

“Fire upon the Mao-Idolators”¹

René Vienét interviewed by Daoud Boughezala

In the midst of the Cultural Revolution, the young situationist René Vienét began his dynamiting of the terrible lies of Maoism. This earned him tenacious hatred among the many intellectuals who’d been converted to Marxist-Leninism. Fifty years later, this battle is still going on. . . .

Q. “Sinologist” is a word that I believe you find pejorative, because, though a “situationist” in your youth, you now present yourself as an old “banker, seller of nuclear fuel, producer and distributor of medications linked to women’s health, filmmaker, publisher, teacher of Chinese at the X² and *docker*³ at the port of Le Havre, after being an apprentice pork butcher.” Which of these labels makes you the proudest?

A. It’s the oldest memories than bring the greatest relief. The fact of having worked in two pork butcheries at a very young age, 11 and 14 years old, gave me a taste for catering, and it still gives me a pleasure comparable to that felt by musicians who pick up their instruments when I make the recipes I’ve learned over the course of the last 60 years. For example, “boneless pork chop sausage.” But I regret none of the activities that you’ve mentioned. In my youth, during vacations from school, I was also a *docker* at the port of Le Havre, a privilege that the CGT⁴ had made hereditary. “*Docker, son of a docker, grandson of a docker,*” said with humor, allowed me to step on the toes of the children of the rich, the Maoists, the ordinary Stalinists and the workerists from good neighborhoods.

Q. And so you’ve been resolutely [fighting] against your enemies for more than 50 years! But I’d like to return to an important part of your biography that you rarely mention. You were also one of the pillars of the Situationist International (SI), along with Guy Debord, Michèle Bernstein, Mustapha Khayati and Raoul Vaneigem. How did the son of a Havrais prole end up joining the situ avant-garde?

¹ “*Feu sur les Maolâtres,*” published in the 2 August 2015 edition of *Causeur*. Translated by NOT BORED! 3 September 2015. All footnotes by the translator. Thanks to Miquel Amoros.

² The École polytechnique.

³ English in original.

⁴ Confédération générale du travail.

A. When I was in high school in Le Havre, I seduced a likeable Girl Scout leader who was the sister of Michèle Bernstein, a founding member of the SI and one of its few women. Michèle was Guy Debord's first wife. Thérèse [Bernstein] showed me the journal published by her sister and her brother-in-law Guy, and I responded to the little announcement that said, "We're looking for young people [who are] beautiful and intelligent." During my first year at school, I spent almost all my vacations in Paris with them. Then, after I got my degree, I got an attic a few floors above their apartment on the impasse de Clairvaux, with my new girlfriend. Thus I became a *situ* through the women, so to speak.

Q. It was in those years, at the beginning of the 1960s, that you began to study Chinese. Why did you choose to learn this particular language?

A. Before going to Paris to begin my university studies, I'd thought about enrolling in a film school. I gave up this idea, because it required a year of overly literary preparation in school. I wanted to get out of the provinces, and the Langues O'⁵ was an obvious choice because its courses weren't very time-consuming. Thus I enrolled in a class in Chinese, somewhat by chance. After that, I succumbed to the charms of Jacques Pimpaneau, a vivacious, competent and very seductive professor. Pimpaneau had revolutionized the teaching of Chinese in France, to the point that a student like myself, who had many different interests, could learn the language and make good use of it.

Q. With one foot in the ultra-Left, among the situationists, and the other in the Langues O' – how did you live two lives at the same time?

A. In parallel and without the least contradiction. Jacques Pimpaneau had translated *La Chair comme tapis de prière*, the superb erotic classic by Li Yu, which was published by [Jean-Jacques] Pauvert, which Michèle Bernstein had me bind with yellow silk at her father's bookbindery. A friend of Boris Souvarine,⁶ Michèle Bernstein was a very famous bookseller who specialized in the history of the social movement, of anarchism and Marxism. In 1963, I greatly increased my reading in the library of Michèle Bernstein and her husband Debord, which included, among other things, Jean-François Revel's *Pourquoi des philosophes*.⁷ From a young age, I was vaccinated against all forms of totalitarianism and had no illusions about either Stalinism or Maoism.

⁵ School for Oriental Languages.

⁶ A Russian-born Communist and writer (1895-1984).

⁷ His first book, published in 1958.

