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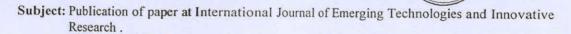
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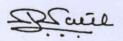
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Evolution of United Nations Organisation

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Abstract

The world has experienced horrible devastations in form of two World Wars. Millions of people were killed and billions were left homeless and miserable. The gloomy picture of World Wars forced the scholars, intelligentsia and leaders to think how to save the humanity from the dangers of wars. After great deliberations and discussions it was reached at conclusion that the major cause of World War first was absence of international institution where the nations could address their grievances and anguish. So the League of Nation was created as international platform to work as safety valve to restrict the another war but this organisation couldn't achieve the desired results and was failed due inherent flaws in the organisation and world was plunged into another World War which was more horrible and world experienced first time the use of nuclear weapons by USA on Hiroshima and Nagasaki where millions of people were killed and millions became disabled due the radiation of these weapons. Again the leaders and activists from entire world started to contemplate this dangerous and horrible situation. Now the core of contemplation was why the League of Nations failed and how to form an new international organisation from taking the lessons from the previous international organisation. The United Nations Organisations was formed on 24th October 1945 with fifty one primary members to save the generations from the future wars.

Keywords: UNO, Bi-lateral, Preamble, League of Nations, Axis Powers, Allied Powers.

The First World War can be considered as the most historic turning point in world politics and history. This historical event changed the whole scenario of relations among the nations. Before it the relations between the nations were confined into bi-lateral character. The world first time experienced such huge devastation and loss of billions of lives. The most relevant and legitimise question before the academicians and leaders of the world was that why such huge devastation took place in form of First World War? It was a serious contemplation in the circle of academicians and social-political activists around

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the world. After a series of deep interactions and contemplations the scholars reached at conclusion that the root cause of World War first was the absence of a platform at international level where states could address and express and man their anguish and grievances of emerging problems in world politics. There was no safety valve to overcome from this anguish and ultimately it was exploded in form of world war. So the need was felt from all around the world to create an international platform to avoid danger of another world war. The draft of League of Nations was written after lots of deliberations and discussions in 1919 and it was accepted on 28th April 1919 by the treaty of Versailles and officially League of Nations came into existence on 10th of January 1920 to maintain world peace and save humanity from another World War. The sole objective of this organisation was to provide an international platform to address the grievances of the nations and to work as a safety valve to save the world from devastation. Its prime objective is manifested from its preamble which speaks "The contracting parties in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations by the firm establishment of the understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments and by the maintenance of justice and scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one-another agree to the covenant of the League of Nations." This preamble clearly addresses the objectives and the functioning of the League of Nations. It can be considered as the first peace pact in the history of world politics by the nations.

Although it was the first attempt to maintain global peace but it couldn't produce the desired results. The US president Woodrow Wilson laid the foundation of this organisation but unfortunately USA couldn't able to take its member because US Senate voted against the resolution of membership of League of Nation. USSR also didn't join it in its earlier phase and in this way this organisation confined to European powers except Japan. This was major cause of failure of first international organisation. USA and USSR were two major powers of the world at that juncture and both the powers made a distance with this platform and it made this organisation almost toothless in world politics. Although USSR got membership of League of Nations in 1934 but it was too late to save this organisation. The great depression of 1928 created financial crunch for the organisation and indifferent attitude of two super powers further accelerated its decline. The ultra nationalist forces have been emerging in form of Nazism and Fascism in Germany and Italy. These authoritarian forces created a danger for world peace but League of Nation couldn't play.

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any role to resist against this danger because both Germany and Italy were force reckoned in this organisation. The League of Nation couldn't succeed in its prime objective of maintaining world peace and failed to stop another World War. The axis powers (Japan, Germany and Italy) waged a war against the world and it plunged the entire world into the clutches of World War second.

The League of Nations was proved unsuccessful and couldn't save the humanity from devastation of another World War. The Second World War was started in 1939 and continued till 1945. Millions of people were killed and billions were left homeless. The world first time experienced the most horrible situation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki where USA exploded nuclear bombs and it can consider the most terrifying and unfortunate event in the history of humanity. The loss in Second World War was manifold and horrifying than First World War. The loss of humanity was beyond the imagination of academicians and leaders of the world. It forced the entire humanity to rethink and review the world situation to save from third World War because another World War can annihilate the entire humanity from this earth and it created a discourse among the scholars how to save this earth and generations from future dangers of wars. The core issue of this discourse was why the League of Nations couldn't succeed its goal of achieving world peace and save this earth another World War. The scholars from the entire world started to contemplate the shortcomings and failure of League of Nations, so that they can take a lesson to form an international organisation free from failures and shortcomings of previous international organisation to save the generations from the fear of wars. So the prime motive of assessment of League of Nations was to create an international organisation free from failures and shortcomings of previous one to make it effective and strong to save generations.

