

# Endnotes

## Chapter 1

- 1 The term “Dalit” refers to “a group of people who are religiously, culturally, socially and economically oppressed. They belong to different language and ethnic groups. Dalits *per se* are not homogeneous. Their heterogeneity and hierarchy can be better explained in terms of three broad regional groups: (1) Dalits in the Hill community, (2) Dalits in the Newar community, and (3) Dalits in the Tarai/Madhesi community (see UNDP/Nepal 2004). However, some Dalit scholars hold the view that there is no Dalit in Newar community. The social hierarchy of Nepali society as set out by the National Code of 1854 is given in Annex 1.2.
- 2 According to the National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities Act 2002 indigenous peoples or nationalities are those ethnic groups or communities who have their own mother tongue and traditional customs, distinct cultural identity, distinct social structure and written or oral history of their own. Based on the above, the government has identified 59 ethnic groups as indigenous peoples or nationalities (see UNDP/Nepal 2004, p. 180).
- 3 The Madhesis are people who originated on Nepal’s Plains, who live in the Tarai, and who feel marginalised by modern Nepali nationalism, which has rested on the ideas of monarchy, a single Nepali language, and a Hill-centric identity. This restrictive concept has excluded Madhesis -- who speak varied languages—among these, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Urdu and Hindi—and who have extensive cultural, social and kinship links with Indian citizens living across the border in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. These differences have led Hill Nepalis to view Madhesis with suspicion and to question their fitness for citizenship.
- 4 Evidence abounds showing that if the state could not meet the growing expectations of people during the post-conflict period, a relapse into fighting would take place (Annan 2005; and Collier and Hoeffler 2004).
- 5 UNDP 2004.
- 6 A failed state is the extension of a failing state, which is defined by the Fund for Peace as being characterized by such factors as a loss of physical control of its territory or a monopoly on the legitimate use of force; the erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions; an inability to provide reasonable public services; and the inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community. The common characteristics of a failing state include a central government so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over much of its territory; a failure to provide public services; widespread corruption and criminality; the proliferation of refugees and involuntary movements of populations; and sharp economic decline [[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State\\_failure](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_failure)]. Also see Ghani and Lockhart 2008.
- 7 While inclusion is not the opposite of exclusion, it calls for equitable representation and opportunities for otherwise participating in governance.
- 8 For details, see Haq 1996, pp. 16 – 20.
- 9 According to Lee’s hypothesis, socioeconomic rights are more important than the civil and political rights in developing countries. However, this idea has been refuted by many others, including Amartya Sen (see Sen 1999).
- 10 Although the Report rightly points towards an ongoing discussion about human rights—which it considers critical—the Human Rights-based Approach sets out no hierarchy among different types of rights. All rights should be pursued progressively and simultaneously. If it is true that some rights can generate others, it is also true that the absence of some rights can erode those that had earlier been considered fully realized.

- 11 The proportions of population by different caste and ethnic groups, as well as by other features, can be found in Annex 1.1.
- 12 DFID and World Bank 2006.
- 13 Bhattachan et al 2002.
- 14 See Annex 1.2.
- 15 Hangen 2007.
- 16 Bennett and Dahal 2008.
- 17 Gaige 1976.
- 18 The International Bill of Human Rights consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its two Optional Protocols. "...in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can be achieved only if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights."
- 19 INSEC 2005, 2006 and 2007. See Annex tables 1.6 - 1.8.
- 20 INSEC 2008 and 2009.
- 21 The details are given in Annex 1.9.
- 22 WFP and OCHA 2007.
- 23 For the full text of the English and Nepali versions, please see: [<http://www.unmin.org.np/?d=official&p=peace>]. The complete list of all the agreements, understandings, terms of reference and other documents is given in Annex 1.4, and the contents are given in MOPR 2007A.
- 24 Nepal News 2006; and Dhakal 2006. The Nepali Parliament has been assigned twin roles: to work as a parliament, and as a Constituent Assembly to prepare the new constitution for Nepal.
- 25 Now that this has been resolved, the Prime Minister is the head of the government and the President is the head of the state.
- 26 The 2006 Janandolan is taken as the second in the series that began in 1990. However, public movements had taken place before that date, led by Bishweshar P. Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh, and Pushpa Lal. The 2006 Andolan could therefore be viewed as the fifth in the series. This Report merely reflects the usage of recent literature; its writers have no wish to discredit the previous Andolans.
- 27 There were as many as 29 armed Tarai groups; towards the end of 2008; since January 2009, the government has been engaged in negotiations with them in order to restore peace.
- 28 These agreements, together with all other previous agreements, are well documented by the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction in its subsequent publication (see MOPR 2007A).

