# KEAMANAN MARITIM, ENERGI DAN PANGAN ASEAN MELALUI PRAKTIK STRATEGIS BERKELANJUTAN DAN BERBASIS NILAI (ASEAN MARITIME, ENERGY AND FOOD SECURITY THROUGH SUSTAINABLE AND VALUES BASED STRATEGIC PRACTICES)

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ABSTRAK: Selat Malaka dan Laut Cina Selatan dianggap sebagai jalur perairan navigasi perdagangan dunia yang penting dalam memegang kunci keamanan maritim, energi dan pangan di kawasan ASEAN. Artikel ini menjelaskan tentang pendekatan-pendekatan strategis yang perlu diperhatikan dalam menghadapi isu dan permasalahan terkait maritim di kawasan ASEAN. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan peer review dengan metode pengumpulan data sekunder melalui metode penelitian kepustakaan, dan teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah analisis deskriptif. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukan bahwa Keamanan Maritim merupakan prioritas utama bagi negara-negara yang menggunakan Selat Malaka dan Laut Cina Selatan sebagai jalur pelayaran. Selain itu, dapat mempengaruhi aktivitas ekonomi dan mempengaruhi Keamanan Energi dan Pangan di ASEAN. Ketergantungan negara-negara ASEAN terhadap perdagangan internasional terkait supply and demand terutama dilakukan melalui jalur laut. Melalui pendekatan yang berkelanjutan dan berbasis nilai, diharapkan dapat mendukung terciptanya keamanan maritim, energi dan pangan ASEAN dalam mengatasi keretakan kawasan maritim, mengamankan peningkatan konektivitas maritim, serta mewujudkan stabilitas kawasan yang berkelanjutan.

**Kata Kunci:** Keamanan Maritim, Kemanan Energi, Keamanan Pangan, Praktik Strategis Berkelanjutan Dan Berbasis Nilai

ABSTRACT: The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea is regarded as an important world's trade navigational water way that holds the key to the maritime, energy and food security of the ASEAN region. This article describes the strategic approaches that need to be considered in dealing with maritime related issues and problems in the ASEAN region. The research method used is a qualitative peer review approach with secondary data collection method through literature research method, and data analysis technique used as a descriptive analysis. The results of this research showed that Maritime Security is top priority for countries that utilizes the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea as shipping lanes. Nevertheless it can also influence economic activities and affect Energy and Food Security in ASEAN. The dependence of ASEAN countries on international trade relating to supply and demand are mainly carried out through sea routes. Through a sustainable and values based approach practices, it is hope that it can support the creation of ASEAN Maritime, Energy and Food Security by overcoming maritime regional rifts, securing maritime connectivity, and realizing a sustainable regional stability.

Keywords: Maritime Security, Energy Security, Food Security, Sustainable and Values Based Strategic Practices

## **INTRODUCTION**

ASEAN maritime security is an essential prerequisite in the freedom of navigation

between the countries of the world, particularly within the ASEAN region seas, and as such, it needs to be safeguarded from all adverse threats. Maritime security has become a priority against non-traditional maritime threats, which have evolved rapidly in the last few decades (Germond, 2015).

Having a strong and reliable ASEAN maritime security is essential for countries using The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea due to its massive amount of economic activity and its importance to global trade routes. Furthermore, the ASEAN region is an economical source for oceans related industries. It is located within an archipelago that provides the world with abundant oil and natural gas sources (Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) 2023, 2023).

Maritime security is closely related to energy and food security within the ASEAN region as sea transportation is the primary trade vehicle in connecting ASEAN countries and the main transit point for commercial trade to Asia (Fikry Cassidy, 2016).

Conglomerates from Europe, Japan, China, and The United States, has been for the past 100 years been trading and exploring the ASEAN Maritime region of its oil and natural gas. The Southeast Asia sea plays a vital role in international shipping lanes, with a commercial value of around US dollars 5.3 trillion. To ensure safe passage, various strategic collaborations have been taken with member countries and ASEAN partners, but incidents of piracy still occur frequently (Muhammad Ridho, 2020).

