

CHINA – INDIA RELATIONS: BETWEEN *VOX POPULI* AND *VOX NIHILI*

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CEAS / SIS /JNU

CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS ARE MARKED BY A RATHER SHRILL DISCOURSE WHERE THE 'OTHER' IS A CONSTANT.

OVERVIEW

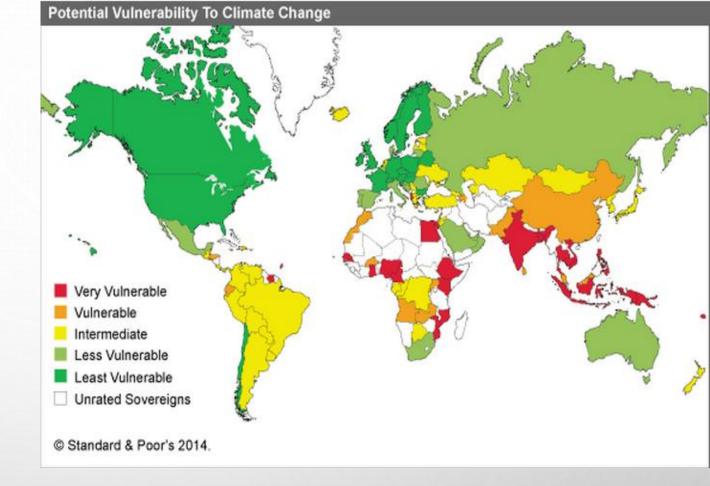
THIS 'OTHERNESS' IS REFLECTED IN CIVILIZATIONAL TERMS, HISTORICAL NARRATIVES, POLITICAL IDENTITIES, ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, CULTURAL FRAMES AND OTHER CATEGORIES.



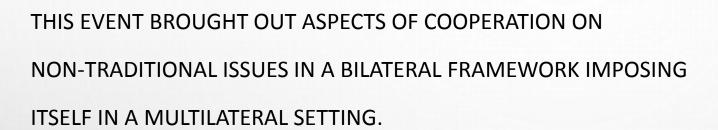
RECENT EVENTS AND NARRATIVES, HAVE ONLY SHARPENED THE TROPES BY WHICH THIS 'OTHERNESS' GETS REIFIED.

ARE COMPETITIVE SEMANTICS 'NORMAL' IN THE BILATERAL OR ARE THERE EXCEPTIONS TO THIS CACOPHONY?

CONT'D THIS TALK ON CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS BRINGS OUT CONSISTENCIES AND INCONSISTENCIES IN BILATERAL **RELATIONS AND EXPLORES HOW TO PERHAPS** CONSTRUCTIVELYBUILD A DEEP AND ENGAGING **RELATIONSHIP WHERE INADEQUACIES ARE BALANCED** BY A VISION FOR A STRONGER BILATERAL, ACCOMMODATING DIFFERENCES.



AN EXCEPTION TO THE OTHERWISE POLARIZED DEBATES ON THE BILATERAL IS THE ISSUE OF CLIMATE CHANGE, ESPECIALLY THE PHASE LEADING TO COPENHAGEN (COP 2009).



CONT'D



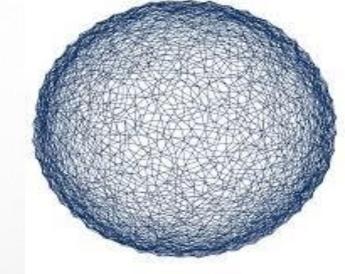
DOES THIS INSTANCE SATISFY OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CHINA-INDIA BILATERAL?

OR, WAS IT A ONE OFF? THE ISSUE OF CLIMATE CHANGE AS A VECTOR NECESSITATING CONGRUENCE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE ELUCIDATED IN DETAIL ARGUING FOR THE NEED TO FIND SYMBIOSIS ON ISSUES OF COMMON CONCERN WHILE CONSTRUCTING A TEMPLATE TO RESOLVE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES.