The discourse for forming new international organisation to save the generations from third World War had begun with the beginning of Second World War itself but the core of discourse was to introspect about the failures of previous organisation and draw the lines for new organisation by taking the lesson from the failures of League of Nations. The evolution of United Nations was started with the 'Declarations of Four Freedoms' in 1941. US President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill played a key role in organising United Nations. The Second World War was being fought between the Axis and allied powers. The people of allied nations raised the issue, what is the motive of this war and what the allied powers wanted to achieve through this war? US President Roosevelt declared that the goal is to provide some basic freedoms to the citizens of the

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whole world and he declared four freedoms as the basic for people of entire world. Freedom of speech and expression, Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want are core issues which must be addressed and if these four freedoms are provided to citizens of all nations then the permanent peace will be established and it will lessen the charices of another world war. The freedom of speech and expression will strengthen the people's voice which will further lessen the dangers of authoritarian regime which were responsible for World War Second. Religious freedoms will enhance the harmony among various civilisations and it will give no place for clashes of civilisations which will further reduce the chances of war.

The London declaration was another key step in the evolution of United Nations. The allied nations conveyed a conference at London on 12th June 1941 to discuss the issues of war and peace. Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Greece, France and Norway participated in this very important conference at London and made two declarations to maintain world peace and these declarations were a step forward in the evolution of United Nations. First declaration was that the permanent peace in the world depends on the voluntary contribution of independent nations. This declaration was a message to independent nations that peace can't be imposed, it depends on the will of the nations. They must come together willingly to establish world peace permanently and this idea laid the foundation of United Nations. The second declaration was that people of all independent nations must cooperate during war and peace. The sentiments of cooperation is prerequisite of world peace and such cooperation of people of all independent nations is possible through a organisation and it further accelerated the need of international organisation through which people can cooperate and it was proved as the basic idea for United Nations.

The Atlantic Charter can be considered as the base for the constitution of United Nation. The genesis of UN can be traced in this charter. Roosevelt and Churchill reached at a consensus on some key issues to maintain the world peace and cooperation. They signed an agreement on eight key issues in form a charter and it is called as Atlantic Charter which was signed by these two leaders on 14th August 1941. It is Atlantic charter because it was signed on a ship in Atlantic Ocean. An American scholar Hogan considered Atlantic Charter as "The first step in the creation of the United Nations Organisation." The content of Atlantic charter was very wide and effective to preserve world peace. The major cause of war is ambition to extend the territory of nation and this charter prohibits the nations to extend the territories. No nation will try to extend its

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territory and will not encroach in another's territory. One of the important causes behind Second World War was authoritarian regimes of axis powers (Japan, Germany and Italy) and people had no say in such regimes. These authoritarian rulers of these nations plunged the entire humanity into the devastation of war but Atlantic Charter speaks that people of entire world should get the right to choose or elect their representatives and governments. This right will reduce the chances of authoritarianism of the rulers and the chances of wars will be minimal. The economic deprivation is the most dangerous factor in world terrorism and wars. The softest target for such elements is economically deprived people who can easily be brainwashed to take guns. The permanent peace in the world can be established only with the eradication of poverty and economic wants and Atlantic charter is committed to bring economic prosperity in entire world. The most immediate and valid reason for increasing wars is the growing mad race for weapons. The whole world is in this mad race and the situation has worsen at this level that only one spark can annihilate the whole humanity from this earth. The most important factor for this mad race is distrust among the nations. Atlantic Charter focus on the need of disarmaments to save the generations from the weapons of mass destructions and this possible only if trust is maintained among the nations. So the content of Atlantic charter was very positive and effective to maintain world peace and to stop wars. The whole content of this charter was included and assimilated in the charter of United Nations. Atlantic charter is considered as the base for the creation of United Nations.

The official declaration of United Nations was made in January 1942 when 26 nations came together to discuss the eventuality of Second World War and they signed on an agreement to create United Nations as international organisation to avoid another world war and to save the humanity from the danger of war and to maintain permanent peace. USA, Britain, Russia and China were main powers who conveyed this convention. All the 26 nations agreed to follow the principles of Atlantic charter. They also agreed not to make any peace pact with enemy nations till the end of war and they collectively continue to use coercive means against the axis powers to bow down the enemy. They will cooperate each other not only in military and strategic arena but also cooperate in economic, social and cultural field to create the permanent peace in the world. This convention was proved another milestone in the creation of United Nations Organisation.

