

CIPFA Manifesto 2015

\things can only get better worse?

A call for sustainable public finance



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\ foreword

Many people assume the proposed elimination of the budget deficit around 2019 will mark a return to 'politics as usual'. But the reality of the long term financial projections is that policymakers, politicians and voters need to face up to profound choices. While the government and political parties appear to have accepted the need to eliminate the budget deficit, they are still not facing up to the urgent need for further reform to ensure public finances are sustainable over the coming decades. Indeed they are making further fiscal commitments which we ultimately cannot afford.

Political debate is still beset by short term thinking and a willingness to spend money we cannot afford simply to attract votes. In particular, policies tend to favour the old – such as with growing pensions – at the expense of the young, who find it increasingly difficult to buy a home and to save for their old age. This applies to all three main political parties.

We believe this failure to plan for the long term is against the public interest.

This manifesto is CIPFA's challenge to the political system as the standard-bearer for strong governance and public financial management. It is a call for honesty, transparency and realism in the face of pressures which, if we do not face up to them, could seriously harm our economy, public services and quality of life in the short, medium and above all long term.

CIPFA calls for:

- substantial reforms to our systems of governance and public financial management
- difficult decisions about taxes, spending and personal responsibility to be taken
- our political leaders to be honest with the public about what the future holds and the actions needed

Mike Owen President

Rob Whiteman Chief Executive

\ the challenges for \ future governments

More than half the pain is still to come

Fiscal consolidation – cutting the deficit – was the inevitable consequence of the collapse in tax receipts triggered by the 2008 recession. Since 2010 the unprotected budgets in England – those apart from health, education and international development – have been cut by over 30%. Further cuts already planned include reducing central spending on local government between 2013-2014 and 2015-2016 from £16.6bn to £12.1bn.

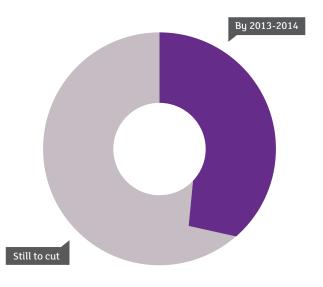
By the end of 2013-2014 just 46% of the government's deficit reduction plan had been achieved. Almost three quarters of the total tightening is intended to come from spending cuts. But as the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) points out, we are only a third of the way through the material cuts in public spending, with the easier cuts already made, and tax rises implemented. This means that during the next Parliament people will be seeing economic growth alongside substantial, sustained cuts in services. Historically services have been cut during the bad times; such major reductions at a time of growth are unprecedented.

While public service spending is set to fall by 1.7% a year from 2010-2011 to 2018-2019, the growing population means public service spending per person will fall by an average of 2.4% a year.

Despite the cuts, government has added to the scale of the task by introducing costly plans such as tax-free childcare and the Dilnot reforms to social care funding. The IFS says ministers have already made additional spending commitments of more than £6bn a year after 2015-2016, which means there will have to be yet more cuts elsewhere to fund them.

And none of these figures allow for possible future shocks, such as an exit from the EU, energy security problems, cyber risks, further global economic failure or falling levels of tax revenue collected by the exchequer, which have been consistently lower than forecast, prolonging the period of fiscal consolidation further.

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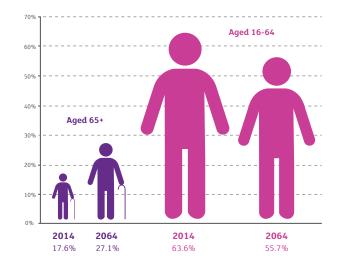
An ageing, growing population will increase spending pressures

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) projects that the population will grow by 3.5 million between 2010 and 2018, with the population aged 65 and over growing by 2 million. The IFS estimates that, even if NHS spending continues to be protected in real terms, then between 2010-2011 and 2018-2019, real age-adjusted spending per head on the NHS will fall by 9.1%.

As the Office of Budget Responsibility (OBR) observes, it is the ageing of the population that has the greatest impact on the future of public finances. The ONS estimates that the proportion of the population aged 65 and over will increase from 17.6% in 2014 to 27.1% in 2064. During that time the proportion aged 16 to 64 is forecast to fall from 63.6% to 55.7%.

