

*The
Thought
of
Director
Bookchin*

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This little black book is chock full of timely quotes from Murray Bookchin, whose powerful vision has enthralled municipalists who are even now firing themselves up to beat *The Thought* into each and every "shallow" Green they can find.

All quotes are from **Remaking Society**, by Murray Bookchin, published in 1990, and are preceded by the title "THE DIRECTOR" (Murray Bookchin is the Director Emeritus of the Institute for Social Ecology), appear in bold type, and are identified by page number.

Remaking Society was written, according to Bookchin, to summarize his views clearly.

Humanity cannot avoid destroying itself and most of the rest of the biosphere, according to Bookchin, unless the "high" ideals of the Enlightenment are achieved:

THE DIRECTOR: "...its goals of a rational society, its belief in progress, its high hopes for education, its demands for the human use of technology and science, its commitment to reason, and its ethical belief in humanity's power to attain a materially and culturally viable world." page 165.

must be realized now. Our task is to "remake" society. Our problem is that:

THE DIRECTOR: "...we raised ourselves into the light of freedom with half-open eyes...." page 85.

THE DIRECTOR: "...from the bonds of tribalism and an abject obedience to superstition." page 170.

which has left us:

THE DIRECTOR: "...burdened by dark atavisms, ancient hierarchies, and deeply ingrained prejudices to which we may still regress...." page 85.

The revolutionary project still has a chance for success, but:

THE DIRECTOR: "...if the

present counter-Enlightenment of mysticism and antirationalism persists... [it] may yet lead us to our ruin." page 85.

Among the forces that "may yet lead us to our ruin", according to Bookchin, are deep ecology, biocentrism, and ecofeminism. Social Ecology, or Eco-Anarchism, is the only hope. Bookchin is convinced that social ecology can liberate all potential in the human race as well as guarantee humans a harmonious existence in relation to the rest of the biosphere.

To those who say that Earth centered spirituality enabled tribal culture to live in harmony with the biosphere for millenia, Bookchin says that tribes:

THE DIRECTOR: "...had major flaws that kept humans from the full realization of their potentialities." page 80.

Bookchin doesn't think he is anti-spiritual:

THE DIRECTOR: "...the word spirituality may often mean a decent, indeed, a wholesome sensitivity to nature and its subtle interconnections...." page 12.

But he is adamant that:

THE DIRECTOR: "The moment that human beings fall to their knees before any thing that is "higher" than themselves, hierarchy will have made its

first triumph over freedom, and human backs will be exposed to all the burdens that can be inflicted on them by social domination." page 13.

Chief Seattle's relationship with his Creator makes his path a sinister, hierarchical, anti-freedom, wrong way. Bookchin judges even as his own culture continues its Native culture euthanasia program. Seattle's culture demonstrated its ability to live in balance with Nature for thousands and thousands of years, but Bookchin knows where Seattle's beliefs lead.

Some examiners of *The Thought* may be wondering why we face a dying planet only centuries after the beginning of the Enlightenment, whereas thousands of years of tribal cultures could not finish the planet off. Director Bookchin has his answer:

THE DIRECTOR: "The abuse of these ideals by industrial capitalism through the commodification and mechanization of the world does not negate these ideals by one whit." page 166.

Bookchin firmly rejects Earth-centered spirituality that has been abused or corrupted by a civilization which nevertheless does not negate its importance one whit.

To summarize *The Thought* so far: we are half-humans, with "half-open" eyes, through which Bookchin sees. We can and must choose to "remake" society to liberate the potential humans we can be, so that our society does not finally destroy all humans and most of the rest of the biosphere.

So *The Plan* is, to return as a society to pre-hierarchy, forever stamp out the spirituality that was central to all pre-hierarchical culture, and by doing this, raise ourselves up (in a non-hierarchical sense of course, heh, heh) into the light of freedom. We will remake society into the "ecological society" which will embody the vision of some Europeans of three centuries ago, who,

looking through their "half-open" eyes, thought they were "Enlightened". Humanity and the biosphere will be saved. Nothing else has the slightest possibility of working. The Director has spoken.

