

ELIAMEP TIMES

CALLS FOR APPLICATIONS

Research Fellow in the field of Arab Studies

Full Time starting 1 October 2009

Deadline for Applications: 26 June 2009

ELIAMEP is looking for a Research Fellow in the field of Arab Studies for an initial period of one year, renewable. The appointee will contribute to refining and implementing a research agenda and link up with areas of related research at ELIAMEP. He/she is expected to develop a portfolio of work that will include initiating new research, forming partnerships with other institutions and producing policy relevant outputs. His/her responsibilities will include the writing of policy papers and briefing notes and participation in conferences and meetings. Salary is competitive and will depend upon the successful candidate's qualifications.

Qualifications required:

- MA in a related field of study. PhD will be an asset. Advanced PhD students are strongly encouraged to apply
- Fluency in English and Arabic. The knowledge of Greek and/or other Middle Eastern language would be an asset
- Prior research experience and/or experience of working as part of a multinational team is desirable
- Prior experience in project management or related research management experiences is also important.

Applications should include curriculum vitae, samples of written work, a concise work plan proposal and the names of two referees. Short-listed candidates will be invited for an interview.

Applications and requests for further information should be addressed to: by e-mail to nina@eliamep.gr or by mail to ELIAMEP, 49 Vasilissis Sofias, 106 76 Athens, to the attention of Ms. Nina Papaioannou.

Stavros Costopoulos Fellow

in International Relations/Political Economy or European Integration

Full Time starting 1 October 2009

Deadline for Applications: 26 June 2009

ELIAMEP is looking for a qualified Research Fellow in the fields of International Relations/Political Economy or European Integration, broadly defined, for a one-year, renewable appointment. The appointee will contribute to refining and implementing a research agenda and link up with areas of related research at ELIAMEP. The successful candidate will be expected to develop a portfolio of work that will include initiating new research, forming partnerships with other institutions and producing policy relevant outputs. Salary is competitive and will depend upon the successful candidate's qualifications.

Candidates should have a PhD or an equivalent level of experience and possess the following attributes:

- Sound knowledge of key issues in current debates in his/her area of expertise
- Proven ability to implement independent and/or collaborative research projects
- Excellent research and writing skills, ability to work with researchers from a variety of backgrounds, ability to produce policy relevant outputs
- Fluency in English; Knowledge of Greek desirable but not essential; Knowledge of other languages would be an asset.

Applications should include curriculum vitae, samples of written work, a concise work plan proposal and the names of two referees. Short-listed candidates will be invited for an interview.

Applications and requests for further information should be addressed to: by e-mail to elizabeth@eliamep.gr or by mail to ELIAMEP, 49 Vasilissis Sofias, 106 76 Athens, to the attention of Ms. Elizabeth Phocas.

RECENT EVENTS:

**Irregular Migration and the Informal Economy in Southern and Central Eastern Europe
Athens, 27-28 April 2009**

ELIAMEP organised two workshops on the 27th and 28th of April 2009 in Athens, under the auspices of the CLANDESTINO EC funded (DG Research, FP6) research project.

The first workshop on the 27th of April was organised jointly with the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) and focused on the relationship between Irregular Migration and the Informal Economy in Southern and Central Eastern Europe from different theoretical perspectives, regions, and economic sectors. The main issues discussed in the presented papers regarded:

- The **tolerance to irregular employment** in Central Eastern European countries, attributed by Katarzyna Gmaj, Research Fellow at Center of International Relations (Warsaw) and partner to CLANDESTINO, to two factors: The fact that these countries are by and large characterised more by shuttle and circular migration and less by immigration and their strict migration policies.
- The **link between women's paid employment and the supply of low-paid domestic care labour in Greece** involving mostly informal economic arrangements, highlighted by Antigone Lyberaki, Professor of Economics in Panteion University (Athens).
- The **subcontracted employment of low status jobs in the service economy** that Thanos Maroukis, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, looked through, the pocket of migrant cleaners and carers contracted out to work in Greek hospitals. Next to accounts of exploitative working conditions within subcontracted employment, he finds that stability and security in the job are characteristics that can be found in this niche depending on the migrant's demographic features, and living and working experience in the host country.