A convention of the foreign ministers of USA, Britain, China and Russia was conveyed at Moscow on 30th October 1943 to discuss the creation of an international organisation on the basis of the principles of Atlantic charter. This convention was more important than

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Atlantic charter because it was the first time when Soviet Union had a serious participation in preserving world peace and for the creation of an international organisation. This convention is also milestone because the objectives of United Nations were framed and it was decided that all the interested nations in this organisation will be treated on the principle of sovereign equality. This convention opened new avenues and initiatives for the creation of United Nations and this is clearly manifested in Tehran Convention which was conveyed on 28th November 1943 at Tehran, the capital of Iran. This convention can be considered as most concretised effort in creation of United Nations because before this convention US President and British Prime minister met several times to discuss and to initiate the creation of United Nations but it was first time in world history that head of the states of USA, Britain and Soviet Union were meeting jointly for the creation of an international organisation and that's why a neutral place(Tehran) was chosen for this historic event.US President Roosevelt, Soviet President Stalin and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill took pledge to establish permanent world peace and to create an international organisation in form of United Nations to materialise this pledge. A joint statement was issued by these heads of the governments on 1st of December 1943 to the entire world community as "We express our determination that....we shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all the nations, large and small whose people in heart and mind are dedicated as our own peoples to the eliminations of tyranny and slavery, oppressions and in tolerance we will welcome them, as they choose to come into a family of democratic world."

The official convention to discuss the structure and functions of United Nations was organised at city of USA Dumbarton 21st August 1944 and it continued till 7th of October 1944 and it was called Dumbarton Oaks Conference. The sole objective of this convention was to frame the modalities of institutions and their functioning of United Nations Organisation. The recommendations of this convention were published on 9th of October 1944. This convention framed a final draft on the principles, objectives, membership, the organs, and modalities of the functioning of these organs and how to preserve and maintain world peace. The final draft of the constitution of UNO was ready but one apprehension of Soviet Union created a deadlock to execute this draft into reality and the apprehension was that Soviet Union was the only socialist nation in this arrangement and it had the apprehension that arrangement made in Dumbarton convention will give edge and dominant position to liberal democratic countries and they will dominate Soviet Union in future. So Soviet Union put fort two demands before the execution of Dumbarton suggestion that firstly it should get the Veto power in Security

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Council and secondly all the sixteen republics of Union should the membership of UNO as sovereign independent nations. A convention was called at Yalta on 4th February to 11th February 1945 to resolve the deadlock and apprehension of Soviet Union. The head of the states of USA, Soviet Union and Britain took part in this conference and finally reached consensus by providing Veto power to Soviet Union and two of its republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia were given membership as sovereign independent nations.

Yalta convention paved the way for the creation of UNO by resolving all the disputes and apprehensions raised by Soviet Union and it was decided to convene the final convention at San-Francisco from 15th April to 25th June 1945. About 282 representatives of 50 nations participated for deliberations and discussions to give final shape to United Nations Organisation. Fifty nations signed on this charter and Poland couldn't participate due to some reasons and the place was left blank for the signature of Poland. In this way the United Nations Organisation came into existence with fifty one primary members.

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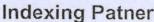
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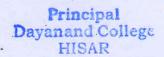




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EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT: The genesis of regionalism can be traced from ancient times but in modern times the seeds of integration or regionalism were sown during the Second World War. The whole world was integrated into two blocs on the basis of ideology. The determinant factors for this integration were political and strategic concerns. Both the blocs concluded political and defense pact in counter of each other. The major concern for this integration was security factor. This can be treated as the beginning of integration in modern times. The 1950s is characterized by another way of integration. The European Economic Community was constituted with an objective of common and institutionalized market of European nations. This is considered as New Regionalism or Economic Regionalism and finally it was culminated in form of European Union. The demise of Soviet Union and socialist ideology brought new era in international politics. The tension between the two blocs came to an end and due to this factor the political and strategic concerns got irrelevant and economic issues came on forefront as the determinant factor for new international economic order. The structural changes in post cold war period brought the world in to a village. The process of globalization inspired the nations to integrate their economies with global economy.

KEYWORDS: Globalization, RTAs, FTAs, Regionalism, Regionalization, Integration, ASEAN, NAFTA, LAFTA.

