

Encounter

BOOKS

NEW YORK



FALL 2015

ENCOUNTER  BOOKS

NEW YORK • FALL 2015

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Dear Reader,

Welcome to the latest from Encounter Books!

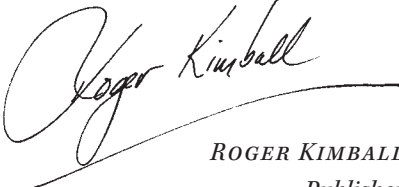
This season, we have a small library of important new books to help you chart your way through the troubled waters of these most interesting times. I wish I had space to say something about all of our new offerings, from Andrew McCarthy's disturbing *Broadside Islam and Free Speech* to *Liberty's Nemesis*, Dean Reuter and John Yoo's sobering book on what the unchecked expansion of government power in the United States means for the future of freedom.

You'll find dull details about these and other forthcoming titles in the pages that follow. Here I'd like to single out a few riveting books:

- ▶ *The Heroic Heart: Greatness Ancient and Modern* by the Hoover Institution's Tod Lindberg offers a fascinating archaeology of that iconic figure, the hero. Drawing on a wide swathe of literary, historical, and philosophical sources, Lindberg traces the evolution of the hero from prehistoric times to the present day. Until recently, the hero was inseparable from prowess in war and conquest. But the modern hero, Lindberg shows, is more likely to exhibit the "saving virtues" than the "slaying virtues" of the past.
- ▶ Have you ever wondered what it would be like to be the child of a Stalin or Hitler, a Mao or Castro, or Pol Pot? *National Review's* Jay Nordlinger asked himself this. The result is *Children of Monsters: An Inquiry into the Sons and Daughters of Dictators*, an astonishing survey of the progeny of 20 dictators. Some were loyalists who admired their father. Some actually succeed as dictator. A few were critics, even defectors. What they have in common, Nordlinger shows, is the prison house of tainted privilege and the legacy of dubious deference.
- ▶ *The Rise and Fall of Violent Crime in Postwar America* by CUNY's Barry Latzer traces the astonishing tsunami of violent crime that swept across urban America in the 1960s and 1970s. Latzer reminds us that there was a time, not long ago, when fear of murder, rape, robbery and assault were endemic. Latzer's sweeping, definitive study shows in vivid and meticulous detail what caused the nightmarish spike in violent crime and what finally tamed it.

You'll find many other incisive new books coming up. Please take a moment to check them out. And take a look, too, at our extensive backlist: it is one of the benefits of producing Serious Books for Serious Readers that our backlist is always current. Finally, please do take a moment to visit us on the web at www.encounterbooks.com.

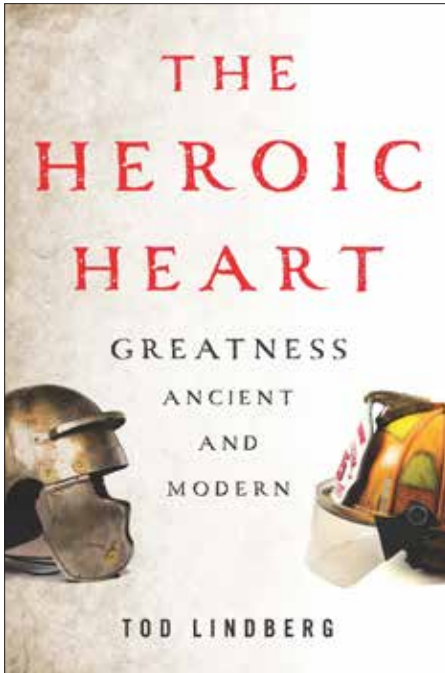
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ROGER KIMBALL
Publisher

Tod Lindberg | *The Heroic Heart*

Greatness Ancient and Modern



WHAT DOES IT MEAN to be a hero? In the *The Heroic Heart*, Tod Lindberg traces the quality of heroic greatness from its most distant origin in human prehistory to the present day. The designation of “hero” once conjured the prowess of conquerors and kings slaying their enemies on the battlefield. Heroes in the modern world come in many varieties, from teachers and mentors making a lasting impression on others by giving of themselves, to firefighters no less willing than their ancient counterparts to risk life and limb. They don’t do so to assert a claim of superiority over others, however. Rather, the modern heroic heart acts to serve and save others. The spirit of modern heroism is generosity, what Lindberg calls “the caring will,” a primal human trait that has flourished alongside the spread of freedom and equality.

Through its intimate portraits of historical and literary figures and its subtle depiction of the most difficult problems of politics, *The Heroic Heart* offers a startlingly original account of the passage from the ancient to the modern world and the part the heroic type has played in it. Lindberg deftly combines social criticism and moral philosophy in a work that ranks with such classics as Thomas Carlyle’s nineteenth-century *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* and Joseph Campbell’s twentieth-century *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*.

TOD LINDBERG is a research fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution. He is the author of The Political Teachings of Jesus and is a contributing editor at the Weekly Standard. He teaches ethics in international relations at Georgetown University. Currently, he lives in Washington and Palo Alto, California.

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New Hardcover



ENCOUNTER BOOKS
2015

SEPTEMBER 2015

PHILOSOPHY & SPIRITUALITY

1-59403-823-6

978-1-59403-823-5

6 × 9" / 256 PAGES

CLOTH / \$25.99

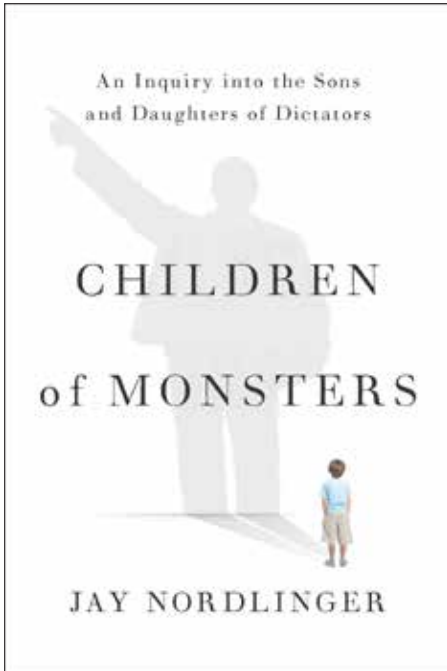
Excerpt

THE MODERN WORLD IS, in short, very good at weeding out and breeding out those of a classically heroic bent who might seek to impose the old slaying ways in service to their personal sense of self. This is good news for the egalitarian ethos, and for the aforementioned peace and personal security of its adherents. But two large problems loom. The first is the potential for a serious outside challenge to the modern world and its ethos. The second, more subtle, is the potential vulnerability of the modern world to internal disintegration.

To restate the first problem more baldly: What if an old-school slaying hero decides to conquer the world, i.e., our world—to conquer and subjugate us? Do we, generous in spirit and reluctant to slay as we are, have the capacity and will to resist? Would we even recognize the threat as it gathered?

And the second: What if our egalitarian ethos contains the seeds of its own destruction? Could illiberal internal forces use the doctrines and practices of freedom and equality to further a hidden agenda asserting their own claim of superiority? And if so, again, would we see it coming in time to act?