- The **issue of socioeconomic integration of migrants** working under more or less informal work arrangements in constructions, tourism, agriculture. Evgenia Markova, Research Fellow at London Metropolitan University, through her qualitative research on migrants of different nationalities in the Greek island of Rhodes pointed out, in particular, that the legal status of the migrant is by and large irrelevant to his/her socioeconomic integration.

Putting the above discussion of irregular migration and informal economy in the current global context, the end of the workshop involved a roundtable where a discussion of the effects of the economic crisis was attempted. Contrary to the assumption that the negative economic climate would lead to a reduction of migration inflows towards developed economies as well as a growth in return migration flows, the discussants at the roundtable mainly pointed out that:

- The **likelihood that legal or irregular migrants will return to their countries of origin depends on the situation in countries of origin as well as on the family and other safety nets that migrants dispose of in the country of residence.**
- The **crisis is expected to lead less to unemployment and more to the normalisation of irregularity and underemployment.**

The second workshop on the 28th of April on Irregular Migration in Europe in Comparative Perspective involved two sessions of papers; one that focuses on estimates of irregular migration stocks and flows and the production of these; and another discussing paths into irregularity (from the aspect of both the existing policies and the labour markets), discourses around irregular migration and policies aiming to tackle irregular migrant stocks and flows across Europe. The key points made were the following:

- According to Michael Jandl's (Senior Research Consultant from Vienna and partner to CLANDESTINO) classification of existing data sources, methods and estimation techniques that are



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used in calculating irregular migration stocks, **there are a very few high quality estimates of irregular migration across Europe.**

- Dita Vogel and Vesela Kovacheva from HWWI (Hamburg) and partners to CLANDESTINO found that **irregular migration stock in Europe is less than assumed** according to new estimates of irregular migration that they produced for EU15 and EU27 for the years 2002, 2005, 2008 and 2008 respectively.
- **Estimates on irregular migration flows are harder to produce** because of quantitatively and qualitatively poor data, according to Albert Kraler's and David Reichel's (ICMPD, Vienna) assessment of different types and estimation techniques of such flows.
- **Clandestine entry is the least relevant factor in creating irregular migration** according to Franck Düvell's (Senior Research Fellow at COMPAS, Oxford University) analysis of the construction of irregular migration across Europe.
- The implications that **the interplay between numbers and political discourses of irregular migration** carries for migration policy management were discussed by Bastian Vollmer, Research Fellow at COMPAS (Oxford).
- **The effectiveness of border enforcement policies in Southern Europe in blocking irregular migration flows is questionable** and other avenues should be investigated, according to Anna Triandafyllidou's (Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP and coordinator of the CLANDESTINO project) comparison of these policies.
- **The informalisation of certain economic sectors does not necessarily constitute a mobility trap for migrants** in the case of Southern Europe while it seems to do in the case of Central-Eastern Europe according to Thanos Maroukis's, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, and Krystyna Igllicka's, Senior Research fellow at CIR (Warsaw), analysis of the irregular migration-informal economy nexus in these EU regions.

Can European Governments Respond to the Challenge of the Obama Administration? Athens, 14 April 2009

It is a matter of general acceptance that the Obama administration is largely different from its predecessor. The US's renewed commitment to multilateralism and willingness to listen, arguably poses the question to its European counterparts. What do we want to say in response? This was addressed in a lecture organised by ELIAMEP with **Professor Lord William Wallace** on 14 April 2009.

According to Professor Wallace, it is a matter of interest to note that from the American point of view, the EU is regarded as a unity, possibly a federation in the making. In this framework the EU is viewed as a part of the western 'free' world, of which the natural leader remains the USA. This perception, however, comes in sharp contrast with the current image of fragmentation that the EU is projecting and the lack of coherence among the Europeans.

The policy priorities of President Obama's administration as they have been set up to this point focus on reviving multilateral institutions, placing nuclear proliferation and climate change back on the agenda, reducing American energy dependence, fostering progress in global economic and financial management and engaging with East Asia and the Muslim world. At the same time, it has inherited a global financial crisis, commitments in Iraq and Afghanistan, an unsustainable defense budget and unclear internal positions as to America's energy question.