INTRODUCTION: The concept of regionalism can traced from early periods. The regionalism in early period is defined as the cooperation and conflict among some countries of a specific geographical area. Primarily the cooperation and conflict was based on defense and strategically important issues. Initially studies on regionalism was vague and therefore, it has been called treated as an 'elusive' concept. Slowly the concept of regionalism got broadened and area of cooperation among nations widened and socio-economic issues came on forefront for cooperation. A contemporary development in this concept is inter-regional regionalism which means now cooperation among nations is not limited to specific geographical area but the economic cooperation may be extended to beyond one geographical

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entity to another geographical unit. Now the studies on regionalism specifically economic regionalism are more specific and intensive. Now focus is on the studies of regional cooperation, regional organization, regionalization, regional integration and inter-regional regionalization.

The concept of economic regionalism can be defined as economic interdependence among the nations and to extend their economic activities to strengthen economic health of respective countries and this extension may be limited to one specific geographical unit or it may be extend beyond one geographical entity to another geographical unit and that is called as inter-regional regionalization. The economic regionalism is primarily economic cooperation among the governments and this cooperation is ensured through the government treaties and dialogues and removes the obstacles which may be hurdles for economic cooperation i.e. reducing the tariffs, opening of markets for free flow of products and to make congenial atmosphere for extension of economic activities with other nations. The economic regionalism leads to economic integration of geographical unit or beyond a geographical entity. The economic integration of a region took place through various state sponsored economic activities and these state sponsored activities are created and implemented by countries are the most concrete manifestation of it. These state-led activities are mostly economic integration in nature. The economic integration consists of removal of obstacles to the mutual exchange of goods, services, capital and persons by countries. So nations frame their economic policies to integrate their economic activities with supranational level.

So economic regionalism can be defined as economic cooperation among the nations through governmental policies and executions of these policies strategically and at organizational level to extend and strengthen economic activities among adjourning or inter-regional level. The objective of economic regionalism is economic interdependence among the nations or regions and to fulfill the economic needs of nations through mutual economic understanding at governmental level. The contemporary world has shrunk into a global village and in this changed scenario this mutual economic cooperation has been gaining momentum. No nation can afford to live in isolation specifically in economic arena. In post cold war period the prime determinant factor is economic relations. After the demise of Soviet Union or communist ideology the politico-strategic relations are no more prime factors in world politics. Now in contemporary world relations are revolving around economic sphere. From this point of view, it is acknowledged that the existence of economic interdependence is well recognized by means of global co-operation or coordination between adjoining countries or inter-regional level. This economic interdependence involves a complex economic

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performance, harmonization and compromise of national politico- economic interests among countries, which is followed by an adjustment of regional interstate relations.

The concept of traditional regionalism requires certain traits i.e. historical legacy, cultural identity, common perceptions, emotional belongingness, geographical identities and a perception of regional awareness and belongings. The politico-strategic idea played a vital role in the concept of traditional regionalism. Nations of same geographical region or unit came for an understanding to achieve political and defense objectives and they shared certain commonalities in terms of history, geography, culture, values and legacies. These were certain prerequisites for traditional form of regionalism, specifically during cold war and even before cold war period. This can be treated as the most authentic historically and culturally deep-rooted definition of regionalism in pre-post cold war period which signifies the uniqueness of each individual region and explains the characteristics of each and giving little space for a dialogue between different regionalism experiences.

The evolution of the concept of new regionalism or economic regionalism is quite different from traditional regionalism. The new regionalism is integration of economies of the world on the basis of growing economic interdependence among the nations. This new concept is not confined only to history, culture or a geographical unit. The driving and determinant force for this integration is economic interdependence. In post cold war period there left no place for ideology and whole world has shrunk into a region. Now the politicostrategic relationship is replaced by economic relationship, specifically in post cold war period. New regionalism or economic regionalism has no geographical boundaries. The cooperation among the nations depends on their economic wants rather common history, geography, culture or shared values. This new evolution is also termed as inter-regional economic cooperation or inter-regional economic regionalism. It also signifies a practice and process of norm creation. The role of national governments has changed in this new arrangement. The governments have to ensure the commitment for regional cooperative enterprises and the credibility of cooperation. The government has to work as entrepreneurs which will fulfill the obligations which are essential to construct cognitive frames for regional norms. They will have to develop new norms which should be consistent with the norm entrepreneur's ideational commitment.