THE 'ENVIRONMENT' IN CHINA - INDIA RELATIONS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHINA-INDIA COOPERATION IN GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION AT THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE IN 2009 WAS BUT AN INDICATOR OF THE CRITICALITY OF THE ISSUE FOR BOTH COUNTRIES.

COOPERATIVE ASPECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA





ON CLIMATE CHANGE AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL ARE A VARIABLE THAT NEEDS MORE ATTENTION.

THE LOOMING PROSPECT OF HYDRO-POLITICS OVER THE WATERS OF THE BRAHMAPUTRA ARE A SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL/REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN PERHAPS HOLDING A DAMOCLES SWORD OVER THE BILATERAL. THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS CANNOT BE SEEN IN ISOLATION.

CONT'D

POWERFUL VARIABLES THAT CONSTITUTE ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES INCLUDE "NEGOTIATION", "COOPERATION" AND "DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS."



WITH THE NEED FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT BECOMING AN INTRINSIC PART OF THEIR RESPECTIVE DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORIES, THIS PRESENTATION ADVANCES THE (FALSIFIABLE) HYPOTHESIS THAT **STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AT MULTIPLE LEVELS – DOMESTIC, BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL – ARE LENDING COMPREHENSIVENESS TO THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.**

AS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, CHINA AND INDIA FACE THE CHALLENGES OF CLIMATE CHANGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT INTRINSIC TO THEIR OVERALL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL INFLUENCE.

CONT'D

THE ISSUES ARISING OUT OF CLIMATE CHANGE FOR CHINA AND INDIA

ARE INEXTRICABLY WOVEN WITH ISSUES OF LIVELIHOOD AND DEVELOPMENT.

PUT SIMPLY, THE STATUS OF THE ENVIRONMENT AROUND US IS NOT ONLY A POLICY ISSUE BUT ALSO ONE AROUND WHICH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS HAVE TO BE RE-ORIENTED.

The China syndrome

Carbon-dioxide emissions, tonnes, bn

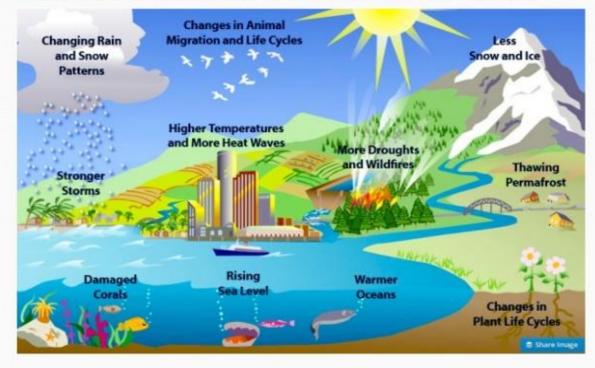


THE STARK WARNING ISSUED BELOW BY THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE IS A PORTENT OF ALARMING DEVELOPMENTS THAT COULD TAKE PLACE IF THE ISSUE OF CLIMATE CHANGE WERE TO BE IGNORED BY STATES. "UNMITIGATED CLIMATE CHANGE WOULD, IN THE LONG TERM, BE LIKELY TO EXCEED THE CAPACITY OF NATURAL,

MANAGED AND HUMAN SYSTEMS TO ADAPT.

Impacts of Global Warming

http://planetsave.com/2015/06/02/global-warming-or-climate-change-whats-the-difference/



SOURCE: UNITED NATIONS, REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT.

UN DOC.A/CONF.48/14/REV.1 1973, 5

CONT'D



THE 'SECURITY IMPACT' OF CLIMATE CHANGE HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CAST ITS INFLUENCE IN THE YEARS SINCE.

CONT'D

CLIMATE CHANGE AND PARTICULARLY GLOBAL WARMING MADE A TRANSITION TO BECOME WHAT BARRY BUZAN TERMS AS AN ISSUE CHARACTERISTIC OF "MACROSECURITIZATION" – THE HIGHLIGHTING OF WHICH IT IS BELIEVED WOULD LEAD TO QUICK ACTION SEVERAL COMMON LOCI MOTIVATE CHINA AND INDIA TO COOPERATE ON CLIMATE CHANGE, CHIEFLY THE FOLLOWING:

CONT'D

THE RAPIDITY WITH WHICH THEIR ECONOMIES HAVE BEEN GROWING;

THEIR RESPECTIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC NEEDS, AND,

THE "IDEAL OF COMMON BUT DIFFERENTIATED RESPONSIBILITY

(PROVIDING) LEGAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS FOR THE EXISTING LEGAL OBLIGATIONS ... DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE KYOTO PROTOCOL."