On the opposite side of the spectrum, while the EU and the USA do share a set of common interests and objectives, they also have important differences, foremost the lack of any coherent global agenda, with the partial exceptions of climate change and economic policy. Characteristically, as the power gravity is gradually shifting to the East, the EU should outline a coherent collective policy towards China and South Asia, where currently only the British, according to Professor Wallace seem to have an active interest mostly on Pakistan and Afghanistan. Moreover, while both sides have shown signs of



Professor Lord William Wallace and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP

rapprochement towards Russia, the EU needs to map an independent position both due to its territorial contiguity as well as its energy dependence from Moscow. On the issues of climate change and global economic management, while the EU appears to be on a good line, in practice it does not appear to have a coherent external policy for the euro nor for the efficient implementation of policy targets. Finally, the EU should address the relationship with NATO in order to shift the attention directly on the 'bilateral' EU-US relations and learn to put its interests across more coherently.

Overall, in order to be regarded as a trustworthy and independent partner in global affairs, the EU has to set clear targets and concrete paths on how to accomplish them. European heads of government need to find common messages and put them across both to the US administration as well as the US public. Only in this way will the EU be able to abandon the image of 'follower' to the USA and be finally able to explain what European interests are, where they coincide with American interests and where they differ.

The European Union and its Neighbourhood: The Need for a Rethink Athens, 8 April 2009

On 7 May 2009 the European Union and Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine officially launched the new Eastern Partnership, which was originally proposed by Poland and Sweden. At an event held at the Onassis Foundation, **Professor Helen Wallace**, who is currently **Onassis Fellow in Athens**, held a lecture on "The European Union and its Neighbourhood: The Need for a Rethink". In her speech, Professor Wallace concentrated on the perspectives of Eastern Partnership, which is a newly developed initiative concerning the EU's eastern neighbourhood based on two pillars. The bilateral component of Eastern Partnership includes Association Agreements, economic integration by means of 'deep free trade areas' with each country; 'mobility and security pacts' to open up scope for free movement of individuals; and measures to promote energy security.

The multilateral dimension of Eastern Partnership will concentrate on four thematic platforms – democratic governance, economic integration, energy, and soft measures to promote contacts – and will rely on an institutional structure including meetings on the heads of state and government level as well as ministerial and expert meetings.

Professor Wallace warned that important aspects have up until now been omitted in the Eastern Partnership initiative: What about cooperation in the area of Common Foreign and Security Policy and in defence issues? What about the frozen conflicts in and among some of these countries? How are Russia and Turkey involved in Eastern Partnership? How is the Eastern Partnership linked with NATO?

At the end of her lecture, Professor Wallace called on the EU to develop a more comprehensive policy. For this purpose, (i) the EU should review its firm distinction between countries that are actual or potential EU candidates and those that are on the other side of this line; (ii) more attention should be given to how EU policy is developed in relation to the policies of other international agencies and organisations towards the region; (iii) the success of the initiative will require the engagement of a larger number of EU member states.

Workshop on Security Sector Reform: Challenges and Priorities for Albania Tirana, 1 April 2009

On April 1st, 2009 ELIAMEP coorganised a workshop on "Security Sector Reform: Challenges and Priorities" with the Albanian Institute for International Studies (AIIS) in the framework of the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP).

IfP is a conflict prevention network funded by the European Commission that draws together the complementary geographic and thematic expertise of 10 civil society organisations (and their networks) with offices across the EU and in conflict-affected countries. Its aim is to develop and harness international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding to ensure that all stakeholders, including EU institutions, can access



Professor Helen Wallace and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP



Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP and experts from Albania discussing Security Sector Reform

strong independent analysis in order to facilitate better informed and more evidence-based policy decisions.

IfP's security cluster aims at improving the impact of EU and Member State security-related programming through research which identifies the problems that prevent policy being implemented as intended, and at recommending alternative strategies. In this context, a number of reports and workshops on Security Sector Reform (SSR) have been organised by the IfP partners during 2009.