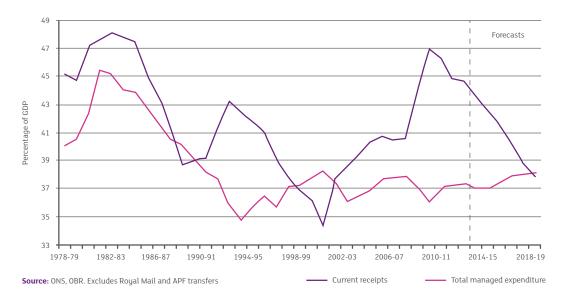
Notwithstanding longer working lives, the economically active population will inevitably become proportionally smaller, and at the same time it will need to be even more productive to support the burgeoning generations of older people. Putting aside today's emotionally charged debates about immigration, there is no getting away from the fact that future governments will need to give much more sober and serious consideration to the types and levels of immigration Britain needs to sustain an economy productive enough to meet the needs of our rapidly ageing population. Governments will therefore have to spend a greater proportion of national income on supporting older people, meeting costs such as health and social care and pensions. Although improved growth prospects and service reforms should help to an extent, the big choices are limited and clear – if debt levels are to remain sustainable: either taxes will have to go up, substantial cuts will need to be imposed on other budgets such as education, or care and pension levels will need to be cut. There are no other options.

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Debt is set to rise, not fall, long term

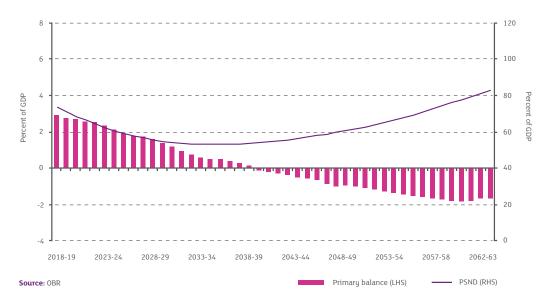
Following a prolonged period of low debt to GDP ratio from the mid-1970s to early 2000s in the years running up to the financial crisis the UK's public sector net debt had been held below the 40% target set under the Labour government's fiscal framework. However the UK was hit by the world financial crisis, and the depth of the recession, combined with the length of time taken to cut net public expenditure, has meant public debt to GDP levels have risen significantly compared with other countries.



Financial context: total public spending and receipts

If debt levels are to remain sustainable: either taxes will have to go up, substantial cuts will need to be imposed on other budgets such as education, or care and pension levels will need to be cut. There are no other options. Even after the current austerity programme there will be no inexorable fall in public sector debt, in no small way as a consequence of the increasing impact of the UK's ageing population. Without a radical rethink of current policy, the OBR projects that public sector net debt (PSND) will fall from around 79% of GDP in 2015-2016 to around 53% in the mid-2030s before starting to rise again, reaching 84% 50 years from now.

The UK faces many potential downside financial risks. Everything from lower net inward migration to higher interest rates could push these figures up.



Financial context: the longer term challenges – central projection of the primary balance and PSND

There is a crisis of trust

Addressing these challenges will require strong political leadership. However, trust in politicians and public institutions is declining. According to the 2013 British Social Attitudes survey, the proportion of people that trust governments to put the nation's needs above those of the political party fell from 38% in 1986 to 18% in 2012.

This increasing deficit of trust calls for a new approach to policy-making. It demands greater honesty, both in the UK and internationally, about questions of long term sustainability, improved transparency of decision making, stronger governance and financial management, and intolerance of costly failures to deliver public services and value for money.

\ CIPFA's manifesto for \ sustainable public finances

1. Governments must budget for the medium to long term, and invest strategically to stimulate economic growth

Government needs to budget for the medium to long-term, invest strategically in growth and invest in early interventions for the benefit of both current and future generations. Policies simply designed to win votes in the short term will only serve to damage the public interest by undermining efforts to remove the deficit and reduce debt.

The UK faces significant demographic pressures in coming years. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) has updated its projections up to 2021 based on the recent release of data from the 2011 Census. In England in 2021, compared to 2011:

- there will be 24% more people aged 65 and over
- there will be 39% more people aged 85 and over.

The ONS has also projected that in England in 2030, compared to 2010:

- there will be 51% more people aged 65 and over
- there will be 101% more people aged 85 and over.

The ONS has set out how, looking further ahead over the next 50-year period, we can expect a doubling of the population in the UK aged over 65, and a very substantial – four times or more – increase in the main projection of those aged 85 and over.

This will have major consequences for other generational cohorts:

- In 2008 there were 3.2 people of working age for every person of pensionable age. By 2033 this will have fallen to 2.8.
- Continuing to provide state benefits and pensions at the current rate will require an additional £10bn per year for every million people over working age.