I wish these questions were merely hypothetical or theoretical. Unfortunately, they are not. In fact, they are frighteningly well-grounded historically. Before the collapse of Soviet communism gave impetus to the “end of History” vogue first popularized by Francis Fukuyama and still propounded with minimal alteration by the seers of globalization, the regnant impression among serious twentieth century thinkers ran quite the opposite direction: Far from pointing to the inevitability of progress, defined as the spread of liberal, democratic, capitalism — for our purposes, the modern world — the ghastly historical record of the twentieth century was mainly seen to constitute precedent for human-caused death and destruction on an ever more massive scale. The human propensity for assertion of claims of superiority and the seeking of exactions from the weaker, combined with the progress of technology and its capacity to kill people in exponentially increasing numbers, could best be understood as the precursors of Armageddon.

An Inquiry into the Sons and Daughters of Dictators

SOME YEARS AGO, the author, Jay Nordlinger, visited Albania to give a talk under State Department auspices. Albania was about ten years beyond the collapse of Communism. For almost 40 years, the country had been ruled by one of the most brutal dictators in history: Enver Hoxha. Nordlinger wondered whether this dictator had had children. He had indeed: three of them. And they were still in Albania, with their 3 million fellow citizens.

Nordlinger wondered, “What are the lives of the Hoxha kids like? What must it be like to be the son or daughter of a monstrous dictator? What must it be like to bear a name synonymous with oppression, terror, and evil?”

In *Children of Monsters*, Nordlinger surveys 20 dictators in all. They are the worst of the worst: Stalin, Mao, Idi Amin, Pol Pot, Saddam Hussein, and so on. But the book is not about them, really. It’s about their children.

Some of them are absolute loyalists. They admire, revere, or worship their father. Some of them actually succeed their father as dictator—as in North Korea, Syria, and Haiti. Some of them have doubts. A couple of them become full-blown dissenters, even defectors. A few of the daughters have the experience of having their husband killed by their father. Most of these children are rocked by exile, prison, and the like.

Obviously, the children have some things in common. But they are also individuals, making of life what they can. The main thing they have in common is this: They have been dealt a very, very unusual hand.

JAY NORDLINGER is a senior editor of National Review and music critic for The New Criterion and City Arts. A native Michigander, Nordlinger lives in New York.



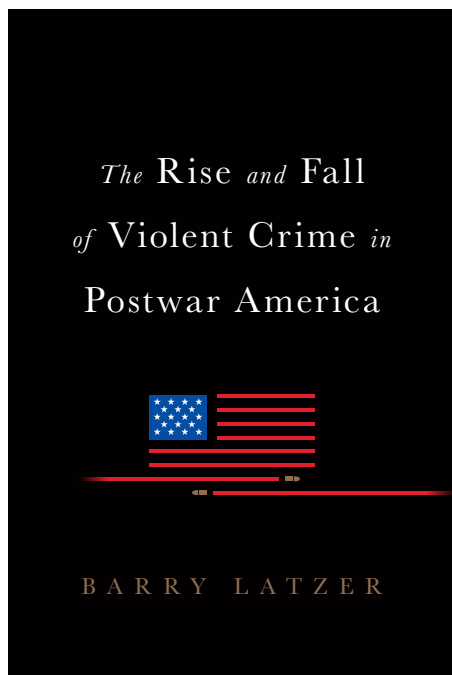
Excerpt

THE REAL POLITICIAN in the [Mussolini] family—after the dictator, of course—is Alessandra: a daughter of Romano and his first wife, Maria Scicolone; a niece of Sophia Loren. Today, she is a member of the European Parliament, and she has been a member of both houses of the Italian parliament: the chamber of deputies and the senate. Mouthy, outrageous, she is one of the most colorful politicians in a country known for colorful politics. Alessandra Mussolini is the Pasionaria of neo-Fascism. And that is the name she uses: Mussolini, though she has long been married to a man named Floriani.

Earlier in her career, she was an actress, singer, and model. She appeared on the cover of *Playboy* (European editions): “The grit of Grandpa Benito, the sex appeal of Aunt Sophia Loren.” Among the movies in which she appeared was *The Assisi Underground*, about a priest who rescued Jews during the war. At first, she was cast as one of the Jews. But this caused an uproar—so she was recast as a nun, Sister Beata.

It was in 1992 that she was first elected to her national parliament. She was 29. Her mother warned her that politics was serious and hard work. She replied that it would be less difficult than her prior work: In the entertainment world, “they don’t care if you’re a good or talented actress, all they want is to see your legs and your breasts. In politics, at least I can say something important and people will believe me.” During her campaign, she defended her grandfather, in various ways. For instance, he was “very modern, one of the first ecologically minded politicians.” Mussolini did not even want “a real tree at Christmas, because it hurt him so much to chop it down.” When she won, she described the victory as “an act of love for my grandfather.”

While a new parliamentarian, she completed her academic studies, obtaining a degree in medicine. She has an unusual résumé: *Playboy* model, doctor, leader of neo-Fascism, etc. (This is in addition to being the granddaughter of Mussolini and the niece of Loren.)



STARTING IN THE late 1960s, the United States suffered the biggest rise in violent crime in its history. Aside from the movement for black civil rights, it is difficult to think of a phenomenon that had a more profound effect on American life in the last third of the 20th century. Fear of murder, rape, robbery and assault influenced decisions on where to live and where to school one's children, how to commute to work and where to spend one's leisure time. In some locales, people dreaded leaving their homes at any time, day or night, and many Americans spent part of each day literally looking over their shoulders.

The Rise and Fall of Violent Crime in Postwar America is a landmark synthesis of criminology and social history that fully explains how and why violent crime exploded across the United States in the late 60s—and what ultimately drove it down decades later. It is the first book of its kind to analyze criminal violence in the U.S. from World War II to the 21st century. It examines crime in the context of all of the major social trends since the World War, including the postwar economic boom and suburbanization, the baby boom and the turmoil of the 60s, the urbanization of minorities, the advent of crack cocaine, the hardening of the criminal justice system and current efforts to contract it. Latzer's sweeping, definitive study at last brings coherence to the bewildering array of explanations for the nightmarish reality that many Americans lived with for decades.

BARRY LATZER is Professor of Criminal Justice and a member of the Doctoral Faculty in Criminal Justice at the CUNY Graduate School and University Center and the Masters in Criminal Justice Faculty at John Jay. He lives in New York City.



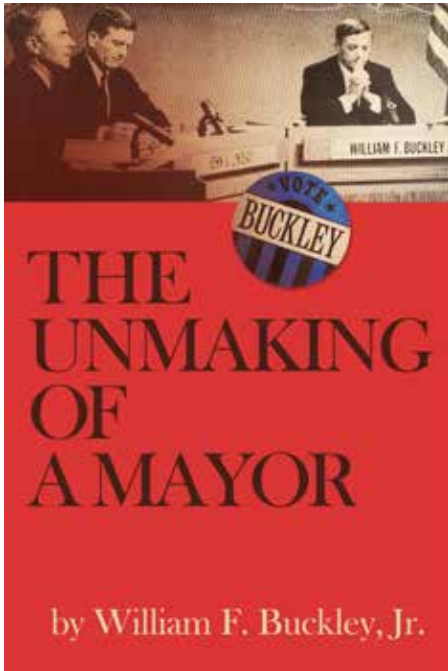
Excerpt

THE IMPORTANT POINT is that interracial violence was real, not some figment of white prejudice. The fact that intraracial violence was higher still does not alter this conclusion. Indeed, black-on-white assaults were one of the most characteristic features of the post-60s crime wave and they would have major consequences for the nation.

