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LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS!-- A Common Sense Talk to Wide Awake Citizens.

Although the coal strike is apparently settled for the time being—that is for a year or two people very rightly feel that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. Anti-trust feeling and anti-trust agitation is in the air.

The alarm about the trusts is quite comprehensible. The trusts form the greatest economic and for that matter also the greatest political power this country has ever seen.

To begin with:

The American railroads whose monopoly character is daily becoming more apparent are stocked and bonded for about \$11,500,000,000, and have net earnings from operation after paying taxes, from 1900 to 1901, of \$57,963,710. The combined capitalization of telegraph, telephone, water, gas, electric light and street railway companies is nearly \$4,000,000,000, and the capitalization of the 183 largest industrial combines in the country, according to the bulletin of the United States census, is figured \$3,607,539,200.

The trusts have proved that under the present industrial system a small number of capitalists have it in their power to decide how much meat and how much bread we shall eat, how much we shall spend for coal and how much for oil, how nicely or how poorly we shall be clothed and housed—in brief, how well or how ill, how long or how short we shall live.

Yet the trust is the legitimate outcome of the competitive system. It is the "survival of the fittest" as the capitalists see it.

Competition under the capitalist system means the advancing of one's self at the cost of others, the pulling the many down, the elbowing the many aside, in order to benefit the one.

Heretofore it has been most cruel to the workmen whom it forced into a struggle to see who should live and who should starve.

But for the last ten or twenty years the workmen have been by no means the only sufferers. The small employers, the small merchants, are just as much victims of that cruel kind of competition as the wage-workers. The hand of the "business man" of the same branch is against every other, and no foe is more terrible than the one who is running a neck-to-neck race with him every day. The giant factory, the mammoth store are the most implacable foes of the small shop and the small store-keeper. The fierce competition lessens the profit on each article, and that must be compensated for by the production and sale of a greater number of articles; that is the cheaper the goods, the more capital is required.

Precisely, then, for the same reason that the mechanic with his own shop and working on his own account has nearly disappeared in the struggle between hand-work and machine-work, the small employers with their little machinery, their small capital and their scanty stock of goods are driven from the field. The great capitalist naturally triumphs. And to the few remaining in the field their BUSINESS SENSE dictates CO-OPERATION INSTEAD OF COMPETITION. Should the "law" come after them, they will simply give up the little shadow of separate business and rivalry and go into partnership—form a gigantic stock company, as for instance the members of the meat trust have done a few weeks ago.

THE TRUSTS ALWAYS RAISE PRICES.

And the evils that accompany the trusts' business activities are many. The cost of all business nowadays is to MAKE MONEY. And while production on a large scale allows the adoption of improved and cheaper methods, and while the resulting economy of cost would enable the trust to lower the price of the product to the consumer, none of the trusts does any such thing.

Some of the trusts have done so temporarily. But it is only right to say that the formation of trusts has resulted in HIGHER PRICES than were paid by the consumers before. Building material, for instance, went up 40 and in some cases 100 per cent, by the formation of the trusts—coal even at normal times and when there is no strike, has gone up to \$7.10 a ton, although it could be sold at a good profit for HALF THE PRICE charged and living wages be paid to the poor, oppressed miner—and the extortions of the meat trust from the people, as well as from the cattle raisers, have just led to a government investigation, while the workmen of the packing-houses are treated in a way that baffles description.

In short:

The economies resulting from improved and cheaper methods of production undoubtedly lessen the cost of the article to the TRUST. But they are under no compulsion to give the benefit of this to their workmen in form of higher wages and shorter hours, or to the consumers through a reduced price. As human nature is constituted, under capitalism they prefer to take the benefits out themselves in the form of huge dividends—which are paid on incredibly "wasted" capital. It must be considered a sound conclusion that if trusts multiply and share all the profits as they have, during the last two or three years they will raise the price of commodities even higher than they are now.