The Straits of Malacca is geopolitically vital as it is a gateway route between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea or the Pacific

Ocean, which has strategic importance for the Southeast Asia archipelago and other countries. The largest user country is currently China. Up to 80% of its oil imports pass through The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea and to support China's rapid growth in developing the nation whilst keeping the industrial wheels turning. This has inevitably lead The Straits of Malacca be duped "The Malacca dilemma" by China (Suci Rahmadani, 2019).



Figure 1. Strait of Malacca

This narrow stretch of water could be easily blocked by the rival nations of China, affecting the big China machine, in lieu of the fact that around 80 percent of its exports pass through this strait (Navya Mudunur, 2020).



Figure 2. Oil Flow

On the other hand, Beijing wants to reduce dependence on oil imports through The Straits of Malacca, due to the vulnerability of sabotage, piracy, and intervention by countries that have vested interest in the region, namely America and India. For China, a secure route through The Straits of Malacca for their oil imports from the Middle East is of utmost importance that Chinese industry so development is not interrupted. China is also aware that its high dependence on The Straits of Malacca poses a security threat to the military intervention of other countries (Suci Rahmadani, 2019).

The problem is more than just the Malacca dilemma (John F. Bradford, 2022). The South China Sea also has political tensions because, geographically, the South China Sea overlaps with several ASEAN member countries. ASEAN member countries include Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and the Philippines. The South China Sea dispute also directly borders China and Taiwan (John F. Bradford, 2022).

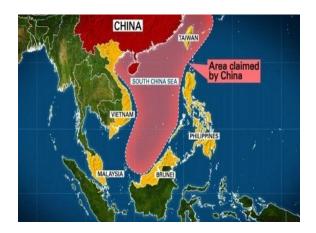


Figure 3. South China Sea

The South China Sea region continues to be disputed for several reasons. One of the reasons is that the region is very strategic and has abundant natural resources. Efforts to resolve the South China Sea dispute have been taken in various ways. Starting from the United Nations getting involved in resolving the South China Sea case and ASEAN's participation as a regional organization in the Southeast Asian region to help Southeast Asian countries directly adjacent to the South China Sea (John F. Bradford, 2022).

China is a party to international maritime conventions uphelding the UNCLOS in accordance to international laws. On the issue of the return of sovereignty over islands in the South China Sea, The Republic of China released a map titled "Position of the South China Sea Islands" which showed a nine dash line around a group of islands that belonged to China (Pu, 2015).

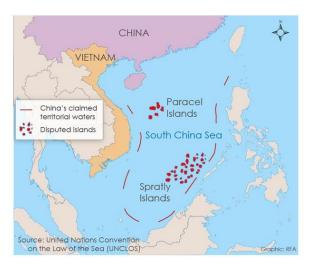


Figure 4. Nine Dash Line

Despite this, tensions have not subsided in the region. Indonesia only has maritime borders with Malaysia and Vietnam, but it must continue to strive to safeguard its sovereignty (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

The problem of food security in Indonesia is threatened if severe problems occur in the South China Sea. Until now, they are still importing biomass in the form of carbohydrates, as much as 15 million tons per year, or almost equivalent to half of the national rice needs (Laraspati, 2021).

The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea is also a shipping lane through which oil tankers transport half of the world's energy and food supply. Its strategic location makes The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea's shipping lanes vulnerable to maritime security incidents and crimes. Common modus operandi incidents include piracy, smuggling, and terrorism. In 2022, there were 55 sea piracy and hijacking incidents, averaging more than four times a month. Among them was an attempted robbery on a crude oil tanker on 12 Dec 2022 (ReCAAP, 2022).

The majority of the incidents reported in Asia are armed robbery/petty theft. Over the 16-year period of 2007-2022, the number of piracy incidents fluctuated each year, with an average of 11% for piracy incidents and 89% for armed robbery against ships. Figure 5 shows number of incidents of piracy vs armed robbery against ships for period 2007-2022 (ReCAAP, 2022).



