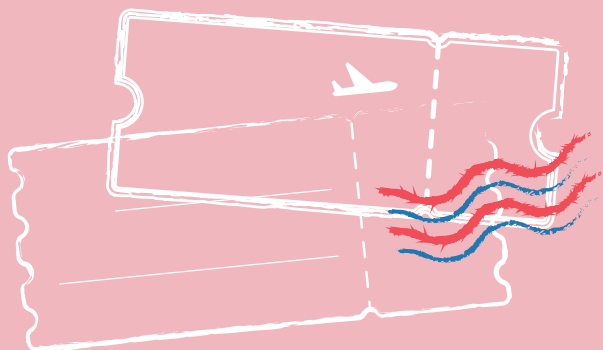
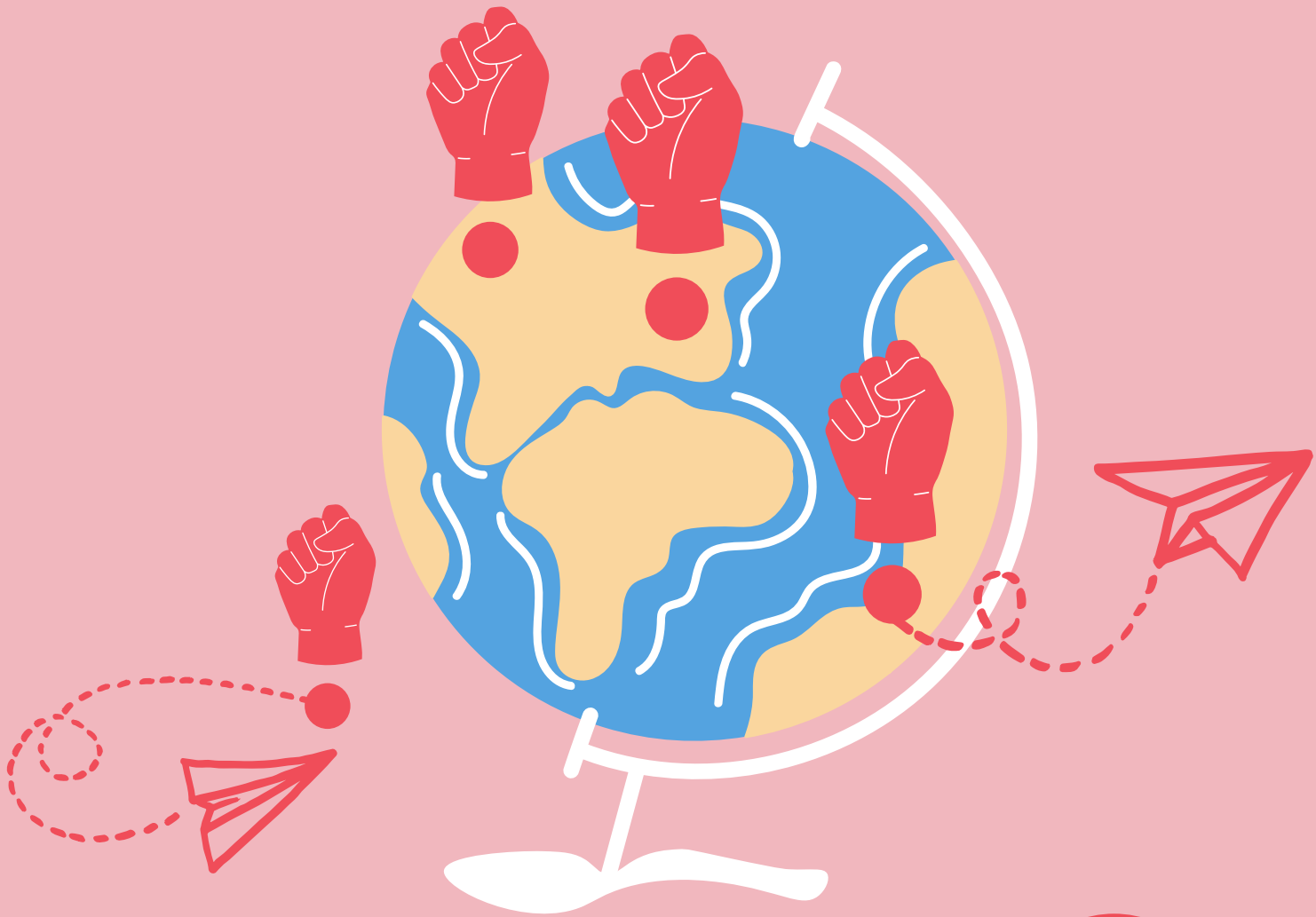
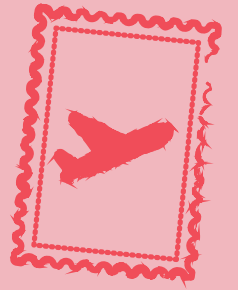


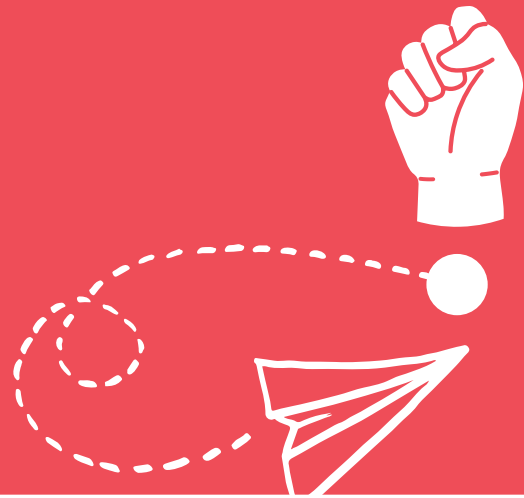
Reconstruction Women's Fund



2023

**Annual
Report**

A LOOK BACK AT 2023



What a year! The first post-COVID year. Looking back at impressions, initiatives and opportunities, we can be very satisfied with how we managed to maintain the work of RWF, to strengthen our policies, and not to remain blind or silent to what was going on around us. The reality of the end of our époque might be depicted as a perfect storm (economic crisis, the rise of the far right, and brutal wars), but what we choose not to forget and to continue with in the next year are joy, love, learning, laughter, uncompromised actions and activities.