First, they made whites more fearful of blacks, which exacerbated racial tensions and may have slowed racial integration. As criminologists Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins observed, “the reality of high levels of violence among African-American males reinforces white fear in ways that palpably contribute to the exclusion of blacks from the social mainstream.” White apprehension also probably emboldened black criminals. Being street-wise, young thugs readily sensed fear on the part of potential victims. Even police, who were in the 1960s overwhelmingly white (though this was beginning to change), seemed to be more cautious and less aggressive in high crime black neighborhoods. Certainly during the post-60s years, they were arresting smaller and smaller proportions of perpetrators, though this probably was due to the “swamping” effect of the massive increase in crime.

Second, racial fears related to black violent crime helped drive the great white flight to the suburbs – which effectively increased the proportion of African-Americans in inner cities. In fact, working and middle-class black families also fled to the suburbs, sharpening still further the concentration of poverty in inner-city neighborhoods. Black-on-white crime may have been unmentionable in polite circles, but the reality was clear to everyone. The general public—both whites and the burgeoning black middle class—simply voted with its feet, shunning inner cities and their growing proportions of low income African-Americans.

Third, interracial crime and high violent crime generally—it wasn’t all about race—fueled intensive public pressure to beef up the criminal justice system. The system, as detailed below, had grown soft in the 60s, catching fewer criminals and underpunishing them when they were apprehended. Starting in the 1970s, more offenders were incarcerated, prison sentences grew longer, parole policies were tightened and the death penalty was reinstated. Although the U.S. Supreme Court expanded defendants’ rights, thus making convictions more rather than less difficult, it also gave approval to plea-bargaining, which made the system more efficient. Had full jury trials been required to convict it would have been impossible for the criminal justice apparatus to cope with the massive increase in criminal prosecutions.



JOHN V. LINDSAY was elected mayor of New York City in 1965. But that year's mayoral campaign will forever be known as the William F. Buckley, Jr. campaign. "As a candidate," Joseph Alsop conceded, "Buckley was cleverer and livelier than either of his rivals." And Murray Kempton concluded that "The process which coarsens every other man who enters it has only refined Mr. Buckley."

A midcentury classic, Buckley's *The Unmaking of a Mayor* is a time capsule of the political atmosphere of America in the spring of 1965. Buckley diagnoses the multitude of ills that plagued New York and other major cities: crime, narcotics, transportation, racial bias, mismanagement, taxes, and the problems of housing, police, and education. His nimble dissection of these issues constitutes an excellent primer of conservative thought.

A good pathologist, Buckley shows that the diseases afflicting New York City in 1965 were by no means of a unique strain, and compares them with issues that beset the nation at large. Buckley offers a prescient vision of the Republican party and America's two-party system that will be of particular interest to today's reader. *The Unmaking of a Mayor* ends with a wistful glance at what might have been in 1965.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. was born in New York City in 1925. He founded National Review magazine in 1955. He was the author of more than 40 books, and was the host for more than 30 years of the television show Firing Line. He died in 2008.

Excerpt

THE FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE. The birds and beasts were there—reporters, several dozen of them; television cameras from all the networks; newscasters from all the radio stations. The meeting was at the Overseas Press Club. Neal Freeman, a young man (twenty-four) of enormous talent and savvy who had worked at *National Review* during the preceding two years, was in charge of the arrangements. It had been decided that the Conservative Party would not officially participate in the press conference because to do so would be to anticipate the Conservative Party's ratification of my candidacy, which would have been improper. So that it was, formally speaking, just myself and Freeman.

A half-hour before the thing began, looking over one of the hundred copies of my prepared announcement, I suddenly noticed that by error the stenographer had reproduced an early rather than my finished draft. Everyone in the office of *National Review* was transformed, during the ensuing minutes, into typists, stencil-cutters, mimeographers, Xeroxers, as we rushed to put together at least a half-dozen copies to give out to those at the press conference with the most pressing deadlines. The few minutes that were to be given over to a hasty conference to attempt to anticipate the most embarrassing questions the press might ask ("What exactly did Senator Goldwater say to you when you spoke to him?" "Why didn't you oppose John Lindsay in the Republican primary?" "Who will compose the balance of your ticket?") were spent typing copy, in some cases hunt-and-peck, stapling, collating.

It was a terribly hot day. The large room was without air-conditioning. Twice I began, twice the television crews stopped me as they made adjustments. Finally, "Okay, go ahead."

I began again:

I propose to run for Mayor of New York.

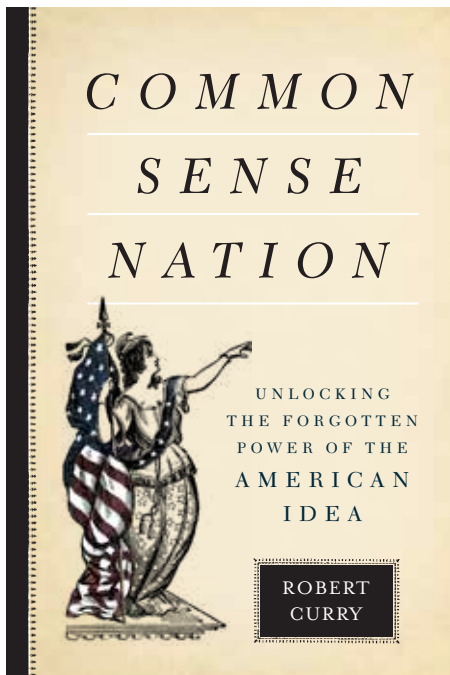
I am a Republican. And I intend, for so long as I find it possible to do so—which is into the visible future—to remain a Republican. I seek the honorable designation of the Conservative Party, because the Republican designation is not, in New York, available nowadays to anyone in the mainstream of Republican opinion. As witness the behavior of the Republican Party's candidate, Mr. John Lindsay, who, having got hold of the Republican Party, now disdains the association; and spends his days, instead, stressing his acceptability to the leftwardmost party in New York, the Liberal Party.

Robert Curry

INTRODUCTION BY
VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

Common Sense Nation

*Unlocking the Forgotten Power
of the American Idea*



“We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

THIS SENTENCE is perfectly familiar. We know it as a core principle of our founding. But few, if any of us consider why Jefferson wrote it in exactly this way. Why “unalienable rights” and not simply rights? Why “self-evident” truths and not simply truths? Why does the Declaration make these distinctions? Do they really matter?

If these questions are challenging or Jefferson’s words seem esoteric, it is because we no longer conduct our politics in the language of the Founders and we are no longer able to think as they once thought. In Congress and the media, political arguments are advanced by a torrent of policy studies and “expert” opinions—not on the basis of self-evident truths, unalienable rights, and definitely not in the language of the Founders.

Common Sense Nation is a potent *re*-introduction to the political ideas of the Founders—in their own words and on their terms. It is dedicated to the proposition that the only way to fully unlock the profound and distinctive power of American self-government is to understand it as its inventors did. *Common Sense Nation* reclaims the language of liberty from entities that prefer to interpret our freedoms for us. For in knowing the Founders as they knew themselves, readers will learn the surprising depths of their own political powers as American citizens.

ROBERT CURRY serves on the Board of Directors of the Claremont Institute. His reviews and articles have appeared in the Claremont Review of Books, The Federalist, The American Thinker, and elsewhere.