Q. Let's focus for a moment on May 68. You were part of the Council for the Maintenance of the Occupations (the CMDO), along with your situ and Enragé friends. From within the Sorbonne, on the very first day, you sent an insulting telegram to the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party.⁸ At that same university, you "improved" a fresco by inscribing on it what would become the slogan of the year: "Humanity will only be happy on the day the last bureaucrat is hanged with the guts of the last capitalist." By struggling for the utopian advent of a classless society, weren't you adopting the revolutionary rhetoric that caused so many deaths in the last two centuries?

A. It hasn't been the utopians, who are peaceful and generous, who have massacred other people. It has been the recuperators, the gangsters, the bloody swindlers of a certain type – people like Santerre,⁹ Barère,¹⁰ Hébert,¹¹ Fouché,¹² Danton,¹³ Panis,¹⁴ Fouquier-Tinville,¹⁵ etc. – who have rapidly eliminated the utopians and democrats, and worked the guillotine at an industrial pace. Now, if you want to tell me that it's not necessary to let people like Robespierre, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, and Pol Pot take power, I would agree with you. This is in fact a major subject that still hasn't been completely studied nor resolved!

Q. Another question ignored by historians is the under-representation of women in the SI – other than Michèle Bernstein, Debord's first wife.¹⁶ Why was the group so masculine?

A. Debord was misogynous, no doubt because of his complicated relationship with his mother. Only Michèle Bernstein managed to cure this character flaw during the years they shared together.

⁸ Cf. his note to Gérard Berréby dated 7 August 2014: <http://www.notbored.org/ReneVienet.pdf>.

⁹ Antoine Joseph Santerre (1752-1809) was a general during the French Revolution.

¹⁰ Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac (1755-1841) was a revolutionary during the French Revolution and later became a nationalist.

¹¹ Jacques René Hébert (1757-1794) was active during the Reign of Terror.

¹² Joseph Fouché (1759-1820) was the Minister of Police under Napoleon.

¹³ Georges Jacques Danton (1759-1794).

¹⁴ Étienne-Jean Panis (1757-1832) was complicit in the massacres of September 1792.

¹⁵ Antoine Quentin Fouquier de Tinville (1746-1795) was the Public Prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

¹⁶ And Jacqueline de Jong. Close to the SI, but not officially members, were Alice Becker-Ho, Thérèse Vaneigem, and Clairette Schock, among others.

Q. A picture of Debord decorates your library. Did you remain friends after the dissolution of the SI in February 1971?¹⁷

A. I have framed a drawing of Debord, made by Reiser,¹⁸ which is very funny. Large format, not usual for Reiser, and something that Debord, while he still had a sense of humor, appreciated. I didn't see him again after 1971, when I distanced myself from an organization that [in France] only included three members: a badly aging future ecologist,¹⁹ a long-time friend who no longer had a sense of humor and amused me less than before,²⁰ and myself. Despite several letters inviting me to stay,²¹ there was no reason to pursue a relationship that no longer was interesting. Debord had entrusted the management of the journal *Internationale situationniste* to me²² in a way that resembled the designation of a testamentary executor. But I had no desire to play this secondary role and for the benefit of a (second) widow²³ who disliked me. In sum, the SI had truly become a handleless knife that was lacking something.

Q. You do explain the collapse, and then the death, of the SI?

A. The degeneration of the SI dates from the day that Debord transformed it into role-playing, when, in a delirious *éléphantasme*,²⁴ he – reenacting the First International – saw himself as Karl Marx faced with Vaneigem-Bakunin, who didn't even realize that he'd been used [*instrumentalisé*] in this way. The role-playing games stopped when I presented a friend, a famous anarchist, Arthur Lehning,²⁵ a biographer of Bakunin, to Debord, who had then come to love Bakunin. But this was [also] the moment when, as in the film *Le Grand frère*,²⁶ the kids were scattered all over the place. Agathon²⁷ remained alone and unhappy in the midst of the public garden. The SI didn't survive the failure of May 68, in the wake of which relations within the tiny group deteriorated to the point of making

¹⁷ The SI dissolved in September 1971, a decision that was officially announced in April of the following year.

¹⁸ Jean-Marc Reiser (1941-1983).

¹⁹ That would be René Riesel.

²⁰ That would be Guy Debord.

²¹ Not published to date.

²² After the exclusion of René Riesel in September 1971?

²³ Alice Becker-Ho.

²⁴ A punning combination of elephantine and phantasm: a huge fantasy.