Now are these the only evils. The trusts will add to the general political corruption. Whatever a trust wants from legislators, courts, assessors and public prosecutors it will get if money can buy it. It will buy exemption from taxation by political bosses when it is necessary. It will concern itself in elections, whenever the outcome has any bearing on its pockets. It will subsidize newspapers, bribe voters and spend money whenever "rats" go to its own financial interests, back to Congress! The trust has no more moral scruple about systematically committing crime of this kind than have most individual business men, who have taken care of their business in this way before; but also in corruption the trust is as superior to the individual in efficiency and scope as it is in its other business relations.

This system of corruption must break down or society will. But what can be done?

Shall we enact laws to regulate the prices which the trusts demand for their wares? That would be impossible under the present economic system. It

would be meddling with the rights of the private individual and would be partial confiscation. Moreover it would not help, for the trusts would bribe the officials and prove to their satisfaction that the prices asked are just and necessary.

To ruin the trusts by special legislation would also be very difficult. Every increase of taxes would be followed by an increase in the price of the products controlled by the trusts.

Laws treating them as conspiracies would be equally valueless. It is easy enough for them to prove that they are carrying on their business in exactly the same manner as other business men. Besides, there is no law, and under the present economic system none can be enacted, effectually forbidding them to unite in one single firm.

In short, a government which stands on the basis of the present economic system is powerless against the trusts.

And the principle of the trusts—concentration instead of division, co-operation instead of competition—is also a perfectly correct principle and gives great advantages to those who avail themselves of it, in other words, to those "who are in it."

The trusts are a benefit to those who own the trusts. Yet the trusts are large enough for the whole people to feel this benefit if the whole people should own the trusts.

Therefore we contend that the whole people collectively—as a nation—should take the place of the trust magnates and become the OWNER of THE TRUSTS.

Against the trusts there is no other remedy.

BOTH OLD PARTIES ARE TRUST RIDDEN.

But this naturally brings us to the field of politics. And what do we find there? Very little that is apt to give us joy.

It is true, we have the one-man ballot in this country. But what good has it done so far? The great majority of the people are Republicans or Democrats because their fathers were, or because "they do not want to throw their votes away." They vote for the capitalist parties and for the trusts simply in order "not to throw their votes away."

Both the Republican and the Democratic parties are trust ridden.

The Republican party has long been known to be the favored organization of capitalists and capitalism. The Republican party makes no secret of the fact that it represents the "vested rights" and is rather proud that it is the great conservative political organization of this country. As Senator Mark Hanna, who is by far one of the shrewdest and most potent of the leaders of this party, has expressed it in a recent speech in Akron, O.: "I have told you a year or two ago that I can only add to that: stand pat." This expresses the policy of the Republican party admirably. "Let well enough alone"—this robbery is all well enough for the capitalists and the trusts. Therefore stand pat!

But Senator John C. Spooner, the idol of the Republican party in Wisconsin, goes a great deal farther. In his speech at Lancaster, Wis. (October 20), he said in regard to the government ownership of coal mines:

"The great danger to the country is not from foreign nations, but at home. Put your feet, my fellow citizens, on this snake which would lead the government to absorb the industries of the people. The government is the one that Washington established and Lincoln preserved. Keep it a government and do not let it become a huckster. We will find and supply the remedies without revolutionizing our form of government."

The government shall not absorb the industries of the people. And the "trusts" are the people for John C. Spooner, and the government is to be simply the tool and the servant of the trusts.

But he is willing to go a long step towards monarchy. In the same speech he said:

"If we could elect a good, strong Republican President like Theodore Roosevelt, and a strong Republican Senate and House for a term of twenty years, it would be better for the country."

There you have it: make the terms of office for our corporation attorneys and trust magnates in the United States Senate last twenty years. There is the remedy!

LA FOLLETTE AND SPOONER STAND ON SAME PLATFORM.

The "reformer," Robert La Follette, virtually stands upon the same platform as John C. Spooner, whose re-election to the Senate he is urging. La Follette's primary election law is simply a little change in the machinery of election and would not change an iota in any important question before the people. As a "reformer," Robert La Follette is an unqualified humbug—and the factional fight in the Republican party in Wisconsin is due mainly to the wounded pride of a few big capitalists who were heretofore the leaders and machine-masters.