## Chapter 2

- 1 The HDI value for Bhutan and Maldives is available only for 2005, but not for the preceding years. Therefore, the trend line of HDI is calculated only for the other five SAARC countries (Figure 2.1) The data were taken from UNDP 2006 and UNDP 2007.
- 2 In fact, because of the civil war, less than three-fourths of development/capital budget was spent during 2002–06, when the conflict reached its pinnacle.
- 3 The national household surveys conducted in Nepal can provide estimates at most for 15 sub-regions (a cross-section of five development regions and three ecological belts); thus, estimates of 75 districts have to rely on census data available at the interval of a decade. Therefore, despite the utmost need for such indices at least at the district level, their estimate can be computed only if recent census data are available.
- 4 A cross-section of five development regions and three ecological belts of Nepal gives 15 sub-regions as follows: Eastern Tarai, Central Tarai, Western Tarai, Mid-Western Tarai, Far-Western Tarai; Eastern Hills, Central Hills, Western Hills, Mid-Western Hills and Far-Western Hills; and Eastern Mountain, Central Mountain, Western Mountain, Mid-Western Mountain and Far-Western Mountain. However, because of the sparse population of the western mountains and limited size of the sample, the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) 2006 combines the Western Mountain, Mid-Western Mountain and Far-Western Mountain into one domain called as 'Western Mountain' and provides a single estimate of the variables/indicators. Therefore, in tandem with the NDHS 2006, which is the main source of data, this report provides estimates only for the 13 domains/sub-regions. However, in order to make the readers understand the 15 sub-regions, the Maps of chapter two present the same estimate for the three sub-regions.
- 5 The Nepal HDR 2009 used mainly 2006 data, whereas the global HDR 2007/08 used the data from different sources and extrapolations.
- 6 UNDP/Nepal 2004.
- 7 Focusing on women's opportunities, the GEM captures gender inequality in three key areas: (1) political participation and decision-making power, as measured by women's and men's percentage shares of parliamentary seats; (2) economic participation and decision-making power, as measured by two indicators—women's and men's percentage shares of positions as legislators, senior officials and managers, and women's and men's percentage shares of professional and technical positions; and (3) power over economic resources, as measured by women's and men's estimated earned income (PPP US\$).
- 8 Chhetry 2006.