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New Hardcover



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2015

OCTOBER 2015

HISTORY

1-59403-825-2

978-1-59403-825-9

6 × 9" / 152 PAGES

CLOTH / \$23.99

Excerpt

AT THE AGE OF 25 in 1776, Madison was a newly-elected delegate appointed to the committee to prepare a constitution and a declaration of rights for Virginia. Because of his youth and junior status, he kept a very low profile on the committee—until the work on the declaration of rights came to the issue of religious conscience. George Mason, who dominated the committee’s proceedings, proposed “the fullest Toleration in the exercise of religion.”

But toleration did not go nearly far enough for Madison, and Mason’s proposal aroused him to action. He proposed instead that religious liberty be declared, in his words, “a natural and absolute right.”

Madison, you see, was a true revolutionary. The Revolution for him was not simply a matter of replacing the Colonial government with a new, indigenous government in order to address issues of taxation and trade and, like the Virginia colony, enact its own Toleration Act. The Bill of Rights makes this clear. Drafted by Madison, it forbade Congress even to legislate about an established religion. America was not going to have an official and preferred religion. Here are the first ten words of the Bill of Rights, as found in the First Amendment: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion. . .”

Madison was fighting for a radical re-conception of the relationship of mankind and the state. For Madison, liberty of conscience is a natural and unalienable right of the individual. And, according to the Founders, so it is for all of our rights. The eminent philosopher Daniel Robinson got it just right in his brilliant paper “Do the people of the United States form a nation?”

The rights in question are not the gift of enlightened government nor an offshoot of the Magna Carta, nor some sort of compact or social contract. The rights were there all along, and no government can claim validity or authenticity or the fidelity of the governed unless it is based on just this recognition.

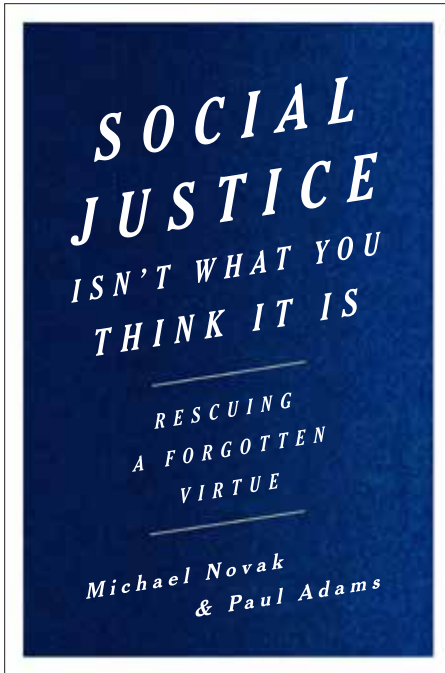
“The rights were there all along.” That is to say, our rights are inherent, part of our nature as human beings, unalienable.

In order to understand the Founders, we need to recognize their intent: to design America’s government guided by this new understanding of the nature of our rights, and, insofar as possible, to design government so as to protect and preserve those rights.

Michael Novak
and Paul Adams

Social Justice Isn't What You Think It Is

Rescuing a Forgotten Virtue



WHAT IS social justice? For Friedrich Hayek, it was a mirage—a meaningless, ideological, incoherent, vacuous cliché. He believed the term should be avoided, abandoned, and allowed to die a natural death. For its proponents, social justice is a catchall term that can be used to justify any progressive-sounding government program. It endures because it venerates its champions and brands its opponents as supporters of social injustice, and thus as enemies of humankind. As an ideological marker, social justice always works best when it is not too sharply defined.

In *Social Justice Isn't What You Think It Is*, Michael Novak and Paul Adams seek to clarify the true meaning of social justice and to rescue it from its ideological captors. In examining figures ranging from Rosmini, Hayek and Abraham Lincoln, to Popes Leo XIII, John Paul II, and Francis, the authors reveal that social justice is not a synonym for “progressive” government as we have come to believe. Rather, it is a virtue rooted in Catholic social teaching and developed as an alternative to the unchecked power of the state. For big government, they argue, is too out of touch with the millions of individual wills at play in society and too domineering for their own humane intentions.

In this surprising reinterpretation, “social justice” represents an immensely powerful virtue for nurturing personal responsibility and building the human communities that can counter the widespread surrender to an ever-growing state.

MICHAEL NOVAK is distinguished visiting professor at Ave Maria University in Florida, after thirty-two years in the chair in religion and public policy at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, DC.

PAUL ADAMS is professor emeritus of social work at the University of Hawai'i.



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NOVEMBER 2015

CURRENT AFFAIRS & POLITICS

1-59403-827-9

978-1-59403-827-3

6 X 9 / 408 PAGES

CLOTH / \$27.99

Excerpt

UNTIL THE 1930s, most education in America, especially in Sunday school, at the YMCA, and through the McGuffey Readers in the schools, concentrated on training in character, on bringing up Americans of sound habits. Why? Because if people do not know how to manage their passions and emotions when they make decisions, they cannot govern themselves. “Confirm thy soul in self-control,” runs the old hymn; “Thy liberty in law.” Citizens who cannot practice self-control cannot succeed at republican self-government. Without self-controlled citizens, the American experiment must fail.

To return to the main theme: Virtue is something you have to learn and master through practice. True, some people are seeming “naturals” in some of their actions and hardly have to learn a new habit; it is gift they are born with. For others, this or that virtue is a hard-earned modification of the person. Once attained, it is a stable characteristic of an individual. George Washington had a combustible temper when he was young, but by middle age he had disciplined it to his legendary calm.

Now, is social justice such a virtue? As Friedrich Hayek points out, most of those who use the term today do not talk about what individuals can do. They talk about what government can do. They talk about social justice as a characteristic of political states. They mean, in particular, situations of inequality, to be remedied by state-enforced redistribution. In most modern progressive usage, the cry for social justice is not a cry for greater virtue on the part of the citizenry. Indeed, the citizenry is deemed to lack sufficient virtue to such an extent that the state must intervene, and effect by coercion the redistribution that individuals lack the virtue to effect on their own.

In brief, Hayek’s challenge is the following: Either the modern term “social justice” refers to a virtue to be practiced by individuals—in which case it retains its claim to the traditional language of virtue—or else it refers to a state of affairs in society, in which case it is not about individuals or their habits at all. The problem, then, boils down to this: if social justice is not a virtue, its claim to moral standing falls flat.

DAVID E. BERNSTEIN

The Obama Administration's
Unprecedented Assault on the
Constitution and the Rule of Law



PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA has presided over one constitutional debacle after another, with his administration brazenly ignoring the rule of law whenever Congress fails to rubberstamp his initiatives. When confronted with this legacy of law-breaking, Obama can only muster a taunt, “so sue me!”

It wasn't supposed to be this way. Obama ran for president in 2008 as a candidate whose administration would prioritize respect for the Constitution and the rule of law after years of perceived neglect.

In *Lawless*, David E. Bernstein traces how and why Candidate Obama's promises fell to the wayside in a presidential administration marked by serial betrayals of the Constitution. Bernstein examines the full litany of Obama's illicit activities, including illegally bombing Libya, legalizing millions of illegal immigrants after Congress rejected legislation designed to do so, ignoring, amending, and delaying provisions of Obamacare to suit his political convenience, and otherwise making a mockery of the president's constitutional duty to faithfully execute the nation's laws.

