



# **The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXXIII, No. 107**

## **February 26, 1973**

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# Students core of revolution in China, US

By DAVE KIMBALL

William Hinton, one of America's foremost China scholars, spoke in Madison on January 20 at "China Day" on the cultural revolution in China. Hinton has visited China five times, most recently in 1971, and has written several comprehensive books on the People's Republic, among them *Fanshen* and his two recent books on the cultural revolution, *Turning Point in China* and *Hundred Days War at Tsinghua University*.

The following interview is one part of an extended interview that Hinton granted the Cardinal. The first part, on the political aspects of the cultural revolution was printed last month in the Cardinal. What follows is the second part of the interview, on the role of students in the cultural revolution.

**Cardinal:** How could students play such an important role in the cultural revolution?

At every point of change in Chinese history students have been the first to take up the slogan, the first to see the threat of Japan, the first to see the threat of imperialism, and so on.

But students are small in number, and if they don't bring these issues to the people as a whole and help to organize a mass movement it's just simply a lot of froth and foam.

defense who had to be removed from office in 1959 for his revisionist policies. So this play was really a political attack, and Mao gave support to an article exposing it.

A nationwide debate was started around the play. But the people in power, the Liu Shao-Chi clique, tried to turn it into an academic debate over whether this historical figure was good or bad, whether what he did 300 years ago was right or wrong, etc. So the first move in the cultural

But there are two aspects to the student movement: a lot of people crystallized around the issues when they came into the open, but the "capitalist road" opposition also mobilized forces. A lot of students jumped into support the people in power. Some of it was naive—to them the party was under attack, so they rallied to its defense, opposing the rebels who they felt were unjustly attacking the president of the university, a good communist. The student

are very much alive in the West.

Don't you think, though, that left sectarians has been a problem on campuses in America, that very few students have been willing to join workers?

I think that's a general problem on the American left, but it is particularly strong on campuses. What can develop is a struggle for power in the student movement, instead of a revolutionary struggle in the country. You end up with little cliques whose main interest in every event is did we win or lose, did we win the debate or lose the debate, did we sell more papers than they did or not? That's on the losing side of the interests of the people. The whole point of the struggle is that the people have serious problems that can only be resolved in the long run by socialist revolution.

The Chinese and Russian revolutions tend to give that "I am the core" type of thinking a push, because the history actually was that 12 people sat down and organized a Communist party that went on to become the leader. It's just not been that easy in America for a few people to sit down, declare themselves the "core" and make it stick.

The historical situation in China was much different. In America it is much more difficult to organize a revolutionary party because the national question here is so complicated. The several revolutionary strands are not easily united, there is a tremendously powerful imperialist bourgeoisie, and aristocracy of labor, and corrupt sections of the working class that are the basis of social democracy.

That's why one has to be modest, listen, and learn to unite with people whenever possible and not get swell-headed with a few successes. I think that the basic position of the Revolutionary Union, that they are not the communist vanguard but that they and other people were trying to bring it into being was a very refreshing wind in the whole American left. The vanguard is not a subjective thing, it's something that the masses of people recognize and no one can just sit down and declare himself to be the leader.



WILLIAM HINTON

Cardinal photo by Bob Ronk

revolution was the young cadre in Peking University who attacked the president of the university for the way the debate was being conducted.

It came in an academic form to start with, but it very quickly burst into a general criticism of society. Of course Mao did that on purpose, it was his way of raising the issue of revisionism, and when the students responded he gave them support.

**How did the cultural revolution spread out to other groups? It was never confined on campus for very long.**

The cultural revolution rather quickly spread out into society because cadre and high school students were involved and the students went out to mobilize the workers and peasants. What started on campus was spread throughout society within a few months.

movement wasn't like a revolutionary tide, there were loyalist trends and rebel trends.