INDIAN ECONOMY IN 2015-16 (* Advance estimate)			
7.6%* 2 INFLA CP120	(Mn tonnes) (Base 2015-16 : 253.2* 201		00, %) 2015-16: <mark>9.2 %*</mark>
FOREX RESERVES (US \$ BN) 2015-16 : 349.6			
TRENDS IN DEFICIT %of GDP 2015-16* RSCAL 3.9 REVENUE 2.8 PRIMARY 0.7 *Budget Estimates	RATE OF GROWTH PER CAPITA INCOME Per Capita Income at cu 2015-16 Rate of Growth (NNI) (In at 2011-12 prices) 2015-16	Rs 93,231*	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE Paral Para
TOT FOR MORE INFOGRAPHICS DOWNLOAD TIMES OF INDIA APP CARPORT AND CONSTRAINTS OF			

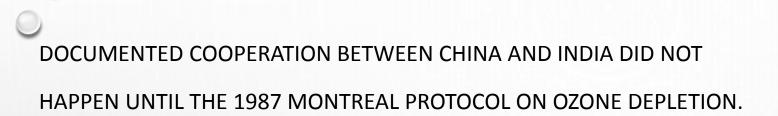


THERE ARE THREE HYPOTHESES MOTIVATING THIS PRESENTATION:

THE INEVITABILITY OF CLIMATE CHANGE IS CREATING THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, CHINA AND INDIA TO COORDINATE DIPLOMATIC POSITIONS AT INTERNATIONAL FORUMS.

THE DIPLOMATIC COOPERATION ON CLIMATE CHANGE BY CHINA AND INDIA IS MOTIVATED BY DOMESTIC CONSTITUENCIES PROPELLING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

THE INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN DIPLOMATIC PRIORITIES FOR CHINA AND INDIA IS TRANSFORMING O INTERNAL DEBATES ON DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCING POLICY MAKING DYNAMICS



CONT'D



BOTH COUNTRIES COLLABORATED IN BARGAINING FOR US\$80 MILLION DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS AFTER THEIR ACCESSION TO THE MONTREAL PROTOCOL TO PROTECT THE STRATOSPHERIC OZONE LAYER.

CHINA AND INDIA NORMALIZED THEIR RELATIONSHIP, HELPED BY RAJIV GANDHI'S 1988 VISIT TO BEIJING.

THIS VISIT SEEMS TO HAVE PROVIDED A FOUNDATION FOR COOPERATION IN GENERATING A DEVELOPING OWNER WORLD COALITION BUT IT DOES NOT EXPLAIN EXISTING COOPERATION AT THE 1987 MONTREAL CONFERENCE.

AFTER RAJIV GANDHI'S VISIT, BOTH COUNTRIES ADOPTED A COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE IN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCES.

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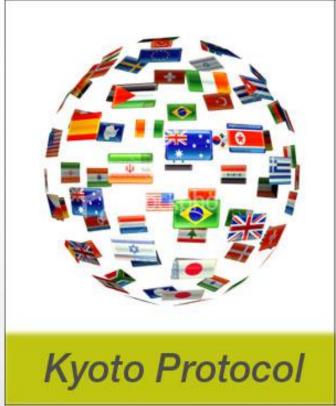


AT THE 1992 RIO EARTH SUMMIT, INDIA AND CHINA, REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF MOST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, ARGUED THAT THE NORTH SHOULD TRANSFER TECHNOLOGY AS A REQUIREMENT FOR THE SOUTH'S SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT ON GLOBAL WARMING.

