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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

Eighth Year—No. 377

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, May 30, 1908

Price Five Cents

ONE THING SETTLED

The Socialist Party National Convention of 1908 settled one thing for good. It made it certain that the Socialist Party is a Wage Workers Party.

The "Principles" adopted as the preamble and introduction to the platform are absolutely unequivocal on this point. The following words are high warner mark of all Socialist platforms:

"THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN WAGE WORKERS AND CAPITALISTS GROWS EVER FIERCER AND HAS NOW BECOME THE ONLY VITAL ISSUE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

That does not say "Workingmen" or "Workers" or "Producers," but "WAGE WORKERS," that is the Proletariat, exactly the specific word employed by Marx and Engels, "PROLETARIANS of all lands, unite."

Hereafter, it will not be possible for any Socialist to claim the Socialist Party stands for all classes alike. The political primacy is given to the Wage Workers because theirs is the economic primacy. As the platform proceeds to say: "THE WAGE WORKING CLASS HAS THE MOST VITAL AND DIRECT INTEREST IN ABOLISHING THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM"; and "THE WAGE WORKERS CANNOT BE FREED FROM EXPLOITATION WITHOUT CONQUERING THE POLITICAL POWER."

This crowning achievement of the Socialist Party in America at the close of its first eight years' existence, signifies its right to live and achieve. It proves a degree of enlightenment, a deliberate class consciousness, which insures future victory.

The selection of Debs and Hanford, two typical Wage Workers, as standard bearers in this campaign, still further marks the Party's coming of age. The brushing aside of the professional aspirants, Thompson, Simons and Steadman, with insignificant votes, was a splendid manifestation of virile proletarianism.

The attitude of the majority of the farmer delegates in the Convention was remarkable. The actual farmers disowned their would-be middle class and "intellectual" leaders. The old line Populists have been reading scientific Socialist literature and have learned that the only hope of the Agrarians lies with the Proletarians. It was the farmers from Oklahoma and Texas and Oregon who refused the Middle Class Resolutions prepared by an Opportunist Committee, and demanded a revolutionary declaration instead. Thousands of small farmers are indeed disinherited and exiled Wage Workers who rightfully understand that modern capitalist development has given birth to the Wage Class as the predestined instrument of the world's emancipation.

The Socialist Press will undoubtedly take a brace now. We shall hear no more silly jeers at "Skyleftist" Socialism or jokes about the "Prowling Terriers" or flings at "R-r-revolutionary" doctrines or loud boasts about "Constructive Socialism."

The fact is, the only Socialism which is constructive, and not reactionary and self-destructive, is that which bases itself on the Wage Class. It may be humiliating for some of us of the professional and business sub-classes who instinctively regard ourselves as superior to "common laborers," to admit these proletarians to supremacy, but there is no escape. It is their destiny and ours. There is no liberty for the rest of mankind save in the victory of the Proletariat.

That the Socialist Party of the United States in its convention of 1908, democratically made of one delegate for every two hundred of its members, consciously and deliberately placed itself on record as primarily a Wage Class Party, is occasion for supreme self gratulation and an augury of certain triumph.

ABOLISH THE CHAIN GANG!

After waiting in vain for Mayor Miller to keep his pledge to abolish the disgraceful and barbarous chain gang, the Socialist Party of Seattle at its business meeting held Thursday evening, May 21st, voted to circulate the following petition:

PETITION FOR NEW ORDINANCE.

We, the undersigned qualified voters of the City of Seattle, propose and ask the enactment of an ordinance which is as follows:

An ordinance amending Sections No. 2 and No. 4 of ordinance "An Ordinance Providing for the Working of Prisoners Confined in the City Jail, Having Been Duly Convicted of an Offense Against any Ordinance of the City of Seattle."

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE CITY OF SEATTLE, as follows:

Section 1. That Section No. 2 of Ordinance No. 16373, entitled "An Ordinance Providing for the Working of Prisoners," etc., be and the same is hereby amended to read as follows:

"All persons during their term of imprisonment or commitment, after conviction and sentence by the Police Justice of the City of Seattle to a term of imprisonment in the city jail of said city, whether in default of payment of fine or otherwise, may be required to work on each day of said term, except Sundays, to perform eight (8) hours' labor upon the streets, public buildings, lots, engine houses, sewers or public grounds of such city, or other property of the city, or property of which the city has direct charge or control, or in clearing the crossings of streets in said city."

