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Emphasizing on Socio-Political and Gender Inequality and Oppression in The Context of Mahasweta Devi's 'Draupadi'

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Abstract

'Draupadi' is a short story written by Mahasweta Devi. Draupadi is a Santhali girl who was protesting against social and gender based oppression and violence with courage and showcasing the patriarchal society's brutality. Though this story had been translated into English by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak but here we will try to understand the story in both Bengali and English and undoubtedly look at the class and caste based discrimination, oppression, exploitation and torture that 'Draupadi' or 'Dopdi' was faced from social, sexual, regional point of view. This theoretical study focuses on how social and gender based inequality was faced by a backward tribal lady and correlating it with gender discrimination in Mahabharata period. The political point of view and the significance of the name 'Draupadi' are also discussed on the perspective of Mahasweta Devi's 'Draupadi'.

Keywords: Draupadi, Mahasweta Devi, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Social discrimination, Gender based oppression, Mahabharata

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Introduction

Bengali eminent writer Mahasweta Devi's stories and novels have roamed around the lives of marginalized people. In her Bengali book named 'Srestha Golpo' (Collection of short stories) she avowedly has accepted her concern towards this oppressed society and said in bengali which I try to translate as- "That part of the society that I call The Voiceless Section of Indian Society must come back again and again in my writing. This part is still not only illiterate, poorly literate and underdeveloped; they are largely isolated from the mainstream. But if you don't know this part of Indian society, you don't know India" (Devi 9-10). In this book 'Draupadi' is the 6th story. This story was first published in 'Parichoy' magazine in 1977 and later it was placed in 'Agnigarbha' (Womb of Fire), a collection of loosely connected, short political narratives in 1978. This story was translated into English by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in 'Critical Inquiry' in 1981 and later in her collection 'Breast Stories' in 1997. This story can be discussed on various aspects like feminist concept, gender concept, sociological concept as well as mythological concept. Gayatri Spivak on this regard said, "My approach to the story has been influenced by 'deconstructive practice.' I clearly share an unease that would declare avant-garde theories of interpretation too elitist to cope with revolutionary feminist material" (Spivak 382).

So Dopdi Mejhen is a tribal woman, specifically Santali, from the land of aborigines' section of India. The story portrays satirically aborigine lady's unease, trouble, extirpation that has been offered by so called elite society. But it does not end here yet. Dopdi, being a humiliated, oppressed, tortured Santali lady, has proudly protested against the oppressor.

Understanding political ideology of Draupadi

By the story we can assume the gender and caste discrimination clearly. Besides this, the story was written during a political revolution taking place in the heart of Bengal, called Naxalbari Movement. Being a believer of Marxist ideology Mahasweta Devi's stories also signifies that. Now a brief explanation is needed that why she followed Marxism and what is its significance particularly in that time in Bengal. So first of all Marxism instead of political is a socialist concept. This conflict theory was developed by Karl Marx on three premises—

- I. The history of the hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.
- II. The social learning of man determines this consciousness.
- III. The class, which is dominant material force in society, is dominant in intellectual sphere.

The basic concept to achieve a classless society is Marxism. Marx elaborated the concept of dialectical materialism that consists of two words 'Dialectic' from Hegel and 'Materialism' from Feverbach. He believed that a classless society can achieve a healthier society. Marxism obsoletes the concept of religion, so to casteism, discrimination and implants equality in opportunity in every aspect. And during 1970s West Bengal was facing a new wave of political view named Naxalbari movement which can be described as a regional political view of Marxism in West Bengal. Why it is linked to Marxism?

In post-independence era, the zamindari system was abolished as part of agrarian reform but redistribution of land was not undertaken due to some reasons. These incomplete agrarian reforms were one of the major causes of the Naxalite movement. Actually 'Naxalbari' is a village in the Naxalbari CD block in the Siliguri subdivision of the Darjeeling district in West Bengal. This revolution against land reforms was started in Naxalbari and expanded over West Bengal. That's why it is called Naxalbari Movement. Sooth to say it was revolution against social inequality, bourgeoisie, caste oppression and exploitation of rich towards poor in the name of land reforms. Unfortunately, Government was unable to meet the needs of poor people. So extreme poverty, exploitation of landless tillers, dalit and tribal communities and social oppression by the administration resulted in extreme discontent among the poor and leftist leaders. Meanwhile, attempts were made to improve agriculture, which led to better returns from farms but many neo-rich farmers, who were reluctantly consenting to share profit with the tillers and sharecroppers who worked arduous to harvest crops. In one hand the zamindars prospered and on the other poor peasants were getting poorer and poorer. Naxalbari was the expression of acute economic disparity and social injustice.