From illegal bailouts for auto worker unions to nationalizing elementary education without congressional vote, from harassment of political opponents to clampdowns on religious freedom, the Obama Administration has set dangerous precedents more appropriate for a banana republic than the United States of America. Even as the U.S. swings into the next election season, Bernstein warns that Congress, the courts, and the next president must decisively reject Obama's lawlessness, or our constitutional system will suffer permanent damage.

DAVID E. BERNSTEIN is the George Mason University Foundation Professor at the George Mason University School of Law in Arlington, Virginia.



Excerpt

EVEN AS THE partisan political divide continues to widen, one thing has long united Democratic and Republican presidents—aggressively expanding presidential prerogatives at the expense of Congress. Presidents are naturally inclined to test the legal and political limits of their power. In part, this is because politicians naturally desire to get as much political power as they can. But in part, it's because the Constitution's original design has been upended by the evolution of American politics.

Congress, not the president, is supposed to have primary responsibility for most lawmaking. In practice, however, the public gives the president credit and assigns him blame for everything that happens under his watch. Presidents want to have as much control as possible over their political fate, even if that means illegally expanding their own authority at the expense of Congress.

Moreover, Congress has found it politically convenient to pass vague, broad laws. The laws give the president and his underlings the authority to work out the details, providing many opportunities for abuse. Finally, the rise of the United States as the greatest military power in the world has concentrated power in the president because he is the commander-in-chief of the American military. Congress, meanwhile, has rarely tried to limit this power.

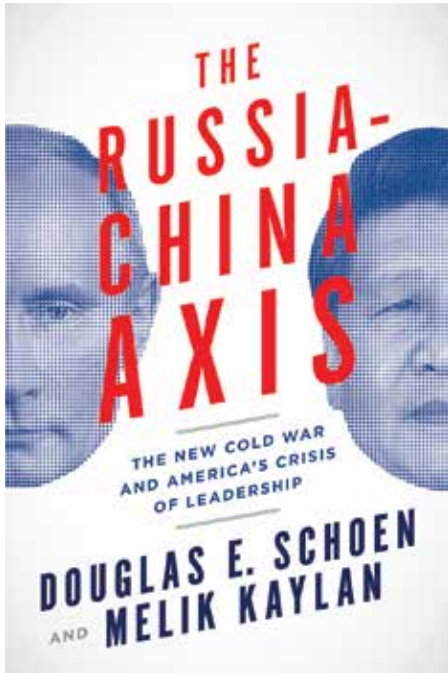
The result since at least the Theodore Roosevelt administration in the early twentieth century has been an ever-expanding “imperial presidency.” Congress enacted a series of reforms in the 1970s after the Watergate scandal and the Vietnam War to try to curb presidential excesses and reassert Congress's authority. These reforms have been largely ineffective, and the president's power has continued to grow under both Democratic and Republican presidents. The George W. Bush administration was especially aggressive in claiming unilateral authority over military and foreign affairs. military and foreign affairs.

To some extent, then, the Obama administration has simply continued trends inherited from its predecessors. Obama, however, has asserted broad presidential prerogative across an unusually wide range of policy areas. As one liberal law professor puts it, “while Obama did not create the uber-presidency, he has pushed it to a new level of autonomy and authority.”

Douglas E. Schoen
and Melik Kaylan

The Russia-China Axis

*The New Cold War and
America's Crisis of Leadership*



THE UNITED STATES is a nation in crisis. While Washington's ability to address our most pressing challenges has been rendered nearly impotent by ongoing partisan warfare, we face an array of foreign-policy crises for which we seem increasingly unprepared. Among these, none is more formidable than the unprecedented partnership developing between Russia and China, suspicious neighbors for centuries and fellow Communist antagonists during the Cold War. The two longtime foes have drawn increasingly close together because of a confluence of geostrategic, political, and economic interests—all of which have a common theme of subverting American power.

While America's influence around the world recedes—in its military and diplomatic power, in its political leverage, in its economic might, and in the power and appeal of its ideas—Russia and China have seen their influence increase. From their support for rogue regimes to their military and nuclear buildups to their aggressive use of cyber warfare and intelligence theft, Moscow and Beijing are playing the game for keeps. Meanwhile America, pledging to “leading from behind,” no longer does much leading at all.

The Russia-China Axis chronicles the growing threat from the Russian-Chinese Axis, and argues that only a rebirth of American global leadership can counter the corrosive impact of this antidemocratic alliance, which may soon threaten the peace and security of the world.

DOUGLAS E. SCHOEN is a regular contributor to the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, and various other newspaper and online publications as well as Fox News. He is based in New York City.

MELIK KAYLAN has written about international politics and culture for the Wall Street Journal, Newsweek, and Forbes. He is based in New York.

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978-1-59403-843-3
6 × 9" / 440 PAGES
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Making David into Goliath | Joshua Muravchik

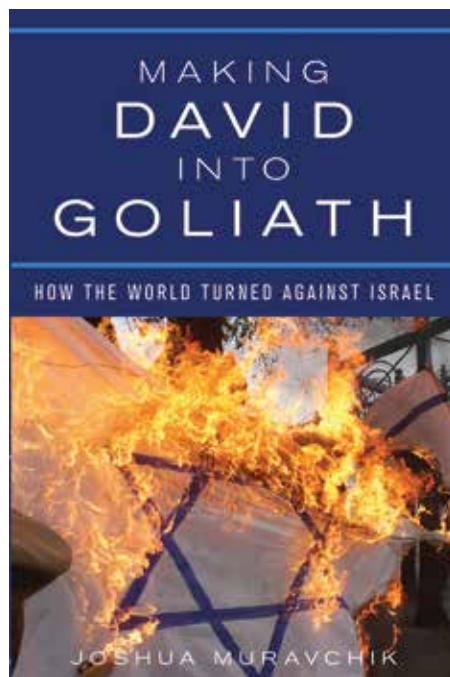
How the World Turned Against Israel

DURING THE Six Day War of 1967, polls showed that Americans favored the Israelis over the Arabs by overwhelming margins. In Europe, support for Israel ran even higher. In the United Nations Security Council, a British resolution essentially gave Israel the terms of peace it sought and when the Arabs and their Soviet supporters tried to override the resolution in the General Assembly, they fell short of the necessary votes.

Fast forward 40 years and Israel has become perhaps the most reviled country in the world. Although Americans have remained constant in their sympathy for the Jewish state, almost all of the rest of the world treats Israel as a pariah.

What caused this remarkable turnabout? *Making David into Goliath* traces the process by which material pressures and intellectual fashions reshaped world opinion of Israel. Initially, terrorism, oil blackmail, and the sheer size of Arab and Muslim populations gave the world powerful inducements to back the Arab cause. Then, a prevalent new paradigm of leftist orthodoxy, in which class struggle was supplanted by the noble struggles of people of color, created a lexicon of rationales for taking sides against Israel. Thus, nations can behave cravenly while striking a high-minded pose in aligning themselves on the Middle East conflict.

JOSHUA MURAVCHIK, a Fellow at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He lives in Washington, D.C.