Sec. 2. That Section No. 4 of said ordinance be and the same hereby is amended to read as follows: "Prisoners performing labor, as provided for in the preceding sections, shall be in the care and custody of the Chief of Police of the City of Seattle, whose duty it shall be to see that such prisoners are guarded to prevent escape, but such prisoners while at work or while passing to or from such work, shall not be required to wear chains, shackles or other irons."

This form of petition is the one prescribed by law and had to be followed. Accompanying the petition are the following resolutions:

Be it resolved, By the Socialist

Party of the City of Seattle, that whereas, the present city administration has failed to make good its pre-election promise to abolish the chain-gang maintained by the police department of this city, we once more desire to call the attention of the public to the fact that the existence of this barbarous institution is a disgrace to an enlightened community. We know, as a fact, that practically all of the men subjected to this humiliation are either merely unfortunate workmen, caught in the net of the city's licensed vices, or the more fortunate unemployed. We consider that the chain-gang treatment is conducive to a career of crime. We appeal to the people of Seattle to suppress this offense against human sentiment, and it is further,

Resolved, That an initiative petition for an ordinance amending the present law, be submitted to the voters of this city.

SOCIALIST VEAL

Some of the rawest rot or rottenest rawness ever published in any paper on earth appeared in the "Chicago Daily Socialist's" report of the Socialist National Convention, the most of it and worst of it under the name, "Beyer." Many readers of "The Socialist" must have seen it, but as a "horrible example" and to justify our strong language we quote a bit. The first quotation is supposed to be a description of a song or two by a Hebrew Musical Club at the Garrick Theater, Sunday morning, May 10th, 1908.

(From "Chicago Daily Socialist," "National Edition," Tuesday, May 12, page 1, column 4).

"A cry rent the heavy air, even as the curtains of the Temple were rent on a memorable occasion two thousand odd years ago. A thousand Socialists, and yet again a thousand became transformed. Their bodies dropped away from them. They became souls, mere souls. For the cry was the cry of Rachel, the wall from Ramah—a mother crying for children, and weeping because they were not. Before the cry space and time were annihilated. Every soul in that vast audience harked back to the falling walls and burning shrines of Jerusalem; every one saw Israel under the savage hoofs of Titus' legions. It was the cry from the beginning."

And so on for some two columns.

Talk of yellow journalism. This is mellow journalism. We have heard of cub reporting. This is puppy reporting.

Cut it out, Simons, cut it out, if you don't want to make your daily

and the cause it represents, the laughing stock of the world. Socialists are not such veal.

Here's another, same issue, page 3, column 2. Wanhope made a good speech evidently. But poor Wanhope, when served up by "Beyer" as follows:

"Wanhope paused and drew himself up to his full height. Then he hurled the thunderbolt.

"IF MEN HAVE SOULS TO BE SAVED I SAY TO YOU THAT THE DEADLIEST ENEMY OF THE SOUL OF MAN IS THE DAMNABLE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM."

There was a hush over the vast assemblage. The strained and eager faces were for a moment quiet. Then each man looked at his neighbor as if a god had spoken. The utterance was Delphic. Then the strained, eager faces turned again toward the speaker, but this time the jaws were set. There was determination in those white faces. They had seen a vision of Satan, seated on his blazing throne, "Fondling a screaming thing his friends had flayed," and the screaming thing was humanity."

Such is Socialism as she was reported to thousands of waiting subscribers throughout the United States. Good Lord deliver us!

Mills' paper, Walter Thomas Mills' paper, which only a short year or so ago, was advertised to be the biggest yet, twelve pages and universal, suspended publication last week, just after having gathered in all the second year renewal subscriptions possible. W. T. himself has been gone several months selling new stock for some new ventures. But he no longer bleeds the Socialist Party.

Every Socialist in Seattle should begin to make Socialist votes. How? Why, first, get your man to attend the Sunday night meetings at Egan's Hall, Arcade Block, Second Ave. Make him a regular attendant. We are a selfish lot. We "go to meetings" like a few holders in a church, and never think to take along a workman friend with us. Lets wake up.