This rising demand for services for the elderly will make it increasingly difficult to balance their needs against those of other generations, in the context of a largely fixed proportion of national income spent on public services. Generating economic growth will be a key determinant of the size of the spending envelope, and there need to be active policies to stimulate this. At the same time, governments will need to safeguard the existing revenue base, and not avoid politically difficult decisions.

In the case of local property taxes, the tax base is being hollowed out through annual freeze grants and the failure to revalue property.

Future governments will also need to bear in mind the potential risks: in the external environment, such as the fragile state of the Eurozone economy, a potential UK withdrawal from the EU, or a rise in interest rates that could impact negatively on both growth and expenditure.



CIPFA calls for:

The level and quality of services to be maximised for the population as a whole, and all key spending and service decisions to be taken in the context of their impacts on:

- medium to long-term financial sustainability
- intergenerational equity

Housing

Economic growth, social stability and community are undermined by insufficient good and affordable housing provision. The increasing reliance on Housing Benefit over the last 20 years has seen long term housing investment replaced by short term subsidisation. This imbalance has created a vulnerability that has recently been exposed under welfare reform. 'There was evidence the Housing Benefit reforms are contributing to increasing levels of homelessness with corresponding serious implications for households and for local authorities'. Large scale partnership developments such as Manchester Life highlight what can be achieved with housing when it is viewed as a long term investment. Greater investment and more innovative financial solutions are central to economic growth.



By 2019, state pensions alone will account for around 16% of total government spending.

Pensions

Economic pressures and government policies have hit the young relatively harder than the old in recent years. Cuts in benefit spending have been wholly focussed on the working age cohort, even though 67% of spending is on those of pension age.

Schemes to win votes from older people, such as the current triple lock on state pension – guaranteeing they will rise by the higher of earnings, prices or 2.5% – will further increase this generational imbalance. Ring-fencing pensioner benefits reduces the ability of the government of the day to manage the many other budgetary pressures effectively, particularly the rising cost of health and social care, which in themselves create pressures both now and for future generations.

2. Government must rebalance the relationship between the citizen and the state

To achieve fiscal sustainability a clear redefinition of the relationship between the individual and the state is required. That is likely to mean letting go of a raft of entitlements which the country cannot now afford.

The notion of the 'cradle to the grave' welfare state introduced after World War 2 needs to be redefined to reflect the large and growing proportion of older people and the long term pressures on public finances.

Central to the ethos of the Beveridge report was personal responsibility in providing yourself and your family with more than the minimum. But successive governments have increased the welfare bill with entitlements which are electorally attractive but which go well beyond minimum needs as originally defined. Nor are they means-tested – for example, free TV licences and universal winter fuel payments for older people.

CIPFA calls for:

The principles behind the welfare state to be clearly re-articulated in order to drive the future shape of benefit and service provision. In addition to clearly defining the desired outcomes (eg poverty definitions), the principles that need to be incorporated in a new contract between citizen and state include:

- long term affordability to the state
- income related benefits
- co-payment for services
- an extended role for private sector service provision.

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? Benefits

In helping make the welfare system more affordable, universal benefits are an obvious target for cuts in welfare spending. The government's move in 2013 to transform child benefit from a universal benefit into an income related one reduced public spending estimates by around £1.5bn (IFS). Extending means-testing of other universal benefits would also produce savings. For example, the winter fuel payment, is paid at a flat rate of up to £300 (for couples over 80), regardless of a person's wealth, withdrawing payments from those paying higher rates of tax would save around £105m a year.

Co-payments

Despite being ring-fenced from the cuts elsewhere, the NHS budget is facing increasing pressures from the ageing population and advances in healthcare. Reforms in how health services are delivered, including integration of health and social care and preventative strategies such as improving public health, can help, but additional sources of income are still likely to be required. Research by Reform shows that an extra penny on income tax or National Insurance would raise only enough to fund the NHS for a fortnight (around £5bn). Co-payment charges have long been introduced for many of the services that were free at the founding of the NHS; most patients now pay for their prescriptions, glasses and dental treatment.

So means testing and charging are widespread within the NHS, and could be extended. For example, a £10 charge for GP consultations (with exemptions on the basis of age and income) could raise £1.2bn each year.