But if the Republican party is "conservative" and wants the present exploitation and legalized robbery kept up, the Democratic party is even worse. The Democratic party is also entirely in the grip of the trusts. Especially is this the case in Wisconsin under the leadership of David S. Rose, the "pal" of the asphalt trust and the ally of the street car monopoly, the man who, significantly enough, made his first appearance in Milwaukee as a lieutenant of the Darlington Rifles in 1886, when some strikers were shot dead. The Democratic party has thrown away the worn-out mask of the "trust-killer." Bryan, the Democratic orator, makes the party support the "stalwarts" of the Republican party, and it may be said that outside of Tammany Hall in New York there is not a more corrupt political organization in the country than the Rose machine in Milwaukee. But the trust domination in the Democratic party is not a local affair.

Hayemeyer, the sugar trust magnate, is a great Democratic light. Presi-

When the old parties fight each other they give away a good many of the tricks of the capitalists. The Republicans are now telling how the deal between Rose and the railroads was fixed up. In July just a meeting of the railroad companies in Milwaukee to elect a representative was called to meet at the Pfister. Later the place was changed to the Plankinton House, so it would not look so bad if the facts came out. There was present Gen. Supt. Cautillon of the Chicago & North-Western and men of like prominence. It was decided to boom one F. O. Tarbox, the former superintendent of the Ashland division of the North-Western, as a "nonpartisan" candidate for the nomination for railroad commissioner at Madison. This was agreed to after a conference had been held with representatives of the Milwaukee street railway company! See it? When Tarbox failed to get the nomination, another secret meeting was held in Milwaukee and the Redner deal was fixed up. Again a conference was held with the street railway people at the Pfister, with David Rose present (see the game?) and plans made by which Redner was to be nominated by the Democrats and then boomed by the "Railway Men's Political League," a fake organization of capitalistic lackeys, to be supplied with the necessary corruption money by the railway companies and the Pfister street railway. The deal went through and the fake league is at work. The thing about all this that the Socialist notes is the general principle of corruption that runs through it and the fact that the corruption money comes from the railway directors who are such respectable men!

We demand--
5. That the state Legislature, the governor and our representatives in Congress shall take steps calculated to bring about the enactment of a national law by which the government of the United States will lend the cities and townships money on bonds issued by said cities and townships up to 50 per cent. of the assessed valuation. Such loan shall be made in legal tender and without interest, the refund to take place in twenty years in equal shares. This money shall have its intrinsic value secured by the bonds and the assessed valuation of the city or township that receives the loan, and it shall be canceled with the State as fast as the loan is refunded.—State platform.

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6. That the state Legislature, the governor and our representatives in Congress shall take steps calculated to bring about the enactment of a national law by which the government of the United States will lend the cities and townships money on bonds issued by said cities and townships up to 50 per cent. of the assessed valuation. Such loan shall be made in legal tender and without interest, the refund to take place in twenty years in equal shares. This money shall have its intrinsic value secured by the bonds and the assessed valuation of the city or township that receives the loan, and it shall be canceled with the State as fast as the loan is refunded.—State platform.

We demand--
7. That the state shall provide free school books and school utensils to the pupils of the public schools, and also to parochial and private schools who shall under certain legal conditions make demand for the same books. We also demand legislation enabling school districts in the country to give better school facilities and free transportation to and from school for the children.—State platform, S. D. party.

The settling of the coal strike under capitalist auspices is after all a compromise, although in many respects a victory for the miners. But it is not a victory for the people, who now demand government proprietorship. The poor miners must again say good-bye to the daylight and risk their health underground in order that the people may have

power to dislocate the industry of the country, and they do not hesitate to use it, and to starve the hundred thousands of people in order to add to their wealth.

We demand--
8. That laws be enacted limiting the working day of youths under 21 years of age and women of any age employed anywhere in Wisconsin to eight hours a day, and prohibiting the employment in any factory, store, workshop or mine of children under 16 years of age.—State platform.

We demand--
9. That laws be enacted securing to cities local autonomy, with full power to carry into effect all means relating to their own welfare, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others.—State platform.

