 5.1: Morvandiau (born in 1974) depicts his Uncle Jean, a *Pied-Noir* Catholic missionary, during a post-colonial trip that the cartoonist's family made to visit him in Algeria when Morvandiau was thirteen. His uncle and fellow missionaries were later assassinated in 1994, during the Algerian civil war. From Morvandiau, *D'Algérie* [About/From Algeria] (Rennes: L'oeil électrique/Maison Rouge, 2007), n.p. © Morvandiau and L'oeil électrique/Maison Rouge.

2009). Although this part of Morvandiau's semi-autobiographical comic book may remind us of the dedication and martyrdom of Charles de Foucauld in Jijé's hagiography—serialized in 1959, during the Algerian War—Morvandiau's book is a far cry from Jijé's swan song for French colonialism in North Africa (cf. Douvry 1983: 31; Delisle 2007: 140–41; 2010: 132–34; McKinney 2009: 82–83). Morvandiau (2007) tells the history of Algerian nationalism and anticolonialism as a legitimate and necessary historical development. He also recounts the anti-colonial activism of some members of the French Catholic clergy in Algeria during the Algerian War, and mentions accusations of post-1962, neo-colonial links between France and Algeria, the manipulation of which may have led to the death of his uncle. In works set in the present, members of humanitarian NGOs, French cooperation officials, and UN employees often replace, or work alongside, Christian missionaries. This is the case in three books that Stassen set in Rwanda: *Déogratias* (2000), *Pawa: Chroniques des Monts de la lune* [Pawa: Chronicle of the Mountains of the Moon] (2002) and *Les enfants* [The Children] (2004)—all provide a withering critique of the motivations and effectiveness of these secular western voyagers who travel out to former European colonies.

Some comics depict rivalry between colonialist powers, for example to show colonialism as a European power struggle, or that some colonial projects were better or more interesting than others. Comparisons between French colonizers and American imperialists in Vietnam, or between the Algerian settler colony and the United States, can be self-justifying.[14] For similar reasons, *Pied-Noir* cartoonists representing colonial Algeria often represent the voyage out as mostly the lot of poor and persecuted Europeans, who were tricked, manipulated or had few other choices. Once they arrive in the colony, comic-book voyagers may be endowed, whether credibly or not, with a realization that they have joined the side of the oppressors, but may nonetheless remain in place (e.g., in Ferrandez 1994b; Tronchet and Sibran 2003; see McKinney 2011a). The principal blame for the ills of colonization can then be laid at the feet of mainland politicians or French soldiers, who have no understanding of local conditions and needs. Some *Pied-Noir* cartoonists also blame rich colonizers, who reap significant financial benefits from colonization (e.g., Tronchet and Sibran 2003: 21; McKinney 2011a). The voyage out can also be the occasion for a return to, and reevaluation of, past struggles and ideals—including anticolonial and Third World activism—related to today's debates in France about postcolonial ethnic minorities or the meaning of world-transforming events such as the Cold War. All of these come together in the representation of the Indochinese and Algerian Wars, which is part of why they remain intriguing

periods, when so-called adventure existed in various forms that have disappeared since then.

Voyagers travelling outward include figures, whether fictional or real, who return to colonial places of memory and are associated in some way with the colonizers. Their voyage out may be a pilgrimage, and is sometimes a return to a lost home (Ainsa 1982). This is already the case with the sons of the retired colonialist in "Parachutés au Laos" (Verdon and Perrin-Houdon 1951–52), who return from France to Indochina, where they were raised. Cartoonists who are the sons and daughters of *Pieds-Noirs* also make the voyage out, both in person and in their published work: Jacques Ferrandez and Morvandiau have depicted, in their comics and other works, the trips that they made to Algeria, and the people whom they met there.[15] The same can be true for the offspring of former French conscripts from colonial wars: Giroud made the voyage out by travelling to Algeria with his father, for whom the trip was a voyage back in time and memory. The journey enabled both father and son to come to terms with the conflict, in part by meeting and speaking with Algerians, including men who had fought on the opposing side. The wartime voyage out of French conscript soldiers that is depicted in *Azrayen'* (Lax and Giroud 1998–99, 2004) owes much to the father-and-son trip to Algeria, made years after the war.