If this is not clear to you, have no fear. The brilliance that awaits us all as the power of Reason in humans reigns supreme in the future "ecological society" is breathtaking, according to:

THE DIRECTOR: "Anarchism and social ecology - that is eco-anarchism - must count on the probability that normal people have the untapped power to reason on a level that does not differ from that of humanity's most brilliant individuals." page 198.

And if common sense leads you to doubt, listen to:

THE DIRECTOR: "...every philosophical approach that raises the question of the meaning of humanity must be derived from unprovable presuppositions. page 199.

Note here that unprovable presuppositions, which are the way to the future, are not in any way similar to anything antirational, mystical, intuitive, religious, or mythic, all of which, separately or together, may yet lead us to our ruin.

"Libertarians" know about this potential for Reason in the human race. They work towards the day when humans will set up relationships

between themselves that can liberate this potential. "Libertarians" believe only they understand how much repressed potential Reason there really is in the human race, and only they know how to go about liberating it.

Stay tuned to this edition of *The Thought*, to see if Bookchin, as Director Emeritus, is reasoning on a level that "does not differ from that of humanity's most brilliant individuals", or if he is actually operating on a level that does not differ from the average head of broccoli. You can participate in the final judgement! If you think Bookchin is brilliant, flush your copy of *The Thought* at 5 p.m., if Bookchin is broccoli,

flush at 6 p.m. Anywhere in between, flush between 5 and 6 p.m. At 7 p.m. your toilet will be directly connected to the home of the writer of this paragraph.

on the effect of repressing spirituality, as Bookchin here demands as a precondition for his "ecological society":

Carl Jung: "...our time is caught in a fatal error; we believe we can criticize religious facts intellectually; we think, for instance, like Laplace, that God is a hypothesis which can be subjected to intellectual treatment, affirmation, or

denial. It is completely forgotten that the reason humanity believed in "daemons" has nothing whatever to do with anything external, but depends entirely on naive awareness of the powerful inner effect of autonomous partial-systems. This effect is not stopped by criticizing its name intellectually, nor by describing it as false. The effect is collectively always present; the autonomous systems are always at work, because the fundamental structure of the unconscious is not disturbed by the fluctuations of a transitory consciousness.

If one denies the existence of the partial-systems [i.e. spirituality] , hoping to be rid of them by a criticism of the name, then their effect, which nevertheless continues, cannot be understood, and therefore they cannot be assimilated to consciousness. They then become an inexplicable factor of disturbance.... ...a dangerous situation is created, because the disturbing effects are now attributed to a bad will outside ourselves which is perforce located at our neighbour's.... This leads to collective delusions, instigations to war and revolutions, in a word, to destructive mass psychoses." European commentary on The Secret of the Golden Flower, by Carl Jung, page 111.

Back to our action packed *The Thought* We must get rid of hierarchy because:

THE DIRECTOR: "No ecological society... can ever remove the goal of dominating the natural world until it has radically eliminated the domination of human by human, or in essence, the entire hierarchical structure within society in which the very notion of domination rests. Such an ecological society must reach into the over-laid muck of hierarchy - a muck that oozes out from fissures in family relationships that exist between generations and genders, churches and schools, friendships and lovers,

exploiters and exploited, and hierarchical sensibilities toward the entire world of life.

To recover and go beyond the nonhierarchical world that once formed human society... is an agenda.... Any agenda that contains less than these imperatives is obscure at best and grossly misleading at worst." page 60 - 61.

Yes, its true, the Director Emeritus of the Institute for Social Ecology has said this. Remember, "libertarians" put down the Green Party mercilessly for its "hierarchical" structure. Note that Bookchin does not call for systematic ritual flagellation of his Institute for Social Ecology because it is an Institute or because it has a

Director Emeritus. Before we get too involved in tearing down the Institute rather than considering letting up on ritual flagellation of the Green Party consider Bookchin's remarks on Green political work:

THE DIRECTOR: "We are also in dire need of organization, not the nihilistic chaos of self indulgent egotists in which structure of any kind is decried as "elitist" and centralist"... [to do] the humdrum tasks of spreading ideas and maintaining an organization." page 189 - 190.

Note that "spreading ideas and maintaining an organization" is not squabbling that no one else in the Party is even Green, nor moaning that the only

hope left is that the structure of the Party must be radically changed.

