

from a beneficent, useful institution, to one—the "State"—productive of terror, evil, hatred and agony. When mankind developed beyond the point reached by the Indian, and had discovered the art of smelting iron ore, then the democratic equality of former communal society had received a severe blow, for a difference in status—along the line of SEX—was created, the males being able, the females unable, to wield the new Tool of Production. Based as it was, on physical qualities, this difference of status, at first, could not have been very deep. Nevertheless, it was the beginning of that division of society into CLASSES—one able, the other unable, to feed itself—into the Independent and the Dependent, into Masters and Slaves, Ruler and Ruled.

But it was when that mightier revolution—the discovery of the Domestication of Animals, the Adoption of Agriculture and, thereby, the Advent of Slavery—had torn society into **Antagonistic Economic Classes** that we find a simultaneous revolution occur in the nature of the Central Directing Authority, for, instead of this body continuing to aid its fellow communists in carrying on the work of society, it now mainly devotes its efforts to holding down the dependent, the slave, the ruled, until, lo and behold! it finally blossoms into the modern "State," the Capitalist State, the Capitalist Government—backed up by its army, judges and police—as an instrument largely, if not solely, of exploitation, of oppression and repression of its subjects. To sum up—under Primitive Communism, the executive council was an organization for managing the affairs of the whole group. But with the advent of Slavery, this council was replaced by the Political State, merely representing the interests of a minority—the Ruling Class—and thus becoming an instrument of craft and tyranny.

It is important, therefore, to note that the word "State" is a term of evil signification and will always be so, as long as it is what it is—the executive committee of the Ruling Minority whose interests are opposed to the general welfare.

However, unlike the Anarchists, we Socialists believe in a central directing authority. As Karl Marx points out, a solitary fiddler in his own room may play as he pleases. But, with a whole orchestra, a conductor to ensure harmony and unity of results, is necessary, and such a man is no more superfluous nor an oppressor than is a freely and democratically elected picnic committee. Our modern system of society is like an orchestra in that it is so interdependent that a conductor—a Central Directing Authority—is required for the processes of production and distribution; a body of Industrial Experts whose duty it will be to bring to all, themselves included, health, wealth and happiness.

Under an absolute monarchy, the State stands for the interests of one man alone, as illustrated by the cynical remark of Louis XIV.—"The state? I am the state!" Under a system where the big monied men are supreme, the state only represents their interests as opposed to those of the masses of the people. Only where the whole of the people are supreme—under **SOCIALISM**—will the political state die out and once more, but upon an immeasurably higher plane, will we have the free, democratic, beneficent Council of Primitive Communism, but with the latter's powers for good indefinitely multiplied by the tremendous resources of this, the Age of Machinery and of the Domination of Nature's Forces.

Today, "politics" stink, and to call a person a politician, is a grave insult; for the Private Property State has many unspeakable crimes to answer for, and so long as the present economic conditions exist which create the State, these evils will continue to be produced.

Slavedom, Serfdom, Wagedom—each such stage of society through which the race has passed and is now passing, has had its particular kind of State Oppressor to fight against. Yea! even the Nobility and the Capitalist Class themselves have had to fight their way upwards to their freedom, just as today the Working Class and their allies from other classes are fighting "the last fight that unites the Human Race" as the chorus of the Internationale puts it.

With the downfall of the Capitalist State will disappear the last of all state despotisms. Then will arise that free Society in which the government of the liar, the scoundrel, the grafter, the schemer, the

A Study in Class-Consciousness

PSYCHOLOGY is the science that deals with the phenomena of consciousness, or, in other words, with the workings of the mind. There are different branches of the science—animal psychology dealing with animal consciousness or the workings of the animal mind; child psychology dealing with the consciousness of children or the workings of the child mind; our humorists speak of female psychology and strive in vain to explain the workings of the female mind; and, in analogy, we have proletarian class-psychology that deals with the workings of the proletarian mind, explaining proletarian class-consciousness.

The masters fear this proletarian class-consciousness, for it is a revolutionary force; and, like ostriches burying their heads in the sands, they seek to do away with it by ignoring it. Their official vendors of delusions tell us that worker and capitalist are the same species, identical in mind and body. For my own part I can see no strong similarity in the two animals, the one that works and the one that shirks. There is a sufficient difference in their appearance and mode of living to justify the expectation of a difference in their mode of thinking. Moreover, psychology teaches that environment and manner of living control the workings of the mind completely. Evidence of the truth of this is abundant. A person accustomed to an environment of cleanliness and order, if suddenly set to work in an environment of dirt and disorder, is quite at a loss what to do; his nervous forces fail to respond to the stimulus of an environment to which he is unaccustomed.