In the dawn of the 20th anniversary of RWF, we are more stable, more visible, more reliable, and safer - and all that with your support. Shall the next few decades be like that too, imperialism, fascism and patriarchy would be defeated once and for all!



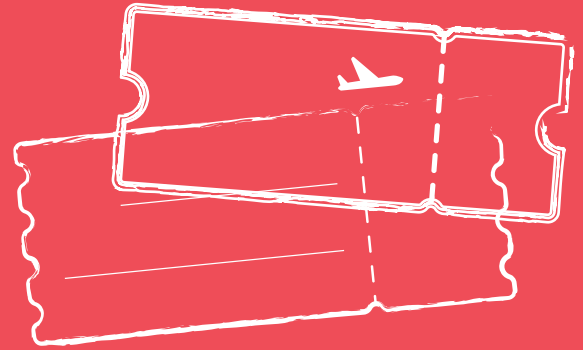
PARTNERSHIPS IN 2023



Collective work and collective building of power is one of our main priorities. We keep working in two long-standing initiatives, but also expanding our scope of work. Enjoy reading about it!

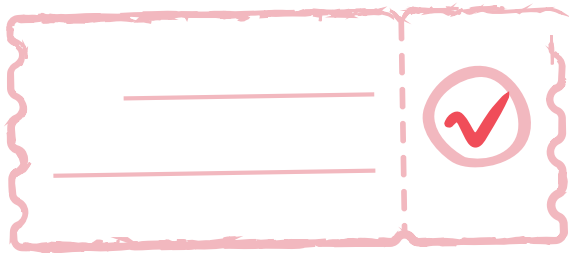
On the Right Track

It has been a really tumultuous year of struggle against anti-gender politics, as well as human rights violations. In May 2023, we finally held a meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, gathering our partners from across Europe. We learned and shared experiences, discussed strategies of resistance and active political responses. The main impression is that the struggle is not only about legal solutions, since regardless of the degree of alienation of institutions from citizens, there are still ways to abolish harmful, racist and discriminatory laws. A significant insight we gained is that the struggle is, first and foremost, being fought in the minds and bodies of people. Therefore, the top priority is changing narratives that link gender policies with the general resentment that citizens of Europe feel in the post-COVID world filled with economic crises, wars and uncertainties. We are looking forward to strengthen our network, becoming more relevant actors in the field, while organizing international meeting in March 2024 in Belgrade, where we will gather our allies from Latin America and Europe. This year, RWF took over coordination of this initiative, hoping to contribute with our genuine commitment. We are learning, sharing experiences, and empowering each other, knowing we are not alone, belonging to the world and the movement on the right track!



Knocking on the EU Door

In January, we attended the EU Parliament meeting in Brussels within the Erasmus+ project, which included the research we made on women's funds operating in Europe that we wanted to present to the EU allies. For years we have been advocating for women's foundations to become active partners within the EU, since such cooperation would be a guarantee of money reaching grassroots groups and organizations. We want to become even more important and better partners, since that way we could take over the extensive and often unnecessary paperwork imposed by the EU. We are glad that our advocacy goes in the direction of sharing experiences and successful attempts of truly creating support based on trust. Last year, women's funds in the Prospera Network managed to collect 8 million euros directly from EU funds to support organizations in Europe. It is the right time to change the name of this initiative and ask ourselves how to keep this door wide open... with no draft blowing.





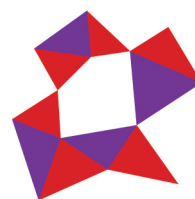
Gift Mechanism

A couple of years ago, [MacKenzie Scott](#) has shaken philanthropy with its substantial donations to progressive movements in a previously unimaginable way: by simply writing checks to trusted organizations. Even though the philanthropy has remained almost speechless to such donations, such support, as expected, is still rare. Although it could indeed become a model of giving, with no paperwork, based on trust, good faith and reputation, it does deserve criticism because those who advise where to donate still noticeably bypass Europe. It is not uncommon, it seems, that Europe is seen as a single country, a wealthy country loaded with money. Since the truth is that only several West European countries do have access to significant money in the field of philanthropy, it seems that such a policy results in worsening inequality within the Europe itself.

Our network of women's funds, Prospera, readily responds to this issue. This year we have started an initiative of targeting wealthy individuals and corporations in order to correct this injustice and create sustainability of small and middle sized national funds within the network, since this type of funds are the ones most successful in struggles in their local environments, earning the trust of their communities. We are still at the very beginning, making a strategy, designing ways to present ourselves and persuade donors not to take into account only geography, but also what we do and how we do it. It is a worthy fight!