We demand--
10. That every city or township shall have the right to establish a public coal yard, and a public ice house, where coal and wood and ice shall be sold to the citizens at cost. Cities and townships shall also have the right to establish public abattoirs (slaughter houses) and to issue bonds for that purpose.—State platform.

dent Baer of the Philadelphia & Reading, who claims the partnership of the Almighty in subduing the starved miners, is a Democrat. It was a Democrat (Pattison) who, as governor of Pennsylvania, sent 8000 militiamen to Homestead in 1892 to break down the strike.

David S. Rose is now the Democratic candidate for governor and poses as a great friend of the workmen, and especially of the union men. And Mr. Rose, who formerly used to denounce every trust except those with whom he had a business relation, as for instance the asphalt trust, has shut up on the trusts entirely since he is backed by the "Stalwart Republicans" in his gubernatorial aspirations. David S. Rose, the man without a principle and without a scruple, stands for the Democratic party of Wisconsin—a party without a principle and without a scruple.

No, there is no hope for the people in supporting either of the old parties. What are the people to do? Must progress stop? Are we to go back to feudalism and barbarism because the economic interests of the capitalist class dominate both of the old parties?

No. The same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers, and the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the Social Democratic party.

The Social Democratic party says: Our progress, our production on a large scale, the mighty accumulation of capital makes monopoly a necessary condition. Monopoly is here, whether we will it or not.

The question, therefore, is only whether it shall be a private or a public monopoly.

The question is, do we wish to leave the products of this country in the control of a small number of irresponsible men, whose only interest is to exploit us up to the last limit of our endurance?

Do we wish to leave to a small clique the monopoly of all things which make life good and desirable? Do we wish to make them absolute masters of all the necessities of our lives?

No, and a thousand times no!

The usual argument made in defense of a vicious system is not that it is right and ought to stay, whether you like it or not.

We believe that in a civilized country the question is not what is, but what ought to be—and that every proposition must be arraigned of reason. If you can prove that a thing is good, let it stay, but if you cannot prove that it is good, it cannot hide behind the assertion that it is here and must stay. We believe that American people can get rid of any thing that they do not want—and that they ought to get rid of everything that is not good.

The wage system was a step in the evolution to freedom, but only a step; and without the trades' unions and labor associations the wage system would lead society into a state that would only be a fall from feudalism. There can be no social freedom nor complete justice until there are no more hirelings in the world; until all become both the employers and the employed of labor, of society.

RULE OF CAPITAL BY THE PEOPLE DEMANDED.

There is but one deliverance from the rule of the people by capital—and that is the rule of capital by the people. If much of what has been considered private property is to be absorbed in great monopolistic ownership, as seems the inevitable outcome of the competitive struggle, then the people should become the monopolists.

The only hope for the people for either industrial or political freedom lies in their gradually taking possession of the machinery, forces and production of the great industrial monopolies and establishing the cooperative commonwealth. And the people can do no better than make a beginning by expropriating the trust owners, railroad kings and monopolists.

The contention that the Social Democrats have not the majority as yet, is vain: every great party had a beginning once, and formed a minority, and the Republican party when it was formed in 1854 and had a purpose in view was a very small minority indeed. A man voting for a principle never throws his vote away; better to vote for what you want, even if you do not get it, than vote for what you do not want, and get it. The "phrase" of getting on the band wagon is a stupid phrase—it is not you, but the politician, the crack, the capitalist or the office-seeker who is on the "band wagon."

Do not wait until the majority votes with you. The majority is always ignorant, always indolent. You cannot expect them to be anything else with their present social surroundings. They never have brought about consciously and deliberately any great social change. They always have permitted an energetic minority to accomplish that for them, and then they always have sanctioned the accomplished fact.

That our people are no exception was proven by the emancipation proclamation of Lincoln, who was eager on to issue it by an energetic minority; when it was accomplished, the people sanctioned it by amending the constitution.

This then is our objective point in this election: a respectable minority. One respectable as to numbers; respectable as representing the most advanced intelligence; respectable as containing sincere and energetic representatives from all classes, the minority of intelligent citizens to reach is the object of the Social Democratic party in this campaign. Give the Social Democratic party such a minority in Congress and in the Legislatures of every state, and the future of this country will be safe.