In 1967 Naxalbari movement suddenly attracted widespread attention nationally as well as internationally with a positive armed peasant uprising led by a group of Communist Party of India (Marxist) leaders who have organized armed struggle against Zaminders (Landlord). These leaders were Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal, Jangal Santhal, Tribheni Kanu, Sobham Ali, Gorkha Majhi, and Tilka Majhi and so many.

In this socio-political scenario of Naxalite movement 'Draupadi' arrived. Mahasweta Devi in this context said, "The Naxalite movement between the late sixties and early seventies, with its urban phase climaxing in 1970-71, was the first major event after I had become a writer that I felt an urge and an obligation to document. ...A responsible writer, standing at a turning point in history, has to take a stand in defence of the exploited. Otherwise history would never forgive him..." (Devi, quoted in Bandyopadhyay viii).

Gayatri Spivak emphasized the political turbulence as follows, "In the spring of 1967, there was a successful peasant rebellion in the Naxalbari area of the Northern part of West Bengal. According to Marcus Franda, 'unlike most other areas of West Bengal, where peasant movements are led almost solely by middleclass leadership from Calcutta, Naxalbari has spawned an indigenous agrarian reform leadership led by the lower classes' including tribal cultivators. This peculiar coalition of peasant and intellectual sparked off a number of Naxalbaris all over India. The target of these movements was the long-established oppression of the landless peasantry and itinerant farm worker, sustained through an unofficial government–landlord collusion that too easily circumvented the law" (Spivak 385-386).

Social oppression towards Draupadi

The complicity of law and transgression and the class deconstruction of the 'gentlemen revolutionaries' take on greater importance in a political context. Spivak has described two 'deconstructive formulas' as follows "on the one hand, a law that is fabricated with a view to its own transgression, on the other, the undoing of the binary opposition between the intellectual and the rural struggles" (386).

In the society caste based inequality is just an unavoidable thing to admit. The bloodshot eyes of the upper castes towards the lower castes are ancient and immortal. Draupadi, which was modified in tribal accent as Dopdi made that immortal to be mortal. Evidence of this is scattered throughout the story. In spite of being uneducated barbaric Draupadi involved in politics, armed struggle for the rights and freedoms of the tribal people which was already inconceivable. For example, she tightened her revolt against the torture and oppression of Surja Sahu, a moneylender, landlord and grain broker. Though there was drought in Birbhum "Surja Sahu arranged with Biddibabu to dig two tubewells and three wells within the compound of his two houses" (Devi, translated by Spivak 398). As a result, "Unlimited water at Surja Sahu's house, as clear as a crow's eye" (398). Here we have to emphasized the language 'clear as a cow's eye' where Devi try to focus that this injustice was so cleared like the cow's eye. But poor people didn't get water. Surja Sahu asked to take water with canal tax. They protested. The bitter picture of class discrimination comes up in the debates and old quarrels among them. Like—

"Have I not given water to the village?

-You've given it to your kin Bhagunal.

-Don't you get water?

-No. The untouchables don't get water." (398)

In original Bengali story Devi Used 'Dom Charal' instead of 'untouchables'. But Spivak used 'untouchables' for world audience to understand. Dom and Charal are two scheduled