THE THEOLOGY BEHIND THIS LINE WAS THAT OF "EQUITY" THAT COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED IF THERE WERE TO BE A CLEAR AND TIME-BOUND PROGRAMME TO STABILIZE AND REDUCE GHG'S FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THE MOST NOTABLE CASE OF INDIA-CHINA COOPERATION CAME AT THE KYOTO PROTOCOL OF 1997.

CONT'D

THE TWO COUNTRIES WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, HELD THE PRINCIPLE OF "COMMON BUT DIFFERENTIATED RESPONSIBILITIES," AND SUCCESSFULLY CONVINCED THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO SET UP CLEAN DEVELOPMENT MECHANISM (CDM) AND PROVIDE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE SOUTH



Common but Differentiated Responsibilities



CONT'D

中华人民共和国国家发展和改革委员会 National Development and Reform Commission

THE INSTITUTIONAL SETUP OF CHINA'S ENVIRONMENT BUREAUCRACY IS DIRECTLY UNDER THE POWERFUL NDRC.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE NDRC EXTENDS BEYOND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND INCLUDES ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, AS EVIDENCED IN BUREAUCRATIC DESIGN WITH THE HEAD OF NATIONAL COORDINATED COMMITTEE FOR CLIMATE CHANGE (NCCC) ALSO SERVING AS THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE NDRC.

THIS INSTITUTIONAL SETUP ALLOWS DEVELOPMENT POLICIES TO GO HAND IN HAND WITH ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES, ESPECIALLY WITH CDMS; AND THUS MAKES FOR A MORE EFFICIENT SYSTEM.

THE POLITICAL APEX OF DECISION MAKING IS THE LEADING STUDY GROUP ON CLIMATE CHANGE



IN INDIA, THE NATIONAL CDM AUTHORITY (NCDMA), UNDER THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND FOREST (MOEF) IS IN CHARGE OF ALL INDIA CDM PROJECTS.

THE NCDMA IS HEADED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE MOEF.

CONT'D

WHILE THE MOEF MAY NOT BE AT THE SAME HIGH LEVEL AS CHINA'S NDRC IN THE BUREAUCRACY LADDER, INDIA'S CDM POLICIES CAN BE DEBATED THROUGH A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS INVOLVING A VIBRANT CIVIL SOCIETY UNLIKE CHINA.



AT THE COP8 IN NEW DELHI IN LATE 2002, CHINA JOINED INDIA IN REITERATING ITS OPPOSITION OF GREENHOUSE GASES (GHG) EMISSION CUTS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PROPOSED BY THE EU.

CONT'D

BOTH COUNTRIES REITERATED THAT INCREASED EMISSIONS WOULD BE NEEDED TO LIFT THEIR CITIZENS OUT OF POVERTY.

PRIOR TO THE 2007 BALI CLIMATE SUMMIT, CHINA HAD TAKEN THE POSITION THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT HAVE TO MEET COMPULSORY TARGETS SET BY RICH NATIONS.

IT IS AFTER THE PROPOSED "BALI ROADMAP" THAT INDIA AND CHINA HAVE HAD REGULAR MEETINGS ON ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS WHICH LED TO AN "AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE" SIGNED BY THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM COMMISSION (NDRC) ON BEHALF OF CHINA AND THE INDIAN MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND FORESTS (MOEF) IN NOVEMBER 2009.

CONT'D



UN Climate Change Conference 2007 Bali - Indonesia

AS MENTIONED BEFORE, THE NDRC DEALS WITH THE OVERALL COORDINATION AND RESPONSE TO CLIMATE CHANGE IN CHINA.

THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE MAINTAINED CLOSE CONTACTS SINCE BALI (2007) AND THROUGHOUT THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE IN WHICH THEY JOINED BRAZIL, THE US, AND SOUTH AFRICA IN MAKING THE COPENHAGEN ACCORD NON-BINDING.

THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE WAS PERHAPS THE CLEAREST ILLUSTRATION OF INDIA AND CHINA WORKING JOINTLY.