DECEMBER 2015
HISTORY

1-59403-845-7

978-1-59403-845-7

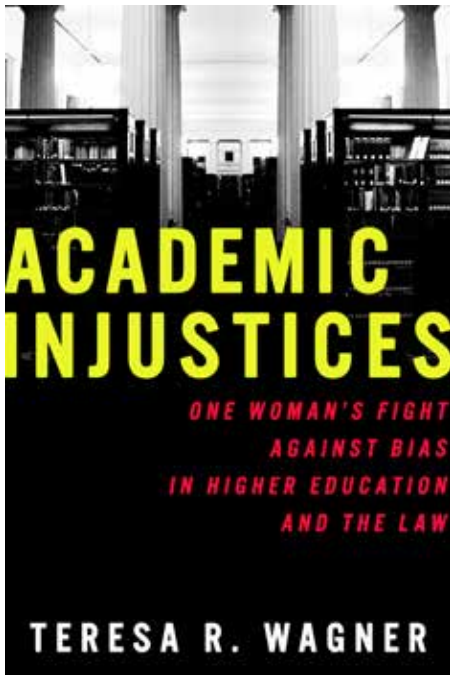
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One Woman's Fight Against Bias in Higher Education and the Law

THIS IS THE personal story of Teresa R. Wagner, attorney, professor, wife and mother who took the University of Iowa College of Law to court for political discrimination based on her conservative and pro-life views. It is an account of one woman's determination to speak truth to power, how her struggle affected her and her family, and how she was ultimately vindicated by a unanimous jury and by two decisions of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals and then by the United States Supreme Court.

Along the way, Wagner exposes the self-interest, cronyism, hypocrisy and bad faith of those in legal education and the justice system—from state law schools to the Attorney General's Office and by trial judges in both state and federal court—all of whom favor the establishment which produced them over the ordinary citizen. Wagner closes with real proposals for real reform, both short and long-term, while warning readers that those who benefit from the current system will fight hardest to preserve it.

This book is a must read for anyone interested in law and policy and especially for recent and future graduates of the nation's law schools, who have perhaps the most to lose in what Colorado law professor Paul Campos calls the "law school scam."

TERESA R. WAGNER is a former lobbyist with the National Right to Life Committee, and a former Legal Analyst for the Family Research Council.



Please Stop Helping Us | Jason L. Riley

*How Liberals Make It Harder
for Blacks to Succeed*

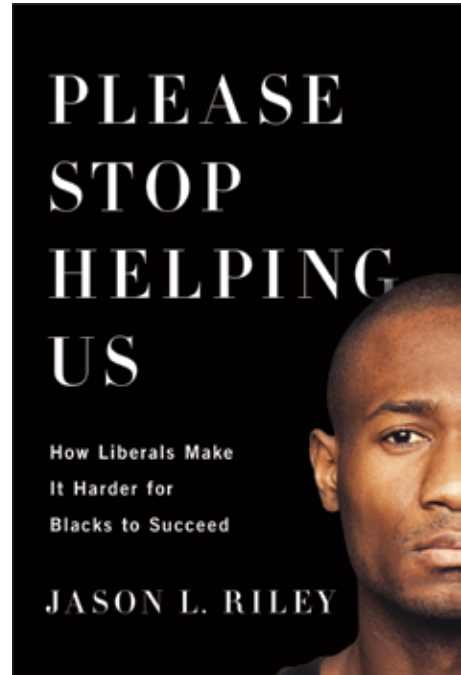
Why is it that so many efforts by liberals to lift the black underclass not only fail, but often harm the intended beneficiaries?

In *Please Stop Helping Us*, Jason L. Riley examines how well-intentioned welfare programs are in fact holding black Americans back. Minimum-wage laws may lift earnings for people who are already employed, but they price a disproportionate number of blacks out of the labor force. Affirmative action in higher education is intended to address past discrimination, but the result is fewer black college graduates than would otherwise exist. And so it goes with everything from soft-on-crime laws, which make black neighborhoods more dangerous, to policies that limit school choice out of a mistaken belief that charter schools and voucher programs harm the traditional public schools that most low-income students attend.

In theory these efforts are intended to help the poor—and poor minorities in particular. In practice they become massive barriers to moving forward.

Please Stop Helping Us lays bare these counterproductive results. People of goodwill want to see more black socioeconomic advancement, but in too many instances the current methods and approaches aren't working. Acknowledging this is an important first step.

JASON L. RILEY is an editorial board member of the Wall Street Journal, where he has worked since 1994, and a Fox News contributor. He lives in suburban New York City with his wife and three children.



JANUARY 2016
CURRENT AFFAIRS & POLITICS
1-59403-841-4
978-1-59403-841-9
6 x 9" / 184 PAGES
TRADE PAPERBACK / \$15.99

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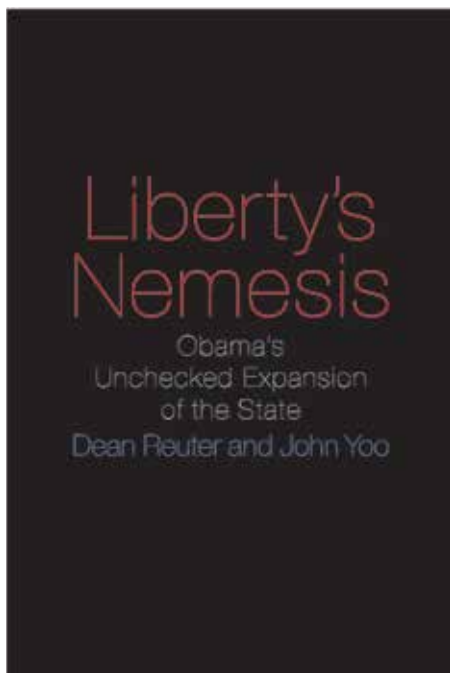
ENCOUNTER BOOKS
2015



Dean Reuter
and John Yoo

Liberty's Nemesis

Obama's Unchecked Expansion of the State



IF THERE HAS been a unifying theme of Barack Obama's presidency, it is the inexorable growth of the administrative state. Its expansion has followed a pattern: First, expand federal powers beyond their constitutional limits. Second, delegate those powers to agencies and away from elected politicians in Congress. Third, insulate civil servants from politics and accountability. Since its introduction in American life by Woodrow Wilson in the 20th Century, the administrative state's has steadily undermined democratic self-government, reduced the sphere of individual liberty, and burdened the free market and economic growth.

In *Liberty's Nemesis*, Dean Reuter and John Yoo collect the brightest political minds in the country to expose this explosive, unchecked growth of power in government agencies ranging from health care to climate change, financial markets to immigration, and more. Many Americans have rightly shared the Founders' fear of excessive lawmaking, but *Liberty's Nemesis* is the first book to explain why the concentration of power in administrative agencies in particular is the greatest – and most overlooked – threat to our liberties today.

If we fail to curb it, our constitutional republic might easily devolve into something akin to the statist governments of Europe. President Obama's ongoing efforts to encourage just such a devolution, and the problems his administration faces as a consequence, present a critical opportunity to defend the original vision of the Constitution.

DEAN REUTER is a senior staff member of the Federalist Society, the premier conservative and libertarian legal group in the country.

JOHN YOO is a law professor at the University of California, Berkeley, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, and a former Bush Justice Department official.



