**Forum:** United Nations Reformation Council

**Issue:** Chapter V: The Security Council

**Student Officer:** Reyansh Airan

**Position:** Deputy President Chair

**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

**Introduction**

 The Security Council (SC) was created by the United Nations (UN) Charter, which came into effect on October 24, 1945. The SC shares responsibility with the General Assembly (GA) for the UN’s primary goal of maintaining international peace and security. Provisions in the UN Charter. The Security Council not only plays a unique role in the United Nations. It also has a unique structure, as it has five permanent member states with veto power. These states, known as the P-5, are the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France. The total membership of the SC consists of 15 states, ten of which are elected biannually by the GA based on a geographical distribution system. In general, five elected seats go to Africa, two seats each go to Latin America and Western Europe, and one seat goes to Eastern Europe. Rotating members have a vote but do not have a veto.

However, despite the Council’s consistent structure, it has been subject to extreme criticism from the international community. The Security Council’s representation, membership, composition, and working methods have been scrutinized by nations since the organ’s establishment. With dominant blocs, such as the G4 and UfC leading the effort to campaign for different approaches to reforming the Security Council, the need for reform is immense especially in contemporary geopolitics.

Therefore, the delegates within the UNRC, who are given the mandate to amend the United Nations Charter’s Fifth Chapter, regarding the Security Council, must work in committee to evaluate past attempts to resolve the issue while establishing consensus on a unified approach to ensuring the Security Council is reflective of modern geopolitical realities.

**Definition of Key Terms**

**Disarmament**

 In the Security Council, disarmament is a codified responsibility of member nations to “establish international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources” as stated by Chapter V of the United Nations Charter.

**Group of 4**

 Established in 2005, the Group of 4 (G4) is a diplomatic alliance between Brazil, Germany, India and Japan in which each member actively supports each other’s lasting bids for permanent seats in the United Nations Security Council. The group’s emergent political and economic influence has, in recent years, become a vital impetus for the diversification of perspectives and suggested approaches to Security Council reform on the General Assembly’s floor.

**General Assembly**

 The General Assembly is the United Nations’ primary deliberative, policymaking and representative organ; largely existing as a platform for the discussion of issues amongst United Nations members and observers. At the behest of the Security Council, the General Assembly may also be obliged to provide suggestive advice to the council on any matters the council may deem fit. It can also, in the event of any discourse within the P5, presume an operative role as a replacement to the Security Council.

**Hegemony**

 In diplomatic circles, hegemony is used to describe any disproportionate influence a nation, or group of nations, may have or develop over the international community. The issue of hegemony is a critical consideration when constructing and restructuring diplomatic hierarchies and power structures, especially considering the phenomenon’s relevance to the expansion, or even existence, of specific privileges in the Security Council.

**International Peace**

 International peace, as defined by the United Nations is an organic, long-term state of amity and concord between and within sovereign nations. The concept has materialized a critical focus for many international organizations, especially the Security Council, which is mandated under the United Nations Charter to safeguard international peace.

**Intergovernmental Negotiations**

 Intergovernmental negotiations (IGNs) are an established mechanism of the General Assembly which facilitates informal discussion on Security Council reform. Nations are given freedom to propose reform frameworks which must accrue 2/3s majority to be brought into further consideration and eventually execution. So far, no proposal has reached the stipulated amount.

**L69 Group of Developing Countries**

 Consisting of 42 members across Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the L69 is a bloc of developing countries which advocates for Security Council reform with respect to the needs of developing countries. While it has circulated independent proposals, its allegiance currently lies with the G4’s approach as the L69 deems the group’s proposal the most equitable for representation.

**Permanent Five**

Consisting of the United States of America, United Kingdom, France, China and Russia, the Permanent Five are the five sovereign nations to whom the 1945 United Nations Charter grants permanent representation and veto rights in the United Nations Security Council. The P5 is widely regarded as a grouping of the international community’s most eminent diplomatic powers due to their shared victory in World War II and militaristic achievements.