TO QUOTE SHYAM SARAN:

CONT'D



"COPENHAGEN ALSO MARKED A TURNING POINT IN INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA, THOUGH IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW ENDURING THIS PROVES TO BE... IT WAS INDIA AND CHINA WHICH WERE ABLE TO ENSURE THAT THE RED LINES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DID NOT GET ERASED."

POST-COPENHAGEN, CHINA AND INDIA COOPERATED WITH EACH OTHER BY SENDING LETTERS AGREEING TO BE LISTED IN THE CHAPEAU OF THE COPENHAGEN ACCORD, BUT WITH THE REITERATION THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON CLIMATE CHANGE MUST TAKE PLACE UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNFCCC AND THAT THE ACCORD DOES NOT OPEN UP A PARALLEL TRACK.

CONT'D

THE TIMING OF THE LETTERS SENT SUGGESTED THAT INDIA AND CHINA MAY HAVE COORDINATED THEIR MOVES.

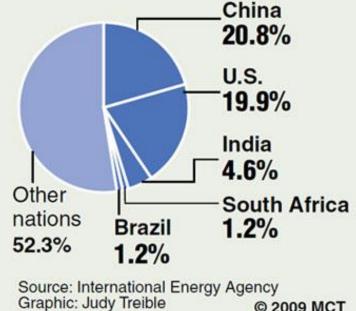
THE CHINESE LETTER OF 9 MARCH 2010 CONTAINED ONE SENTENCE -"THE [UNFCCC] SECRETARIAT CAN PROCEED TO INCLUDE CHINA IN THE LIST OF PARTIES INCLUDED IN THE CHAPEAU OF THE COPENHAGEN ACCORD

Climate Accord **Countries** COP15 COPENHAGEN

The five nations that signed a deal to curb greenhouse gases produce almost half of the world's carbon dioxide emissions.

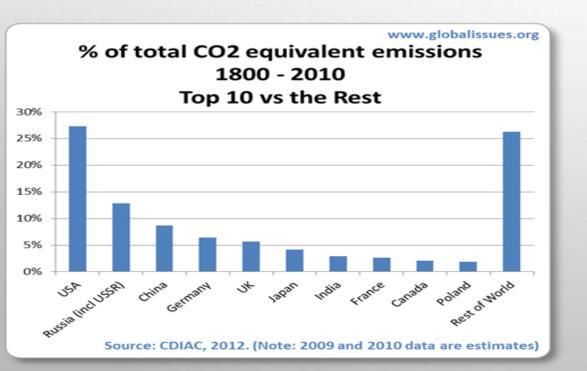
Carbon dioxide emissions

Global total of energy-related emissions, 2007: 28.9 billion metric tons

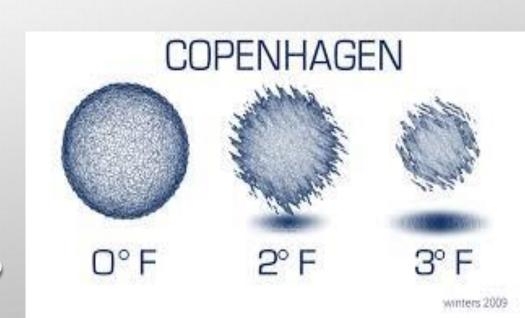


© 2009 MCT

THE INDIAN LETTER SENT A DAY BEFORE STATED THAT IT "MAY BE LISTED IN THE CHAPEAU OF THE COPENHAGEN ACCORD," WITH ITS UNDERSTANDING OF THE ACCORD "INDICATED IN AN APPROPRIATE FOOTNOTE" – WHERE INDIA STATED THAT THE ACCORD COULD NOT BECOME A NEW TRACK FOR NEGOTIATIONS BYPASSING THE UNFCCC.



CONT'D



THE DUAL CHALLENGES OF CLIMATE CHANGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT ARE BEGINNING TO INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT TRAJECTORY OF CHINA AND INDIA.

ANALYSIS

AS NEIGHBORS WITH THE PRIMARY AGENDA OF CREATING THE INTERNAL INFRASTRUCTURE FOR CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH THE CHALLENGE FACING THE TWO COUNTRIES IS TO STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN DOMESTIC EXPECTATIONS AND GLOBAL CONFORMITY TO ENVIRONMENTAL NORMS.