- 9 Usually, female life expectancy is higher than that of males due to a natural advantage that females have over males. In, Nepal, however, this was the reverse until recently. The life expectancy of females was for the first time found higher than that of males in the 2001 population census.
- 10 Like figures 2.1 and 2.2, sources of data for figure 2.8 are the UNDP global human development reports 2006 and 2007/08.
- 11 DFID and World Bank 2006, Box 9, p. 42.
- 12 It is generally thought that HPI is the obverse of HDI, although each has a different set of indicators.
- 13 The trend of change in poverty has been analysed using the data from the two rounds of NLSS surveys, 1995/96 and 2003/04 (see CBS 2005).
- 14 Multivariate analysis of consumption pattern among different caste and ethnic groups indicates that the socially excluded groups have to “pay a caste/ethnic penalty”. When the effect of variables such as household size, proportion of children in household, the household head’s occupation and level of education, land ownership, receipt of remittances, residence, ecological location, etc., are controlled, the average per capita consumption of excluded groups such as Dalits, Muslims and Janajatis remains much lower than those of Newars and Brahmin/Chhetris, implying low level of consumption of these excluded groups (DFID and World Bank 2006).
- 15 Wide differences prevail between men and women in their possession of property such as land and houses and livestock. The proportion of households where a woman owns a house was about 6 percent and such a proportion in the case of land ownership was about 11 percent, implying that these types of property are generally owned by men. In aggregate, in less than one percent of the households did women own all three types of property: land, house and livestock (DFID and World Bank 2005).
- development regions. Moreover, of the 1,700 people abducted, 343 were from those Tarai districts (For details, see INSEC, Nepal Human Rights Year Book 2008, p. 3). In 2008, 18 government officials were killed: 17 in the Tarai and one in the Hills (Kantipur News). The Nepal Human Rights Year Book 2009 reveals that 541 individuals were murdered and 729 abducted in 2008.
- 7 ICTJ 2006.
- 8 Vinck and Pham 2008.
- 9 The respondents of the ICTJ and AF survey stated the beliefs that the whereabouts of those who have disappeared must be discovered and that a commission should be established to determine the truth of what happened and why, so that these atrocities will not be repeated in future. They also clearly voiced the view that the perpetrators should be tried in national courts for their crimes and should not be given amnesty. Further, they asserted that the government should provide victims with reparations, and that the country’s security sector and legal institutions needed significant reform (see ICTJ and AF 2008).
- 10 OHCHR Nepal 2007B
- 11 ICTJ and AF conducted survey among 811 households to find about the awareness of the TRC. Asked whether they had heard about the TRC, 65 percent of respondents replied affirmatively, and 35 percent stated that they knew nothing about it. Fewer women than men had heard about the TRC—24 percent of all the women respondents compared with 40 percent of male respondents. An even higher proportion of illiterate persons (42%) had never heard of the TRC (see ICTJ and AF 2008, pp. 32–33). In fact, the proportion of respondents who had not heard of the TRC would perhaps have been higher if the question had been put to non-victims.
- 12 OHCHR Nepal 2007B.
- 13 United Nations 2009
- 14 Zehr 1982.
- 15 Maiese 2003.
- 16 Maiese 2003.
- 17 At times, indigenous practices and mediation can violate human rights principles and international laws.
- 18 There is strong link between transitional justice, development and lack of discrimination between men and women, as well as caste and ethnic groups. The peace-building initiatives unfolding in Nepal encourage a timely examination of the development of rights in transitional justice mechanisms. These rights comprise much more than economic growth; they include a human rights-based process that aims at empowering marginalised groups. In Nepal, this must include women, who not only bore the brunt of the conflict, but also

### Chapter 3

- 1 Thomasson 2008.
- 2 MOPR 2008B.
- 3 *Kantipur*, (daily national newspaper), 15 December 2008. The paper noted that as much as 7,000 Bigha land of Dang, one of the 75 districts of Nepal, remain under the control of Maoists (1 Bigha is equivalent of 0.68 hectares).
- 4 United Nations Security Council 2009, para. 5. A parliamentary monitoring committee has been established to monitor the government, but has not yet produced significant results.
- 5 Annan 2005.
- 6 Of the 551 people killed in 2007, 127 came from 10 Tarai districts of the East and Central