**Small Five Group (S-5)**

Formed in 2005 as a response to the World Summit outcome, the Small Five (S-5) Group is an operational alliance between five small nations, namely Switzerland, Singapore, Liechtenstein, Jordan and Costa Rica, aiming to improve the working methods of the Security Council. In diverging from the traditionally political motivations of working groups on Security Council reform, the S-5 has led an effort to rethink the Security Council’s mechanisms of representation and access for small, developing or non-member states while also questioning the improvement of the council’s transparency and accountability.

**United Nations Charter Chapter V**

 Chapter V of the 1945 United Nations Charter contains expansive provisions establishing the structure, function, mechanism and composition of the United Nations Security Council. The chapter’s most notable stipulations amongst its 10 articles include the provision of permanent seats to victors of World War II, executive authority to the Security Council, veto power to permanent members. Furthermore, Chapter V also focuses the Council’s operations on international peace and disarmament.

**United Nations Security Council**

 The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is a principal organ of the United Nations specialized within all matters of international peace, disarmament and military action pertinent to the international community. Since 1965, the Security Council has consisted of 5 permanent members and 10 elected non-permanent members who are selected under regional quotas. Currently, it is one of the few UN organs to be granted the authority to execute it’s resolutions and, as a result, exists as an operative, non-suggestive constituent of the United Nations. The Security Council also has access to UN resources, such as United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, for the execution of its passed substantive resolutions.

**Uniting for Consensus (UfC)**

Led by Italy, Uniting for Consensus is a movement formed to oppose the expansion of permanent membership in the Security Council, especially by members of the G4 due to the perceived threat of permanent membership accentuating disparities between member states. The movement, since its inception in 1995, has gained significant traction amongst developing sovereign states, in fact, it reported that 120 states attended its 2011 meeting in Rome.

**Veto Power**

 Veto power, in the Security Council, is the privilege of the P5 nations to veto, or refuse the passage of, any substantive resolution presented to the SC. Every veto overrides voting procedures and thus places the power to accept and reject solutions into the hands of select nations.

**Key Issues**

**Categories of Membership**

Since the establishment of the Security Council’s composition in 1945, the Council’s membership framework has failed to adapt to contemporary realities in the geopolitical climate. Even despite the expansion of non-permanent seats in 1965, the international community’s consensus has largely dictated that the Security Council’s provisions for membership will soon be outpaced by the modern geopolitical climate, thus calling for restructure in the Council’s membership.

**Veto Powers**

 One of the Security Council’s most contentious mechanisms is the veto, which, especially in recent years, has gained significant criticism on the floor of the General Assembly due to it’s apparent concentration of power into heavily partisan and militaristic nations. The veto’s past use has also, according to Amnesty International and the International Center for Transition Justice, acted in precedence of any claims which may suggest the P5 have abused, misused or unfairly used the veto to further individual political agendas with a disregard for the humanitarian or peace-related implications of the matter at hand. For this reason, many have also suggested that the veto power is dangerously accentuating diplomatic hegemony by the P5 as all provisions provided for representation can be easily invalidated by the ability of a select few nations to instantaneously override resolutions made by non-permanent members. In fact, nations have also questioned the nations which are given veto powers, especially considering that the provision of the veto was on the basis of victory in the now historically-antiquated 2nd World War.

**Regional Representation**

 Throughout the UN’s existence, the organization has welcomed over 140 member nations after its foundation. Despite this, the Security Council’s regional quotas have remained unchanged since its formation in 1945. Policy experts, individual nations and diplomatic groups believe that, on a broad scale, the Security Council severely lacks representation from Asian (especially Central & West Asian), Latin American and Caribbean nations while overrepresenting members of the Western European and Others Group. As a result, the issue of regional representation becomes embedded within the issue of the Council’s membership framework, thus indicating that the Council has largely neglected timely changes in geopolitical situations.