Herein lies some of Bookchin's wisdom. There is a difference between making going beyond hierarchy central to a political agenda and being unable to do anything at all for fear of perpetuating hierarchy.

However, Bookchin has decreed that the Green Party's electoral efforts at national and provincial levels has ruined Green politics completely, and proclaimed that the only Green politics worthy of the name must stop the national/provincial effort and concentrate on municipalities.

Rabid packs of his non-hierarchical non-followers may be forming even now to "remake" the Green Party. Only when the Party has been "radically restructured" will the humdrum tasks of maintaining the organization and spreading ideas be possible.

In B.C., municipalists argued to "radically restructure" the B.C. Green Party, which they claimed was choking the life out of the chapters (i.e. Vancouver Chapter) by its very existence, making anyone associated with it elitist and centralist whether they wanted to be or not. Note: these people are not "self indulgent egotists", EVERYONE ELSE is, except presumably for the non-Green Party people they build their coalitions with.

THE DIRECTOR: "The stylistic militancy readers encounter in this book stems from a troubled sense of urgency. It is vitally incumbent upon us not to let an ecological way of thinking and the movement it can produce degenerate and go the way of traditional radicalism - into the lost mazes of an irrecoverable history. page 18.

Bookchin is on my wavelength here. On the other hand, he wavers:

THE DIRECTOR: "Rarely in history have we been called upon to make a stronger stand." page 167.

Rarely? Evidence for planetary ecological collapse has never

existed in a form so clear to minds produced by Western Civilization regardless of how they are presently repressed. My question for him or his followers is: do we face the gravest crisis of history or not, and if so, could we lighten up on all this "deeper" and "Greener" and "less hierarchical" than thou games?

Bookchin, for reasons bound up with justifying his theory, has issued a proclamation on the subject of buffalo and the English proletariat:

THE DIRECTOR: "No class of proletarians in England suffered less during the Industrial revolution than the huge bison herds that were exterminated on the American

plains.... To speak of humanity's depredation of nature makes a mockery of the unbridled depredation of human by human...." page 93.

Extermination of the buffalo herds along with their habitat by the human species differs from the total of what the English ruling classes did to the English proletariat. If the proletarians were comparable, they would exist now only in special parks or zoos, none of their original habitat would be left on the planet (there would be no jobs) and they would exist as one very small fraction of their former numbers. Bookchin explores waters too deep for meaning to emerge.

THE DIRECTOR: "A brown hare that mutates into a white

one and sees a snow-covered terrain in which to camouflage itself is acting... not simply adapting.... ...it is... making a choice...." page 37.

The Thought is, that evolution is Nature making a choice, thus Nature has chosen humans and their potential consciousness, which humans will use to choose to liberate themselves as they remake society into the "ecological society". Nature is "free", is part of the libertarian project, and even needs humans now to rescue the biosphere from the past ravages of humans. Note, this little story is not in any way similar to a myth. Myth is something that "may yet lead us to our ruin.", which *The Thoughts* not going to do.

THE DIRECTOR: "...the survival of existing mammals might well be just as precarious in the face of ... meaningless natural catastrophe unless there is a conscious, ecologically oriented life-form that has the technological means to rescue them". page 38.

That the "meaningless natural catastrophe" might take the form of mutant primates, the humans, who have degenerated into political, social, and economic relationships that may have already doomed this age of life by destabilizing natural systems such as the Earth's radiation shield or climatic system, and

that mentioning this to the humans now might serve notice to them that now is the time to "remake" society by choosing to become something other than a meaningless natural catastrophe to the biosphere, is probably "sinister ideology".

For comment on the development of ecofeminism we turn again to:

THE DIRECTOR: "...the hope that ecology would enrich feminism has taken the bizarre form of a theistic ecofeminism.... ...male chauvinism is simply replaced by female chauvinism." page 163.

B.C. municipalists at one and the same time proclaim themselves to be ecofeminists.

Bookchin discusses the pre-historic origins of hierarchy:

THE DIRECTOR: "Hierarchy, which first rears its head tentatively with gerontocracies, did not suddenly explode into prehistory. It expanded its place slowly...." page 57.

Pre-history?