Fund Her Now

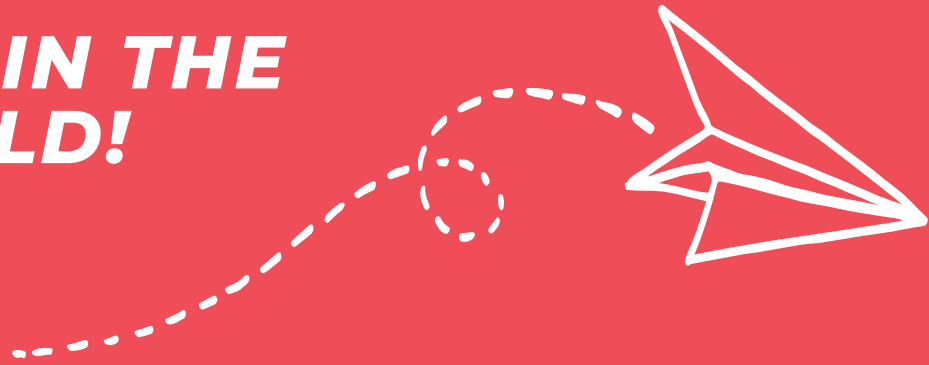
We have always understood that without the world and global cooperation, it is impossible to move forward in our struggle. Building collective power remains a priority for RWF, and it means we are venturing into new and uncharted waters. Namely, even though the road we are on is thorny and uncomfortable, we realize that money is stuck also among companies and firms we would never cooperate with. But we were also surprised to learn there were companies committed not only to green transition, but to feminist struggles too. Along with 5 other funds from our Prospera network, for a year already, we have been working on learning, mapping, designing and creating a strategy defining how, where and in which ways we could approach corporate donors, without compromising our politics, values and trust. Our collective Fund Her Now has managed to also put on the table the need to turn to rich individuals with whom we could work on raising awareness, sharing experiences and mutual learning about different struggles that afflict us. Next year we are going to test our knowledge and start with this long-lasting process. We are currently working on a document that will draw the red lines and try to communicate, sincerely and openly, with progressive companies about the ways to support feminist movement.



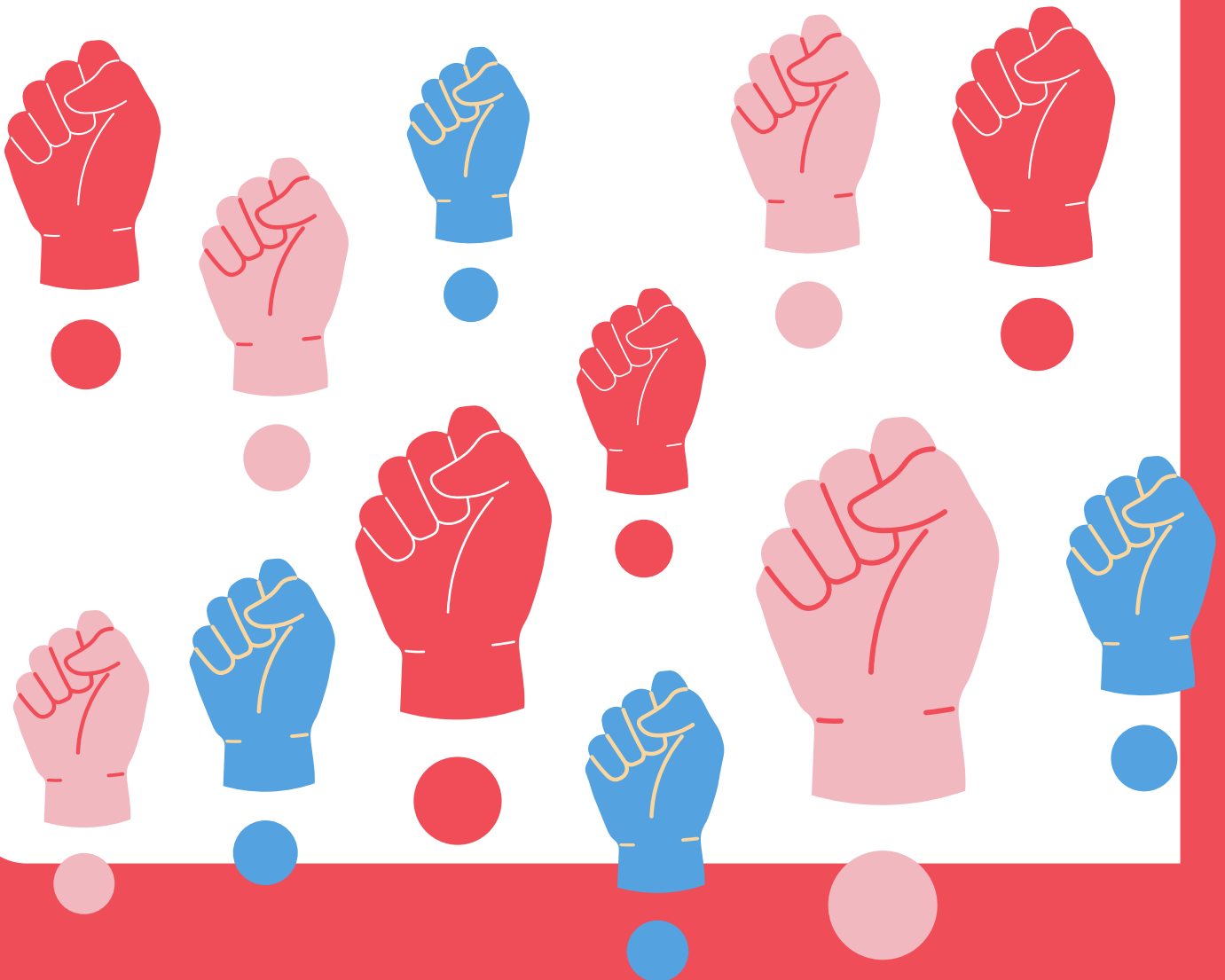
**fund
her
now**



RWF IN THE WORLD!



In recent years, we have been hearing well-intentioned criticisms about (in)visibility of RWF in international philanthropic circles, telling us we have been too modest, haven't shared our practices and policies properly, and that we could substantially contribute to changes because RWF lives what it speaks... Whether it is about managing the foundation or practices of cooperation with partners based on trust, commitment and stability... We have acknowledged the criticisms and this year focused ourselves on international initiatives we might contribute to with our knowledge and experience.