castes of West Bengal. Doms were located around in large numbers in Birbhum, Bankura and other districts in West Bengal. By birth Doms were basket-makers, cultivators, laborers and drummers; their wives serving as midwives. Sanskrit word 'Chandal' had been later modified into 'Charal'. "... Chandals had come to constitute the fifth or the Panchama varna, a permanent underclass at the bottom of the Hindu social pyramid" (Mondal 1540). Chandals engaged themselves in cultivation, trading, and shop keeping, and also work as goldsmiths and blacksmiths. Their food habits included pork, mud eel, snake and their lifestyle was abominable. Literally Dom and Charal were treated as untouchable in the society so by using the word 'untouchable' it is totally justified but if we try to trace the reason behind the of significance of 'Dom Charal' then this information is evident and how the badge of lower class has ruined their life just because of their birth origin. Somewhere in the story it was mentioned "By the law of confrontation, their [Tribal] eyeballs, intestines, stomachs, hearts, genitals, and so on become the food of fox, vulture, hyena, wildcat, ant, and worm, and the untouchables go off happily to sell their bare skeletons" (Devi, translated by Spivak 395). Here also in original story 'untouchables' was substituted by Dom. In a single line Devi envisioned the fate of tribal in confrontation with troop and the walks of life of untouchables.

The concept of 'Untouchables' was prevalent since Vedic era. The four castes system, named Chaturvarna has modified on situation, events, and needs but not obsolete. It's there in twenty-first century yet. Many protest, revolution, rebellion, sedition has taken place but the concept of classless society is still unachieved. Naxalbari and 'Draupadi' was a little part of the larger revolution. And for revolution the oppressed counter against the oppressor after facing a constant oppression-exploitation. Similarly, the patience of the marginalized backward mob in the story once ignited. So they also raised voice against capitalist society. Here Surja Sahu is the symbol of capitalist society. So Surja Sahu's house was surrounded by insurgents. "Surja was tied up with cow rope" (398). We can call up Dulna Majhi's (Husband of Dopdi) words to better understand the oppression level of higher caste. He said, "My greatgrandfather took a bit of paddy from him, and I still give him free labor to repay that debt" (398). On the eye of elite society this was crime. So Police had issued an arrest warrant on both Dulna and Dopdi. Their crimes were as follows—

- I. "Murdering Surja Sahu and his son".
- II. "Occupying upper-caste wells and tubewells during the drought".
- III. "Not surrendering those three young men to the police" (392).

After that police got access to Dulna and shoot him. Then they were in search of Dopdi. This is how the social as well as class discrimination has become transparent in Devi's story. The struggle of the lower castes has depicted in 'Draupadi' can be ignored for the sake of civilized society but "writers like Mahasweta Devi...continue to create new and inventive visions of life and to denounce bigotry, narrow-mindedness and hatreds of all sorts in poetic, comic, and ever-renewed language, there is hope that the new inquisitions and new archaisms may still be defeated. This is a comforting thought within the postmodernist intellectual landscape of cynicism and nihilism" (Pesso-Miquel 159).

Being a representative of the inferior tribes of the racist society, Dopdi felt proud of her tribe. Where elite society was forcing to make them feel ashamed of their lower caste she despite of being backward felt proud of her caste as she believed there was unity among them which higher class lacked. As a Santali she didn't feel ashamed of Shomai and Budhna's treachery as "Shomai and Budhna are halfbreeds. The fruits of the war. Contributions to Radhabhumi by the American soldiers stationed at Shiandanga" (399). She was not astonished when Shomai— Budhna helped the soldiers in tracing her as she thought that their blood had been adulterated. Simultaneously "Dopdi's blood was the pure unadulterated black blood of Champabhumi" (399) so she "felt proud of her forefathers. They stood guard over their women's blood in black armor" (399). Here she indirectly attacked the elite society by saying "crow

would eat crow's flesh before Santal would betray Santal" (399) which meant her unspoken words were saying that sophisticated people would betray with their kin but tribals couldn't.

The elite society accepts that blood has also discriminative value which Dopti used as her weapon to show perfidy was inherited from elites to them. Actually the more superior society wanted to make them feel inferior for caste, the more Dopdi tried to make them feel proud of their caste. So she promised Mushai's wife that she would not name anyone if she caught. She had learned "how one can come to terms with torture. If mind and body give way under torture, Dopdi will bite off her tongue" (397). But she wouldn't betray her own people. The writer tried to sketch in spite of being weak (on basis of technologies, arms), uneducated, unsophisticated they were united and none could break this. Their philosophy of life, attitude to work hard for bread and butter must be a lesson and thus Dopdi ignored the caste based discrimination which was not easy at all.