THE DIRECTOR: "The humiliation of man by man began early on in the men's hut, when cowering boys lived on a diet of mockery for their inexperience at the hands of adult males; and "small men" lived on a diet of disdain for their limited accomplishments by comparison with those of

"big men"." page 57.

It is comforting to know that Bookchin's imagination can provide where historical records cannot, although once he gets out there into pre-history things seem to get pretty one-dimensional: youthful initiates did not preserve in their own maturity a tradition that destroyed them, or they wouldn't have survived to produce us. You can tell when Bookchin is describing something he has actually seen or experienced about hierarchy:

THE DIRECTOR: "The caring father, who often stands in a warm relationship with his daughter by comparison with a competitive mother, should

remind us that hierarchy is intricate enough on the familial level to give us pause when we consider it on the social level." page 164.

Bookchin gets so emotionally involved with the idea of hierarchy that he forgets how to reason.

According to Bookchin, his "shining example" of participatory democracy, ancient Athens, was a product of inspired leadership acting consciously in an historic situation:

THE DIRECTOR: "What is remarkable about Athens is that the apparently normal trend toward oligarchy was consciously reversed by the radical changes introduced by

Solon, Kleisthenes, and Perikles in the polis's entire institutional structure." page 70.

Election of a philosopher-king type in Canada who would then impose from the top a system of participatory democracy to create the Green society might be in some way comparable. Bookchin, as well as most Greens, would never be caught arguing for a "top-down" solution such as this. He advocates the unprecedented: small groups agitating from the bottom trying to inspire a vision of the ideal society in enough people for a confederation to jell which will grow while the existing State withers away. Ya gotta have a dream.

Bookchin's ideas on consensus decision making are different from B.C. municipalists:

THE DIRECTOR: "...we must disabuse ourselves of the idea that consensus can always be attained in large groups.... It is a hidden tyranny based on unthinking custom, in fact, an atavistic throwback to times when public opinion was as coercive as outright violence (which at least existed in the open). A tyranny of consensus, like the famous "tyranny of structurelessness", demeans a free society...." page 176.

When discussing the rise of civilization from tribalism when ruling elites in the new civilization manipulated myths of before the fall to keep the

oppressed in line, Bookchin notes that myth is a regressive force which cannot result in the creation of or in this case return to a better society. Early "civilized" humans hanging on to myths were:

THE DIRECTOR: "...doomed to failure largely because they lived in dreamlike fantasies of a return to a golden age that was beyond recovery, because of the extent to which even early humanity was separated from a presumed state of pristine animality." page 101.

Bookchin's theory involves a return to a golden past of non-hierarchy. Non-hierarchy is not beyond recovery, whereas a state of pristine animality is. Declaring that return is

impossible while advocating return is quintessential Bookchin. Remember, the Golden Age of Greece was not a golden age, and the White Rabbit chose to be white.

Now let's hear it for the pleasure of living in the country:

THE DIRECTOR: "Like it or not, the city is still the most immediate environment which we encounter and with which we are obliged to deal, beyond the sphere of family and friends, in order to satisfy our needs as social beings." page 183.

Unless you live in the country.

Bookchin must have run into the same NDP stalwarts telling him

to stop existing that ran into me:

THE DIRECTOR: "Nor can we be impeded by taunts that the very idea of a revolutionary project is evidence of sectarianism or radical dogmatism. What today calls itself liberal or left-of-center, to use the prudent political verbiage of our time, is too debilitated intellectually to know what constitutes sectarianism as distinguished from a searching analysis of contemporary social and ecological problems." page 129.

The left-of-centre political formation in Canada would be pleased if the Green Party were to stop contesting elections.

These people "know" that a new revolutionary project is impossible and work themselves into a frenzy when told by Greens that it is necessity.

Funny how municipalists tend to come from left-of-centre backgrounds and seek to repress Green electoral activity. Probably just an old bad habit they'll get over in a few centuries.

THE DIRECTOR: "Greens [elected to parliament in W. Germany] attained little more than public attention for their self serving parliamentary deputies and achieved very little to arrest environmental decay." page 162.