- continue to suffer systemic discrimination. For further discussion, see Aguirre and Pietropaoli 2008. There are also strong cases for taking action to remedy social and economic inequality. For further discussion, see Tafadzwa 2008.
- 19 CIDA. *Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Peace-Building: an Operational Framework*. undated.
  - 20 Cited in DFID and World Bank 2006, p 42.
  - 21 OCHA 2008.
  - 22 OCHA. 2008.
  - 23 By the end of February, 2009, MOPR officials had documented 52,163 IDPs; this number may well rise by the completion of the enumeration process.
  - 24 OCHA 2008.
  - 25 OCHA 2008. The Nepal Peace Trust Fund (NPTF) has approved a US\$ 5.5 million relief package for IDPs who return to their original homes. The Nepal Government has also created a National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons that includes reintegration assistance and has created a set of "Procedural Directives" involving a consultative process. However, while the Policy was approved in February 2007, the Directives have not yet been formally approved, thus delaying full implementation and resulting in "ad hoc assistance" at present. As of 15 May 2008, US\$ 3.8 million of NPTF funds has been released, with support reportedly provided to 29,772 persons (Ministry of Finance 2008).
  - 26 For detail, see MOPR 2007B
  - 27 See Ghimire 2008.
  - 28 See Representative of the UN Secretary-General, Ms Karin Landgren's interview with Kantipur daily, Sunday, 7 June 2009. [<http://www.unmin.org.np/>].
  - 29 Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007.
  - 30 See Representative of the UN Secretary-General, Ms Karin Landgren's interview with Kantipur daily, Sunday, 7 June 2009. [<http://www.unmin.org.np/>]. She also holds that it is important to address the questions of how many combatants will join the security forces and when, what are the established criteria, and whether they will be integrated individually or collectively, and how many will be rehabilitated into society.
  - 31 Jha 2008.
  - 32 Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies 2008.
  - 33 Resources regarding rehabilitation are available at: <http://www.unddr.org/index.php>.
  - 34 Workshop on Local Governance and Pro-Poor Service Delivery 2003.
  - 35 see MOPR 2008A.
  - 36 MOPR 2009.
  - 37 These six constitutions are as follows: (i) Interim Constitution 2004 of Rana regime, (ii) Interim Constitution 2007, (iii) Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2015, (iv) Nepal's Constitution 2019, (v) Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047, and (vi) Interim Constitution of Nepal 2063 BS ( here all the years are expressed in Nepali year of Bikram Sambat (BS) which exceeds by 57 years over the AD).
  - 38 The 14 committees are (1) constitution committee, (2) committee on fundamental rights and directive principles, (3) committee for protecting the rights of minorities and marginalized communities, (4) committee on state restructuring and division of state power, (5) committee on the determination of legislative structure, (6) committee on state governance structure, (7) committee on judicial system, (8) committee on the determination of the form of constitutional bodies, (9) committee on the allocation of natural resources, revenue and economic rights, (10) committee on determination of bases for cultural and social reintegration, (11) committee on protection of national welfare, (12) committee on civil relations, (13) committee on public opinion collection and coordination, and (14) committee on capacity building and resource management.
  - 39 The rules of the Indian Constituent Assembly provided that Hindustani (Urdu or Hindi) or English could be used, but, if the President of the Constituent Assembly took the view that a member could not express himself or herself in one of those languages, that member could address the Constituent Assembly in her or his mother tongue and a summary could be provided for members in English or Hindustani. In Bolivia, the rules of the Constituent Assembly provided that plenary and committee sessions must use interpreters and translators so that members could express themselves in their mother tongues (Art. 52).
  - 40 Bhattachan 2009B
  - 41 Barnes and De Klerk 2002.
  - 42 As Susan Goldmark, Country Director of the World Bank in Nepal, has commented, "peace needs development and development needs peace." *Nepal Biz News*, 2008.

#### Chapter 4

- 1 Regmi 1999, p. 69. This information has been taken by Regmi from the Royal Nepal Army Headquarters. For the information in Prithvi Narayan Shah favoured certain castes and communities (Pande, Basnyat, Pantha, Thakuri and Magars), see Regmi 1995, p. 38.
- 2 Nepali parliament has been renamed as legislature-parliament during the transition period.
- 3 See Annex 3, Table 3 and 4; and Lawoti 2007.
- 4 For more details on the dimensions of women's political activities, see Stephanie Tawa Lama, "Po-