Their education faced the question mark by civilized society as "since the snatchers are not invariably well educated, they sometimes say 'give up your chambers' rather than give up your gun" (393). Devi reminds us that bookish education is not the ultimate but the value education where we imply our knowledge for the betterment of the society. Devi believed that the tribal has achieved that actual knowledge. She said, "The cause for fear is elsewhere. The ones who remain have lived a long time in the primitive world of the forest. They keep company with the poor harvest workers and the tribals. They must have forgotten book learning. Perhaps they are orienting their book learning to the soil they live on and learning new combat and survival techniques. One can shoot and get rid of the ones whose only recourse is extrinsic book learning and sincere intrinsic enthusiasm. Those who are working practically will not be exterminated so easily" (396). The fear in not the author but she feels the fear of educated people by observing this on the perspective of courteous society.

Devi ridiculed the civilized society's hauteur attitude towards these uncivilized lower caste people. The civilized society's view towards Santals was expressed in Devi's words as "not merely the Santals but all tribals of the Austro-Asiatic Munda tribes appear the same to the Special Forces" (393). She remarked Dopdi's forest motherland under the jurisdiction of the police station Bankrajharh as "in this India of ours, even a worm is under a certain police station" (393) which meant these tribal was living there for many ages; even before this jurisdiction was made. So making their own land under someone's jurisdiction meant officially this was not their own anymore. Devi's self-question, "Is it justifiable to maintain a large battalion in that wild area at the taxpayer's expense? (396). She corrected herself at the next moment, "Wild area' is incorrect.

The battalion is provided with supervised nutrition, arrangements to worship according to religion, opportunity to listen to "Bibidha Bharati" (programme telecasted early 1970s in Indian television) and to see Sanjeev Kumar (Bollywood actor of 1970s) and the Lord Krishna face-to-face in the movie 'This Is Life'. No. The area is not wild" (396). This objectification is not just unnecessary description but Devi's intellectual mockery on solders' forest aggression that is veiled under metaphor. In her book she said in Bengali regarding this which I try to translate as "People killing play of exploitation-torture-administration, removing forest, forest animals and forest children, the servitude of sacrament, position of women, is the same today as it was in the past" (Devi 11).

Gender inequality of Draupadi

The most prominent and significant discrimination that Dopdi or Draupadi had to face is gender based discrimination and obviously sexual assault and rape from the patriarchal society. But as before here she also didn't only be the victim of patriarchy but protested against it. Her feminist avatar should be appreciated. "**Feminism**, the belief in social, economic, and political equality of the sexes." (Burkett and Brunell). And surely Dopdi didn't get this gender equality but she had protested against it. She had much power within her to snatch her rights which was reserved to patriarchy. That's why she said, "His mouth watered when he looked at me. I'll pull out his eyes" (Devi, translated by Spivak 398). The story shows that the status and respect given to women in the tribal society was not given to the women of the aristocratic Hindu society. Gender inequality and feminism of Dopdi can be unveiled in two aspects. Firstly, through the story how patriarchal society oppressed Dopdi and even raped her brutally. Secondly, a mythological aspect which is used the reference of Mahabharata. So we can say "the Santhal tribe girl who is vulnerable to injustice but resist the brunt of social oppression and violence with indomitable will and courage and even try to deconstruct the age old structures of racial and gender discrimination" (Sinha 1).

Gender based oppression took place in the story through the rape of a tribal lady by some solders that had been translated with due dignity by Spivak. Devi sketched the rape twice in a very sensitive as well as relentless manner at the same time. Sensitive because in the first round of rape she avoided the description of rape but showcased post-rape description to understand its ruthlessness. After abominable rape when Dopdi regained from unconsciousness, Devi described the situation keeping language modesty and simultaneously brutality as--"[She] slowly the bloodied nailheads shift from her brain... she feels her arms and legs still tied to four posts. Something sticky under her ass and waist. Her own blood. Only the gag has been removed... She senses that her vagina is bleeding.... Her breasts are bitten raw, the nipples torn" (401). Dopdi felt 'Incredible thirst'. But didn't want screamed for water so "...she catches her lower lip in her teeth" (401). The atrocity of the so called punishment can be assumed. But it was not end yet. In the second round of rape Devi used just one line to describe the rape, that is "Active pistons of flesh rise and fall, rise and fall over it" (401).