**Can you think of any parallels between the student movement here and the role students played in the cultural revolution in China?**

I think that the parallels with the cultural revolution are really rather strong. The student movement here plays the same role. It is primarily students who first come to socialist ideas, who are interested in Marxism, view the whole world with open eyes and expose the problems. Then the problem is: where do they go from there? Do they just talk about it or do they go out and actually join the working people, to help build a mass movement. The criterion of whether a student is revolutionary is what he does in relation to the masses of oppressed working people, and these issues



In the cultural revolution the advanced students saw most keenly the issues in education, and through that, in society, and they raised them right where they studied and worked. Then they took the issues out to the factories and fields and did a tremendous job of mobilizing people.

They alienated a lot of people too, but the overall effect was a tremendous ferment within society, so that without the students the cultural revolution would almost not have been possible.

**What were the issues on the campuses that started the cultural revolution?**

There were a lot of grievances having to do with how students were chosen, and grievances having to do with an educational system that almost guaranteed that worker and peasant students would flunk out. Since there was a big influx of peasant and worker students in the 50's, various struggles had been initiated around these grievances.

There was this background of struggle on campus, that at times had been rather acute, but the way the cultural revolution started in 1966 was around a play called *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*.

The play was an attack on Mao's policies for socialism, couched in terms of an historical drama praising a character that had fallen out with the emperor. The play in fact was a plea for the restoration of Peng Teh-huai to office, who was the minister of

## East Asian Dept. thrives

By THEA LANDESBERG

Have the U.S.-China table tennis games, Nixon's historic Peking trip, or the touring Chinese acrobats created a tumultuous rush of students towards China-related courses?

While all present indications deny any great upsurge in student registration, the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature of the University of Wisconsin-Madison is drawing a steady following.

**THERE HAS BEEN** a gradual rise in enrollment in East Asian subjects and in particular the Chinese dialect of Mandarin. The reasons for interest in the language and Asia, however, has had little or no relevance to current China publicity.

"Nixon's Peking trip has not and will not greatly affect our department," says Prof. Wayne Schlepp, Chairman of the East Asian Dept. "The greatest interest from students comes from inside themselves."

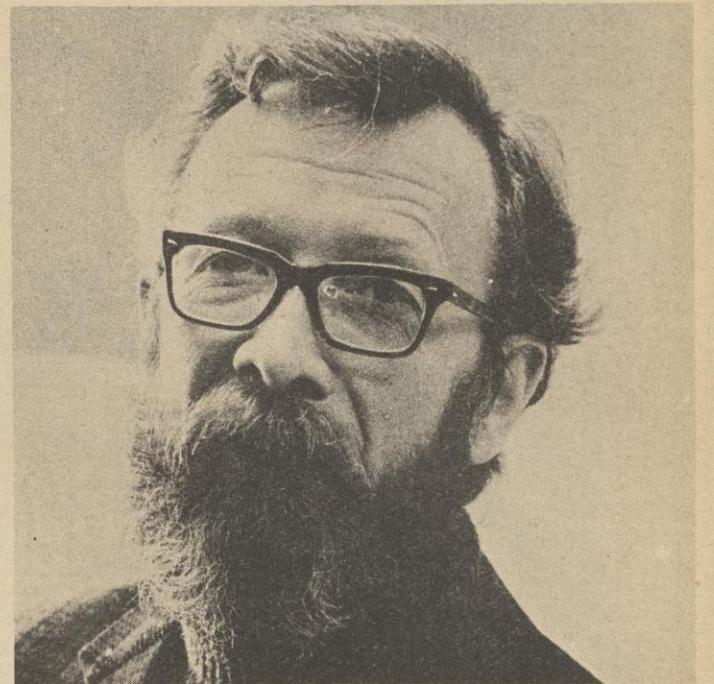
The department, which was begun in 1962, offers courses in Mandarin, Cantonese, Classical Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and Javanese. Other departmental offerings include Calligraphy and Literature in Translation. The department is expanding, says Mr. Schlepp, to attract more students, those with a particular interest in China, or Asia in general.