[Note to above.—While reading this in proof, we learn that the owner of Egan's Hall has turned us out. Probably because we would not refuse Emma Goldman the chance to debate with us on that platform. This is the second hall, or third, we have lost. Free speech for Socialists may yet be driven underground.]

You can make good money hustling subscribers for "The Socialist." If you are out of a job, here's your chance, whether you are a Socialist or not. Write to Ault and he'll put you next.

VOTE IT DOWN!

The provision that the new National Constitution shall not go into effect immediately, but not till January 1, 1909, should certainly be voted down.

It was passed by the Convention under the misapprehension that an election of Executive Committee and National Secretary would thus be avoided in the midst of the National Campaign.

But the exact opposite is the fact. If the old constitution remains in force the balance of this year, we shall have to elect these officials by national referendum beginning, November 15th, with the call for nominations. If the new constitution goes into effect at once the National officers will be chosen by the far less troublesome method provided in the new instrument, namely, by the National Committee.

Another point is that, if the new constitution does NOT go into effect till January 1, 1909, THERE WILL BE NO ELECTION OF NATIONAL OFFICERS TILL NOVEMBER 1910. In this case the present officers will hold over till February, 1911, serving three full years, though elected for only one year.

Whatever way you look at it, the new constitution should go into effect at once.

VOTE DOWN THE 1909 PROVISION, COMRADES.

THIS TOO!

That foolish section which provides for a referendum conducted by the National office in states where there is a question of validity of title of state officers, should also be defeated.

It is impracticable, unworkable. Nobody can possibly tell "WHEN THE CONTROVERSY BEGAN."

But the main objection is that it allows decision of party validity wholly without reference to the principles involved and solely on a majority of votes—which might be Democratic or Republican votes.

VOTE DOWN THE SECTION ON STATE REFERENDUM FROM NATIONAL OFFICE.

HISTORICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF KARL MARX

By Karl Kautsky

Translated at the request of "The Socialist" by Ernest Untermann

5. Unification of the Labor Movement and Socialism

The materialist conception of history marks by itself an epoch. With it begins a new era of science, in spite of all reluctance of bourgeois learning. It marks an epoch, not merely in the history of thought, but also in the "history of the struggle for social evolution, of politics in the widest and highest meaning of the word. For by means of it the unification of the labor movement and of Socialism was accomplished and the proletarian class struggle endowed with the greatest strength of which it is capable.

The labor movement and Socialism are by no means identical from the outset. The labor movement arises, with necessity of itself as a resistance against industrial capitalism, wherever this appears, expropriates the laboring masses, oppresses them, but at the same time crowds and unites them in large enterprises and industrial cities. The most primitive form of the labor movement is the purely economic one, the struggle for wages and labor time, which at first assumes merely the form of simple outbreaks of despair, or unprepared revolts, but is soon carried over into higher forms by labor organization. Along with it appears at an early stage the political struggle. The bourgeois itself requires in its struggles against feudalism the help of the proletariat and calls upon it for that purpose. In this way the laborers soon learn to value the significance of political freedom and political power for their own purposes. Particularly universal suffrage soon becomes in England and France the objects of the political efforts of the proletarians, and leads in England, during the thirties, to the formation of a proletarian party, the Chartists.

Socialism arises even before that time. But by no means among the proletariat. True, it is a product of capitalism, just as the labor movement is. Like the labor movement, socialism arises from the desire to escape the miseries, which capitalist exploitation brings upon the laboring classes. However, the resistance of the proletariat arises of itself in the labor movement, whereas a large laboring population congregates, whereas socialism requires a deep insight into the nature of modern society. All socialism rests upon the understanding, that capitalist misery cannot be abolished so long as bourgeois society lasts, that this misery rests upon the private property in means of production and cannot disappear until it does. Upon this point all socialist systems agree. They differ only about the ways that should be chosen for the purpose of abolishing this private property, and in their conceptions of the new social property that is to take its place.