Overall the use of a unique pattern of writing, the way of description has made it a masterpiece. No informative theoretical or philosophical discussion can help to understand this unless one felts or assimilates this toxic pain in the perspective of the deprived Draupadi or Dopdi via the lines like "The moon vomits a bit of light and goes to sleep. Only the dark remains. A compelled spread-eagled still body" (401). The author's words were true which I try to translate as, "Since I look at the characters in my writing as a class, I think the danger of girls, the business of women's flesh, it's all true" (Devi 11). In this way, author wanted to unite Draupadi's undressing and Dapdi's rape in the gender based oppression context.

After the tragic incident, Dopdi did not howl or behave like a helpless victim rather 'wounded' she ran away naked among those inhuman brutal polices which Spivak remarked as "The implicit intervention of a benign and divine (in this case it would have been godlike) comrade, the story insists that this is the place where male leadership stops" (Spivak 388). Thus she had protested. She came in front of the Senanayak and announced, "What's the use of clothes? You can strip me, but how can you clothe me again? Are you a man?... There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed. I will not let you put my cloth on me. What more can you do? Come on, counter me-come on, counter me-?" (Devi, translated by Spivak 402). Despite of being illiterate Dopdi reminded the civilized Senanayak the true education that is raping a woman is not a virile act; rather indicative of cowardice. So "Draupadi pushes Senanayak with her two mangled breasts, and for the first time Senanayak is afraid to stand before an unarmed target, terribly afraid" (402). This was how she had protested against the Senanayak and the troop. At the end of the story, Dopdi's white cloth was a symbol of purity and honesty. In contrast, the scene of 'Draupadi's black body' and tearing of white cloth was an indescribable metaphor. So after losing everything, the real victory was for Draupadi. At some point it is not glorifying feminism or deception of masculinity but it is about true humanism where everyone is considered human rather than feminine or masculine.

Establishing connection

In Mahabharata 'Draupadi' is an iconic female character. Here the name 'Draupadi' is used metaphorically. Devi wanted to trace the intricacies of masculinity from Satya Yuga to

Kali Yuga where is no difference between Draupadi of Dwapar Yuga and Dopdi of Kali Yuga. They have only one identity - they are women, inferior to men and consumed by men. Devi tries to unite those two women by celebrating their womanhood.

Draupadi in the narrative was revealed as the wealth of man and was used to glorify the manhood. Draupadi's legitimized pluralization (wife among husbands) in singularity (as a possible mother or harlot) was used to demonstrate male glory. She was married to 'Panchapandava'' (five Pandav brothers) which Spivak sketched as "The Scriptures prescribed one husband for a woman; Draupadi is dependent on many husbands; therefore, she can be designated a prostitute. There is nothing improper in bringing her, clothed or unclothed, into the assembly" (Spivak 388).

Though there is another story behind Drauapdi's marriage with Pandavas. According to Mahabharata She had married to Arjuna, the third of the five Pandava brothers at first. Actually Arjuna had won Draupadi as his prize for performing an extraordinary feat of marksmanship by piercing fish eye without seeing in Matsya Vedh competition. Here a lady was nothing but an object for patriarchal society where she was being given to someone as a reward. This objectification of a human being specifically a lady was not ended yet. Later when they were back with their so called prize after winning the competition Arjuna was eager to show the prize to his mother Kunti. When Arjuna said that he bought a special thing for his mother she said that the thing must be shared equally among the five of them. Metaphorically Draupadi was nothing but lump of flesh which was distributed among five brothers. It was not Kunti's fault as she was unaware of Draupadi as a prize. In one side they had to married Draupadi as they couldn't disobey their mother but on the other side they could easily disrespect a woman which Neluka Silva described as "Although the concept of sharing one wife between five men is considered preposterous, they cannot disobey their mother, and Draupadi is forced into a polyandrous marriage" (56). Though Draupadi was not comfortable with it but at the same time Yudhistira dishonored her by saying, "a woman married to one man is a wife, two, three, four or five, a public woman. She is sinful. Whoever heard of such a thing?" (Narayan 147).