The New Totalitarian Temptation

Todd Huizinga

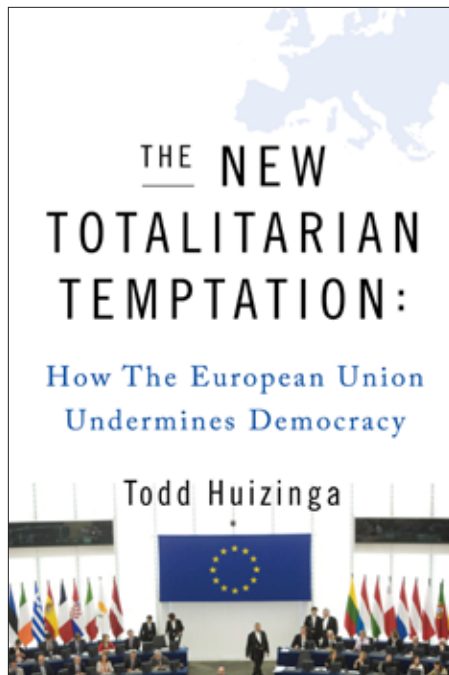
How the European Union Undermines Democracy

What explains the unprecedented results of the May 2014 European elections? Why are long-established political parties in steep decline throughout Europe while protest parties ranging all the way from the far-right to the mainstream to the far-left are on the rise? Do the European elections portend real change in Europe, or will the political elites succeed in further pursuing their agenda of creating a unified Europe without accountability to voters?

The New Totalitarian Temptation: How the European Union Undermines Democracy is a must-read for those who wish to understand the EU at its core. This is the first book to fully expose the EU's commitment to the utopian ideology of global governance, and its ambition to achieve an unprecedented "world peace" by establishing a new, ill-defined global order that would be essentially unaccountable to nation-states and their citizens.

The New Totalitarian Temptation explains how the EU has become inherently anti-democratic and unimpeded by electorates who do not sign on to their utopian vision. It shows how the EU seeks to transform not just the world order, but also remake the very lives of its citizens by promoting policies that deny tradition, local communities, and the basic constancy of human nature. Most dangerous of all, by seeking a global order in which the sovereign powers of all nation-states, including the United States, are severely curtailed, the EU is putting the world's most important alliance—that of America and Europe—at risk.

TODD HUIZINGA is Director of International Outreach for the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty in Grand Rapids, MI. He is currently also a research fellow of Calvin College's Paul B. Henry Institute for the Study of Christianity and Politics.

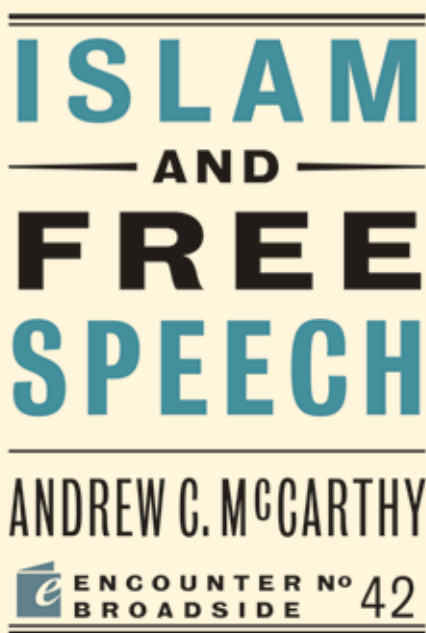


FEBRUARY 2016
CURRENT AFFAIRS & POLITICS
1-59403-789-2
978-1-59403-789-4
6 x 9" / 208 PAGES
CLOTH / \$23.99

New Hardcover

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2015





IN JANUARY 2015, Muslim terrorists massacred cartoonists and writers at the Paris offices of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, proclaiming to be avenging Islam's prophet, whom the magazine had lampooned. The jihadist rampage also included the murders of hostages at a kosher market and police officers, sparking widespread rallies. Government leaders—with the notable exception of President Obama—flocked to France to join millions of citizens carrying “*Je Suis Charlie*” signs in support of free expression. But was the support genuine?

In this Broadside, Andrew C. McCarthy explains how leading Islamists have sought to supplant free expression with the blasphemy standards of Islamic law, gaining the support of Western governments, particularly the U.S. But free speech is the lifeblood of a functioning democratic society and is especially critical to the formulation of national-security policy—to our capacity to understand, protect ourselves from, and ultimately defeat our enemies.

ANDREW C. MCCARTHY, a former top federal prosecutor, is a senior fellow at the National Review Institute, a contributing editor at National Review, and a columnist for PJ Media. He is author of the best sellers Willful Blindness: A Memoir of the Jihad and The Grand Jihad: How Islam and the Left Sabotage America. His most recent book is Faithless Execution: Building the Political Case for Obama's Impeachment.



Excerpt

RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN, the Islamist president of Turkey who has systematically dismantled that country's secular, pro-Western system, similarly pronounces that pressuring Muslims to assimilate in the West "is a crime against humanity."

Free expression is the gateway to assimilation. Consequently, radical Islam cannot tolerate it.

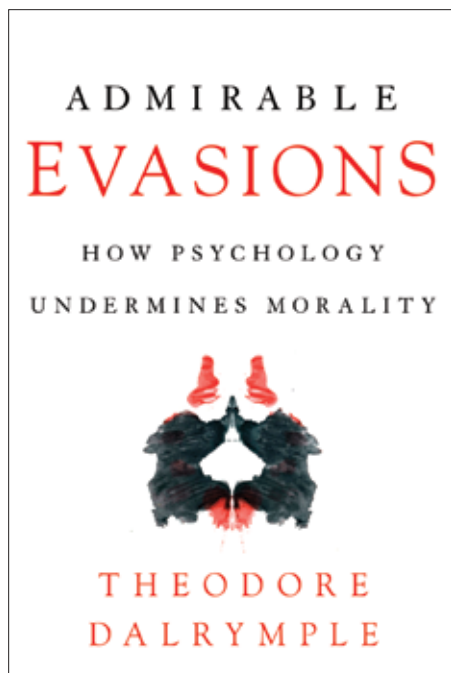
As a result, France is now rife with *zones urbaines sensibles*—"sensitive urban areas." The government officially lists some 751 of them: Islamic enclaves in the *banlieues*, often referred to as no-go zones because the indigenous populations discourage the presence of non-Muslims who do not conform to Islamic standards of dress and social interaction, and of public officials – police, firefighters, emergency medical teams, and building inspectors – who are seen as symbols of the state's effort to exercise sovereignty in areas that Muslims seek to possess adversely.

Some of those zones inevitably evolve into hotbeds of jihadist activity. As the Gatestone Institute's Soeren Kern notes, citing a report by the Middle East Media Research Institute, there has been no shortage of Internet traffic suggesting, for example, "the killing of France's ambassadors, just as the 'manly' Libyan fighters killed the U.S. ambassador in Benghazi." In a low-intensity jihadist thrum stretching back several years, the torching of automobiles has become commonplace: as many as 40,000 cars are burned annually. Perhaps most alarmingly, over a thousand French Muslims, more than from any other Western country, are estimated to have traveled to Syria to fight for ISIS – meaning many will return to the country as trained, battle-hardened jihadists. Beyond the direct ISIS participants, moreover, the *Washington Post* has reported that a recent poll found 16 percent of French citizens expressing some degree of support for ISIS – an organization whose rule over the vast territory it has seized is best known for decapitations, rapine, burning prisoners alive, the execution of homosexuals, mass graves, and the enslavement of non-Muslim communities.

Once one grasps the voluntary-apartheid strategy, it becomes obvious why radical Islam's inroads in France, and elsewhere in Europe, seamlessly translate into demands for the enforcement of sharia's curbs on speech and artistic expression. What is not so obvious is just what a profound challenge to the West this constitutes.