Figure 5. Piracy vs Armed Robbery against Ships (2007-2022)

An incident occurred approximately 3.7 northwest of Cula Island (Indonesia), on the Traffic Separation Scheme's eastern route (TSS). The captain reported to the Singapore Vessel Traffic Information System (VTIS) that five knifearmed perpetrators were seen in the engine room. The perpetrators fled upon activation of the ship's general alarm by the attentive crew. A search of the ship was carried out without further sightings of the perpetrators. The captain stated that nothing was stolen and all the crew were safe. No assistance was required, and the ship continued its voyage to China. However, this incident raised concerns about the future safety of other ships, especially cargoes related in the energy security industry (ReCAAP, 2022).

Figure 6 shows the location of the incident on ships while it was sailing. Notably all incidents in The Straits of Malacca and Singapore Straits (SOMS), occurred on board while the ship was at sea (ReCAAP, 2022).

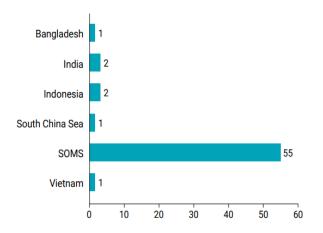


Figure 6. Incidents on board ships while underway

The ASEAN maritime, energy and food security concept is aligned with The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea. Piracy on crude oil tankers and political tensions can impact countries worldwide and endanger energy and food supply to the ASEAN archipelago region. (ReCAAP, 2022).

The incident that occurred in The Straits of Malacca and is one example of problems faced regarding maritime, energy and food security in the ASEAN region, which require handling regional geomaritime rifts, maritime connectivity, and regional stability through values based strategic practices as an intermediary that is expected to be sustainable.

Based on the above problems discussed earlier, the aim of this research is to examine ASEAN maritime, energy and food security through sustainable and values based strategic practices.

# **METHOD**

The research method used is a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is descriptive and tends to use analysis with an inductive approach. Process and meaning are highlighted in qualitative research. Therefore qualitative research is research that emphasizes understanding problems in social life based on the conditions of reality or natural settings, which are holistic, complex, and detailed (Noviana Sari, 2023).

The data used is secondary data, and the data collection method used is literature research. Literature research is a research activity carried out by collecting official information and documents such as from the United Nations Convention on the Law of the International Sea (UNCLOS), Maritime Organization (IMO), and The Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP) (Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022).

In addition, various other official documents were obtained from various materials in the library, such as reference books, previous research results, news, and various journals related to the problem were referred. (Milya Sari, 2020).

Activities in library research are carried out systematically to collect, process, and conclude data using specific methods to find answers to the problems faced (Springer

Science and Business Media LLC, 2022). The data analysis technique used is using descriptive analysis by conducting secondary data analysis to explain a phenomenon or case study that is being researched with the data that has been obtained (Murdiyanto, 2020).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The National resilience relating to maritime security and territorial sovereignty of a country is essentially based on the maritime boundaries surrounding its land area. This explains why maritime security is an important issue for a country. In the current era of globalization, transnational and cross border crime has grown so rapidly. This type of crime is committed by non-state actors such as human smuggling syndicates (human smuggling), drug cartels (drug smuggling), fuel smuggling (oil and gas smuggling), maritime pirates operating across countries (transnational piracy), as well as perpetrators of illegal logging, illegal mining and illegal fishing who often operate in maritime waters of Indonesia. This condition does not include unilateral actions (one-sided actions) of several large countries which do not hesitate to violate the property rights and sovereign rights of other countries in territorial waters (Anthoni Sugianto, 2023).

To achieve effective maritime governance, efforts to safeguard and secure state maritime jurisdictions need to be tightened. Maintaining state sovereignty within

a country's maritime boundary waters is a national security ideology of every country. In this case, every country should comply with the jurisdiction and territorial boundaries that have been determined by the UNCLOS, and the EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone) regime with no exception, which clearly states that a maritime jurisdiction can be calculated along the country's EEZ with a maximum of 200 miles from coastline (Ayu Laksmi Saraswat, 2020).

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Through this jurisdiction, the state can have full sovereignty over what is in its maritime territory, including the management of all the resources within it. The impact of this is that it is not uncommon for violations to occur due to the high growth in demand for offshore oil and gas projects in oceans throughout the world, so tightening protection and security in the sea, especially at borders, need to be increased to tackle transnational crime (Ayu Laksmi Saraswat, 2020).