²⁵ Cf. letter from Debord to Jaap Kloosterman dated 23 February 1981:

<http://www.notbored.org/kloosterman.html>.

²⁶ Directed by Francis Girod (1982), in which the protagonist is left for dead by his old friend.

²⁷ The name of a Greek tragic poet: a metonym for Guy Debord.

the collective redaction of *Enragés et situationnistes* painful.²⁸ Three years later, Debord wrote to Gallimard rejecting that book.²⁹ After 1970, there were only three people at the table during the meetings in Paris: Debord, Riesel and I. Debord turned round and had a considerable change of character. He was no longer a cheerful man, the friend who was full of the [good] humor of the era in which he lived with Michèle Bernstein.

Q. Despite everything, what part of the situ heritage do you retain?

A. What was interesting about the SI was the fundamental realization that Hitler, Stalin, Mao and Robespierre were the same thing. The SI's bible wasn't Karl Marx's Manuscripts of 1844 but *The Three Musketeers*. Debord saw himself as Aramis, then as Gondi – that is to say, as Cardinal de Retz. But he needed three associates. Thus I was obligated to play the roles of d'Artagnan, Athos and Porthos, all at the same. Vaneigem had scholarly and literary qualities, but none of the qualities of a musketeer, and, in fact, despite the importance of the *Traité de savoir-vivre à l'usage des jeunes générations*, he remained profoundly rooted in the culture of Brussels, that is to say, outside of the Parisian game. It must be admitted that Debord considered the other recruits into the SI to be so many Mousquetons, Bazins, Planchets and Grimauds.³⁰ At best. And while every Frenchman knows the names of the four likeable valets in Dumas' trilogy, the situs who'd been recruited to build up the organization's numbers quickly disappeared and their names were forgotten as soon as we'd knocked the dust from our boots and entrusted the horses to the stablemen.

Q. Other than anti-totalitarianism, what defines you politically?

A. Today, my convictions have hardly changed; they have in fact become deeper, better documented and more severe than in my youth. There remain three countries that are officially Stalinist. That's three too many! And how many theocracies are there? My priorities are expressed in the slogan (very dangerous when translated into certain languages) that remains the best one: "Neither God nor master!" I desire a revolution in lots of places, but certainly not under the foul rags of Castro-

²⁸ Officially credited to Viénet, it was collectively authored by Guy Debord, Raoul Vaneigem, Mustapha Khayati and René Riesel.

²⁹ I have been unable to find this letter. Perhaps it has not been published yet. Meanwhile, cf. Debord's letter to Ania Chevallier dated 16 March 1975: <http://www.notbored.org/debord-16March1975.html>.

³⁰ Cf. the next sentence for an explanation of who these people are.

ism, Guevara-ism, Bolshevism, or Maoism, which are particularly reactionary counter-revolutions.

Q. Let's speak about Maoism. Did you discover its totalitarian violence when you went to China at the beginning of the 1960s?

A. In October 1964, it was without any illusions about Maoism that I left to take a teaching position in Nanking, but I was "used" to the point that I went on strike at the end of three months and left China at the beginning of the sixth month of a contract that was supposed to last two years.

Q. What did you do after this limited experience?

A. When I returned to Paris in the spring of 1965, at the age of 21, I sought out little jobs to pay my rent. I knocked on the door at Gallimard to see if there were detective novels that could be translated [from English into French] for the *Série noire* series. They responded that since I'd been in China, I might be interested in the human sciences collection, directed by Pierre Nora. Nora asked me what historical work I had in mind. Since I'd read Harold Isaacs' *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, I didn't hesitate. The translation of this classic, written by an American Trotskyite friend of Chinese Leftists – a book that the French Trotskyites hadn't wanted to translate and that the Stalinist Sinologist Jean Chesneaux wanted to keep unpublished – occupied me for a year. My associates helped me at one time or another: Donald Nicholson-Smith with the English; and Vaneigem or Debord to improve the French.³¹

Q. And this first translation inspired you to create the "Asiatic Library" collection in order to distribute dissident Chinese literature?