THE TWO COUNTRIES FACE SIMILAR CHALLENGES WITH LARGE POPULATIONS, MODERNIZATION AND URBANIZATION.

THEIR DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS NOTWITHSTANDING, THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE CURRENTLY AT THAT CUSP OF HISTORY WHERE THE CHOICES THEY MAKE ARE GOING TO INFLUENCE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTAL TRENDS.



CONT'D





'COOPERATION' IN ANY ASPECT REQUIRES THE CONSENT AND WILLINGNESS

OF THE ACTORS INVOLVED.



ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION IS NO DIFFERENT AND IN AN INTERNATIONAL SETTING PROVIDES AN INTERFACE AT DIFFERENT LEVELS.

THE FIRST LEVEL INVOLVES TWO ACTORS DISPLAYING THE REQUISITE TEMPERAMENT TO SORT COMMON PROBLEMS.

AT THE SECOND LEVEL, WE HAVE TWO DISTINCT POLITICAL CULTURES AND INSTITUTIONAL SUB-SYSTEMS O STRIVING TO CREATE A COMMON METHODOLOGY TO ADDRESS THE COMMON PROBLEMS. THE THIRD LEVEL PROVIDES THE NECESSARY INTERFACE BETWEEN SCIENCE AND POLICY WHERE NARROW SELF-INTERESTS ARE TO BE RESTRAINED AND MAKE WAY FOR SCIENTIFIC PREDICTION THAT DOVETAILS WITH THE ISSUE OF COMMON GRIEVANCE .

CONT'D



BY INITIATING COOPERATION ON CLIMATE CHANGE, CHINA AND INDIA HAVE DISPLAYED AN ATYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC TO THEIR OTHERWISE TENSE RELATIONSHIP FRAUGHT WITH THE CONSTANT RECALLING OF EVENTS THAT LED TO A RUPTURE FIVE DECADES AGO.

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES COULD GO A LONG WAY IN MITIGATING CLIMATE CHANGE, OR REDUCE ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS AND DAMAGE TO THE ECOLOGY REGIONALLY AND GLOBALLY.

AN OUTCOME OF CHINA-INDIA COOPERATION ON CLIMATE

CHANGE IS THE INITIATION OF 'LINKAGES.'

CONT'D

THE LINKAGES EMERGENT ARE POLITICALLY NEUTRAL AND

POLICY ORIENTED WITH THEIR VALUE SETS.

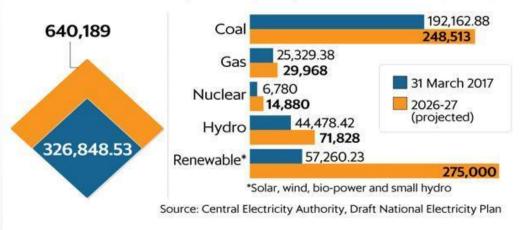
THREE VALUE SETS CLEARLY NOTICEABLE ARE:

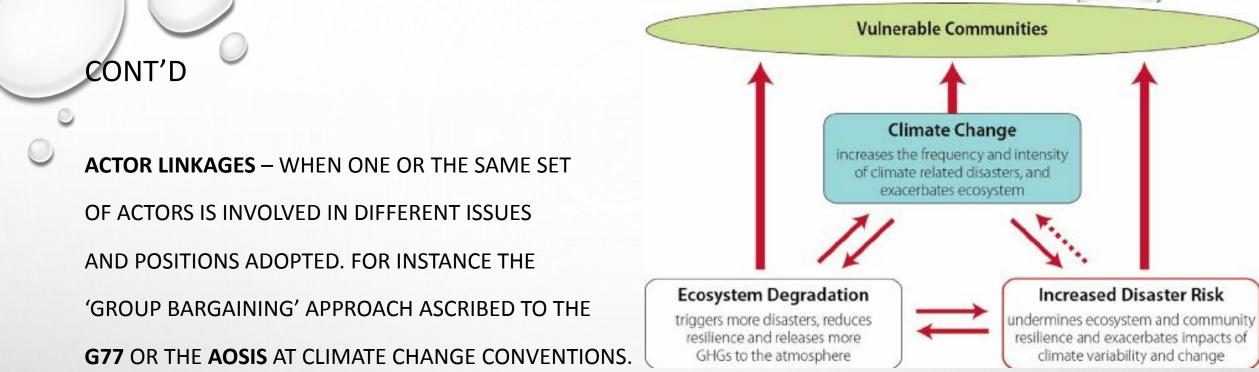
FUNCTIONAL LINKAGES – WHEN AN ACTION (NATURAL) LEADS TO A VARIETY OF CONSEQUENCES APPLICABLE TO BOTH THE SIDES, FOR INSTANCE, THE MELTING OF GLACIERS OR THE FORMATION OF A HIGH ALTITUDE LAKE FOLLOWING A CLOUDBURST OR LANDSLIDE WITH THE POTENTIAL TO CAUSE DESTRUCTION ON BOTH SIDES.