Outbound voyagers may therefore be colonial returnees, travelling back to a *lieu de mémoire* [place of memory] that they once inhabited, or else members of a new generation, usually born and raised in France. In the latter case, the voyage out may be to a family home or homeland that, until then, only existed in the voyager's mind and through stories and photographs passed on from one generation to the next (cf. Ainsa 1982). The voyage out may be essentially imagined, because the second generation can only return to the colonial past via fiction or a reconstructed history, whether familial, ethnic or national—this is strikingly true in *Là-bas* [Down There] (2003), by Didier Tronchet and Anne Sibran, the daughter of *Pieds-Noirs*.[16] The prevalence of certain kinds of materials used to reconstruct and authenticate colonies as *lieux de mémoire* paradoxically points to the inaccessibility and intangibility of the latter: found notebooks, colonial postcards, old maps, creased photographs in sepia tones or shades of grey, and black-and-white television and film images. Many characters and voyages out self-reflexively foreground the colonial order. In Hergé's *Tintin au Congo* [*Tintin in the Congo*] (1973, first ed., 1930–31), Tintin the reporter helped maintain a still existing colonial order (Halen 1993a: 147–85). Investigative reporters in fiction now may serve as surrogates of cartoonists and readers interested in disinterring the colonial past to perpetuate or to demystify the so-called colonial adventure (cf. Miller 2004).[17] The

painter,[18] photographer[19] or cartoonist[20] character in comics often alludes to the conditions of production of (post-)colonial representation, including through references to the colonial imagery on which authors base their work. In *L'ombre du triangle* (Christin and Aymond 1999), set in contemporary Vietnam, an anthropologist, a figure dating back to colonial times and specializing in representing the (formerly) colonized, makes the voyage out and appears in a modern guise: she provides cover for European drug smugglers, and may also point to ethnographic sources consulted by the cartoonists. In some instances the voyage out is not to far-off colonies, but to exoticized places within the metropolitan center itself—this is one way in which the voyage out meets the voyage in. French visiters to the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition travelled outward in their minds by going to see colonized subjects who had made the voyage in, from their homelands to the colonial center (McKinney 2011b). Readers of the colonial exhibition episode in the "Zig et Puce" comics series also travelled outwards virtually, by reading about Alain Saint-Ogan's imagined African cannibals working at the Paris exhibition (Saint-Ogan 1995). Versions of this type of voyage continue in the present, for example in comic-book trips to the multi-ethnic Barbès and Belleville neighborhoods of Paris.

The voyage in, the voyage home and the voyage back

In colonial-era comics, participants in colonial exhibitions, colonized soldiers, indigenous rulers visiting France, servants of the French, or other immigrant workers are among those who make the voyage in. The voyage out and the voyage in are often closely connected there, but are generally not the occasion for a critique of colonial hierarchy or ideology. There is sometimes a permanent voyage back, suggesting that characters belong in colonized space and not in mainland France—this is true in *Sam et Sap* [Sam and Sap] (Candide and Le Cordier 1908), an early French comic featuring an African boy brought back to France, along with a monkey (cf. Patinax 1985; Pigeon 1996: 142–44). In other cases, they remain abroad, far from their colonized homeland, generally as secondary or minor characters, for example: the African cannibals turned servants in Saint-Ogan's "Zig et Puce" (see McKinney 2011b), and the Southeast Asian servant at the outset of "Parachutés au Laos" (Verdon and Perrin-Houdon 1951–52). In post-1962 comics, those who make the voyage in are often the same character types as in earlier works, but others help throw into question the positive, colonial-era comic-strip depiction of the colonial era; for example, colonized students, anticolonial activists, slaves of the French, and *métis/se*