The Tirana workshop focused on current challenges and priorities for SSR. Politicians, SSR experts and academics were brought together to discuss and examine in more detail challenges faced in this field in Southeast Europe and particularly Albania, as well as EU priorities in the field of SSR.

The workshop was opened by the Albanian Minister of Defence, HE Gazmend Oketa, who spoke on Albania's military reform and the roadmap ahead.

The parliamentary dimension of SSR was the focus of the morning session presented by Marc Remillard from the Geneva Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). The discussion that followed was led by Besnik Mustafaj, Member of Parliament, Chairman of the Board of Directors of AIIS and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Leonard Demi, Member of Parliament and Chairman of the Albanian Parliamentary Commission on Security.

Peter Gill from the University of Salford spoke on the reform of the intelligence services and their role in SSR. Arjan Dyrmishi from the AIIS and Arian Starova, Sali Shehu and Aldo Bumci, Members of the Albanian Parliament, commented more specifically on the situation in Albania and the current priorities for the Albanian intelligence services and SSR.

A paper on "Challenges and opportunities for more effective SSR processes", was introduced by Sebastien Babaud, from Saferworld in Brussels that is coordinating the IfP's security cluster.

Finally, the workshop included an in-depth discussion of SSR in Albania, in-

troducted by Dr. Enika Abazi. Damian Gjijknuri - Security Expert, SP, and Arian Starova, Sali Shehu and Aldo Bumci, Members of the Albanian Parliament further elaborated on the current security environment in Albania, and the future opportunities for long term stability associated with further security sector reforms, the stabilization of Albania's legal environment, and the continued need to address corruption in a coordinated manner among all relevant actors operating at the local, national and international levels.

Over 40 participants took part in this one-day workshop that brought together all the members of the Albanian Parliamentary Commission on Security, experts from the Albanian Ministry of Defence and the Albanian Ministry of the Interior, EU and US diplomats in Albania, representatives of the NATO Office and other assistance missions in Albania (PAMECA, etc), as well as representatives from the civil society sector, academia and journalists.

Relations between China and the EU Athens, 30 March 2009

In light of China emerging as a global geopolitical and economic power, ELIAMEP organised a bilateral open meeting on "China-EU Relations" with **Professor Yu Xintian, Director of the Academic Committee at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS)**.

Following its continuing economic development combined with its vast size, long history and large population, China has gradually emerged as a leading player in global affairs. Accordingly, China's foreign policy since the beginning of the 21st century has been forged by two main tendencies. On the one hand, being a rising power, it carries an important role as an actor of peaceful global development, which equally affects its foreign and domestic policies. On the other, it has to counter global perceptions viewing China as a 'rising threat'.

According to Professor Yu Xintian, these tendencies sketch a number of domestic and foreign policy priorities.



Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP and Professor Yu Xintian

Firstly, China has to make clear to the world that in the course of its continuing development it will not seek a hegemonic role, but rather modes of cooperation between existing and rising powers. In this context, it needs to explore new approaches of cooperation and reach win-win results while balancing its national and global interests. Secondly, as China's modernisation process is interlinked to the world, the country needs to assume the responsibilities stemming from this process and provide public goods globally, according to its ability.

On the other hand, however, while China does share similar values with the rest of the world, foremost the principles of development, peace, cooperation, human rights and the rule of law, it does not agree that there is only one model to promote and uphold them. Even more so, China does not accept that any one model can be imposed over other states. Overall, China's foreign policy has changed in the sense that it does not seek to simply serve the national interest but more so, the interest of the Chinese people who increasingly move around the world.