The term maritime security initially originated from the expansion of the meaning and scope of the security concept after the Cold War. Traditionally, security problems are generally defined as intimidations coming from other countries which are closely related to military threats. However, in its development, the increasingly complex interactions between actors, both state and non-state actors, have caused threats not only to be felt conventionally (traditionally), but non-traditional threats are also growing. This then gave rise to the expansion and transition of the understanding

of security towards non-military security (Ayu Laksmi Saraswat, 2020).

Maritime security as in the traditional approach refers to naval strategy in the aspect of maintaining and securing national maritime borders and sensitive areas in the ocean that are used as trade routes (sensitive maritime trade choke-points) (Ayu Laksmi Saraswat, 2020).

The concept of maritime security is based on a convergent framework that must adhere to traditional concepts and at the same time must be able to identify commonalities that will allow gradual integration of broader issues (Christian Bueger, 2015)

The Maritime Security Concept identifies three frameworks, namely (1) the matrix framework, which combines the concepts of marine safety, sea-power, blue economy and resilience; (2) the securitization framework, which discusses the interrelationship between maritime threats and differences in political interests and ideology; (3) the security practice theory, discussing the true intentions and actions of actors involved in the maritime security arena (Christian Bueger, 2015).

On the other hand, Maritime security is related to four concepts, namely national security, marine environment, economic development and human security which are then graphically depicted in figure 7 (Christian Bueger, 2015).

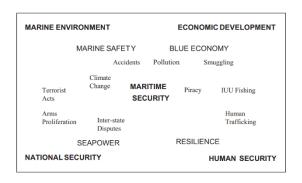


Figure 7. Maritime security matrix

Furthermore, in the context of national security, maritime security is often related to national resilience.

As a concept, National Resilience is a conception of developing national strength through the regulation and implementation of balanced and harmonious in the welfare and security in all aspects of life in a complete and comprehensive and integrated manner based on Pancasila, The 1945 Constitution and the geopolitical concepts of Indonesia i.e, wawasan nusantara (Putu Sastra Wingarta, 2016).

The concept of Indonesian national resilience is a guideline to increase the tenacity and toughness of Indonesia as a nation that strives in the ability to develop national strength by accenting a welfare and security approach. Welfare can be described as the nation's ability to grow and develop its national values for the sake of greater prosperity that is just and equitable, spiritual and physical. Finally, security is the nation's ability to protect its national values against threats from outside and within (Putu Sastra Wingarta, 2016).

National resilience covers all areas of life which are mapped into eight GATRA (categories), namely: geography, demography and natural resources are classified as natural determinants and ideology, politics, economics, social culture, defence and security are classified as social determinants. Based on the above classification; maritime, energy and food security falls under the political, geographic, demographic, economic, natural resources, defence and security as social determinants GATRA. (Putu Sastra Wingarta, 2016).

Maritime security is one of the goals identified during the formation of ASEAN as stated in the Bangkok Declaration on August 8, 1967, signed by 5 representatives from Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia (Farhana F., 2022).

The Bangkok Declaration states that one of the aims and purposes of the establishment for ASEAN is to accelerate economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the Southeast Asian region and to promote regional peace and stability through respect for justice and the rule of law in relations between countries in the region and compliance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations (UN) (Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN - Indonesia, 2021).

Southeast Asia is a region that has very high political and security conflicts and tensions, which can lead to open wars between countries. Most of the conflicts that occur in the Southeast Asian region are territorial conflicts.

This conflict is difficult to resolve because it involves the sovereignty of a country. The conflictual character of international relations in this region raises traditional security issues that must be considered (Arthuur J. Maya, 2016). The dynamics of the "conflict" region in its infancy were the reason why peace and stability were essential to ASEAN.

ASEAN was formed when member countries were experiencing tension and mutual suspicion. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore are ASEAN member countries that have played a significant role in determining ASEAN's security perspective in dealing with three types of conflict (internal, international, and conflicts of major countries that use Southeast Asia as a stage) (Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022).