One important point to note

here is that we are not all out in the men's hut listening to "big man" Bookchin heaping derision on our "small" achievements as he dominates over us. Our non self serving Director Emeritus must have, no doubt, to his credit, all manner of lasting achievements in arresting environmental decay. How anything short of global revolution creating the community of communities might be perceived by such a "deep" thinker as Bookchin as having the slightest possibility of lasting as an achievement in arresting environmental decay is a complete mystery. Bookchin doesn't live up to the breathtaking standard of human reason that his theory postulates: his arguments range from the fundamental to the ridiculous.

Bookchin does delve deeper into electoral politics:

THE DIRECTOR: "Ecology movements that enter into parliamentary activities not only legitimate State power at the expense of popular power, but they are obliged to function within the State, ultimately to become blood of its blood and bone of its bone. They must play the game, which means that they must shape their priorities according to predetermined rules over which they have no control. This not only involves a given constellation of relationships that emerges with participation in State power; it becomes an ongoing process of degeneration, a steady

devolution of ideals, practices, and party structures. Each demand for the effective exercise of parliamentary power raises the need for a further retreat from presumably cherished standards of belief and conduct." page 161.

Municipalists non-following non-hierarchical Director Bookchin who condemn Greens running for office at the national and provincial level act as if they can't understand that this definition of "parliamentary activities" extends right into city and town councils. When Larry Anderson complains in the Multilogue that Vancouver Green policy proposals were stolen by other candidates in the civic elections, he

demonstrates that municipalists aren't going into a retreat such as Bookchin describes above: they are already routed.

Let's get back to:

THE DIRECTOR: "A new politics must be created that eschews the snares of parliamentarianism and the immediate gratification of a media-contrived "forum" which is more self-aggrandizing than educational." page 190.

No wonder the Vancouver Chapter has problems with Stuart Parker. Parker can be brilliant in these forums and seeks them out thinking he can contribute to the development of Green politics this way, although at 18 years old his

judgement is not always sound; and of course, the necessary ultimate pigheadedness of the true middle-aged mutant ninja Green can't develop for a few more decades. Until the Vancouver chapter forgets about running in any elections at any level at all, including the municipal elections, they can forget about retaining any credibility while beating on Parker.

Who was it last year, Art Powell? And who will it be now? (The sound of millions of toilets flushing in unison at 7 p.m., exactly when they are all connected to my house, is heard in the background.)

For municipalists, according to the Director, politics is contributing vision to citizen's

groups agitating on single or multiple issues:

THE DIRECTOR: "An ecologically oriented municipalist movement must never delude itself that such mass activities are necessarily lasting ones. They can fade away as quickly as they emerge. One can only hope that they establish a tradition.... ...truly committed members of such a movement must advance with a vision of what society should be like in the long run." page 191.

Why at the same time all Green electoral activity must be repressed because Greens will be co-opted at some levels and not others because the Director says so isn't clear to me. You'd

think it could be valuable to articulate the Green vision in elections at all levels.

What to say to the next attack formation of municipalists you see hovering over your Green Party AGM about to launch their laser guided "dumb" bombs:

THE DIRECTOR: "The present society makes all the rules of the game by which even the most well-intentioned rebels play. If this all-important fact is not clearly seen, morally debilitating compromises will, in fact, become the rule that will lead to an ethics of evil...." page 191.

Municipalists sneer at the Green Party, saying that the games municipalists play are

"real" politics, whereas what the Green Party does is follow rules made by the System that Will Kill Us All. Feel free, in fact feel at liberty to tell it, her, or him, that the rules of the game they play were made by the System that Will Kill Us All. How we ever all get beyond games the system makes the rules for, to the real political work of "remaking society" is unclear, even after Bookchin's many book-ed vision is told. Everyone, hopefully will agree that:

THE DIRECTOR: "Every revolutionary project is, above all, an educational one. The rest must come from the real world in which people live and the changes that occur in it." page 197.

Perhaps our municipalists will take this to heart: "driving home" their not fully articulated, contradictory, and incomplete ideas into all the rest of us "shallow" Greens, while attempting to control what we do, will never be perceived as an educational project.

The clearest reason to question Bookchin comes over his idea of abundance:

THE DIRECTOR: "...there is not the remotest chance that [the ecological society] can be achieved today unless humanity is free to reject bourgeois notions of abundance precisely because abundance is available to all...." page 169 - 170.