**Working Methods**

 To digress from the political contention surrounding the Security Council, many, such as the S-5, have openly called for the reform of working methods within the Security Council; especially with respect to guaranteeing access and transparency. The primary issue surrounding the Security Council’s inherent function is its lack of cohesion in ensuring accountability and openness in tis flaws. Specific cases of failure or abuse, such as those demonstrated in the Council’s Peacekeeping Missions to Bosnia and the Congo, have called to question how the Security Council could be held accountable against any avoidable failures or abuses of power. Furthermore, the international community has broadly criticized the lack of any substantive governing body with authority over the Security Council.

**Security Council-General Assembly Relationship**

 Yet another concern raised by the S-5 is the Security Council’s reclusion from representative international bodies. The threat of hegemony by the Security Council is only further exacerbated by prohibiting regular, yet non-intrusive non-member access to the Council. As a result, strengthening the Security Council-General Assembly would be able to rectify this to a certain degree, while also having a domino effect on the resolution of other key issues

**Major Parties Involved and Their Views**

**Group of 4 (G4) Nations**

 Seeing as the group is composed of nascent and newly-established sovereign powers, the G4 has consistently reiterated its opposition towards the “outdated” framework which binds the Security Council; arguing that its composition has remained largely unchanged for almost 75 years despite the accession of over 140 additional UN member states and multiple high-value UN contributors since 1945. Essentially, the G4’s bids function as a result of its members’ increasing eminence in the United Nations and international community as a whole being unrecognized by its formal roles. Therefore, the G4’s lobbying in the General Assembly has largely emphasized upon the addition of permanent and non-permanent seats to the Security Council, alongside secondary concerns, such as the Council’s working methods and its representation of African Union member states under the Ezulwini Consensus’ suggestions. On the matter of the veto, the G4 has previously stated that it is open to accepting permanent membership without veto rights in an attempt to compromise with the Security Council’s existing permanent members.

However, in advocating for its stance, the G4 member nations have been required to oppose specific considerations for Security Council reform. Most notably, the G4 has actively detested the majority of resolutions and proposals from the Uniting for Consensus movement. This is because the movement has, since its inception, existed to counteract the G4’s bids for the addition of permanent seats. Other such activities include the G4’s opposition towards the immediate provision of seats (permanent or non-permanent) to regional organizations, such as the European Union and African Union, under the fear that sovereign identity could be diluted by the consolidation of viewpoints. Despite such ideological clashes, the G4 has continued to find support from the L69 Group of Developing Countries, which largely corroborates the G4’s approach although its proposal opposes the G4 on the matter of the veto, suggesting that additional permanent seats receive veto privileges.

Thus far, the G4 has been actively seized on drafting and accruing widespread support for its proposals on the floor of IGNs, currently assuming a role of eminence in the developing the reformation models available to the UN. The group’s proposals, as a result, have been drastic in their diplomatic and political nature; going forward to suggest actions such as the expansion of permanent seats, introduction of permanent seats for member nations of the African Union and the expansion of the council’s relationship with troop contributors.

**Uniting for Consensus (UfC)**

 Since the group’s foundation in 1995, Uniting for Consensus has advocated for the careful deliberation of Security Council reform by a wholly-representative international body (i.e. the General Assembly) to establish a broad, democratized consensus on developing a framework for the Council’s reform. The group’s work has, according to its core membership, allowed for it to conclude that the addition of permanent seats to the Security Council would serve a long-term hindrance as the idea of a permanent seat is inherently prone to accentuating disparities and extended privileges to a greater number of sovereign states. Therefore, the group has been united by its opposition towards the addition of permanent seats, and has largely supported alternative approaches to reform, such as the increase of non-permanent seats, introduction of high-tenure, non-permanent seats for regional organizations, the representation of small and medium-sized states and the limitation, removal or restriction of the veto amongst the Permanent 5.