Based on these conditions, it is understandable that the security challenges in the early days of the formation of ASEAN are to focus on the realization of a strong and united region. Integration was the keyword; however, the vision of Southeast Asian integration cannot be equated with the vision of integration of the European Union, which merges its member countries under a supranational power. Southeast Asia integration ensures space for ASEAN member countries to maintain their sovereign integrity. This priority on sovereignty influences the ASEAN greatly security perspective (Farhana K. d., 2018).

Within the framework of the United Nations, the definition of maritime security has

yet to produce a conclusion in the form of a convention. The conventions relating to maritime security usually refer to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) agreement on the law of the sea (United Nations, 1982). Its derivatives and documents issued by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) (IMO, 2019), is a special agency responsible for setting global standards for the safety, security, and environmental impact of international shipping lines (Farhana K. d., 2018).

In 1988, IMO pushed for an agreement that could become the basis for categorizing forms of "maritime crime," namely the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation. The third article of the document mentions the types of unlawful acts, namely piracy, violence, and destruction (United Nations, 1988).

ASEAN has taken various strategic steps in following up with maritime security crimes in the maritime area, starting from security and establishing organizations such as the Asean Maritime Forum (AMF) (Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022). The AMF was formed to discuss steps in responding to maritime security threats (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

To maintain the maritime security of The Straits of Malacca, which extends for about 520 miles, the Malacca Straits Sea Patrol (MSSP) cooperation was formalized between Indonesia,

Malaysia, and Singapore on July 20, 2004 (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

Under the agreement of the Malsindo Trilateral Coordinated Patrol in Batam, the primary purpose of the cooperation is to maintain The Straits of Malacca security from pirates and possible terrorism and smuggling of goods. This was also the case for the Jakarta Statement Meeting on September 8, 2005, which was attended by delegates from three countries and 32 user states, including the United States, Japan, China, and observers from various international organizations in shipping (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

Then in September 2007, a new approach to support security in The Straits of Malacca was launched, namely the Eyes in the Sky Initiative (EIS) (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

This initiative combines air patrols with sea patrols. MSSP and EIS are part of a collaboration built to address security issues in The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea. Since its establishment, IMO has also supported this cooperation, but it has yet to be fully effective. One indicator of ineffectiveness is every time there is an attack and eradication, it takes little time for the attack to recur with various modus operandi (Keyuan Zou, 2010).

Not only security issues but border disputes are something familiar to Indonesia. As a maritime country, Indonesia is bordered by 10 surrounding countries: Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, PNG, Australia, Timor Leste, Vietnam, India, and

Palau (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022). At least four points in the border areas are a matter of concern between Indonesia and Malaysia, including The Straits of Malacca, South China Sea and the Celebes Sea (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

As for the issue of national boundaries at sea, there are still five countries, namely Singapore, and two points still need to be agreed upon.

The area includes the East Singapore Strait, which faces Batam, and around Suar Batu Buleh. In addition, Indonesia is still negotiating the exclusive economic zone boundaries with the Philippines and Palau. Meanwhile, maritime boundary negotiations with Timor Leste are still awaiting the determination of land boundaries (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

Another dispute case in the South China Sea, although Indonesia is not included in the category of claimant countries in the South China Sea dispute (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022). However, the territorial boundary claims overlap with Indonesia's internationally recognized exclusive economic zone (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

Tensions arose during a shooting incident on June 17, 2016, after Chinese fishing boats repeatedly entered Natuna waters and were caught fishing in Natuna waters. China strongly protested the shooting. The South China Sea issue continues to roll between the disputing countries. One of the State parties, namely the Philippines, brought this case to the

International Court of Justice. The decision of the PCA was in favor of Indonesia (Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2022).

Maritime security not only affects economic activity but also affects energy and food security. The dependence of ASEAN countries on international trade related to energy supply and demand is mainly by sea carriers, which includes hydrogen and ammonia (for fertilizer in food production). Hence ASEAN members interest in maritime, energy and food security is a prerequisite because sea trade routes are part of the production process and global value chain, regardless of whether its national or international.