Dr. Sinha has reminded us "One of the Puranas has the following verse: In the Kritar Yuga Renuka was Kritya/ In the Satya Yuga Sita was Kritya/ In the Dwapar Yuga Draupadi was Kritya/ And in Kalyugas there are Krityas in every house. Devi's Draupadi is at once a palimpsest and a contradiction. The character Dopdi is a recreation of Draupadi of the epic, and yet how unlike a 'kritya' she is! Contemporary feminists re-interprets these myths especially Draupadi's, in women taking over the cause of avenging themselves" (Sinha 2). Dr. Sinha quite clearly putted forward the significance of the name 'Draupadi' in the story. Devi ironically critizised 'in Kalyugas there are Krityas in every house' line in her story where the brutal rape of Dopdi was coherent with unclothing of Draupati in filled symposium which will enlighten later. Even Spivak depicted the same as "Dopdi is what the Draupadi who is written into the patriarchal and authoritative sacred text of male power could not be" (Spivak 388).

Women can't be equivalent to men— this thought has been injected into our mind. So Draupadi in Mahabharata committed unforgivable crime by laughing at Duryodhana's confusion in the Pandava's palace of Maya. She also committed 'grave mistake' by questioning 'legal technicalities' as it discouraged man-made inference as well as men. Similarly, Devi's Dopdi committed that same crime by protesting against the oppressor. As if it was her 'Dharma' to obey the humiliation, torture, and the rape by patriarchy. As she disobeyed all this man-made taboos and even killed some of them she was "Most notorious female" or "main culprit" (Devi, translated by Spivak 392). So obviously for police she was "Long wanted in many" (392) for punishing her wrongdoings.

In the epic saga, Draupadi was treated always as an object and was used to demonstrate power and glory of masculinity. She was betted by her eldest husband Yudhisthira in a dice game. Here we have to understand that a person can bet materialistic object (described earlier) but here a husband betted on his wife which meant for him she was nothing but an object and this is the most regressive mentality of human that had existed in the 'Draupadi' story as well. Unfortunately, Draupadi didn't protest against her dishonor as if being a man and heavenly husband he could do it whenever he wanted. But as discussed earlier, by questioning to patriarchal taboos Draupadi had made a mistake. So, she should be punished. Besides this, Yudhisthira had also lost in a dice game where he betted his wife. So in two aspects draupadi was now the object of enjoyment. As a punishment Kaurava's son Duryodhana "begins to pull at Draupadi's sari. Draupadi silently prays to the incarnate Krishna. The Idea of Sustaining Law (Dharma) materializes itself as clothing, and as the king pulls and pulls at her sari, there seems to be more and more of it. Draupadi is infinitely clothed and cannot be publicly stripped. It is one of Krishna's miracles" (Spivak 388). In contrary, Mahasweta's Dopdi had to face her punishment which was a fierce rape like Draupadi as "a part of the undoing of the opposites—the intellectual rural, internationalist tribalist— that is the unwavering constitution of 'the underground', and 'the wrong side' of the law" (390).

The cruel side of Senanayak's word, "Make her. Do the needful" (Devi, translated by Spivak 401) meant the brutal rape where for Dopdi there was no Krishna to save her honor. As if Krishna could only save the higher castes' lady like Draupadi but not classless Dopdi. Here Devi also tried to catch the pain of two ladies belonged to different class and the imparity of truculence of their punishment regarding their caste. Needless to say any kind of molestation towards any human being is pathetic but still no one was for Dopdi to confront but for Draupadi at least there was Krishna for whom her honor was protected. But Dopdi had to face the rape which Devi sketched in police camp with innuendo after Dopdi's apprehension which is already discussed earlier.

Conclusion

The story covers vast backgrounds of society so we can use it as a mirror of the society both in positive aspects like political ideology, feminist power, protest against injustice, mythological aspects and negative aspects like sexual oppression, racial harassment, marginalized life straggles, social discrimination, gender inequality etc. I can say by agreeing with Dr. Sinha's remark, "Mahasweta Devi's Dopdi has been relegated to the position of 'Other' marginalized and in, a metaphorical sense and was forced to pursue guerrilla warfare against imperial domination, but she construct a language of her own by rejecting the binary structures of patriarchal discourses of the political, social and ideological forces of the society" (Sinha 4).

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