In 1967-68, 31 students enrolled for the fall semester in Mandarin; in 1972-73, there were 54. Students who are taking Chinese courses have varied reasons for studying in an area that has, for the present, limited but expanding opportunities outside the academic world. Some come by way of related subjects such as Anthropology or Linguistics, some because they have relatives or friends in Taiwan or Mainland China, and many because of a deep intrigue with Chinese. As one third-year Chinese student says, "I just love the language."

**SATISFACTION AND PRAISE** for the Chinese language program has been overwhelming. "We have the best basic Chinese teachers," says Mr. Schlepp, and student opinion has backed the statement. Dennis Elter, a graduate student, says that they "are really trying to teach the language and get students involved in the course." The Chinese instructors are extremely kind and more than willing to help you," says a first-year Mandarin student. "The department is fantastic."

While students are enthusiastic for the Chinese program, it is, as one student says of the Chinese 10-week Summer Intensive Program, a "lesson in self-discipline." Students encounter a great amount of work, a need for dedication, but with often the results of taking, as one student cites, "the best language course I've ever had."

Prof. Gwang-Tsai Chen, Instructor of Chinese, says that a fairly large group of students signed up for first-year Mandarin last fall due probably to growth of general interest in China, but when they soon discovered that it was a difficult subject, many dropped out. About 40% of first-year students drop out after the first semester. "The students who continue are very devoted," says Mr. Chen. "They are serious and know what they are doing. They really want to study Chinese."



Cardinal photo by Leo Theinert

PROF. WAYNE SCHLEPP

Mr. Schlepp believes that current increased access to Mainland China will have only a minimal effect on the East Asian Dept. Future university courses will probably deal more with contemporary China. Exchange programs on a teacher or student level are only remotely possible. "The Chinese are interested in computer technicians, not in humanities."

**IF MR. NIXON'S PEKING TRIP** did not especially help the East Asian Dept., his recent impounding of humanity funds has greatly hurt it. Federally funded fellowships and grants are being discontinued, cutting off many students, mostly graduate, without aid. Students in all fields will be forced to seek university financial aid, says Mr. Schlepp, which is very limited. The cutting of funds greatly affects the Indian Studies Department, because many of the instructors are half-paid by the federal government. Mr. Schlepp is leaving after this year, another teacher is retiring, and Mr. Schlepp questions whether these positions will be replaced because of scarcity of funds.

A program for teacher certification in Chinese on the BA and MA levels, planned to begin next fall or spring, may be delayed because of lack of money. The Chinese 10-week Summer Intensive Program, which last year received 14 scholarships from the federal government, is not getting any this year.

Despite monetary cutbacks, however, the study of Asian culture continues, and on the front of Mr. Chen's door it says, encouragingly, "When you study Chinese, you study more than a language."

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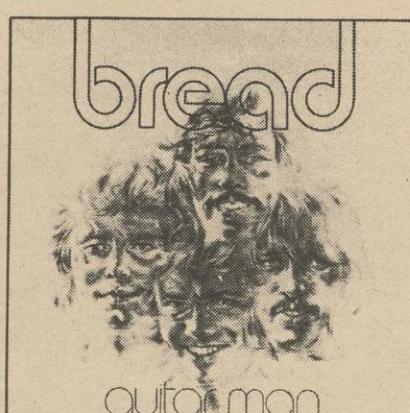
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# New society based on ancient energy

By WARREN PALMER

How do you feed one third of the world's people, over 700 million strong, without the benefit of modern tools?

That's a puzzle to stump a genius or confound a congress. It's a problem that China's illiterate peasants solved while transforming one of the most backward societies on earth into the world's most progressive socialist society.

THE DEVELOPMENT of the communes best illustrates the dramatic transformation affected by China's peasantry. The story of the development of the communes is an epic of peasants using ideological concepts to solve local problems in new and progressive ways.

By 1952, 300 million formerly landless peasants had received 118 million acres of farm land. Equal land distribution was an important step but it was only a small part of the solution of China's problems, some of which were as old as China itself.

China for centuries had been a land of unpredictable rains and too frequent floods. If China was to ever solve the problem of feeding the millions, these natural problems had to be brought under control.