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3. The structure of local government and the public sector needs to change to allow services to be provided more effectively and decisions on funding to be taken at the right level

The relationship between the centre and local communities is built on the idea that central government, by default, is best at devising and implementing policy and raising and spending money. Yet, central government's record in planning projects and spending efficiently and effectively is poor. In the words of the National Audit Office: 'Historically, the majority of major projects in government have not delivered the anticipated benefits within original time and cost expectations.'

However, since 1997 the debate on devolution has been opened up by the granting of substantial taxation and borrowing powers to Scotland and Wales, which are now set to be extended. Local government in England has gradually been allowed more freedom through initiatives such as localism, City Deals, Community Budgets and the partial localisation of business rates.

The Communities and Local Government Select Committee put the case for fiscal devolution – the ability to raise and spend money locally. They recognised the disparity between different parts of the UK in their economic clout and ability to exercise devolved powers.

In a 2014 report the Committee concluded that the case for giving substantial fiscal powers at least to England's major cities is just as compelling as devolving power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. They suggested that fiscal powers should be devolved to groups of local authorities, covering a recognisable large-scale area, that can demonstrate how they share and work together as, a functioning economy. And that fiscal devolution was the logical next step on the path to genuine localism. In terms of spending, there have been significant variations in the impact of the cuts on different regions and types of authority. This is because the local government finance system is based on allocating more grant to councils judged to have greater need and less ability to raise local income, so deprived urban areas have lost a greater proportion of their funding under austerity.

However, there is a balance to be struck in terms of localism and efficient provision of public services. For example, there has long been a debate about whether London needs 32 separate boroughs; the levels of voluntary collaboration between different boroughs now suggests that perhaps there should be fewer.

While locally based services can identify and respond to needs of the local population, if units are too small then service provision becomes inefficient, as those in need cannot access specialist advice and services needed effectively. While more strategic organisations covering larger areas are better placed to take allocation decisions, they may not be able to take sufficient account of local factors.

In England council tax is based on property values set 23 years ago, so the tax being paid bears no relation to the true value of property today – undermining its very credibility.

CIPFA calls for:

- the replacement of the Barnett formula to meet clearly stated aims for distributing funding between England Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland
- an Independent Grants Commission to advise on methodologies and decisions on devolved funding distribution across the UK
- the structure of the public sector to be reviewed with efficiency of future public services in mind
- a legal requirement for regular property tax revaluations.

Reform

Local government reform across the devolved administrations demonstrates the role service reconfiguration and restructuring can play in responding to common financial and service pressures:

- Scotland: Joint working is being expanded with all local authorities and NHS boards implementing legislation to integrate health and social care services. Police and fire & rescue services have been merged to form a single national authority.
- Wales: In response to the Williams Commission, the Welsh Government has issued proposals for merging local authorities, with voluntary mergers initially.
- Northern Ireland: Council numbers have been reduced (from 26 to 11). However local decision making is being strengthened by the transfer of some central government responsibilities to the new councils, particularly relating to planning and the local economy.

All the devolved governments are also currently considering funding mechanisms as part of these wider reforms.

AB Council Tax

In England council tax is based on property values set 23 years ago, so the tax being paid bears no relation to the true value of property today – undermining the credibility of the tax. Every year the distortion increases and the credibility reduces yet further.

It is also a regressive tax because it costs those with low value properties proportionately more, for example in Kensington and Chelsea, the most wealthy in Band H, will pay £178 per month compared to the lowest Band A rate in the same borough of £59 per month. Council tax discounts support the very poorest, but since the localisation of council tax support and annual reductions in funding were made at the same time, discounts have been eroded for poor families in work.



4. Local public services must be better aligned to maintain delivery as budgets are cut further

Frontline services are delivered locally through an increasingly complex landscape – local authorities, NHS and foundation trusts, different types of schools, social enterprises, the voluntary and private sectors. At the same time the budgets for local services are being cut – local authorities in England have suffered cuts of one third since 2010 and although NHS funding has been maintained as a proportion of GDP, pressures within the system are building. Government is increasingly requiring local bodies to work together to deliver services (for example in England through health and well-being boards and the Better Care Fund), but in most cases the totality of public sector spending in local areas is unknown. The situation is similar across the rest of the UK.

Whitehall departments have been significantly reformed and reduced in size since 2010, having been cut by between 33% and 50%. But, as the Institute for Government observes, this focus on internal reform has come at the expense of attempts to get departments to work together more effectively.