Vote the Social Democratic ticket!

Victor L. Berger

"In Wisconsin three leading railroads have controlled legislation for the last sixteen years; their lobby have boasted that in the sixteen years of their service not one bill ever passed that was objected to by the railroad corporations; at least until it was changed to suit them."

The above is from a campaign leaflet issued by the Republican party. Now the Republicans were in power for six terms during that time and the Democrats two terms—the years while Lobbyist George W. Peck was governor, and during that time the Republicans now tell us the roads were in control of all railway legislation! Now the same sort of men were candidates for office in those years as at present, i. e., supporters of the capitalist system. If they could be bought up then, why not now? And especially as the Republicans are in a deal to send John C. Spooner, the ex-railroad lobbyist and attorney, back to Congress! Neither of the capitalist parties can bring the people relief. With old party politicians' money talks. Every self-respecting voter should keep his conscience clear by voting the Social Democratic ticket.

We demand--
1. That the state Legislature, the governor and our representatives in Congress shall take such action as is calculated to bring about the nationalization of all the trusts, notably the coal trust, the meat trust, the oil trust, the sugar trust, the farming machinery trust, and others of the same kind, and pay the actual value for the same.—State platform, S. D. party.

Robert La Follette's "reforms" amount to nothing as far as the masses of the people are concerned. His primary election law, even if it were perfect, which it is not, would at the best be simply a minor measure pertaining to the method of election. I would have conditions as they are. His tax reforms found favor even with some of the lobbyists of the railroads corporations of this state, which in itself showed that this is an essentially capitalistic measure. La Follette poses as a reformer because he happens to receive the personal displeasure of a clique of capitalists who had control of the Republican party and were about to lose it. Any man who votes for La Follette because he is a reformer will get sorely left. La Follette and his backers, the lumber millionaire, the stock speculator, the real estate magnate, the money baron, in no way differ from the members of Mark Hanna and his millionaire backers. Besides La Follette is surrounded by as hungry and low a class of office grabbers as ever tread on shoe leather. Workingmen who vote for them deserve to be slaves.

We demand--
2. That the state Legislature, the governor and our representatives in Congress shall take such action as is calculated to bring about the national ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, express companies and steamship lines, and pay the actual value of the same.—State platform, S. D. party.

We demand--
3. That no city in Wisconsin shall have the right to sell, lease or give away public franchises. That every city shall have the right to take possession of all its public utilities by paying to the present owners the price of the same as fixed by an impartial jury; and that every city and township shall have the right to issue bonds up to the amount of 5 per cent. of the entire tax valuation, for that purpose.—State platform.

When La Follette tells about the wonderful prosperity of the people he knows he is lying. Only the capitalists are prosperous, and some of them are being eaten up by the others.

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The old idea was that the people were the wards of kings. That the source of

political power came from above, and that the people had no political rights whatever. That idea was blasted in the famous Declaration of Independence. The doctrine was laid down that governments were instituted among men for the purpose of preserving the rights of the people.

But the Declaration of Independence did more. It declared that each man has a right to live. It means that he has a right to make his living. It means that he is entitled to the product of his labor—the labor of his hand and of his brain.

We demand--
3. That the state Legislature, the governor and our representatives in Congress shall take such action as will be calculated to enact a law granting every wageworker over 60 years of age, who has earned less than \$1000 a year and has been a citizen of the United States for sixteen years at least, a pension of not less than \$12 a month for the rest of his life.—State platform.

The capitalist parties have always played the people for suckers in Wisconsin. The Rose-Pfister deal isn't the worst thing that ever happened, by any means. Just look back a few years to when Payne was the Republican boss and Ed. Wall the Democratic boss—and Payne was at the head of the Villard syndicate's street car system in Milwaukee and Wall at the head of the Villard Electric Lighting Company—in other words, Payne and Wall were business partners! Whichever capitalist party won Villard's interests were on top. That was the awful game played on the voters and the voters never saw through it, and then wondered why legislation in Wisconsin became so rotten. And do you remember how Wall sat in the Legislature while Peck was governor and cracked the corporation whip over the legislators' heads? It was a dead open and shut game—an awful prostitution of the popular government. Are the Social Democrats wrong when they say capitalism must be abolished before we can have a clean citizenship and a clean government?