The other major problem of China arose out of the contradiction between industry and agriculture. The only resource China had a surplus of was manpower. If the energy and ingenuity of the millions of peasants could be released and directed, then China could solve her problems.

SOON AFTER equal land distribution, the peasants began to organize themselves into small groups called mutual aid teams. It was obvious to the peasants that on their own, with each peasant farming a half acre, progress would be slow and difficult. By organizing into mutual aid teams a better living could be achieved.

Mutual aid teams were not the answer though. They had severe limitations, so they began to band together to form co-operatives. The co-operatives passed through two stages of development which culminated in a truly socialist organization where most of the

land was held in common and one earned in accordance to how much one worked, not in accordance to how much one owned.

The co-operatives solved many problems. Through pooling their resources, large scale improvements could be made, such as well digging and small water conservation projects. Hills could be terraced to prevent erosion and schools could be built. Still, the co-operatives had their drawbacks.

It is estimated that during the height of the co-operatives 15 billion labor days were wasted due to the seasonal nature of agriculture. The peasants recognized that if these days of idleness could be filled with productive and useful labor, China could be transformed.

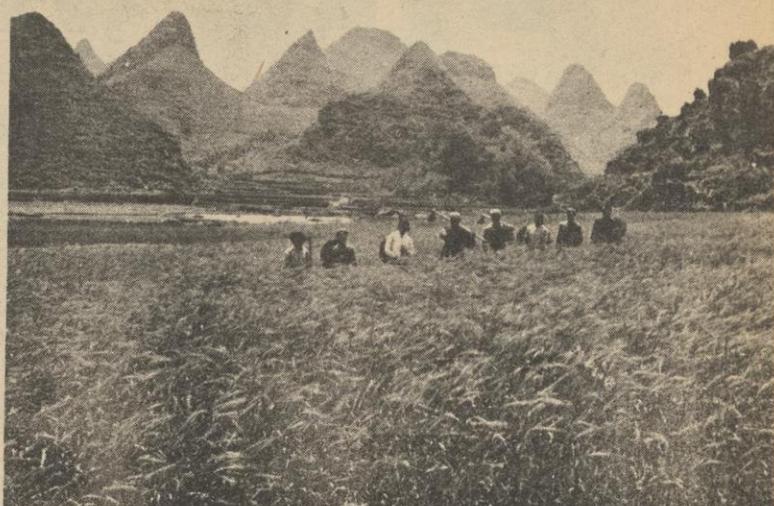
IN THE WINTER of 1957-58, the Great Leap Forward swept through China. It galvanized the peasants and eventually resulted in the formation of the communes.

dramatically demonstrated the value of organizing and co-ordinating efforts on a large scale. The formation of the communes in 1958 was for this very purpose.

About 740,000 co-operatives banded together to form 24,000 communes. Each co-operative became a brigade within the commune. In the first years of communes, much experimentation took place. Many of these experiments were failures but the communes recognized and corrected mistakes as they continued to develop.

In China today, there exists great diversity among communes.

Each commune has developed particular methods of organization suited to particular needs. Generally the communes exist as a loose federation of brigades, and as the link between brigades and higher government. The main purpose of the commune is to aid in the planning and co-



originally brought the communes into being.

THROUGHOUT THE development of the communes, constant interaction between the party and the people has taken place. Never has the leadership of the country imposed solutions upon the peasants, but, rather, the peasants have proposed solutions and the leaders have listened and criticized. The ideology of the party never dictated solutions but instead provided peasants with the means to examine the problems facing their community and to solve them. That the good life has been created from the good earth is due primarily to the ability and the willingness of the peasants to develop new means of production in response to real needs and

eventually to accept a new society based on the new means of production.

## News Brief

### COMMUNITY MEETING

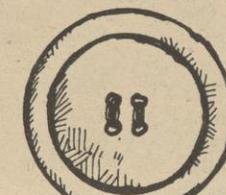
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ordination of the member brigades and to undertake the large projects like the construction of irrigation and flood control structures which

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## China to the world

*'If you've ever been mistreated...'*

Bob Avakian of the Revolutionary Union spoke in Madison on Jan. 20, "China Day," on Chinese foreign policy. Avakian is a spokesman from the national central committee of the Revolutionary Union (RU), a national communist organization.