- litical Participation of Women in Nepal”, in Dhruva Kumar, ed., *Crisis of Governability in Nepal*, Kathmandu, n.15, pp. 174-75.
- 5 The districts of backward regions are Achham, Kalikot, Jajarkot, Jumla, Dolpa, Bajhang, Bajura, Mugu and Humla. They rank at lowest in HDI among Nepal’s 75 districts.
  - 6 Lake and Rothschild 1996
  - 7 Source: [<http://www.nepalelectionportal.org/EN/elections-in-nepal/electoral-system.php>].
  - 8 Source: [<http://www.nepalelectionportal.org/EN/elections-in-nepal/electoral-system.php>].
  - 9 The “Other Group” is defined as communities not clearly identified in the four other listed categories (see Figure 4.1). Some observers believe that when the “Other Group” was originally specified in the Interim Constitution, it was meant to provide affirmative action for oppressed groups not already covered by those previously listed, such as the Muslim community in Nepal. When Parliament adopted this constitutional provision as an integral element of electoral law, legislators chose to define the “Other Group” as “everyone else in Nepal”. This could result in the election of candidates under this rubric who come from groups already privileged in Nepali society, while other previously disadvantaged groups, not covered by the remaining quota definitions, would not obtain the representation intended. This quota would have been utilized better for allowing a larger number of Dalits to be seated under the PR system, as their share of representation in the CA remains insufficient. Besides these five quotas, there was also an overall 50 percent quota for the women under the PR system.
  - 10 On November 22, 2007 former US President Jimmy Carter met many political actors of Nepal. He made several suggestions. On the election system he preferred a 70:30 ratio - 70 percent of candidates on a proportional basis and 30 percent on first-past-the post (see FES 2007).
  - 11 Dev Raj Dahal. 2001. *Electoral System and Election Management in Nepal*, Democracy Nepal, FES. Kathmandu. undated. [[http://www.nepaldemocracy.org/civic\\_education/election\\_management.html](http://www.nepaldemocracy.org/civic_education/election_management.html)].
  - 12 In a revolutionary move to make political parties of Nepal responsible, transparent and inclusive, a bill was moved in the interim Parliament of Nepal in March 2007. Some of the provisions of the Bill were: (i) make it illegal for political parties to declare “bandhs”, and prohibit them from calling strikes that would impact national economy; (ii) make it illegal to vandalise public or private properties when organizing their programmes; (iii) introduce the concept of State funding of political parties on the one hand and prohibit them from receiving grants or donations from national and international organizations, foreign governments and any individual as well; (iv) asks parties to make their executive committees inclusive and properly keep and regularly publicise the assets of their office-bearers; and (v) ask parties to audit their financial transactions and present the reports to the Election Commission within six months of the completion of fiscal year. The Commission may impose fines on the parties which do not abide by these provisions. However, the bill was not passed.
  - 13 WFP 2009
  - 14 See [[www.nepalbandh.com](http://www.nepalbandh.com)]. It is a site that lists the chronology of Bandhas, updating these events daily.
  - 15 WFP 2009. However, no scientific method has yet been used to estimate the dimensions of such losses.
  - 16 Scott 2006.
  - 17 Administrative records of Department of Education and Department of Health Services of Government of Nepal.
  - 18 UNDP had supported the capacity-building of local bodies in 66 of the country’s 75 districts under its Local Governance Programme.
- ### Chapter 5
- 1 The first meeting of the CA was held on 28 May 2008, which implemented the country’s transition to the status of republic.
  - 2 See Article 138(1) and 138(3) of the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007.
  - 3 Despite the rise of ethnic and regional “nationalism” in Nepal in recent years, the Nepal Democracy Survey 2007 found that an overwhelming majority of respondents (more than 90 percent) belonging to different groups, including Madhesis, said that they were “proud” to belong to their own community and also “proud” to be Nepali. For detail see IDEA 2007.
  - 4 The respective sources of two figures are INSEC 2007, and administrative records of Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction, Government of Nepal, 2008.
  - 5 See, Article 4(1) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.
  - 6 Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.
  - 7 Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.
  - 8 See Article 6(1) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.
  - 9 The Nepali language is, however, at least 300 years old, even older than Nepali state; for a variety of reasons, it seemed a “link” language.
  - 10 See, Article 2 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.
  - 11 See, Article 112(1) and provision 3 of Article 12(2) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.