The Spectre of Gender and Human Rights

The surge against gender and human rights politics is not merely an instance of ad-hoc mobilization, but is becoming a well-organized global movement intersecting with far-right policies of unjust, violent and authoritarian management of human bodies, minds and lives. While some remain shocked by such events, feminist movements both in the region and in the Global South, readily and decisively respond to such politics. Behind attacks against gender actually lie attacks against democracy and undermining democracy. And no matter how ambivalent feminists have been towards democracy, as [Žarana Papić](#) explained it to us, it is precisely this duality that enables brave responses to such politics, and not only reactive ones, but also offering radical and uncompromising solutions when it comes to managing our bodies.

We had a study visit to our sisters from Chilean [Fondo Alquimia](#). We visited them right after voting on the new constitution in Chile and discussed how important were constitutional processes and participation of all citizens. But we also thought out-loud about the failure to adopt such a progressive and comprehensive constitution. We agreed that authoritarian elites would never accept democratic processes, but also that it was necessary to introduce the issue of peace into discussions, since Latin America as a battlefield of civil wars and dictatorships still does not take into account peaceful coexistence among citizens. On the other hand, it was useful to rethink whether the term feminist philanthropy should be used, because it has always been intertwined with colonial and patriarchal relationships of power, or the term feminist solidarity might offer

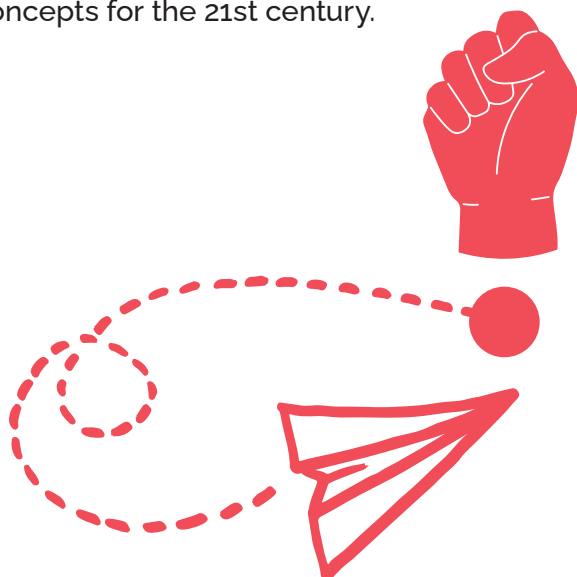
more adequate and better framework of changes and struggles. Then we „hopped“ to Argentina and were all ears to listen to and learn from the wonderful [Veronika Gago](#) on working on continuity of struggles in Argentina and on intersecting economic and democratic policies, as well as on hard work with trade unions and political parties, and what really made an impression was the joy of international that Gago has talked about and lived by. Several months later we took part in the regional conference on [gender](#), held and organized in Skopje by [Heinrich Boell Stiftung from Sarajevo](#). Based on the discussions we had there, we realized there were two worrisome courses emerging in the movement: patriotic feminism and civic nationalism. Feminism re-labels these two incomprehensible and unacceptable modisms that threaten the very constitutive and integral elements of feminist movements in the region. Even though these two phenomena are marginal, we should deal with them in more detail and hear their argumentation... in order to readily reject it because not in our name also refers to harmful phenomena within the movement.



Bringing Peace Back To The Table

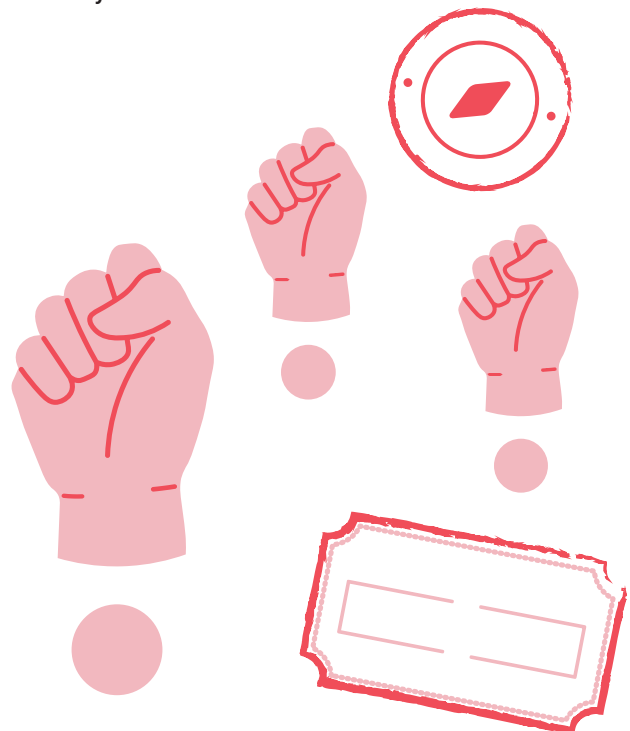
Just as wars and other conflicts do not happen in a vacuum of local contexts, peace is not built in isolation either, and in order to keep improving our peace frameworks, this year we again took part in numerous meetings with international allies. It seems to us that concept of peace and non-violence loses the necessary momentum from time to time. With wars raging across the planet, the concept of positive peace, which goes beyond mere absence of war or conflict, is in a tight spot. Peace philanthropy often fails to meet the needs of reality, and it therefore needs a lot of collective international work.

Throughout the year we have taken part in conversations on these topics, first of all through the network of activist and philanthropic organizations gathered by [Philanthropy for Social Justice and Peace](#). All these conversations made us more familiar with the issues our comrades from all continents are faced with, but also with their peace strategies. Through the initiative [Reforming International Development](#), relying on the internationally and locally acquired knowledge, we thoroughly re-examined and keep re-examining outdated models of peace and development philanthropy, building ideas on necessary shifts toward peace concepts for the 21st century.