As a delegate from the RU, Avakian visited China in 1971, and has written on the subject of China's foreign policy.

**Cardinal:** Why is China participating in the UN? Do they think they can accomplish something within the U.N.?

**Avakian:** First of all, the overwhelming vote, particularly of the Third World countries and smaller nations was for seating China and throwing the Chiang Kai-Shek puppets out of the U.N. Secondly, it was a defeat for the U.S. policy of trying to isolate and "contain" China as a socialist country which provided tremendous inspiration to people struggling all over the world. It's true that by the time the vote actually came down, U.S. imperialism had seen the handwriting on the wall and tried to make adjustments to it, but it was still a tremendous defeat.

The Chinese policy in the U.N. has been a continuation of their policy in general. What they try to do is encourage and assist the various countries in the U.N. to play a more independent role, to help them join together, so that they are able to stand up to the superpowers in the U.N.

Still, the U.N. cannot bring about peace or solve the problems of the world because imperialism still exists and the imperialist powers will never be bound by the will of the U.N. They're never going to be bound by anything except the drive for maximum profit and more and more capital, but the U.N. can still be a forum for politically isolating them and exposing what they're doing.

Don't you think that China's opening the door to Nixon last year was a political defeat for China?

No, I hardly think it was a defeat for China. Everybody except a few screwballs can see clearly that it was a defeat for Nixon. Here you have a man who made his way up in the world stepping on everybody else, red-baiting, and slandering people, and slobbering about how he would unleash Chiang Kai-Shek and bring him back to the Mainland. He had to go to Peking, knocking on the door, and stand up and quote Mao Tse-Tung!

It was not only a defeat for Nixon, but for the whole ruling class and their strategy of encircling, "containing" and isolating China in the world. Their



strategy has been completely smashed—Nixon and the class he represents was just trying to adjust to it.

What about Vietnam? Can't China give more material aid to the Vietnamese? Isn't it selling out the Vietnamese by building up China at Vietnam's expense?

First of all, what China actually does is give free aid—both military and economic. Secondly, there are regular agreements that are usually renewed every year.

With Vietnam, aid has increased every year. As a matter of fact when I was in China in 1971, they signed an agreement increasing the amount of aid fourfold. Since then, with the stepped-up bombing and mining, China has signed a couple of supplementary agreements.

It's important to stress exactly what this means. It isn't like the U.S. government which would loan material at interest that they wouldn't put on the market here, because it would undercut profits. The Chinese are very frugal and try to conserve everything that they can to develop their country and lift it out of the backwardness that was imposed on it by the years and years of colonial and imperialist domination. What that means, concretely, is that the Chinese people make a lot of sacrifices, real sacrifices, to aid their Vietnamese comrades.

The way the Chinese people feel about the people of the whole world, especially Vietnam, reminds me of a line from a blues song: "If you've ever been mistreated, you know what I'm talking about." The Chinese have been through all those things: the bombing, the terrible brutality of a war of aggression, having foreigners ride roughshod all over

them, having the rich people in their own country care more about their pets than about the people. They've suffered all this and it's burned in their memories forever. So they make the sacrifices willingly, because they understand what the Vietnamese people are going through to win liberation, and they also know, that as Karl Marx said, "Only by emancipating all of mankind can the proletariat emancipate itself."

It is very important that the consciousness the Chinese people have is promoted by the government. Everywhere, the idea is constantly promoted that the needs of the people of the world must be put before the narrow interests of the Chinese people and the interests of society ahead of individual interests. These ideas are carried out in Chinese foreign policy. A policy of sabotaging world revolution could not be carried out by the government without promoting those selfish ideas among the Chinese people in the cultural and ideological spheres, because the people are the ones who in the final analysis determine what happens.

What is the difference between the principles of Chinese foreign policy and those of the Soviet Union?