In this sense, the perceptions the Chinese hold about the world and Europe are important in forming the Chinese foreign policy. For the European Union specifically, due to the highly developed trade taking place between the two parties, the Chinese regard the EU-China relationship as very friendly while they also believe that the EU will play an important role in the global political and economic system. However, over 75% also believe that there is not much comprehension between the Chinese and the Europeans. According to Professor Yu Xintian this is a problem that needs to be solved in order to promote and improve Euro-Chinese relations. It could be achieved through the enhanced interaction and exchanges on the individual level, rather than the government level, and less reliance on mass media sources. Moreover, there are a number of issues of apparent miscomprehension that from the point of view of the Chinese people, need to be addressed. Among them, most important are the embargo on weapons,

as this indicates lack of mutual trust; the Tibet issue, which the Chinese regard as highly important and internal; the human rights issue on which the people feel that China has made great improvements even if more steps need to be taken; the Taiwan question, which the Chinese are ready to solve under the principles of the rule of law and regulation. Finally, because the EU seems to be recognising Russia as a market economy while it does not recognise China as such, there are many Chinese who view the EU as having double-standards.

Overall, China-EU relations are promising; however, the peoples' understanding is frail, and this can be an obstacle to further strengthening the relations between the two parties. It is essential to make improvements through direct exchanges, consideration of the sensitive policy issues, reduction of conflicts and more emphasis on commonalities of interests and values.

**Mediterranean Meetings 2009:
Workshop on "Political Parties and
Public Policies in Southern Europe
(with an emphasis on Greece and
Turkey)"
Florence, 25-29 March 2009**

ELIAMEP and the Center for European Studies, Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, participated in the Mediterranean Meetings 2009, which took place on 25-29 March 2009. The meetings included parallel seminars under the auspices of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, Italy.

ELIAMEP co-organised a workshop on "Political parties and public policies in Southern Europe (with an emphasis on Greece and Turkey)". At this meeting, 12 announcements were made by Greek and Turkish researchers, political scientists and experts on comparative political analysis, public policies and political parties.

ELIAMEP was represented by Dr. Ioannis Grigoriadis, Lecturer, University of Athens, George Pagoulatos and Spyros Blavoukos, Professors, Athens University of Economics & Business and Dr. Dimitris Sotiropoulos, Professor, University of Athens.



The agenda of the meeting and the papers presented by ELIAMEP's representatives are available at: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/european-integration/events-european-integration/mediterranean-meetings-2009-workshop-on-%E2%80%9Cpolitical-parties-and-public-policies-in-southern-europe-with-an-emphasis-on-greece-and-turkey%E2%80%9D/#more-1535>

Panel Debate at the LSE on "An EU Fit for Purpose in a Global Age" London, 9 March 2009

Policy Network, LSE European Institute and ELIAMEP organised a panel debate at LSE on Monday, 9 March 2009, with the participation of the UK's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, David Miliband, the Irish Minister for European Affairs, Dick Roche, the Dutch Minister for European Affairs, Frans Timmermans and the President of ELIAMEP, Loukas Tsoukalis. The topic of the panel debate was the role of the EU in the new era that is characterised by the economic crisis and the significant change of the balance of power in the global system.

Loukas Tsoukalis presented the conclusions of a large-scale study conducted by the three think-tanks, in the framework of the programme "An EU Fit for Purpose in a Global Age", with the participation of 30 well known politicians and policy-makers from various European countries. The final report of the conclusions will be published before the European elections, followed by the publication of the full study in autumn and its presentation in public events across Europe.

Russia – EU Relations: Towards a Strategic Partnership? Athens, 6 March 2009

It is frequently mentioned that Russia's relations with the European Union are those 'of strategic partners'. They share a common European civilisation and common values. The practical significance of this phrase though is ambiguous, as there is no common understanding inside and outside the EU. On 6 March 2009, ELIAMEP organised a lecture delivered by **Ambassador Vladimir Chizhov, Permanent Representative of Russia to the European Union**. Ambassador Chizhov elaborated on the significance of the strategic relationship between Russia and the EU, by analysing current and future challenges that this relationship may face.

The current financial crisis brought up the increasing interdependence of states, not only in the financial and energy sectors but also in the political one. In 2003, the Greek Presidency

started an initiative for partnership in the social, political and economic level. This procedure is affected by three key factors: i) the 'objective' challenges in the framework of economic globalisation and competition among states; ii) the special character of the EU and the internal problems that it faces absorb a lot of effort from the external problem it faces; and iii) the effects of the EU's enlargement to the East. Characteristically, in terms of commerce, EU enlargement has made Russia the third largest commercial partner of the EU, after the USA and China.