Foundations for Peace Network

Another important network for us remains Foundations for Peace Network, an international network of local peace foundations. In November we gathered in Istanbul and looked back at almost 20 years of the network's work, asking ourselves the crucial questions – what is the meaning of the existence of this network today? What is our role and how do we contribute to peace? We keep honing the answers to these questions through a major transformation, joining forces with Philanthropy for Social Justice and Peace. Through united action, we plan to build exemplary models to be used by peace donors to efficiently support organizations in the field and that's why our future activities will be more focused on cooperation with local activists. We have to get rid of comfort zones, becoming aware of spaces for breakthroughs and jointly influencing radical transformations in support to peace and non-violence. It's a beginning of a new stage for FFP and, even though we have a pile of work ahead of us, we are ready to deal with it!



#Shift_the_Power Summit

We are extremely glad to see the results of collective advocacy for better support to peace activism in some spaces, including this year's Shift the Power summit organized by Global Fund for Community Foundations. The summit was symbolically held in Columbia, undergoing different levels of peace processes, after 50 years of fierce conflicts, and it was attended by over 700 people from all over the world. Compared with the previous summit, this one was politically much sharper and more open, not obscuring the burning issues of the moment. And the theme of peace was the focal point of the summit, drawing special attention to contribution of local communities to peace. We are pleased that during this event we had a chance to hold two workshops with colleagues, attended by 180 people, where we recognized and defined atypical contributions to peace activism, and where participants became aware of ways they contribute to peaceful and safe communities on a daily basis, even though such contributions might not be (sufficiently) appreciated in traditional peace circles. Conclusion of these workshops and summit in general was that we were all peace activists, because, after all, we were forced to become activists due to complexities of the world. We left the summit with a collective understanding that rearticulating peace activism, with more inclusion and broadened terminology, is a necessity for strengthening peace activism.

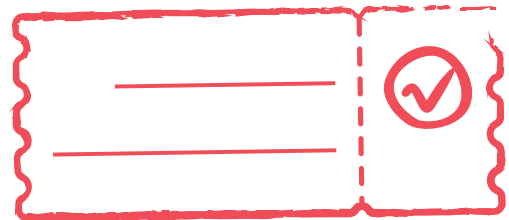


Building Trust in Philanthropy

It is no secret that private philanthropy is our major ally. Relationship of togetherness and building deeper and stronger connections is an obligation and commitment of both women's funds and private foundations. The last [research](#) of HRFN network speaks about the urgency of building trust that has a direct influence on fair distribution of funds.

Djurdja Trajkovic from RWF, as one of the representatives of women's funds from Prospera, along with Tania Turner from Fondo Semillas, Annie Hillar, co-director of Gender Funders Co-lab, and Maitri Morarji, vice-president of programs at Foundation for Just Society, organized several online seminars on issues of resilience of women's funds and complementarity with private philanthropy. The initiative is intended to deepen the relationships and decisively find the way of common action in support of women's human rights, gender justice and the field of philanthropy in general. We discussed obstacles, but also possibilities on both sides of this support. There is a huge desire to overcome the differences and we have to find a good way to make it happen in the upcoming years.

We also gained interesting insights about reserve funds, endowment funds, ownership of real estate and investments in bond and stock market, which women's funds have more and more opportunities to obtain with the support of private foundations. A study was made on importance of [investing in spaces for LGBTQI+ community](#). Having a roof over your head is one thing, but filling the space with different content is quite another!



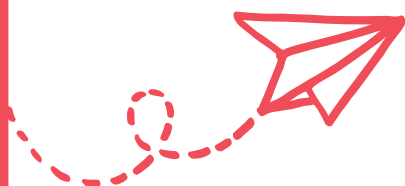
New Fields of Changes

In the previous years we have realized that even though the private foundations are our greatest allies, they are not and they should not be our only allies. Feminist philanthropy and its modes of operations and values can and should influence all fields of philanthropy, whether it is about humanitarian aid or modes how rather progressive Western governments and states spend money on feminist policies.

Collective of women's funds [Feminist Alchemy](#), led by our dear Sandra Macias Villar from Global Fund for Women, has a mandate to change modes of action in crises, whether humanitarian or political. With a broad definition of crisis, we are finding ways to make an impact so that local groups in the field get funded, since that kind of groups are mostly the first responders to crises and very often the only ones active in certain contexts. We took part in the conference [AidEx](#) in Geneva and talked exactly on the need for higher percent of groups working in the field that would get supported in the times of crises. It is sad and worrisome that only 1.9% is spent for such groups, while large organizations swallow same amounts for all kinds of patching up consequences, working neither on fixing the causes of crises, nor on building post-crisis communities. It seems that these arguments have some resonance and the changes are about to follow... It is yet to be seen, but we keep working in that direction.

The few progressive governments and states in Europe, committed to feminist policies, at least on paper, allocate more and more money for the field work of groups. [Netherlands](#) and [Germany](#) even have official feminist policies that include support to initiatives on Global South and East. This year we attended two conferences, in [Germany](#) and [Netherlands](#), dedicated to these issues. What is interesting is that, despite declarative support, the room for improvement remains huge, since it is yet to be seen how these governments can hear more radical voices that go beyond *warm stories of women*, that demand more radical and profound changes, i.e. true feminist responses to violence, wars, exploitation... Equal rights, equal representation and equal resources remain the focus and, therefore, progressive governments can become allies only if they seriously understand such a mandate.

Finally, the top priority for future years remains to achieve more and better connections between feminist and climate justice movement. We have a lot of learning, sharing and thinking to do, in order to find strategies of linking the two most important movements of this century! First chance to do that will be at the global summit for gender and climate justice that will be jointly organized by Prospera and [Global Greengrants Fund](#) in Tanzania at the end of September 2024. We are looking forward to learning and sharing knowledge!



HOME IS THE BEST PLACE TO BE!

8th of March Map Of Events In Serbia And In The Region

Again we marched together. And will march again... We gathered, spoke, and discussed existential problems and struggle for a dignified life.

23 events across Serbia, dozens of events in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia... festivals, conferences, seminars, marches, protests... we are proud of the region and of preserving the tradition of struggles and close regional cooperation!