The UfC’s tenure in the General Assembly has, however, seen its members develop an uncompromising rivalry with the Group of 4 on the account of their asymmetric and contrasting politics on the issue. This has resulted in the UfC coming to oppose multiple G4 proposals and the African Union’s Ezulwini Consensus. Even in contemporary discussions on Security Council reforms, the UfC and G4 continue to clash on matters relevant to membership and representation.

Thus far, the UfC has influenced the operation of reform discussions at IGNs in a manner similar to that of the G4. Its politically-charged proposals envision the Security Council being composed of upto 35 members, selected on a rotational basis, by 2035 alongside a restricted exercise of veto powers over the council.

**Small Five Group (S-5)**

 In maintaining a stance of neutrality in membership reform, the Small 5 aims to primarily address the Security Council’s working methods and the representation of developing nations within the council. The group’s 2006 draft resolution outlines proposals of limiting vetoes when matters address international law, improving the SC-GA relationship, discussions of the Security Council’s annual report and the integration of non-members.

Despite their relatively small diplomatic exercise, the group’s involvement in reform has been significant in driving matters of humanitarian reform within the council. Arguably, the group has led efforts to stray reforms and IGNs from political matters, thus offering a unique perspective to all member nations advocating for reform.

**Accountability, Cohesion & Transparency Group**

 As a larger offshoot group of the Small 5, from which it also receives membership and support, the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) Group emphasizes upon the development of working methods in the Security Council. The group’s central thesis revolves around the promotion of “true discussion” over the existing system of politically “pre-scripted debates’ which exist in the Security Council, thus aiming to repurpose the Security Council to focus upon proactive implementations of peacebuilding and preventive diplomacy. The ACT’s involvement in resolutions and IGNs have been largely reminiscent of the sentiments and proposals expressed by the S-5

**African Union**

 In cohesion with the G4, the African Union believes that the representation of African states in the Security Council is minimal, even when given the Council’s expansive involvement in the region since its inception. Therefore, the African Union believes that two permanent seats, alongside seats for the G4, and additional non-permanent seats should be added to the Security Council’s composition. Furthermore, it believes that the African Union should elect the permanent African representatives, and is currently in discussions of whether to include Nigeria, South Africa or Egypt as its representatives. It also principally opposes the veto, but believes permanent members should receive veto privileges.

As a result, the AU would be willing to accept either a proposal that creates African permanent seats and eliminates the veto or a proposal that adds African permanent seats and eliminates the veto for the P-5. The AU also proposes that it be the body that determines which African states become SC members

**Permanent 5**

 Despite their critical role in the situation at hand, the P5 has stood polarized and largely silent on the topic of reform. The United States, United Kingdom and France have all extended support to the G4’s bids for permanent seats. Meanwhile, China and Russia have selected bids to favor. China currently supports the Brazilian and German bids for accession, but holds that India would have to disassociate its bid with Germany to gain Chinese favor. Russia supports the Brazilian, Indian and German bids, arguing in conjunction with China that Japan must admit to war crimes committed in World War 2 to establish the government as one which advocates for peace.

**Development of Issue/Timeline**

| **Date**  | **Event**  | **Outcome**  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **1945** | UN Charter signed | Consolidation amongst sovereign nations |
| **1945** | Security Council is officially formed | Greater international emphasis on peacebuilding and security |
| **1965** | UN Charter amended to include 4 additional non-permanent Security Council seats | Improved representation of countries on the Security Council |
| **1992** | G4 is formed | Increased discussion on reform |
|  | GA Resolution |  |
| **1995**  | UfC is formed | Diversified discussion on reform |
| **1995** | African Union demands permanent representation | Attention towards African geopolitics |
| **2005** | Annan Plan is signed | Galvanized discussion on reform |
| **2005** | S-5 is formed | Increased discussion on working methods |
| **2005** | UfC requests more non-permanent seats | Growing contention between G4 and UfC |
| **2005** | Ezulwini Consensus signed | Increased demand for African representation |
| **2005** | Ezulwini Consensus and G4 Proposals consolidated | More attention towards African representation, legitimization of G4 claims |
| **2006** | Security Council adopts presidential note S/2006/507 | Legitimization of S-5 views and doctrine |
| **2009** | UfC proposes allocation of seats to regional bodies for extended time periods | Growing contention between G4 and UfC |