Although the expectations and suggestions of some socialists were at times rather naive, yet the understanding, upon which they were based, required a social science that was wholly inaccessible to the proletariat during the first decades of the nineteenth century. It is true that a man could arrive at socialist understanding only when he placed himself upon proletarian ground and looked at bourgeois society from this point of view. But at the same time it had to be a man who commanded the means of science, which was then even more than at present accessible for bourgeois circles only. Even though the labor movement develops naturally and inevitably out of capitalist production wherever this reaches a certain height, socialism required for its development not merely capitalism, but also a meeting of extraordinary circumstances, such as occurred but rarely. In any event, however, socialism could have its first beginning only in a bourgeois environment. In England, until very recently, socialism has even been mainly propagated by bourgeois elements.

This fact might appear in contradiction with the Marxian theory of the class struggle. But it would be so only, if the bourgeois class had ever adopted socialism anywhere, or if Marx had declared it to be impossible that single non-proletarian individuals could, from particular motives, accept the point of view of the proletariat.

Marx has always contended no more than that the working class is the only power which can consummate socialism. In other words, the proletariat can free itself only by its own power. But this is by no means equivalent to saying that only proletarians can show it the way to that goal.

That socialism does not amount to anything, unless it is backed by a strong labor movement, need not be proved any more today. Not so clear is the reverse side of the medal, namely that the labor movement can develop its full power only, when it shall have understood and accepted socialism.

Socialism is not the product of ethics standing outside of time, space and all class distinctions. Fundamentally and primarily it is the science of society from the point of view of the proletariat. But science serves not merely for the satisfaction of our curiosity and inquisitiveness in trying to understand the unknown and mysterious, it also has an economic aim, namely that of saving energy. It makes it possible for men to find their way more easily through reality, to apply their strength more efficiently, and thus to perform and accomplish at all times the maximum of the work possible under the existing circumstances. In its points of departure science serves directly and consciously such purposes of saving energy. The more it develops and departs from its starting point, the more intermediate links come between its exploring activity and its practical effects. However, the connection between the two can merely be obscured, not abolished thereby.

Thus the proletariat's science of society, socialism, serves to make possible the most effective application of its strength and thus the highest development of its powers. This science accomplishes this so much better, the more perfect it becomes itself, the deeper its understanding of the reality opened up by it.

Socialist theory is by no means an idle play of parlor scientists, but a very practical thing for the fighting proletariat.

Its principal weapon is the combination of its total mass in powerful and independent organizations, free from all bourgeois influences. This it cannot accomplish without a socialist theory, which alone is able to discover the common proletarian interest in the varied multiplicity of the different proletarian strata and to separate them all sharply and permanently from the bourgeois world.

This cannot be accomplished by that naive labor movement, which arises of itself among the laboring classes against the increasing capitalism, and which is devoid of every theory.

Take a look, for instance, at the labor unions. They are organizations of trades, which seek to protect the immediate interests of their members. But how different are these interests in the individual trades, how different those of the seamen from those of the coal miners, those of the cab-drivers from those of the typesetters! Without a socialist theory they cannot recognize the identity of their interests, without it the various strata of proletarians face one another as strangers, or even as enemies.

Since a labor union defends only the immediate interests of its members, it is not, merely for that reason, antagonistic to the whole bourgeois world, but primarily to the capitalists of its own sphere. Apart from these capitalists there are other bourgeois elements, who derive their existence directly or indirectly from the exploitation of proletarians, and who are thus interested in the bourgeois order of society and will oppose every attempt to make an end of proletarian exploitation, but who have no interest at all in having labor conditions in that particular line very bad. Whether a spinner of Manchester earned 2 shillings or 2½ shillings per day, whether he worked 10 or 12 hours per day, would be immaterial to a great landlord, a banker, a newspaper owner, a lawyer, so long as they didn't own spinning stock. Such people might be interested in making concessions to labor unions, in order to obtain in return their services in politics. In this way it became possible that labor unions, which were not enlightened by a socialist theory, could be made to serve ends that were anything but proletarian.

But even worse things were possible and happened. Not all proletarian strata are able to form labor organizations. The distinction between organized and unorganized laborers arose. Wherever the organized laborers are filled with socialist thought, they become the most vigorously combative sections of the proletariat, the champions of their entire class. Where they lack this thought, they are prone to become aristocratic, to lose not alone all interest for the unorganized laborers, but to place themselves frequently in opposition to them, to make their organization difficult, and to monopolize the benefits of organization. The unorganized laborers, on the other hand, are incapable of fighting, of rising, without the help of the organized laborers. Without the assistance of these they sink into poverty so much the more, the higher the organizations rise. In this way the organized labor movement, in spite of the increasing strength of some proletarian strata, may bring about a direct weakening of the entire proletariat, unless the organizations are imbued with the socialist spirit.