A. Yes. After the translation of Isaacs, I arranged the publication of *Taoism* by Maspero and *La Bureaucratie céleste* by Balazs, and, most importantly, I edited and composed the mock up of *Su Ren Shan, peintre, rebelle et fou*, by Pierre Rycksmann (Simon Leys). These scholarly works had plugged me into typography and pagination, and gave me the desire to create a collection since I didn't have a publishing house of my own. (I would in fact be led to create two of them later. One of them, Taiwanese, became commercially significant.) We quite quickly became junkies for that beautiful traditional profession, which disappeared with the advent of computers, which – you can't deny it – have other advantages. Before

³¹ Cf. "Translator's Preface to the French edition": <http://www.notbored.org/vienet-preface.html>.

collaborating with two workshops in Hong Kong, I also spent quite a bit of time with the surface plates at the Charles-Bernard print shop, managed by the likable Mr. Bogaert,³² rue des Cloys, in the company of Debord, to produce different issues of the SI's journal and our tracts and posters. It was Debord who passed on to me the virus of the beautiful typo.

A. The work that truly launched the "Asiatic Library" and its 15 [subsequent] titles was *Les Habits neufs du president Mao* (1971) by Simon Leys, who revolutionized our views about the "cultural revolution." Previously, many people had ignored or been ignorant of Maoism's death toll.

A. Not really. There's no reason to believe the fable of people's ignorance about totalitarian crimes. Previously, all the pro-Nazis were quite anti-Semitic, since they adored [*adoré*] the gas chambers without being ignorant of the "final solution." All of the Stalinists adored the [show] trials at Moscow and Prague and Stalin's crimes. And they even wanted more of it. Romer, Monatte, Souvarine, Koestler, Kravchenko, Rousset³³ and others have already said so. In the same way, all the Maoists rejoiced in the crimes of Mao and his wife. As for China, we still don't have the numbers,³⁴ but we know that they were monstrous. Furthermore, the Maoists don't deny the numbers of victims (the Catholic-Maoist Jean-Luc Domenach³⁵ is still lyrical on the subject, and, though he changed sidewalks, he didn't change his business, as Souvarine would say). They weren't Maoists *despite* the crimes of Maoism but *because of* the crimes that they couldn't ignore. I won't let myself repeat that the typically French Maoists, following of one of their master thinkers, the outrageous Badiou,³⁶ were rich kids who got their taste for blood without having to work in a slaughterhouse.

Q. If many weren't ignorant of the massacres, then what did Simon Leys add to the comprehension of Maoist China?

³² Cf. letter from Debord dated 24 January 1968: <http://www.notbored.org/debord-24January1968.html>.

³³ Tadeusz Romer, Pierre Monatte, Boris Souvarine, Arthur Koestler, Victor Kravchenko, and David Rousset are all former Communists or severe critics of the Soviet Union.

³⁴ The numbers of people murdered by the regime.

³⁵ Cf. Debord's letter to René Lourau dated 13 January 1966: <http://www.notbored.org/debord-13January1966.html>.

³⁶ Alain Badiou, a Maoist philosopher and professor.

A. An early, opportune and luminous explanation of the cultural revolution.³⁷ In 1971, that is to say, halfway through, five years before Mao's death. The expression "cultural revolution" comes from a little-known pamphlet published by the East German Stalinist Alfred Kurella in 1931. Mao and his partisans adopted it for the 10 demented and bloody years between 1966 and 1976. Shortly after the "Great Leap Forward" and the 40 million people who died of hunger during it, Mao used the remote-controlled violence of the Red Guards to take revenge on the deputies who had marginalized him. This is what I documented, following Simon Leys, "in sounds, images and lights," in my film *Chinoise, encore un effort pour être révolutionnaires!* (1977).³⁸ Scholarly and university-level courses weren't given for ten years. Nearly four million Chinese died during the *révo.cul*: tens of thousands of teachers, writers and artists were killed and many other were tortured. Mao, his wife and their clique pushed kids to kill each other, and then had the Army eliminate the survivors. Simon Leys explained it perfectly, and he was the first in the West to do so.

Q. How was *Les Habits neufs* welcomed at the time?

A. As soon as the book was published, the "Sinologists," especially the Catholic-Maoists like Jean Chesneaux, Jean-Luc Domenach and Léon Vandermeersch, wanted retribution. They led an effective *lobbying*³⁹ campaign to prevent Leys from teaching in France, and they got me fired from the CNRS⁴⁰ twice. They even – in a way that is funny today – wrote to the Chinese Embassy to denounce me as an "accomplice of Deng Xiao Ping." These worms are depicted in Jean Yanne's film *Les Chinoise à Paris*.⁴¹ You can recognize Jean-Luc Domenach and (even more so) Léon Vandermeersch in the priest who is recycled into a political commissar, masterfully played by the brilliant Paul Prébost. That said, the Maoists' threats and imprecations didn't scare me. In 1969, at Paris 7, I gave a course on the history of the 20th century in China, which, when necessary, I conducted according to Wittfogel's formulation: "When you know what freedom is, you don't defend it with a knife but with an axe."