**Previous Attempts to Solve the Issue**

**InLarger Freedom**

 In 2005, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan collaborated with the newly-formed General Assembly working group to draft an outline for the reform of the Security council entitled “InLargerFreedom”, which is otherwise referred to as the Annan Plan. The document essentially proposes an endorsement of the doctrine that the Security Council is largely outdated, going forward to suggest that “Model A & B” are used to reform the council, alongside any other suitable treatments. Model A and B refer to the G4’s proposal for expanding permanent and non-permanent seats and the UfC’s proposal for expanding non-permanent seats and restricting the veto respectively.

Because the plan was sponsored and introduced as a General Assembly document, it was unable to yield any operative development in the issue. It did, however, serve to increase discussion on the topic while also reinforcing the G4 and UfC’s perspectives on reform by legitimizing them on the floor of the General Assembly.

**General Assembly Resolution 48/26**

 In 1993, the General Assembly ratified a resolution which established the open-ended working group (OEWG) to eventually present findings on the Security Council which would be incorporated as suggestions to the General Assembly. The resolution was the first to broadly cosign the cause for reform, and the OEWG’s findings largely corroborated the viewpoint by proposing that the Security Council’s composition was completely outdated and unreflective of modern geopolitical realities. Its main finding, however, was the conclusion that dialogue on reform would have to be conducted in a manner isolated to the regular General Assembly. Not only would this resolution provide traction to the movement for reform, the OEWG’s eventual findings created a foundation for IGNs and other constructs relevant to the issue of reform.

**General Assembly Resolution A/61/L.69**

 Ratified in 2007, the General Assembly Resolution consolidated conclusions made by the OEWG and World Summit to create a more cohesive blueprint to the discussion of Security Council reform. In doing so, the General Assembly formally established a platform for informal IGNs on the topic of the Security Council, which would soon become the genesis of modern proposals and perspectives on the issue. In 2008, with General Assembly Decision 62/557, IGNs on Security Council reforms were commenced.

The resolution's impact was profound in facilitating dialogue. Many have attributed the renewal of interests on the Security Council to the passage of this resolution and its establishment of IGNs. Therefore, it can be argued that the resolution gave a platform to the G4 and UfC to further develop their stances on the issue at hand, alongside any other relevant blocs or working groups seized on the Security Council’s reform.

**Expansion of Non-Permanent Seats**

 In 1965, members of the General Assembly successfully arrived at a 2/3s majority to amend Chapter V of the United Nations Charter. With such an unprecedented amendment, the General Assembly decided to expand the number of non-permanent seats on the Council by the addition of four new seats. This amendment to the charter was largely unheard of, especially in relation to a diplomatically-contentious organ of the United Nations.

The United Nations recently applauded the amendment as a force which drastically improved representation on the council. It’s unprecedented nature impacted the Security Council by essentially demonstrating how reform could be exercised, while also indicating the massive need for reform. The unity of nations looking to increase non-permanent seats has also been viewed as the earliest driver to the UN’s aspirations for Security Council reform.

**Possible Solutions**

Please note that all possible solutions, and future solutions proposed by delegates, must be framed as amendments to the United Nations Charter’s Fifth Chapter. Any solutions beyond the chapter’s mandate will not be debated or included within this research report.

**Addition of Permanent Seats**

 By amending Chapter V of the UN Charter to include additional permanent seats, delegates would be supporting the demands of the G4, AU and L69 and, as a result, tweak the Security Council’s composition to reflect the contemporary geopolitical situation. However, it is likely that delegates who support such a solution would be met with stringent criticism by the UfC, China and its allies.