At the same time it brought in 'imaginary afflictions' which, according to Ambassador Chizhov, stem from the period of the USSR or even from the Russian empire and constitute a catachresis of the Union's euro-solidarity to benefit bilateral interests.

Russia and the EU should work together to face common problems and more specifically:

- a) The challenges of the financial crisis, not only focusing on the problems of the Russian economy. According to Ambassador Chizhov the problems Russian economy is facing can be dealt with the federal reserves of Russia.
- b) The issue of energy security. At this point Ambassador Chizhov mentioned that energy dependence of European states will continue for at least three decades, while it is a fact that Russia can not use the energy issue as a political weapon.
- c) Referring to the EU's and NATO's enlargement, Ambassador Chizhov demarcated the two organisations mentioning that NATO is trying to solve problems of the 21st century by using mechanisms of the 20th century. On the other hand, the EU is a modern institution and a possible enlargement would bear no problem for Russia under the condition that the terms of accession are respected by both parties.

Russia's proposal on a new security treaty was based on these arguments, in order to create a new commonly accepted legal framework. Ambassador Chizhov concluded with the thought that there is room for improvement and in his words "business should be better than usual".



A first draft of the synthesis report is available at: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/an-eu-fit-for-purpose-project-synthesis-report-first-draft-1.1.pdf>



Ambassador Vladimir Chizhov and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP

PUBLICATIONS:**ELIAMEP Thesis 2/2009: Falling Behind Again? Southeast Europe and the Global Crisis / Jens Bastian, March 2009 (in English)**

In ELIAMEP Thesis 2/2009 Jens Bastian, Senior Economic Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, argues that the economic outlook for the region of southeast Europe darkens as the global crisis deepens. The crisis resistance of countries in the region has not been tested before on such a scale. Furthermore, their institutional arrangements remain distinctly fragile. According to Jens Bastian, confronting the crisis will require bold and coordinated policy initiatives, sustained international support and the recognition of its social implications.

ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2009: The Current Macedonian Issue between Athens and Skopje: Is there an Option for a Breakthrough? / Evangelos Kofos, April 2009 (in English)

In ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2009 Evangelos Kofos analyses the 16-year old Balkan diplomatic imbroglio over the name issue of "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" (FYROM). The paper wants to initiate a discourse with the assessments and proposals of a recent report of the International Crisis Group, *Macedonia's Name: Breaking the Deadlock*. In addition, the author attempts to clarify current Greek positions and concerns vis-à-vis the various proposals on the state name submitted by UN mediator Matthew Nimetz. Finally, Evangelos Kofos submits a comprehensive proposal for dealing, in an international environment, with sensitive issues as those affecting personal, state, regional and cultural identities.

Migration in the European Union / Anna Triandafyllidou, Ruby Gropas (eds.), 2009 (in Greek)

This innovative volume provides a comprehensive overview of the immigration situation in all 25 EU countries. Each chapter is written by a national expert and follows a common structure, allowing direct comparisons to be made between countries. Chapters provide a clear focus in terms of the methods used, data collected, literature reviewed and research questions addressed, and draw on hard-to-obtain material, including sources not previously published in English.

And what if we came out of our sell? / Loukas Tsoukalis, 2009 (in Greek)

Professor Loukas Tsoukalis' latest book includes sixty short articles on a wide range of subjects. It starts with the uncertain adaptation of Greece in response to a constantly changing world, a conservative society and a political system which has reached its limits: signs of a deepening crisis. One of the themes in the book is the political choices of a Europe that doesn't know yet what she is and what she wants to become when she grows up. We live the end of an era in political, economical and ideological terms. Finally, markets are not auto-regulated, truth is not uni-dimensional and for sure one superpower is not enough to give its original interpretation, and also to impose it. However, who can predict the new era in a more complex world with many sources of instability and vague rules?

Working Paper No 4: The Bush Presidency and the War in Iraq: Views, Developments, Tactics and Calculations which Led to Undertalking Military Action / Theodosios Karvounalakis, March 2009 (in Greek)

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