Q. At the same time, you amassed thousands of books in order to start an important university library on Asia.

³⁷ The expression used here is "*révo.cul*." An untranslatable expression, it mocks the "Cultural Revolution" by associating it with asses [*les culs*].

³⁸ On Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8IW2irCKxW4>.

³⁹ English in original.

⁴⁰ *Centre national de la recherche scientifique*.

⁴¹ On YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fQRbrj6ZcgY>.

A. This library also included a collection of Chinese films that, outside of China, was unique. First at Censier then at Jussieu⁴² – in more than modest material conditions – it included nearly 20,000 titles, the vast majority of them purchased for laughably low prices. In Hong Kong, you could buy, almost by the pound, precious books that the Red Guards had confiscated from individuals or hurled out of library windows. A large number of these works had been chosen for the second-hand bookstores in Hong Kong by Francois Cheng and Chan Hing Ho, because I was unable to discern everything, even if I had the ability to identify several treasures. All of it was destroyed after my departure from France in 1978. The added-value of these books wasn't lost on everyone!

Q. Starting in 1980, you lived in Taiwan, where you worked in the nuclear industry. In a supreme betrayal, at least for some, you even interviewed Chiang Ching Kuo, the son of Chiang Kai Shek, for *L'Express*. Perhaps some of your old situs comrades thought, as our friend and collaborator Jérôme Leroy wrote with humor, that you'd become "a pro-Medef scoundrel."⁴³

A. Let's be precise. It was [in fact] without humor that Jérôme Leroy, the cultural editor-in-chief of *Causeur*,⁴⁴ wrote to Serge Quadrupani via his blog on 5 April 2009: "1966 was the year that Mao tried an original and promising experiment in China with the Cultural Revolution [*sic*].⁴⁵ (...) Vienét, whom you know better than I do, Serge, has become *une crapule du Medef*." In November 1978, alerted that President Jimmy Carter was going to move up the date for restoring diplomatic relations with Peking, I proposed to Jean-François Revel that he let me prepare a notebook about Taiwan for *L'Express*. Ever since 1969, I'd understood that the evolution towards democracy in Taiwan was underway and that it was time to reestablish a French presence there. Working against the tide, I told myself that we had to take advantage of Washington's changed stance to reestablish France in Taiwan, despite the opinion of the Quai d'Orsay.⁴⁶ Which is something I did for a good year before I went to work for nuclear-generated electricity, with the success that you already know.

⁴² Parts of the French public university system.

⁴³ Mouvement des entreprises de France, a huge federation of employers.

⁴⁴ The very publication that printed this interview.

⁴⁵ [*Sic*] added by Vienét, who believes that the so-called Cultural Revolution was neither cultural nor a revolution.

⁴⁶ Location of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Q. Do you regret associating with the old Bolshevik Chiang Ching Kuo, who'd led Taiwan upon the death of his father and even well before that?

A. My only calling card to meet Chiang Ching Kuo was my publication in French and Chinese of the most violent book against Chiang Kai Shek and his political party, the KMT⁴⁷ – the book by Isaacs. I was also the initiator of the translation and the publisher of the two most-important books on the White Terror in Taiwan: those by Peng Ming Min and de Kerr, respectively. Thus I had no lesson to teach anyone, especially not your Stalinist “cultural editor-in-chief.” In 2009, that is to say, more than 30 years after the end of the *révo.cul* (which came to an end with the death of Mao in 1976), he was stung to have discovered that a professor of French literature, like Leroy, who's interested in Mao and China, hadn't seen the film by Hi Jie (placed on-line in 2008) about the first murder of the *révo.cul*, which took place in August 1966. That particularly horrible murder was that of Madame Bian, the headmistress of the most famous high school in Peking.⁴⁸ It would be followed, over the course of six weeks in the summer of 1966, by the torturing and putting to death of 1,900 professors (people like Leroy, only Chinese) from the high schools in Peking, always on the orders of Mao-Ubu and Mother Ubu Jiang Qing,⁴⁹ his better half. You can offer to your colleague issue #14 of *Monde chinoise*, dedicated to Hu Jie, with a DVD included, which I published in 2008, a year before Leroy's witticisms.