**Addition of Non-Permanent Seats**

 By amending Chapter V of the UN Charter to include additional non-permanent seats, delegates would be supporting the demands of the UfC and, as a result, tweak the Security Council’s composition to reflect greater change in geopolitical axes while also providing greater legitimacy to consolidated regional bodies, potentially diluting sovereign identity.

**Plenaries with the General Assembly**

 By amending Chapter V of the UN Charter to allow the SC to convene with the GA regularly, delegates would support the demands of the S-5 and ACT and, as a result, tweak the Security Council’s working methods to improve access and representation, but potentially complicate the Security Council’s operation by increasing the number of potential participants.

**Removal or Restriction of the Veto**

 By amending Chapter V of the UN Charter to restrict, or even abolish the veto, delegates would supplement the UfC’s and S-5’s respective causes. The resolution would create extreme controversy, especially amongst members of the P5, however, would potentially ensure that the Security Council does not serve as a breeding grounds for sovereign hegemony.

**Supervision or Auditing of the Security Council**

 By amending Chapter V of the UN Charter to establish any working group or United Nations mechanism which serves to supervise or audit the Security Council, delegates would support the S-5’s and ACT’s desires for greater transparency, oversight and accountability within the council. While such a solution is extremely potent in its humanitarian side, it is likely that the autonomy and power of the Security Council would be diminished or otherwise reduced by added bureaucracy in its procedures.

**Works Cited**

Banerjee, Ajit M.; Sharma, Murari R. (2007). *Reinventing the United Nations*. Prentice-Hall of India Pvt. Ltd. [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [978-8120332829](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/978-8120332829).

Bardo Fassbender, *UN Security Council Reform and the Right of Veto: A Constitutional Perspective*, Kluwer Law International, The Hague / London / Boston, 1998. [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [90-411-0592-1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/90-411-0592-1).

Bardo Fassbender, 'Pressure for Security Council Reform', in: David M. Malone (ed.), *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, and London, 2004, pp. 341–355.

Bardo Fassbender, 'The Security Council: Progress is Possible but Unlikely', in: Antonio Cassese (ed.), *Realizing Utopia: The Future of International Law*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 52–60.

Drifte, R. (1999). *Japan's Quest for a Permanent Security-Council Seat: A Matter of Pride or Justice?*. Palgrave Macmillan. [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [978-0333699386](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/978-0333699386).

[Hans Köchler](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_K%C3%B6chler), [The Voting Procedure in the United Nations Security Council](http://i-p-o.org/Koechler-Voting_Procedure-UN_Security_Council.pdf), 1991, [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [3-900704-10-4](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/3-900704-10-4)

[Hans Köchler](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_K%C3%B6chler), [The United Nations and International Democracy. The Quest for UN Reform](http://hanskoechler.com/UNID.HTM), 1997, [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [3-900704-16-3](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/3-900704-16-3)

Hassler, Sabine (2012). *Reforming the UN Security Council Membership: The illusion of representativeness*. Routledge. [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [978-0415505901](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/978-0415505901).

McDonald, Kara C.; Patrick, Stewart M.: [UN Security Council Enlargement and U.S. Interests](http://www.cfr.org/international-organizations-and-alliances/un-security-council-enlargement-us-interests/p23363), Council on Foreign Relations, 2010.

Malone, D & Mahbubani, K: ["The UN Security Council – from the Cold War to the 21st Century"](https://www.un.org/webcast/worldchron/trans934.pdf), UN World Chronicle, 30 March 2004.

Nadin, Peter (2016). *UN Security Council Reform (Global Institutions)*. Routledge. [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_%28identifier%29) [978-1138920224](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/978-1138920224).

Runjic, Ljubo, [Reform of the United Nations Security Council: The Emperor Has No Clothes](https://ssrn.com/abstract%3D3065295), *Brazilian Journal of International Law, v. 14, n. 2, 2017*

**Appendix**

*.*

Permanent Seats

Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum

Non-Permanent Seats

Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum Lorem ipsum