Even Brundtland didn't pretend that there could be abundance for all. She calculated the fastest possible rate of global economic growth and pretended that the benefits of this growth could be directed to the Third World in order that the dramatic rise in population there could stabilize as living standards rose. Leave aside the stark fact that capitalism is presently acting to bleed the Third World white and demonstrates no possibility of conforming to Brundtland's vision. At least Brundtland was clear when addressing the other stark fact that unless global population stabilizes at some point ecological balance will prove impossible to achieve. Overpopulation is not a possibility to:

THE DIRECTOR: "The resurgence of a new Malthusianism that contends that growth rates in population tend to exceed growth rates in food production is the most sinister ideological development of all." page 11.

This branding as "sinister ideologues" any who suggest that endless growth of population may eventually outstrip the ability to grow food on a finite planet is Bookchin at his most ridiculous. The idea that using technology and clearing wild Nature for land to grow the food for ever increasing numbers of humans may destabilize some other essential life support system doesn't seem to enter

Bookchin's head. "All things are interconnected" is the way Chief Seattle put it, or "global warming threatens consequences that rank second only to global nuclear war" say hundreds of the cream of climatologists, but hey, these people are all "sinister ideologues".

Bookchin labours to distinguish from technology that has developed in ways that has brought it into disrepute because it has been warped by capitalism, and technology that has become wondrous in the liberated "ecological society". Capitalist technology has enabled the human population to expand beyond the life support capacity of the Earth. Demonstrating that he really doesn't distinguish between

capitalist and libertarian technology, Bookchin can't bring himself to find anything wrong with a growing human population. He must proclaim that the "new Malthusians" are sinister ideologues.

Global population stability was envisioned by Brundtland as being twice as many people living as there are today, consuming ten times as many goods per year. This magnitude of activity would result in dramatic yearly additions to the accumulated impact presently destabilizing vital planetary life support systems, and this isn't even "abundance". People would still be slogging it feeling poor as they do in Vancouver today: the Brundtland idea is to spread the "prosperity" of Vancouver throughout the world.

Mathematicians in the audience could project today's exponential growth rate of the human population to a future when humanity must expand outwards into the universe in all directions at the speed of light merely to accommodate the increase in mass as the population increases. I'm so glad Bookchin is here to warn us of "sinister ideologues" like mathematicians.

Municipalists need MORE. Not only is being able to turn away from this planet killing dream of "bourgeois abundance" for all something that can come only after all in the human race experience "bourgeois abundance", but libertarian municipalist forms of

government are described as impossible until abundance arrives:

THE DIRECTOR: "Nor will a participatory democracy ever be achieved by society as a whole as long as a public life is available only to those who have the free time to participate in it." page 170.

Bookchin is uneasy. Critics have savaged his ancient Athenian participatory democracy ideal by saying that the free time of the citizens there which produced this "shining" example of the liberation of human potential came at the expense of the non-freedom of the slaves and the women. Bookchin realizes that utopias implemented on the

backs of one fraction of the population are imperfect:

THE DIRECTOR: "The technical limits of past eras, the fact that pleasure could rarely be separated from parasitism in a demanding world of toil, made all of these movements and utopias elitist." page 121.

This is why the fog rolls in during discussion of technology. If libertarianism will make technological development wondrous, just thinking that libertarianism is possible has the same effect on the warped technology already developed by capitalism. Bookchin will replace the slaves with pre-libertarian warped capitalist technology, which will

produce abundance for all five, ten, or twenty billion of us, and lay the foundation for participatory democracy by giving us all the free time to participate. Only then, and suddenly, one assumes, the potential of us all to reason at the level of the most brilliant individuals of history will be liberated, and we all will realize at the same time in a brilliant *flash* : Oops, the planet is dead.

My dear Bookchin and your non-hierarchical non-followers, your ideal system must stabilize the planetary life support systems, and if you can't do it until after a dramatic expansion of what is already going on now forget it. Absolutely everybody else in politics on the planet is calling for dramatic

expansion of industrial civilization even as vital planetary life support systems crumble. Greens are looking for another way.