The consequences of silo thinking in Whitehall are exposed most clearly in the local work carried out by departments. Initiatives such as Total Place and Community Budgets, and the time taken to deliver tangible benefits, have revealed how disjointed and incoherent centrally controlled public services have become. Information, resources and ideas are not shared, common goals are not agreed, costs are duplicated and performance is undermined. Departmental boundaries – perpetuated by both civil servants and ministers – constantly frustrate attempts to collaborate around the needs of communities.

CIPFA calls for:

- mapping of the way local public services are provided to better understand spending and delivery
- central government budget setting and management processes to be reviewed so that the extent and limits of central accountability are clarified, and constraints on local service innovation are avoided
- changes to services to be planned and implemented in a joined up way, based upon evidence of the outcomes from the bodies involved in delivering those services

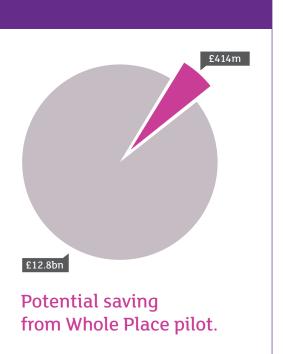
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••• Aligning Spend

Mapping local area spending is a vital part of understanding the local delivery landscape. For example, Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent estimated total public sector gross revenue expenditure at some £7.5bn in 2013 for the region, of which £4.8bn is spent by the NHS and DWP. Understanding this landscape allows Staffordshire to work with partners both within and outside the county to develop shared services, resources and expertise to achieve greater efficiencies and generate income.

The Whole Place Community Budgets pilot, Whole Essex, led by Essex County Council and also covering 12 district, borough and city councils and two unitary councils, has estimated that it could save £414m over six years out of annual total public expenditure of £12.8bn. But the identified benefits go beyond cash savings – there are increased opportunities for better co-ordination and support between central and local government and co-design and co-production of plans and service delivery.



🛉 👫 Troubled Families

The Troubled Families programme was launched in 2011 to join up efforts across central and local government. Local authority budgets were increased by £448m over three years on a payment-by-results basis with the ambition to turn around the lives of the 120,000 families in England. By March 2014, nearly 40,000 troubled families' lives had been turned around across a number of indicators: improved anti-social behaviour, crime and education results as well as continuous employment.

The West Sussex Think Family Partnership shows how the programme works in practice. It is led by West Sussex County Council bringing together agencies including district and borough councils, police, the voluntary sector, education and health. The partnership is helping 750 families get back on track and has implemented a number of innovative approaches. One of these is 'Think Family Neighbourhoods', where areas of known deprivation are targeted with projects that promote neighbourhood pride, community cohesion and build skills for work.

5. Financial transparency and accountability are key to restoring public trust

Public sector institutions have grown in complexity, making it difficult for the public and even politicians to understand the lines of accountability for service quality and spending. Increasing numbers of services are being run by arm's length external organisations, mutuals or social enterprises. These bodies are little understood by the public and, again, their accountability is unclear.

Public trust has been further undermined by failures among new institutions, including foundation trusts, clinical commissioning groups and academy schools. Public service reforms should increase public confidence, not erode it. Governance and public financial management frameworks need to be strengthened. The current government has agreed to look at the feasibility of implementing the Public Accounts Committee's recommendations to mandate the use of open book accounting for contracts above an agreed level of expenditure in central government. We need to push for open book accounting and contract management to be the norm, rather than the exception, across the public sector.

We have earlier supported fiscal devolution, but this also requires accountability. Current alliances such as One North and the Greater Manchester Combined Authority are filling the gap, but they are not a longterm solution. Local people have a right to hold those responsible for public services to account.

CIPFA calls for:

- more effective accountability mechanisms for new local public bodies
- the setting up and operation of major contracts to be made more transparent through the effective use of open book accounting, with a clear commitment to share commercial information on income and expenditure as part of the contractual relationship
- a review of the role of the Accounting Officers to encourage greater transparency of their advice to ministers.



. Academies

The number of academies has grown dramatically in recent years, with over 4,000 academies and free schools now under the oversight of the Secretary of State. This has given academies additional freedoms over maintained schools – the ability to set their own pay and conditions, to diverge from the national curriculum and to vary the length of terms and school days. However there have been a number of high profile governance and financial management failures in this sector, such as at the Education Fellowship Trust, where the Education Funding Agency concluded that the Trust had not complied with its Articles of Association and did not have an adequate internal control framework in place. Such examples have led to concern about the lack of accountability in some academies and demonstrate a need for strengthened financial management, better transparency and governance arrangements in the sector to ensure that they are managed well and in the public interest.