The first thing that Khrushchev did in the 60's to begin to implement his policy of co-operating with U.S. imperialism, while competing and contending with it, was to make the question of peaceful coexistence the be-all and end-all of Soviet foreign policy and of the communist movement. What that really meant was that all the people in the world should stop their revolutionary struggles and allow the two superpowers,

The first principle is mutual assistance and support between socialist countries. Socialist countries don't just coexist, they extend free aid to each other, co-operate technologically, and exchange information.

The second principle is to support the struggle against imperialist aggression, support national liberation struggles, support the revolutionary movements in various countries, and support the struggle of smaller nations for independence from the superpowers.

Finally, the third principle is peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. This principle is very important because as long as we have imperialist countries throughout the world, the method of getting rid of imperialism is not for the socialist countries to go to war. This is completely opposed to the principles of socialism and can't possibly bring anything but

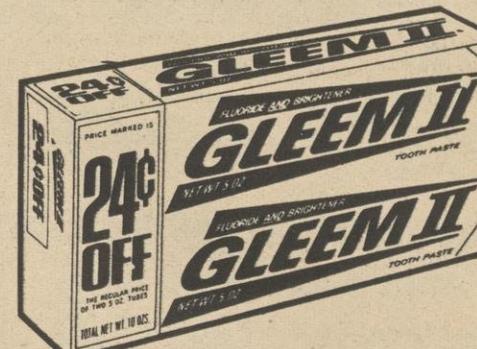
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EFFICIENCY, 514 E. MIFFLIN. #2. Nicely furnished w/air/cond., parking, carpet, utilities, laundry for \$125/mo. March 1. 257-7989. —6x1

GIRL TO share large 3 bdrm. house with 4 others. Laundry, parking. Call 238-3789 or 251-0038 after 5pm. —5x28

3 ROOM APT. \$150 257-2059. —5x28

FEMALE SUBLLET: Close to campus. Price negotiable. 255-9536 after 5pm. —3x26

1 BDRM. SUBLLET March 1st. Furnished, kitchen, parking pool. \$220. 501 N. Henry #606. 257-5945, 251-1600. —2x26

FURNISHED 1 BDRN. apt. 202 N. Pinckney. \$130/mo. 257-5811 after 5pm. —5x1

NEEDED ONE girl to share apartment with two other girls. Cheap rent. 257-6479, 262-9587. 2x27

ROOMMATE WANTED. Own room. Modern, carpeted, air/cond. dishwasher. 244-9242. —1x26

OWN ROOM, nice house, share with 3. cheap, very close now. 262-8902, 257-2612. —5x2

NORTHPORT DR. 2 bedroom, 2 level 1 1/2 bath carpet appliances air pool bus Apr. 1. 241-0266. —5x2

NEEDED HOUSEMATE with 3 men. Own room in beautiful house. \$60 mo. 233-0674. —1x26

1964 UW VAN with newer engine. Best offer 262-9372. —

WHEELS FOR SALE

1964 UW VAN with newer engine. Best offer 262-9372. —

## MUSIC BRIEF

Eric Larsen will give a piano recital in Morphy hall tonight at 8 p.m.

\*\*\*\*\*

## LAST CHANCE

The final performance of

Stravinsky's opera The Rake's Progress will be Tuesday night, February 27 at the Music Hall Auditorium. Tickets at \$2 are available at the Union Box office or at the door. Karlos Moser will be the conductor.

## Baby Doll

Sweet as honey... sweet as sin.

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## WHOLE MADISON

## CATALOGUE

The Whole Madison Catalogue is a people's yellow pages of individuals and groups who are offering services to the community and working for social change. The Directory is a step in building a non-exploitive, alternative way to meet our daily needs. Write your own listing about what you can do for and with other people. Include your name, address and phone number as you would like it to appear.