As Larry Anderson's essay in the Green Multilogue Vol.5 no.5 stated: "The principle of participatory democracy is both a means and an end in this vision. As someone said long ago, the means are the ends in embryo." Only because Larry states that his essay is exploring "some implications of Murray Bookchin's emerging concept of radical municipalism", I turn to Bookchin himself, who identifies the certain someone Larry sort of quotes from long ago:

THE DIRECTOR: "We come, here, to a terribly flawed model of social change that Marx introduced into the revolutionary project of the last hundred years - on that was to be implicitly accepted by non-Marxist radicals as well. This is the belief that a new society is born within the womb of the old and eventually grows out of it life a robust child that commandeers or destroys its parents." page 133.

The key word is "grows". Bookchin makes a distinction between Marxists who talk about scientific laws governing the growth of the new society which will end capitalism, and libertarians who "choose" to remake the society and end

capitalism. Larry probably meant "this means the end of all embryomorphs" or something like that.

THE DIRECTOR: "Marxism anchored itself deeply in an embryonic theory of society, a science... [which] ... virtually silenced all earlier revolutionary voices for more than a century and held history itself in the icy grip of a... remarkably bourgeois theory of development based on the domination of nature and the centralization of power." page 169.

Now when it comes to "revolutionaries" creeping rat-like around rotten, hoary Academe while claiming superiority for their politics,

listen to:

THE DIRECTOR: "That Marxist studies have retreated into the enclaves of the Academe is testimony to its death as a revolutionary movement. It has become safe and toothless because it is so intrinsically bourgeois in its overall orientation." page 139.

THE DIRECTOR: "Anarchism is not a product of the labours of a genius who spent most of his life in the London Museum and delivered a socialist "science" to the world of his time." page 198.

The fact that the annual Learned Societies conference is suggested as THE place for "libertarian municipalists" to convene to cook up, among

other things, their advanced Green Party flagellation rituals, is only purely coincidental. It is true that some municipalists do have "day jobs" in Academe, but to describe this as a retreat assumes that "libertarian municipalism" ever was anywhere.

THE DIRECTOR: "...anarchist theorists [are] the authentic radical initiators of ecological ideas in our own day". page 198.

And here I thought, after seeing how eco-anarchists need abundance and refuse to believe that the limits of the human impact on the biosphere have been reached, that they just bolted ecology onto a theory of social change exhumed from a dying past. It

just goes to show you how mistaken you can be. Note: this favorable review of eco-anarchists by Bookchin has nothing to do with his claim to be Director Emeritus of them all.

Bookchin's vision goes on for thousands of pages. Our "libertarian municipalists" use him along with many others as source material, they throw all the ideas into a grab bag, and "rotate" a random sample into prominence periodically. They sound as if they are the black "white" people (those blacks who ruled black colonies for the whites) that Frantz Fanon wrote about. Bookchin powerfully calls for: "Liberty!", "Freedom!", and "Reason!"; and our municipalists echo: "...berty!", "...eedom!", and "...eason!".

Make sure to watch for much more of *The Thought of Director Bookchin* coming soon from an embryomoron near you.

We must follow Bookchin now! I'm calling out to all Greens to join the movement to Libertarian Closet-ism: groups will hide in any closet Bookchin comes within 500 kilometers of and leap out periodically to flagellate him liberally (even if he abandons municipalism and becomes a Streetist). Radical Earth-ists are even now preparing a giant pit to cover him up, should he evade the Closet-ists.

Yes, folks! I'm talking about Trouble! Right here in River City! Yes! That's Trouble! (chants of *trouble, trouble, trouble*, going on in the background) Trouble starts with "T" and that rhymes with "G", and THAT is the first letter in "GROWTH"! And if we want to stop GROWTH we have to remake society! And we aren't going to! Which is why we all must SAVE BROCCOLI NOW! Because we all care about the environment! Be sure to make out your huge cheque to me and my campaign to Stop Broccoli Clearcutting: "BROCCOLI FOREVER!"



The Thought of Murray Bookchin is thought to have influenced the thoughts of "libertarian", or "radical " municipalists. Here, for the first time in a second rate, xerox format,

The Thought that is behind the emerging reality of the global confederation of municipalities that will explode onto the world stage. The thought was to make *The Thought* that is thought to have influenced the thoughts of the originators of this exciting revolution more accessible. Convenient size guaranteed not to impede drain flow when flushed.