Craziness Joyfulness

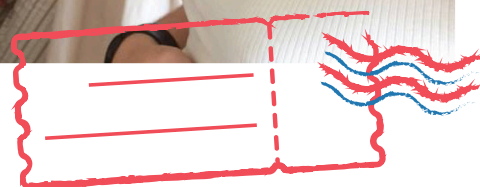
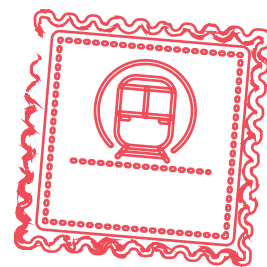
And once again, we had a great time and managed to gather the community. But this time we had more young people than ever, more new faces and more laughter in hard times. Mission accomplished!

Festival was opened by the Street Drummers, and we exhibited works of three artists, Sanja Solunac, Smiljka Jovanovic and Vlad Pisanjuk. We watched two activist documentary movies on Roma women and men and systemic discrimination of Roma: „Kitchens, Wars“ by Bojana Minovic and Aleksandra Kovacevic, and „Invisible Baby“ by Sevdjulje Ramadani and Bozidar Stojkov. We published a great book *Becoming Cliterate* (*Klitopismenjavanje* in Serbian translation), and Marija Ratkovic, Marija Jakovljevic, Adriana Zaharijevic and Aleksa Milanovic presented it through an open and sincere book talk. We wrapped the whole event by dancing to the Femix DJ crew compilations!

Apart from having a good time, laughing, hugging and seeing dear, new and old faces, we also collected 67 080 dinars as donations for the book *Klitopismenjavanje*, as well as scarves with cliterate messages with which we decorated the space and the audience. This amount will be used to print a new book RWF is about to publish for the next festival!



Visiting Groups



This year too, we visited supported groups across Serbia. Whether new or well-known allies, we visited them in order to keep in touch and deepen our understanding of circumstances they work in, so that we could support their needs as adequate as possible. We spent splendid time in Novi Sad with Centre Living Upright, SOS Women's Centre, and Out of the Circle Vojvodina, whom we visit regularly; in Zaječar, in Childrens' Centre, in Bor with allies from the association Nika, whom we hope to visit more often, as well as contribute to networking of initiatives in eastern Serbia; in Užice where we never have enough time to share with colleagues from the association Jefimija; in Niš with activists of Centre for Girls, Roma Students Association and Indigo Association; in Brodarevo with feisty women from the group Expansion... We also had a pleasure to be visited in Belgrade by some of the groups we cooperate with – Kučevo Initiative, Women for Peace from Leskovac, Children's Centre from Zaječar at a lovely picnic... These encounters give an additional meaning to our work, and keeping our cooperation with partner organizations lively and open, informative and inspiring.



CURIOSITIES AND NEWS:



Archive And Library!

We are so proud of our long-standing dream that finally came to life this year! We made RWF Archive and Library!

We are talking about a true treasure trove of materials: a variety of books, publications, brochures, posters, photographs, audio and video recordings, master and doctoral theses, and many other precious materials we have been collecting ever since the foundation of RWF. We are preserving a part of feminist history and history of women's groups in Serbia and the region. So far, we have collected and archived 2018 printed publications.

One of the most important parts of the archive consists of 198 printed and digital materials resulted from the work of 75 supported groups: feminist and art groups, activists, as well as stipendists we have supported throughout the last 19 years of RWF work.

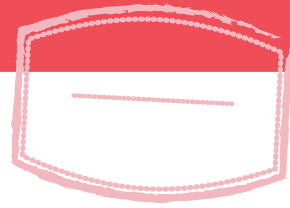
In 2023, we begun creating our Library (physical) and at the same time a database of RWF where materials are classified by topics. Until now, we included 200 publications into our Library, covering the following fields: antifascism, peace activism, facing the past, feminist activist art, feminism and deprived groups, feminism and health, feminist philanthropy. We also pay attention to the recently published materials of women's groups in Serbia and the region, trying to obtain copies for our Library.

So if you ever happen to need „a room of one's own“, you are welcome to come and dive into our archive... or bring us feminist books you don't know what to do with... and we promise to make Archive and Library public and accessible in 2024!

In addition, we try to enrich other libraries with feminist content. Our last year's edition, *Zami*, a biomytography of Audre Lord, has reached around a hundred places in Serbia, including local libraries and individual readers, as well as several regional libraries.

Our hit book of 2023, *Klitopismenjavanje* by Laurie Minz, was so hot at promotions and in bookstores Beopolis in Belgrade Youth Center and Infoteque CK13 in Novi Sad, where readers can get them in exchange for donations, that it has just started its journey through libraries of Serbia and the region, and will continue it in the following year.





Campaigns And Local Philanthropy

This year we organized a fundraising campaign for "Žarana Papić" stipends. Until November we raised 230 700 dinars! It is the amount sufficient to cover at least 2 stipends that are to be awarded in February 2024. Out of total of 18 donations, two came from men, and even 16 from women – therefore, women keep rocking this year again! And two of our women donors were new to us. We also had two major donations from abroad (500 gbp and 1000 eur).



5

Our goal is to raise 600,000 dinars by December 1st to provide funding for 5 scholarships. Please donate to support the education of new women and girls! Donate for the cause!

**scholarship to
December 1st**

**Donate to
the fight!**



GROWING!

SOME INTERESTING NUMBERS

BEFORE WE MAKE OUR NEW

STRATEGIC PLAN NEXT YEAR.