- 12 See, Paragraph 3 of the Preamble of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.
- 13 See, for example, Werner Levi, "Government and Politics in Nepal: I" Far Eastern Survey, Vol. 21, No. 18, pp. 185–191; "Government and Politics in Nepal: II" Far Eastern Survey, Vol. 22, No. 1 pp. 5–10.
- 14 see Tiwari 2009A.
- 15 Gurung 1998.
- 16 Dhakal 2007 [<http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?&nid=101168>].
- 17 The point is more vividly expressed by the immediate denunciation of the Interim Constitution by the various marginalized communities immediately after its promulgation. This eventually led to months of protests that forced the coalition partners to concede and seek to allay the concern by two amendments within the span of a few months—albeit changes that still do not satisfy the protesting groups. See for example, the list of grievances of the groups:  
*Madhesi*- (<http://www.kantipuronline.com/columns.php?&nid=99316>; <http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?nid=107147> ),  
*Janajati*- (<http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?&nid=115885>) and  
*Dalits*- (<http://www.jagaranmedia.org.np/jagaran-media-nepal-dalit-news.php?id=44>)
- 18 The Maoists had, of course, made a commitment during the 1990s to advance the cause of Dalits and other disadvantaged communities when they announced their insurgency. Point 20 of their 40 points in 1996, stated that "All kinds of exploitation and prejudice based on caste should be ended" and Point 21 that the "status of Dalits as 'untouchables' should be ended and the system of untouchability ended once and for all."
- 19 Even the Maoists, who promoted the idea of federalism and autonomy, seem to have turned their back on federalism. For example, their party election manifesto says that laws passed by regions would need the approval of the central government.
- 20 People in Nepal (as in many other countries) complain that the only time they see their Members of Parliament is when they come to ask for their vote!
- 21 Das Gupta 1985.
- 22 See Cottrell 2008.
- 23 For the impact of the Madhes movement, see Hachhethu 2007.
- 24 Hachhethu 2007, p. 3. In fact, Hill Janajatis are divided by religion, but plain Janajatis are mostly Hindus.
- 25 Krishna Hachhethu says that there are 12 such districts (with the majority of Chhetri in seven, Gurung in two and each of Tamang, Tharu and Newar in one district each). Hachhethu 2007, p. 11.
- 26 Professor Sharma's views (and the tables which show ethnic distribution of population) are summarized on p. 14 of Ghai and Cottrell (eds). 2008A. See also Sharma 2008.
- 27 see Iff 2009 for a comparative analysis of India and Nigeria using the disaggregation of institutional arrangements.
- 28 Watts 2008, p. 181
- 29 These lessons are drawn principally from Ghai 2000; and Watts 2008.

## Chapter 6

- 1 However, the proportion of the seats allocated to FPTP and PR system could differ, depending on the objectives sought. As political stability derives to some extent from the type of the political system—higher in the presidential and lower in the parliamentary system—higher stability in a parliamentary system requires a legislature that can form a majority government. Consequently, other factors being equal, FPTP works better for a parliamentary structure, while PR offers greater promise for the presidential form.
- 2 See Centre for Studies on Good Governance and Democracy (CSDG) July, 19, 2007 [[http://www.fesnepal.org/reports/2007/seminar\\_reports/report\\_CSDG.html](http://www.fesnepal.org/reports/2007/seminar_reports/report_CSDG.html)]
- 3 But the two covenants came into force on March 23, 1976 and 3 January 1976, respectively.
- 4 Ghani and Lockhart (2008) specify ten functions a state must perform; if the state cannot carry out even one of these, it moves towards failure. To these social scientists, a strong state should have the sole monopoly in the following four respects: firstly, it has to maintain a legitimate monopoly on the control of violence, impunity and must enforce rule of law; secondly, it alone must have the authority to collect taxes and counter any opposition to this authority; thirdly, it must continuously maintain its citizens' loyalty; and, fourthly, it must obtain full international recognition.
- 5 These include the return of captured property, the formation of various committees—including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission—and information concerning those persons who have disappeared. For details, see [<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.gIKWLeMTIsG/b.2802333/>]
6. United Nations Security Council 2009, pp. 14–15.

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