characters. Today the voyage in is often the occasion for a critique of colonial ideology, through the discovery of racism in France, which is not the paradise that had been described in the colony.[21] The (formerly) colonized are often the main protagonists of these fictions, in which there may not be a definitive voyage back, especially when immigrants and their offspring are portrayed—which is far more common today than before the late 1970s—although there may be brief trips to an ancestral homeland.[22] The voyage in of fictional characters can serve to work out the complexities of integration by the post-colonial minority group to which the artist belongs. For example, whereas the rare occurrences of the mixed couple in pre-1962 comics were usually examples of the colonial grotesque and evoked in passing (McKinney 2011b),[23] recent comics give more prominence and a wider range of meanings to the mixed couple and their *métis/e* offspring, as characters that make the voyage in.[24] Today they are sometimes strongly eroticized, especially in adult and alternative comics, but this is not always so. In *Les oubliés d'Annam* (Lax and Giroud 1990–91), a French reporter's attachment to a *métisse* helps anchor him in the colonial past (a pursuit of truth about the Indochinese War) while also connecting him to the post-colonial present (postcolonial exiles and emigrants to France), but in an ambivalent way. Kim-Chi, the Vietnamese-French *métisse* character, makes the voyage in to France thanks to the reporter protagonist (Figure 5.2).[25] In essence, he sacrifices his paternal relationship to his own daughter for a new connection to the daughter of a French soldier, because of his commitment to the political struggles of a past era that extend beyond France, to Vietnam. By contrast, his biological daughter is more interested in contesting new restrictions on access to French universities, a struggle that mainly concerns contemporary France, not a far-off former colony. The France that concerns her is nonetheless a multicultural, post-colonial one, as readers are reminded by the cartoonists' pointed reference to Malik Oussekine, killed in the police repression of student protests in Paris in 1986.

The voyage out and the voyage in, as they exist in and around comics, rework links between France and its (former) colonies, thereby crossing and inflecting the colonial affrontier. These connections may be clearly neocolonial, as in comics scripted by Serge Saint-Michel about French colonial army units and African dictators who have closely collaborated with France to the detriment of people of their countries, but also contravening democracy and citizenship in France.[26] However, there are also attempts in other comics to foster decolonized and otherwise non-exploitative relationships between, on the one hand, France and the French, and, on the other, (former) French colonies and their peoples. In such cases, redrawing empire involves undermining the colonial affrontier. The voyages to

Figure 5.2: Kim-Chi, a *métisse* character, travels from Vietnam to France, where she meets her French grandmother for the first time. From Lax (art) and Frank Giroud (script), *Les oubliés d'Annam* [The Forgotten Ones from Annam], vol. 2 (Marcinelle: Dupuis, 1991), p. 37. © Lax and Frank Giroud.

former French colonies taken by authors from ethnic minorities (e.g., Baloup, Boudjellal, Séra, Tian) and sometimes even by offspring of colonial settlers (e.g., Ferrandez, Morvandiau) or of colonial soldiers (e.g., Giroud, Lax), and the books that these cartoonists set there, whether autobiographical or fictional, may be conceived in this spirit.[27] Sometimes the works inspired by, or researched during, these trips include a critique of post-independence regimes and of neo-colonial relationships with France. However, the financing of such trips by French governmental agencies raises questions about the independence of the artists' work, and especially how it may fit into larger national and governmental strategies for maintaining French cultural and economic hegemony or influence in former colonies.[28]

In this book I have focused primarily on colonial-era conflicts and ideologies. I have therefore only briefly touched on the many new types of characters, settings and narratives that will be the focus of my next book: postcolonial immigrant families and communities, including Maghrebi-French and DOM-TOMiens;[29] and French racists, from far-right skinheads to politicians, in post-1962 France. We saw some of these types of characters, for example, in "Petit Polio," Boudjellal's series whose first three

volumes (1998–2002) are set in colonial-era Toulon, about his fictional Slimani family (see above, Chapter 4), and in *Quitter Saigon: Mémoires de Viet Kieu* [Leaving Saigon: Memories of Viet Kieu] (2006, 2010), containing Baloup's short biographical stories of Vietnamese childhood, exile and emigration (see above, Chapter 3). Comic-book stories set in the post-1962 era have been produced simultaneously with, or even prior to, many of the contemporary comics about colonialism studied here, and often by the same authors. Although I am well aware of the important connections between these two groups of texts—contemporary narratives about the second period of French colonialism (roughly 1830–1962), which has been my primary focus here and in my previous book (McKinney 2011b), and about the post- or neo-colonial era—I have chosen to mostly separate them, for analytical and practical reasons. Assessing the ways that cartoonists have redrawn French empire and reworked the colonial affrontier is necessary for determining the space that they have created for representing new ethnic minorities within France.