IN THE PAST 5 YEARS:

OUR TOTAL GRANT-MAKING BUDGET GREW 2.5 TIMES LARGER

GENERAL SUPPORT BUDGET GREW 1.8 TIMES BIGGER

WE INCLUDED 5 NEW GROUPS INTO OUR GENERAL SUPPORT SYSTEM

SPECIAL FOCUS BUDGET BECAME 3,5 TIMES LARGER

MAXIMUM AMOUNT TO BE AWARDED PER GRANT IN SPECIAL FOCUS PROGRAM HAS INCREASED 1,5 TIMES WITHIN THE LAST TWO YEARS

60% OF THE BUDGET FOR STIPENDS HAS BEEN RAISED WITHIN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

SINCE 2020, THE RATIO OF FUND AND GRANT COSTS CHANGED FOR THE BETTER! NOW, AROUND 25% IS SPENT FOR THE FUND AND 75% FOR GRANTS. WE DO HOPE WE WILL MANAGE TO KEEP THIS RATIO.

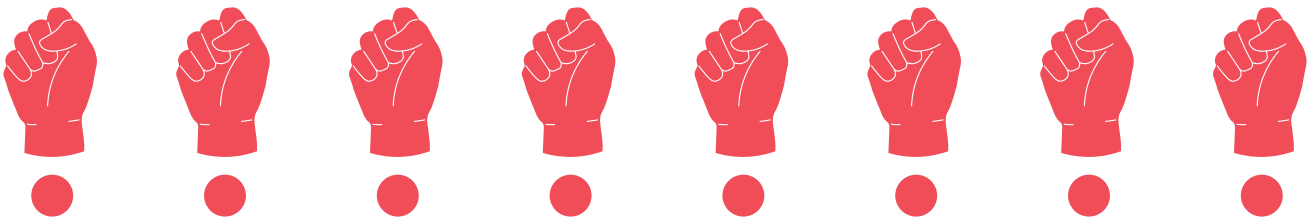
THIS IS WHAT WE CONSIDER WISE,

SUSTAINABLE AND SERIOUS GROWTH!

CRITICAL THEMES:

Clara Mattei: The Capital Order: [How Economists Invented Austerity and Paved the Way to Fascism](#)

Main thesis is that the capital order as a system of social relations makes a precondition of economic growth under capitalism. Therefore, economic growth, capital, as money invested in order to earn more money, requires that the majority accept to live their lives under the circumstances of exploited wage labor. And austerity measures are the crucial means that guarantee stabilization of class relations, even if causing short term destabilization of economy through recession. It guarantees much more fundamental long-term gain: protecting the capitalist societies from the possibility of social changes.

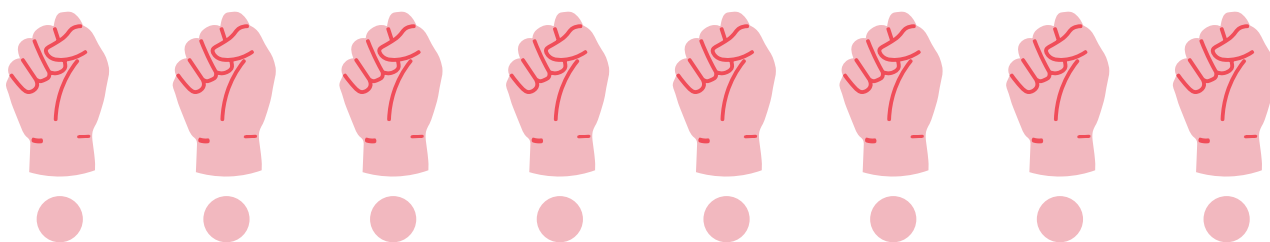


Lusi Kavalero and Veronika Gago: [Translation Of Struggles – Some Feminist Keywords](#)

In the recent years, feminist movement is not only mass movement in terms of number of people on the streets, but also in terms of capacity to open new debates and circulate concepts and diagnoses on various issues. These issues range from abortion to debt, covering a broad, heterogeneous and complex spectrum. But another step was made: feminist movement linked these issues, initiated underground connections and intersections becoming part of a new common vocabulary, and an unprecedented form of collective understanding. Thus, it is more than an agenda or set of demands (even though that's what it is, too). It implies politicization of issues that have long been consider marginal, in the interest of minorities, or reserved exclusively for experts. It also includes connecting zones of exploited life that appear to be unconnected, or are treated by the mainstream economy as independent variables.

Veronika Gago: [A Feminist Reading Of Debt](#)

The green tide demanding abortion rights has become an internationalist impulse mapping out struggles and legislation, bringing together a feminist agenda that goes well beyond a demand for an individual right. Understanding the relationship between unpaid and/or poorly paid labor and expensive and unsafe abortions enabled a broader analysis of the forms of precarisation of our lives, modes of control in the name of the democracy of the labor market, and ecclesiastic tutelage over desire and autonomous decision-making. Veronika Gago develops some notes to consider the entanglements and tensions between intersectionality, transversality, and translation to analyze the possibilities and difficulties of feminist struggles in the South.



Olufemi O. Taiwo: [Elite Capture: How the Powerful Took Over Identity Politics \(And Everything Else\)](#)

Elite capture is not a conspiracy. It's bigger than cynical appropriations, opportunism, or the moral successes or failures of any individual or group. It is a kind of system behavior – a phenomenon articulated at the population level, an observable (predictable) pattern of actions involving individuals, groups, and subgroups, each of whom may be pursuing any number of different goals from their own narrow point of view. Elite capture is not limited to the scope of their intentions. The constant dynamic of individual and group interactions makes up a social system, and elite capture emerges out of that dynamic.