Neither can the political organization of the proletariat develop its full power without this spirit. This is plainly shown by the first labor party, the Chartists of England, born in 1835. It is true, that Chartism contained some very far-reaching and far-seeing elements, but in its totality it followed up no definite socialist program. It had only some practical aims, which were directly obtainable, above all universal suffrage, although this was not supposed to be an end in itself, but a means to an end; but the end, for the Chartists as a body, consisted only in some immediate economic demands, particularly the normal Ten Hour Day.

The first disadvantage of this was that the party did not become a pure class party. Universal suffrage was a thing which interested also the little bourgeois.

Some may think that it would be an advantage, if the small bourgeois as such would join the labor party. But this would make this party only more numerous, not stronger. The proletariat has its own interests and its own methods of fighting, which differ from those of all other classes. It is hemmed in by uniting with other classes and cannot develop its full strength. It is true, that we socialists welcome small business men and farmers, if they wish to join us, but only on condition that they place themselves upon proletarian ground and feel like proletarians. Our socialist program is a guarantee that only such small business and small farmer elements will join us. The Chartists did not have such a program, and for this reason numerous little bourgeois elements joined in their struggle for universal suffrage, who little understood and sympathized with proletarian interests and methods of fighting. The natural consequence of this were hard internal fights within Chartism, which weakened it considerably.

The defeat of the revolution of 1848 made an end, for a decade, to all political labor movements. When the European proletariat began to stir once more, the English laboring class again took up the fight for universal suffrage. A resurrection of Chartism was to be expected.

Continued on Page Four

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THE BLANKET STIFF
By Hubert Langerock
The blanketstiff, that typical product of western industrial conditions, has had quite a hard time of it lately. Answering in the "Saturday Evening Tribune" an article of Tom Sladden's in "The Socialist" an anonymous writer desparingly voices the opinion that Sladden's ideal of the real socialist is the blanketstiff. I hold no brief to speak for Oregon's state secretary, he is more than able to handle his own case, but I have been recently in a professional way, put in rather close touch with our laboring population, shared their life, handled great numbers of them, though still remaining a wage-worker myself and I know by experience that he does not deserve any of the scornful or philanthropic appreciations so indiscriminately hurled at him.
To read in a so-called Socialist paper, expressions like the one alluded to, is sufficient proof that the man who utters them has not yet escaped the ante-Marxian period of Sunday school idealism and is just applying to himself a qualification whose meaning he fails to grasp.
For the proletarian without a permanent abode, without tools, without any other than a very few most indispensable elementary personal belongings that travels over railroad tracks and highways is the particular and special product of our economic conditions. Capitalism has created him and all the remnants of previous economic conditions, the petty retailer, the self-satisfied skilled mechanic and the illusion-fed counter-jumper are all undergoing just now the effects of a process of evolution that will land them in the blanketstiff class, sooner than they think, let them like it or not.
In the plant there is a tissue, right between the bark and the body of the stem, which is called the connective tissue. Here the material of life and growth is worked off into waste or new organs of life and development. The blanketstiff is the connective tissue of capitalistic society. He is the new material of which some disposition is to be made. He will either hate capitalism and out of his well reasoned hatred gather the elements of positive Socialist opinions, of which his life becomes a translation into deeds, or he will bow before the amount of his sufferings, overwhelmed by their unexplained hugeness, their unsizeable intensity. In his discouragement because powerless, he will brood over his hopeless plight, with an occasional outburst into some anarchistic act of despair, but most of the time ending into a somber scepticism, losing his faculty of sociability and dropping with those he has put in the world into the abyss of the slum and the degradation of social wreckage.
For the blanketstiff has come to the parting of the ways. Others have to get to the same status, before they can think his thoughts or feel the pang of economic necessity as he does feel them.
Not, that I wish to exclude from the possibility of a real scientific Socialist conviction, all who have not reached the caste of the pure proletarian. Exclusiveness also is here a danger. The power of the mind can develop the economic consciousness of the proletarian in a capitalist, an intellectual or a middle class man. But such cases must always remain individual and they should be individually appreciated, for today as in the past there is an ever impending danger that those non-proletarian Socialists if they are not deliberately fooling us, are fooling themselves.
The very fact that a paper that claims to be Socialist can speak of a pure proletarian type with haughtiness and scorn, is all the proof I want that it has not penetrated the very core of Socialist doctrine and only dabbles in some constructive reformism with the concealed afterthought that the main issue is the bringing about of a transitory period wherein the economically unsound and condemned agencies of the present day will be artificially kept alive in their actual outgrowth and non-sensical form.
But let us go back to the blanketstiff. During the whole period of capitalism, where competition had not brought about its own destruction by creating monopoly, the homeless, toolless, propertyless proletarian was hailed as a hero. Read the old Manchesterian economists of that period and see how they insist upon his faculties of easy and cheap displacement. At that time the blanketstiff