Consider the use of environment in military training; how changed is the whole mode of thinking of a man after a few years organized slaughter. With changes in their manner of making a living whole races have changed their essential characteristics. The present inhabitants of Europe were formerly the peaceful dwellers of the plains of Asia; but the drying up of these plains forced them to journey westward; and in doing so they changed from peaceful tribes to a most warlike race, terrorizing all Europe as they went. A similar degree of change has taken place in the Indians of North America, but with a directly opposite result.

Having established this law, that one's way of thinking is dependent upon his environment and manner of making a living, let us apply it to the two classes in modern society. What is there common in their physical environment and manner of making a living? Nothing! The environment of one is comfort, ease, plenty, and, to their own degraded tastes, beauty; the environment of the other is discomfort, hardship, want and ugliness. The one gains his living by shirking, the other by working; the one through having property, the other through being propertyless; the one having wealth to exchange for whatever his desire may suggest, the other having but the energy in his body to exchange for enough coarse food, shoddy clothing and inadequate shelter to keep that energy in his body. Should we expect much similarity in the workings of their minds? Should not the most dominant idea in the mind of the worker be that of the class-basis of society; and the spirit of revolt be everlastingly aflame in his breast; and the master-class his sworn enemy whose propaganda he would scorn, getting his news from papers written from his own class viewpoint, listening only to speakers with his own revolutionary ideals? This surely is what one might expect by the application of the law of environment to the mind of the wage-slave. But we all know only too well that the mind of the typical wage-slave is the direct opposite of this. The point requiring explanation when setting forth psychologic law is not how the few class-conscious come to be, but rather how the great mass of the proletariat fail to be class-conscious.

Certainly, we can find nothing in the physical en-

panderer and the oppressor, will give way to the Central Directing Authority of Industrial Experts drawn from amongst the ranks, and representing the interests, of their equally free, educated, happy and honest fellows—the **Socialist Democracy!**

"PROGRESS."

environment or the manner of getting a living of the proletariat to explain why the great proletarian mass is not class-conscious. There is but one ground left to explain it on, and that is the mental as opposed to the physical environment, that hazy agglomeration of words and ideology that surrounds the mind of the worker and acts as a buffer between his mind and the realities outside it. What is its nature, its source? From where do the workers get their ideas? From master-class press and master-class pulpit alone. "Whoever pays the piper calls the tune." Through these organs do the workers get their ideas of master-class morality, or such morality as helps the master-class in power; of master-class loyalty, or loyalty to the master-class; of master-class efficiency, or efficiency for the benefit of the master-class; of master-class philosophy or an explanation of the universe that makes the present master-class and its manner of running the world the centre, the pivot of the whole universe, the very perfect thing that all time has labored to bring forth and that, having brought forth, labors to maintain for ever, denying its whole support to any other social system that aspires to usurp power. It is in this master-class propaganda that we find the key to the whole problem.

Words are of immense importance and power. In the evolution of mind the use of words is necessary before the mind can generalize percepts into concepts, or formulate ideas. For example, an animal or very young child can perceive red, yellow and green objects, and, due to the different optical sensations derived from them, differentiate between yellow, red and green. But without having words or names for these colors, he cannot form the abstract or general concept of "color." The reason for this is that so long as he perceives the color and has no name or word for it, the color can be known to him only as a certain sensation; it is impossible to think of qualitatively different sensations as one or the same; consequently, until he has names for these colors by which he knows them apart from the sensations produced by the sight of them, he cannot generalize them into the one concept, color in the abstract.

In this way, in fact, it can be shown that our whole world of ideas or concepts, is based upon words. Without words mind could never develop beyond the stage of perception, sensations, or feelings. The whole difference between us of today who can calculate the motions of the stars, and the primitive savage who can't count as high as four, is simply a difference in our equipment of words and symbols. Whoever controls the workers' world of worlds controls all there is to the workers' mind that is a development beyond our savage who can't count to four. Hence the ease with which the master-class is able to restrict the development of class-consciousness. All it need do is to provide the worker with a satisfactorily thick mist of the bourgeoisie world of words, of bourgeoisie ideology, and check (with a healthy supply of order-in-council)—any influx of ideas from the class-conscious workers.

The task for us, the class-conscious workers, is to replace the whole mental being of our fellow-slaves with a knowledge of realities, a well-nigh impossible work were it not for the gratuitous propaganda of the capitalist class in proving our theories as fast as we state them.

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Labor Defence Fund

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