India's changing energy mix

India is moving towards a robust energy mix, focusing on sustainable energy sources such as solar and wind. By the end of 2026-27, India is projected to get 56% of its installed power capacity from clean energy sources.

India's total installed power capacity (in MW)





VALUE LINKAGES – WHEN THE PERCEPTION GAINS GROUND THAT DIFFERENT EVENTS ARE PART OF THE SAME ISSUE WITH THE SAME INVOKING OF VALUES. FOR INSTANCE, THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES POSITION ON CAPPING CO2 EMISSIONS MOTIVATES CHINA AND INDIA TO COALESCE THEIR ARGUMENTS WITH STRONG OVERTONES OF NATIONAL INTERESTS CLOAKED WITHIN OVERALL VALUES AND THEIR MERITS. SO FAR, THE UNRESOLVED TERRITORIAL CLAIMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE NOT BEEN AN IMPEDIMENT IN COOPERATIVE

ENDEAVORS RELATED TO CLIMATE CHANGE.

CONT'D

THERE NEEDS TO BE MORE BALLAST TO THE NASCENT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON CLIMATE CHANGE LEST THE COMMONALITIES END UP BEING SPASMODIC AND SUMMIT CENTRIC.

CHINA AND INDIA NEED TO GO BEYOND THE CORPUS OF AGREEMENTS AND STATEMENTS ISSUED ON COOPERATION REGARDING CLIMATE CHANGE AND NEED TO CONDUCT JOINT STUDIES ON CLIMATE CHANGE IN A COMPREHENSIVE MANNER.

CLIMATE CHANGE we can believe in



YES WE CAN! DO NOTHING ABOUT THE NATURAL CYCLE OF THE EARTH'S TEMPERATURE



COOPERATIVE TECHNICAL AND ACADEMIC RESEARCH IS SCANT, IF NOT ABSENT IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, AND IF INITIATED, WILL TRANSFORM THE MANNER IN WHICH CURRENT POLICY MAKING IS MADE REGARDING CLIMATE CHANGE BY PROVIDING MORE CHOICES TO DECISION-MAKERS AND STAKEHOLDERS TO APPROACH THIS CRUCIAL ISSUE.

CONT'D

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND DATA, INDEPENDENTLY AND COLLABORATIVELY ON ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE ENVIRONMENT AND INTERACTION BETWEEN TECHNICAL AND POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS NEEDS TO BE ENCOURAGED BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA ON ALL ASPECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE, ESPECIALLY, MITIGATION, FUNDING, CLEAN TECHNOLOGIES, STRATEGIC IMPACT AND NEGOTIATIONS.



CONT'D

THE CHALLENGE FACING THE TWO COUNTRIES IS TO CREATE A CUSTOM OF COOPERATION – THROUGH DIALOGUE MECHANISMS AND BILATERAL INSTITUTIONAL FORUMS - THAT ENSURE A DELICATE BALANCE BETWEEN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH.





ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ALL IMAGES IN THIS PPT HAVE BEEN SOURCED FROM GOOGLE IMAGES

THANK YOU!

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