After Second World War whole world was divided on two blocs on the basis of ideology. This can be treated as the beginning of integration of the world on economic basis. The whole world was integrated in two blocs, one was capitalistic world where the model of

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growth was capitalism and other was socialist bloc with socialistic mode of development. It was the first time when nations came to integrate across their regions. Although the driven force was political and strategic partnership but economic integration on the basis of ideology was one of the factor. The whole capitalistic world across the regions came closer and on the other hand developing and under developed economies got integrated under socialistic umbrella for economic development. The process of the evolution of new regionalism or economic regionalism can be traced with the eight successive rounds of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and this process accelerated the orientation of the economic integration in every corner of the world. This can be called as 'first wave' of new regionalism but big setback to this wave was Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) which were concluded among many developing countries during 1950's and 1960s. RTAs couldn't stop longer this wave of new or economic regionalism. The process of formation of European Economic Community has began in 1957 and it's institutions were constituted during 1960s and this can be considered as real beginning of integration of world economies and it laid the foundation for European Union (EU). The most significant witness in regional economic integration has been the transformation of the European Common Market into the European Union (EU). The advent of EU has revolutionary transformed whole international economic scenario by pursuing regionalism aggressively as a means of encouraging investment and competition and to bring multi-polarity in the international economic system. This new economic arrangement was different from the old regionalism which was more complex in nature because it confined economic regionalism to specific geographical regions and preferred Regional Trade Agreements rather economic integration of the entire international order. The formation of EEC and its conversion into EU encouraged the entire world to integrate their economies with global economy and could be only materialized with the demise of Soviet Union and its parent ideology. The end of cold war brought economic factor as the determinant factor or driven force for future international relations which laid the foundation of new international economic order based on economic interdependence and economic integration.

The commencement of European Union brought a new era of economic integration with common market, free flow of capital and goods, free movements of labour, trade reforms and movement of members beyond custom unions. It brought the concept of common currency, common visa and common political institutions in form European Union Parliament. So the Europeans are achieving full economic or deep integration, or an V economic union.

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Before the emergence of the EU the nature of regional integration was based on political orders specifically during the Second World War as made by both Nazi Germany and Japan either before or during the war. Three types regional integration can be identified during cold war period. First type of regional integration was in form of integration of institutions i.e. Americas, Commonwealth, the League of Arab States (LAS), the Organization of American States (OAS) and this integration was multipurpose in nature because integration was multilayered. It was conglomeration of various factors. The second type of integration was basically for security purposes. Cold war period is characterized by a tense situation between the two blocs which led strategic integration of the blocs. The capitalist bloc headed by USA concluded NATO treaty and it was integration of the forces of capitalist bloc and to counter NATO, Soviet Union with its socialist allies concluded WARSAW pact. In addition to these two grand integrations some other strategic integration were concluded i.e. the Rio Pact, SEATO, CENTO, and ANZUS were established in 1950s. The third and the contemporary integration is integration of economic institutions with a principally economic focus have to promote regional economic integration. The seeds of this integration were sown in multilateral regulations in form of GATT. This arrangement led to economic integration of institutions of Europe by creating of European Community (EC) in 1958, proliferated in the 1960s in such a way that the world was 'filled with proposals for NAFTA, PAFTA, LAFTA.

The economic integration in developing countries is bit different from European lines because the prime focus of these nations is security which is major hurdle of integration of institutions among these nations. So the integration is primarily sub-regional or subcontinental in nature. The creation of EC couldn't inspire the developing nations to integrate across the regions due to underlying security reasons. It was mostly regional in scope. The more familiar examples of this second regional wave are the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Community (SADC), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).

The regionalism in post cold war period is a structural and paradigm shift from the regionalism of cold war period. The new regionalism is more complex and diverse than previous one. The integration or regionalism during cold war period revolved around two blocs and security was major concern. The political and strategic issues were the determinant and driving factors for integration and regionalism. The end of cold war brought certain structural changes in international politics. The demise of a specific ideology brought to an V

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end the tension between the two blocs and laid the foundation for integration of world in terms of globalization. Now the politico-strategic issues were no more relevant due to the end of ideology and replaced by economic concerns of the world. The integration of Europe inspired many regions and nations for common markets and to create multilateral institutions for economic integration. The structural changes in post cold war period have shrunk the world in to a village which inspired the nations to integrate their economies with world economy. On the other, the end of cold war also changed the parameters of the security domain making regional security more vulnerable and accessible to local actors.

The regionalism of the post cold war period brought institutional shifts based on decentralization of the international system and the removal of superpower politics. The end of the cold war era is characterized with human considerations of livelihood and prosperity. It brought many possibilities and potentialities to explore and make the world more humane and beautiful. It can be treated as renaissance of ideas about the possibilities of universal institutions and projects and the fostering of global peace.

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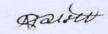
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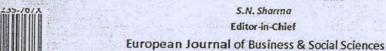
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