Q. Published with the help of Medef?

A. I do not associate with Medef, which I had great difficulty in bringing to Taiwan around 1980 so that it could get its related enterprises to understand that Taiwan would be the best possible springboard on the day that the Chinese market was opened to the world. But those asshole were Mao-idolators and feared that Peking would no longer export *T-shirts*⁵⁰ and Portobello mushrooms [*champignons de Paris*] to France if France exported nuclear-power electricity to Taipei. It was without their support that, for 18 years, I was an effective seller of nuclear fuel to Taiwan, without dishonor, commission or retro-commission: from 1982 to 2007, and beyond, France furnished 33% of the enriched uranium required by Taiwan's six nuclear reactors.

⁴⁷ The Kuomintang of China.

⁴⁸ Cf. Vienét's comments in “Ghosts of the Maoists”: <http://www.notbored.org/ghosts.html>.

⁴⁹ References to the murderous pair in Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi*.

⁵⁰ English in original.

Q. All this isn't very ecological, unlike the trajectory of other former situs, such as René Riesel, who, today, is a radical anti-industrialist.

A. I shit on the political and militant ecologists, who are the enemies of real ecology. I have always shat on them: The SI wasn't an organization that had affection for ecologists. Neutron physics isn't valid?! The anti-nuclear nonsense of Vaneigem and Riesel, alas, confirms their downward spiral. The facts that several members of this mini-group have become senile, anti-vaccine, and anti-nuclear, and want to cover Larzac⁵¹ with wind-powered generators that, weather permitting, will illuminate the barns in which they slaughter their sheep isn't thrilling. Nuclear-generated electricity is the least dangerous, the least polluting, the most economic, and the one that takes up the least space in the countryside. The allegedly "green" jobs will disappear as quickly as the demagogues who praise them and from whom the future's unemployed workers will demand an accounting.

Q. Last question. I am left to say that you have cultivated an intense passion for Charlotte Corday and Marie-Olympe de Gouges,⁵² both of whom died on the scaffold. Why do you admire Marat's assassin and the writer of the "Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizens"?

A. I am pleased that, in 2003, I published the best biography of Marie-Olympe, written by Olivier Blanc, a historian from Le Havre, who had the brilliant idea to publish in French in 1987 the *Dernières lettres* of those condemned to the guillotine, which had been confiscated by Fouquier-Tinville and [later] recovered by John Alger from the National Archives and published in English in 1094.

Born in Normandy, raised on cider, Charlotte Corday comes to mind every time that I savor a bit of *Pont-l'évêque* or some *Livarot*, or some *Andouillette à la crème* from Augé.⁵³ She must be entered into the Pantheon, along with Marie-Olympe de Gouges: Corday ridded France of Marat! We must honor the courage and intelligence of that woman, who, all alone, intuitively anticipated that it was necessary to eliminate the idol of future Bolsheviks.

The typically French Maoists take us back to the French origins of Stalinism through their praise for the massacres of September 1792. If you want to

⁵¹ The Causse du Larzac is a limestone karst plateau in the south of the Massif Central.

⁵² Cf. "Olype de Gouges in the Pantheon?": <http://www.notbored.org/marie-olymp.html>.

⁵³ The first two are kinds of cheese; the second is sausage.

understand the presentation of *L'Orient est rouge* in 1964 in Peking, with the accompaniment of 3,000 singers, it isn't to the rallies at Nuremberg and the Nazis that you must turn, but, well before that, to the grandiloquent and ridiculous staging by Jacques-Louis David at the Festival of the Supreme Being,⁵⁴ which marked the apotheosis and the beginning of the end of Mad Max Robespierre.

Concerning the massacres of September 1792, you could offer to your colleague Leroy *La Véridique Histoire des hommes de proie* by Roch Marcandier,⁵⁵ who was guillotined, along with his wife, for that pamphlet, which I have reprinted.

Marat, Fouché, Barrère, Robespierre, Carrier, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, and Pol Pot – they are like an exhilarating, permanent rectal examination for the phantasmagoric Septembrists who are today's Stalinists and Maoists. It is time for them to take their fingers out of their assholes!

⁵⁴ Circa 1794. For an English translation of Robespierre's speech on the occasion, cf. <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/robespierre.htm>.

⁵⁵ Cf. "Olype de Gouges in the Pantheon?": <http://www.notbored.org/marie-olymp.html>.