Mail to:

SOURCE BOOK  
PO BOX 2621  
MADISON, WIS. 53703

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OMAN RIDOF ONCE  
TAKE CARE OF ESTO  
THE AGENT ASPIEN  
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PUMA HOFS EIN  
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STUDENTS NEEDED immediately to act as representatives for a Chicago research company. Plenty of money to be made in spare time. Call 312-922-0300. —xxx

(EARN 500-1500) this spring, as campus coordinator. Write to P.O. Box 21588, San Jose, Calif. 95151. —4x27

OVERSEAS JOBS—summer or permanent. Australia, Europe, S. America, Africa, etc. All professions, \$500-\$1000 monthly. Expenses paid, sightseeing. Free info. Write TWR Co. Dept. N, 2550 Telegraph Ave. Berkeley, Ca. 94704. —10x7

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED—common cold research. Childless married couples only. Payment \$50/couple. Call 262-2638 between 9-3, Monday-Friday. —xxx

WANTED—GIRLS willing to travel and work in our food concessions at fairs and celebrations this summer. \$100/wk; room furnished. Call or write Hawkeye Enterprises, Inc., Box 4502, Davenport, Iowa 52808; 319-322-3526. —5x1

BARTENDER. PART-TIME. Full time summer. Neat and courteous. Brau n Brau. Ed Lump 257-2187. —1x26

## PERSONALS

WAR TAX refusal information. Wisconsin Peace Fund, P.O. Box 2683, Madison. —30xM6

LUST DESIRE and lotsa groovy threads at the G.P.O. 515 N. Lake St. —1x22

## So says the VA...

by How Rands

I JUST LEARNED FROM THE VA THAT I CAN GET MORE BENEFITS UNDER THE NEW PENSION LAW!

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## RENTED

LSD? COCAINE? MDA? Questions on drugs or just want to rap? DRUG INFO CENTER. Librarian and drug specialists available, hours: 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. weekdays. 420 N. Lake Street 263-1737. —J30

UP TO 26 acres of untouched grassland in Pinckney, Col. Near skiing and Nat'l Forest. Asking \$350 acre. Wm. Myers, 115 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 612-224-8301. —5x1

FLORIDA—DAYTONA beach \$117 for further information call 271-1766 after 5:00. —5x2

4 HARD COVER books. at Lake St. Ramp. Wed night. 274-2213. —2x27

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# foreign policy

(continued from page 5)  
more destruction on the people. The solution is for the people in the imperialist countries to wage revolutionary struggle against their own ruling classes, and for the countries that are dominated, aggressed and occupied by the imperialists to throw them out and resist their control.

In the meantime, China will strive to have relations of peaceful coexistence, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, and

trade that is mutually beneficial with the states that have different social systems.

China wants to avoid war—the Chinese people know what tremendous destruction war brings to the people. At the same time, they know that imperialism leads to war and this is why it is important for the people to struggle to resist war by the imperialists and eventually overthrow them.

## Women's pix

(continued from page 4)

representation of the talent of local women photographers, then it's a sad local situation. I find that hard to believe. I don't know what the troubles were in setting up the exhibit, but regardless of the problems encountered, show fails at anything short of proving women can adjust camera dials, and in view of that, should be rejected. Better luck next time, Focalpoint.

斯不

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## TRYOUTS FOR ARTISTS FOR THE REVOLUTION

February 26 & 27 3:30 & 7:30pm  
Vilas Hall room 1153  
presented by university theatre

### POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

There will be a community meeting at the University YMCA on Brooks Street at 8 p.m. tonight. The meeting will be concerned with the future investigation of police relations in the community. Economic relations will also be discussed.

\*\*\*\*\*

### AUDITIONS

The University Theatre will hold auditions for "Artists for the Revolution" at 3:30 and 7 p.m., Monday and Tuesday, February 26 and 27. The play, by Eric Thompson, is the second one chosen from the Eugene O'Neill Theater Center New Playwright's Conference held this past summer in Waterford, Connecticut.

## SPRING TRIPS

Acapulco \$231. Jet and Hotel complete  
California \$159. roundtrip reserved  
New York \$98. roundtrip reserved

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Monday, February 26, 1973

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Women's photo show



# China

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