In the future, it is imperative that Maritime security in these volatile regions, namely The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea and Sulu waters, will need to be constantly maintained and adaptable to any changes from current and future threats (Yusof, 2021).

The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea is a supply route for liquefied gas from the Persian Gulf and Africa to East Asian markets, namely South Korea, Japan, and China. Inevitably, an increase in demand by the East Asian market will result in a shortage supply for industry and domestic transportation consumption to ASEAN member countries. Subsequently, these members, will have to import oil from the Persia Gulf through the Straits of Malacca and South China Sea too. In addition, the Sulu waters border between the southern Philippines and Sulawesi and the

border area between Indonesia and Vietnam are trade routes with a volume of up to 55 million metrics per year, and approximately 18 million people crossed the Sulu waters (Prayoga, 2022).

Maritime security issues have a broad spectrum. Strategic issues related to maritime security include traditional and non-traditional security issues (Andriana Elisabeth, 2022). Various problems and the number of actors involved in each maritime security issue have significant challenges for an ASEAN cooperation (Andriana Elisabeth, 2022).

In the context of interaction between forces, maritime security cooperation also includes capacity building of enforcing agencies, stronger cooperation, and enforcing laws (Andriana Elisabeth, 2022).

Capacity building involves improving and strengthening the operational capability of the maritime security agencies and for them to be operationally effective, with state-of-the-art assets that should be deployed by the enforcing agencies to combat any security threats and crimes. The Law enforcement fleet commanded by the Multipurpose Mother Ship (MPMS) concept will be a sustainably cost-effective way to achieve this mission, and most importantly, the operational area is continuously patrolled and not left unattended. The MPMS will be supported by utility or interceptor boats acting as escorts to ferry any arrest cases back to base, as cases can sometimes occur a distance of 100 nautical miles from the land base and take more than 20 hrs to arrive. The MPMS is also a logistical support ship that provides the sea and air assets that is in operation.

Inter-state interactions in the maritime sector, both externally (extra-regional) and internally (intra-regional), include disagreement over maritime territory based on historical claims and national law or state sovereignty, national political identity, geostrategic balance, maritime institutions domestically and regionally, and international law of the sea (Andriana Elisabeth, 2022).

Based on this, maritime security has the following characteristics:

- National borders do not bind threats to maritime security and therefore require international cooperation.
- Non-traditional security perspectives influence threat identification because the scope of threats is broad, not only from the military force but also focuses on state actors.
- Determined by constructing a country's security based on perceptions of what it considers a potential to threaten the stability of ASEAN's maritime security.

A country is expected to determine an effective strategy based on the characteristics of ASEAN maritime security. Member countries need a common perception of values-based strategic practices.

The values-based strategic practices; guide individual or organizational behavior, related to norms or baselines that indicate something

right or wrong or good or bad so that it becomes an ideal reference in behaving/acting (Mustamu, 2013).

The diversity of cultures, religions, and languages in ASEAN is broad, with considerable potential to contribute to the welfare of the people in the region. However, there are still criminal acts on shipping lines, conflict, and tensions due to specific political differences; consequently, peace and harmony cannot be realized (Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2017).

Based on these reasons, the demographic conditions within ASEAN, where one-third of the population is the young generation, youth have an essential role in building a community that is tolerant with high moral and ethical characters within the ASEAN region through a values-based approach (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika Republik Indonesia, 2020).

## **CONCLUSION**

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that ASEAN maritime security is a top priority for countries using The Straits of Malacca and South China Sea as a shipping lane; traditionally being a region of economic activity and global trade routes. It also plays a role as a provider of fish and seafood supplies and a resource region for oil and gas for most countries in Southeast Asia.

Maritime security not only affects economic activity but also affects energy and food security in ASEAN. The dependence of ASEAN countries on international trade related to supply and demand is mainly carried by sea. Hence, ASEAN interest in ensuring maritime security within the region is a prerequisite.

Through a values-based approach, it is expected to create ASEAN maritime, energy and food security, overcome regional maritime rifts, increase maritime connectivity, and realize sustainable regional stability.

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