GRANT-MAKING: A YEAR IN NUMBERS:

GENERAL SUPPORT 16 GRANTS

**AMOUNT AWARDED:
28,448,503.74 RSD**

SPECIAL FOCUS 48 GRANTS

**AMOUNT AWARDED:
19,843,884 RSD**

The groups are from: Belgrade, Bor, Čičevac, Gornji Milanovac, Kostolac, Kruševac, Kučevo, Leskovac, Markovac, Mošorin, Novi Sad, Niš, Pirot, Subotica, Trstenik, Užice, Vlasotince, Zaječar, Zrenjanin (19)

**In total: 78 grants and 8 stipends
Total amount awarded: 50,568,289.74**

The activities were implemented in: Belgrade, Bor, Bosilegrad, Dimitrovgrad, Divljane, Čičevac, Gornji Milanovac, Ivanjica, Knjaževac, Kostolac, Kruševac, Kučevo, Leskovac, Markovac, Mošorin, Novi Pazar, Novi Sad, Niš, Pirot, Prijepolje, Radmilovac, Sjenica, Subotica, Trstenik, Užice, Veliki Crljeni, Vlasotince, Vranje, Zaječar, Zrenjanin (30)

URGENT GRANTS 14 GRANTS

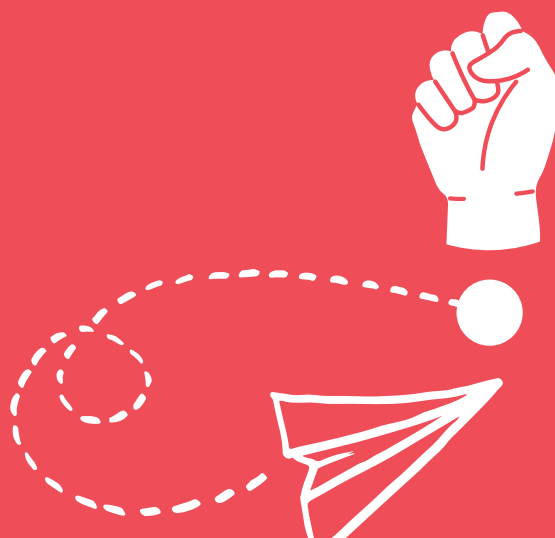
**AMOUNT AWARDED:
1,853,100 RSD**

“ŽARANA PAPIĆ” SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM 8 STIPENDS

**AMOUNT AWARDED:
422,802 RSD**

Where To Next?

This year was amazing and, even though we got a bit tired of travelling, in the following year we will keep it intense but relaxed.



In 2024 we will focus more on the local aspect, since it will be a well-earned year of celebrating 20th anniversary of RWF, and we wish to share it with our partners in Serbia!

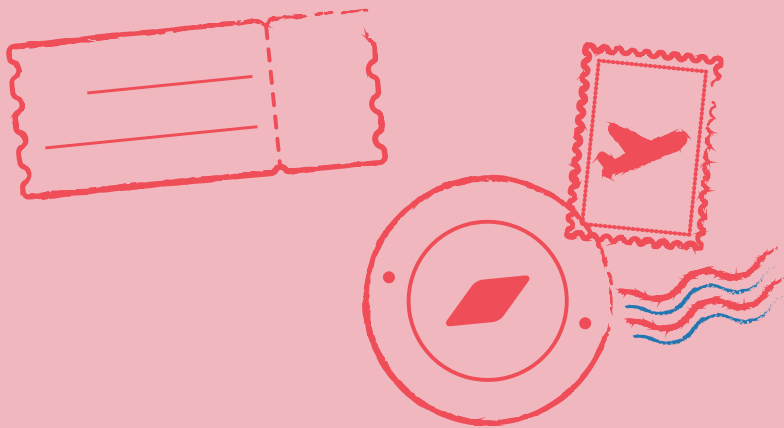
Save few special dates, events and treats:

- Again we will gather groups and partners for some work and fun together in Belgrade – so save the whole working week starting from 16th of September*
- Joyfulness Craziness we will have on Friday, 20th of September, in Belgrade*
- For Joyfulness Craziness we are also preparing our beloved bell hooks, all about love, to be translated and published*
- Throughout the year we are going to work on the strategic plan for the next five years, and will present it at Joyfulness Craziness*

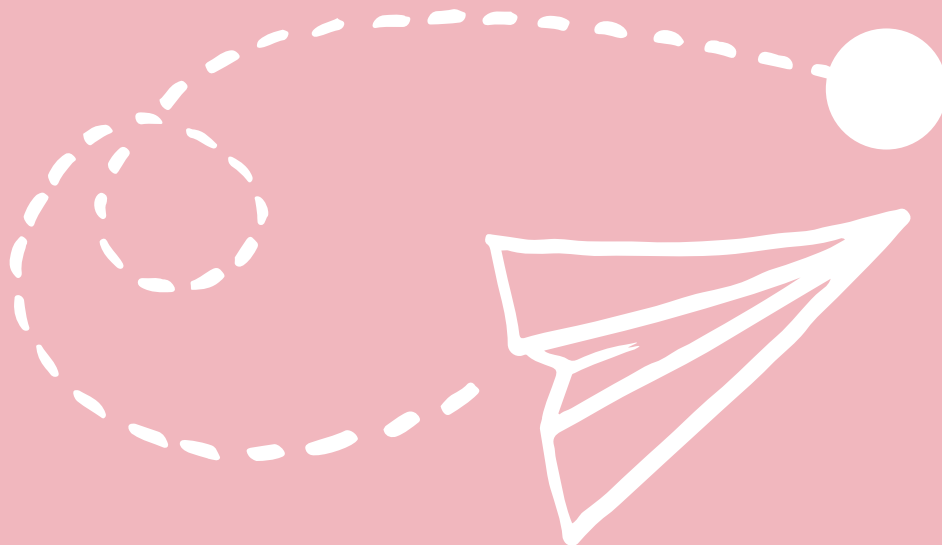
A lot of travelling across country, even more reading and learning and discussions... drop by to our archive and to get yours only copy of Klitopismenjanje (Becoming Cliterate)...

This year too we will stick to the practice of publishing special report on the work of groups –analysis of the movement, analysis of work and archiving history of the movement will remain our priorities!

We do not stop, breathing together and rejoicing!



Stay tuned!



**Reconstruction
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