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If anyone thinks there was no politics in Roosevelt's efforts to settle the coal strike, all they need do is listen to the politicians.

Social Democratic Herald.

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MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, OCT. 25, 1902.

If you are receiving this paper without having subscribed for it, we ask you to remember that it has been paid for by a friend.

WISCONSIN CANDIDATES, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. For Governor—Emil Seidel of Milwaukee. For Lieutenant Governor—Robert Saltiel of Sheboygan.

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS IN 'FRISCO. There are many lessons to be learned from the experiences of the Union Labor party in San Francisco, and it seems to be having more experiences than it quite knows what to do with.

The Social Democratic movement is international. It is sweeping round the world. There is a Social Democratic party even in Japan and in the belated South American countries.

My Country, 'tis of Thee, sang a lot of young chumps at the Shaw meeting in the Palace Theatre the other night, after the secretary of the treasury had been giving them an old-time dose of tariff taffy.

The influence of the 5000 bankers in this country has been such that they have had Congress pass laws that give them the use of \$347,630,020 of bank bills without interest.

There is another very grave proposition that I wish to guard you against and to talk to you about. It has been with a great deal of amusement that I have heard on all sides the workmen's convention barked about. I have heard candidates say: 'If I am nominated on the Republican or Democratic ticket the labor convention will endorse me.'

have heard that with amusement. It has been no more to me because I recognize that there is no man, there is no set of men that can control the labor party of this city. (Applause.)

Many of the speeches made by others showed devotion more or less to Socialistic principles and would seem to indicate that the same growth toward Socialism observed in labor's ranks in other parts of the country is not lacking in San Francisco.

WHAT A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT WILL DO. Comrade George C. Cutting, a member of the Typographical union, who is the congressional candidate of the Socialists in the Eleventh Massachusetts district, opened his campaign at Roxbury the other day.

I will introduce a bill for the abolition of contract work; a bill providing for old-age pensions, with sick and accident insurance; a bill providing for the establishment of a large public steamship service to operate in connection with government railways, and thus facilitate foreign exchange of commodities.

John Donovan, a self-inflated Democratic kid, who blew into Milwaukee a few years ago with a flimsy knowledge of law and a regular bargain-counter supply of gall, is the Democratic nominee for Congress from the Fourth district.

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and it means that we should require less than half the labor and half the energy to obtain double the amount of necessities and happiness.

NOTES BY THE WAY. Speaking literally as well as figuratively, child labor is child murder.—United Labor Journal.

THE BIG POSTER. Here is a cut of the big poster with which the Wisconsin Social Democrats supplemented their campaign of oratory and literature.

LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS. We appeal to your reason. The trusts rob the people of many hundreds of millions yearly.

Do you believe in progress? In freedom? In humanity? Then be a man and vote for principle. Vote the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

capitalistic laws for the nation is beyond our ken. No relief to labor will come from this politician's game in Beloit, only disgust on the part of innocent workers.

Shall we destroy the trust and take a step backward in civilization? Shall we destroy the telegraph and have the work done by messengers on horseback?

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MACHINERY AND THE WORKER.

The capitalist's labor consists in purchasing as cheaply as possible the raw material, labor power and other essentials, and to turn around and sell the finished products as dearly as possible.

The introduction of machinery increases still further the danger to life and limb for the workingman. The machine system fetters him to a monster that moves perpetually with a gigantic power and with insane speed.

There is still another respect in which "lock," and show that his family was too shrewd to land in jail, or stay from work.

Among the chief contents of The Comrade for October may be mentioned an illustrated poem, "In Bruces Town," by George B. Herron.

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the capitalist application of machinery lowers the condition of the working class. It is this: The tool of the former mechanic was cheap; it was subject to few changes that would render it useless.

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