was an angel with a good pair of strong wings to fly from one place to another wherever the necessities of unsettled and sporadic industrial development made him wanted. To-day a change has come. Shame upon the lone tie walker, he should have a home, he ought to stay in some place, where the storekeeper can sell him goods, the saloonkeeper poison him with bad whiskey, the preacher with capitalistically doped Christianity and where the politician can reach him whenever he wants his vote.
Why this change? How has into vilest lead the purest gold been changed? Just a little conveyance of the mode of production. Industrial conditions have become settled, trust-precipitations have become settled everywhere. It suits the purpose of the capitalistic class in its quest for cheap labor to have the workers chained to the city or the village, where they live, handicapped in strike and struggle by the sight of their suffering families and the responsibilities of their dependents. So, down with the blanketstiff, for he is imprudent and lazy. The city police do not care if the panic has shut down the camps and the mills, it matters not if the social system provides no work for him, if he does not work he is a vagrant, put him in jail. So thinks the average capitalist with his retainers on the bench and in the police station.
The sweet college girl then comes along with her varnish of sociology and her philanthropic leanings. She lectures wisely on the labor colonies of foreign countries. A supreme court judge is in the chair and nods a wise approval. There is a new harvest in prospect for the parasites of organized charity. Here are positions in sight, cozy little jobs for charitable workers. Late money is to be spent. And the blanketstiff is made the pretext of it all. Petty bourgeois-socialists, charity workers, job-hunters, they all smell some possible profit at his expense, material and moral.
What's the truth? Just leave the blanketstiff to himself, keep away from him, squeeze surplus value out of him, keep him in that state of wage slavery where he gets only a bare subsistence for his labor and that is all he asks. Play the capitalistic game fairly with him, he asks for nothing else.
Why not grant this so humble demand?
For besides the general conditions of the capitalistic system the blanketstiff is made the victim of a host of petty grafters, whom capitalism allows to prey upon him like a pack of hungry dogs. Capitalism makes him poor, they make him poorer.
I want those general considerations to be only an introduction to a series of articles in which I propose to describe the petty larceny practiced upon the proletarians of this State of Washington. I shall quote facts and figures that I have found by personal investigation and which prove that the blanketstiff is no sinner, but a victim.
HUBERT LANGEROCK.

THE WOMAN
On Sunday night, the women of Local Seattle had charge of the meeting at Egan's Hall. Mrs. Emma Steele, deVoe, State president of Equal Suffrage Association, being the principal speaker.
Mrs. deVoe has a gracious, charming manner on the platform, and has done splendid work for the women's movement, both in this state and in Oregon. Mrs. Hutton, president of the Spokane Equal Suffrage Association, took the platform for a few minutes and gave a very spontaneous talk that was much enjoyed.
All the women were very proud of the president of the Women's Social-ist Educational Club, Mrs. Anna Steele, who acted as chairman of the meeting and presided with unusual grace and dignity. Two other club members were on the program, Mrs. Anna Burgess, who made a strong appeal for a liberal collection (which by the way is taken up in dinner palls presented to the local by the women) and Bessy Fiset, who made the closing talk.
One of the questions asked Mrs. deVoe was: "Will gaining the ballot give women economic emancipation?" and the answer was: "Yes, for she

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