Half of the £187bn government spends with third parties each year goes on contracted out services.

Open Book Accounting

Half of the £187bn government spends with third parties each year goes on contracted out services but insufficient information is published on what this is spent on and the value obtained.

Recent high profile contract failures, including instances of significant overcharging, have illustrated the need to strengthen contract terms and performance regimes, implement penalties proportionate to the costs incurred, share efficiency gains and strengthen providers' corporate social responsibility. Transparency too is an essential component, as is the capacity of public sector organisations to use the information provided. Open book accounting for all major contracts will be critical to improving the value obtained.

6. The quality of state level financial management and governance demands urgent attention both in the UK and around the world

The poor quality of governments' financial management demands urgent, sustained and well-designed reform efforts in almost every country. While much of the blame for the global financial crisis, and in particular the consequent sovereign debt crisis, is placed on banks, too little attention has been paid to the contribution of deficient accounting and poor auditing and financial management by governments. This problem is not confined to any one part of the world or category of countries.

The debt crisis has highlighted a variety of unacceptable financial management practices and exposed the fact that some governments were running unsustainable financial positions. These positions were disguised by inadequate accounting systems.

Without good financial information and advice, policy makers and managers of public services fail to make sound decisions, leading to poor use of public money, inefficient services and the exposure of services, economies and people to avoidable risk. Financial regulations are being revised internationally to ensure banks recapitalise, but there has been no corresponding drive to manage government balance sheets better for the long term. While the UK has started to publish Whole of Government Accounts, the information is not yet used as an integral part of public spending architecture.

CIPFA calls for:

- development and use of projected balance sheets by the UK government as an integral part of its fiscal and budgetary framework
- use of output-based appropriation to derive improved value for money
- public financial management reforms, built on accrual-based budgeting and IPSAS-based accounting and high quality auditing to reduce the risk of further global crises



Accrual Accounting

When accrual accounts and budgets were originally introduced in the UK these were accompanied by output targets in the form of Public Service Agreement targets. PSAs were intended to improve resource allocation, policy-making and effective service delivery with consistent policy outputs and outcomes – delivering better value for money. But PSAs were designed to enhance HM Treasury's controls, and were never reinforced through the Parliamentary Estimates process. PSAs evolved over time, but this explicit focus on outputs has been lost through subsequent series of reforms and ceased altogether in 2010.

In contrast, the New Zealand Estimates of Appropriations and the Statement of Intent form the framework for defining objectives and performance indicators within departments, which report performance against objectives in their annual reports. Reforms in France led to the budget being voted on the basis of 'missions' related to the government's outcome objectives, with each mission having performance objectives, thereby improving parliamentary control over the budget.

Transparency

The most fundamental motivation for better government accounting is that it enables higher levels of economic growth, determining a society's ability to meet the needs of its citizens, and it impacts on levels of employment and therefore individuals' welfare. Transparency acts to inform voters and constrain decisions which have unsustainable financial consequences. The relationship between good numbers and good decisions is universal, and Greece provides the most dramatic example of the damage that can be done by poor and weak financial management.

It might have been expected that an accounting failure by a sovereign government with huge national, regional and global ramifications would have generated the momentum for reform. But even in Greece, despite many hundreds of reform requirements imposed by the 'Troika', we are yet to see any serious steps towards adopting accruals based accounting and reporting for its government.

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\conclusion

In this Manifesto for change, CIPFA has highlighted the challenges and choices which voters, public institutions and political parties now face. As we head towards the 2015 election, CIPFA will be pressing the case for long term, strategic policies which will protect our services and standard of living in the decades to come.

These are uncomfortable truths, but they have to be addressed now, with vigour, determination and openness. The public has a right to know the options that lie ahead.



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As the world's only professional accountancy body to specialise in public services, CIPFA's portfolio of qualifications are the foundation for a career in public finance. They include the benchmark professional qualification for public sector accountants as well as a route to qualification and membership for people already working in senior financial management positions. These are taught by our own CIPFA Education and Training Centre, as well as at other places of learning around the world face to face, online and by distance learning.

We also champion high performance in public services, translating our experience and insight into clear advice and practical services. They include information and guidance, counter fraud tools and qualifications, courses and conferences, property and asset management solutions, advisory and recruitment services for a range of public sector clients.

Globally, CIPFA shows the way in public finance by standing up for sound public financial management and good governance. We work with international aid donors and agencies, partner governments, accountancy bodies and the wider public sector as well as private sector partners around the world to advance public finance and support better public services.

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