Theodore Dalrymple | *Admirable Evasions*

How Psychology Undermines Morality



IF ALL THE antidepressants and anxiolytics in the world were thrown into the sea, as Oliver Wendell Holmes once suggested, if all psychologists ceased to practice, if all university departments of psychology were closed down, if all psychological research were abandoned, would Mankind be the loser or the gainer, the wiser or the more foolish? Would his self-understanding be any the less? Would his life be any the worse?

In his latest polemic, Theodore Dalrymple argues that most psychological explanations of human behavior are not only ludicrously inadequate oversimplifications that often ignore the most obvious evidence, but they are also socially harmful in allowing those who believe in them to blame their personal distress on their childhood, genes, neurochemistry, or evolutionary pressures—among a multitude of other possibilities.

Admirable Evasions exposes how the fashionable schools of thought in psychology, while each claiming to have achieved deeper insight into human nature than ever before, in fact push further away from the honest self-examination that is necessary in the formation of human character. Instead, argues Dalrymple, they promote the shallow psychobabble of self-obsession without self-examination and the gross overuse of medicines that affect the mind.

Admirable Evasions also considers the metaphysical objections to the assumptions of psychology, and proposes that literature is a far more illuminating window into the human condition than psychology will ever hope to be.

THEODORE DALRYMPLE is a retired physician and psychiatrist. He is a contributing editor of *City Journal* and frequent contributor to the *London Spectator* and *The New Criterion*. He lives in Banne, France.



Dancing with the Devil

Michael Rubin

The Perils of Engaging Rogue Regimes

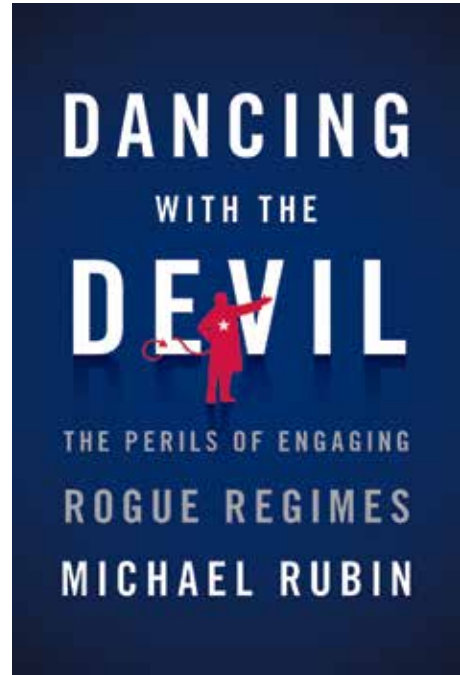
THE WORLD HAS seldom been as dangerous as it is now. Rogue regimes—governments and groups that eschew diplomatic normality, sponsor terrorism, and proliferate nuclear weapons—challenge the United States around the globe. Because sanctions and military action are so costly, the American strategy of first resort is dialogue, on the theory that “it never hurts to talk to enemies.” Seldom is conventional wisdom so wrong.

In *Dancing with the Devil*, Michael Rubin traces the history of American diplomacy with North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya, the Taliban’s Afghanistan, Pakistan and even terrorist groups like the PLO in the 70s and 80s, Hamas and Hezbollah, to demonstrate that engagement with rogue regimes always comes at a high price.

Rubin explains how the argument in favor of negotiation with rogues and terrorists is suffused with moral equivalence—after all, one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter—but rarely does the disastrous record of this strategy come under serious examination.

Dancing with the Devil shows that rogue regimes all have one thing in common: they pretend to be aggrieved in order to put Western diplomats on the defensive. Whether in Pyongyang, Tehran, or Islamabad, rogue leaders understand that the West rewards bluster with incentives and that for U.S. State Department the spectacle of negotiations often means more than results.

MICHAEL RUBIN is a former Pentagon official, is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a senior lecturer at the Naval Postgraduate School.



MARCH 2015
POLITICAL SCIENCE

1-59403-797-3
978-1-59403-797-9
6 × 9" / 432 PAGES

TRADE PAPERBACK / \$17.99

Trade Paperback

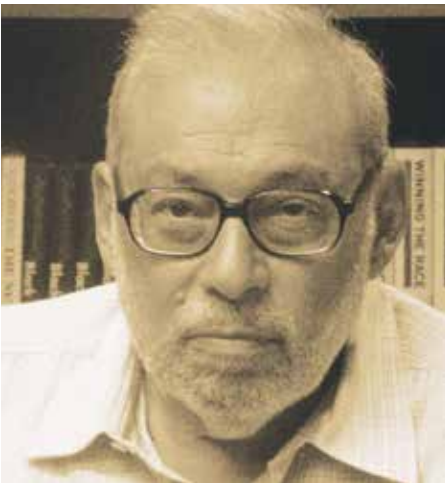
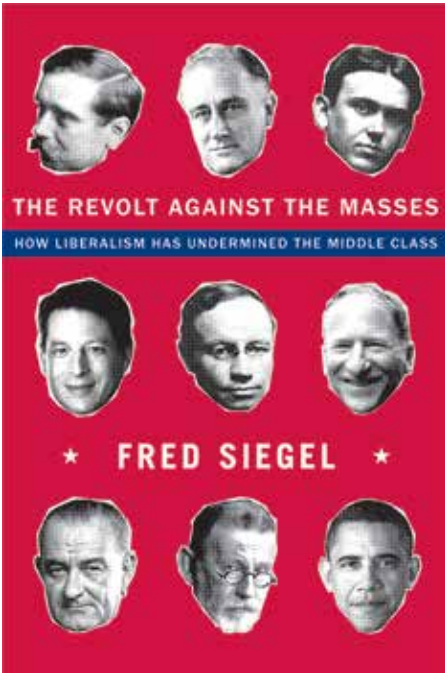
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ENCOUNTER BOOKS
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Fred Siegel | *The Revolt Against the Masses*

How Liberalism Has Undermined the Middle Class



WHAT WE THINK of as liberalism today—the top and bottom coalition we associate with President Obama—began not with Progressivism or the new deal, but rather in the wake of the post-WWI disillusionment with American society.

The Revolt Against the Masses explores the inner life of American liberalism over the past 90 years, beginning with liberalism’s foundational writers and thinkers—such as Herbert Croly, Randolph Bourne, H. G. Wells, Sinclair Lewis, and H.L. Mencken—who despised the new worlds of mass production, mass politics, and mass culture. These liberals sought to establish a true aristocracy that would serve as a counterpoint to the debasements of modern society. It was then in the seminal 1920s, that the strong strain of snobbery and contempt for the middle class, so pervasive today in the Hamptons, the *New Yorker*, HBO, and the Sierra Club, first defined liberalism.

Today’s brand of Barack Obama liberalism has gone further, displacing the old Main Street middle class with public sector workers, crony capitalists, and those elite arbiters of style and taste Siegel calls the liberal gentry. *The Revolt Against the Masses* explains how this came to be and why liberals continue to insist they act on behalf of the best interests of the middle class, even if the damned fools don’t know it.

FRED SIEGEL has written widely on American and European politics and was described as “the historian of the American city” in a November 2011 profile in the *Wall Street Journal*. A former senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., Mr. Siegel is currently a scholar in residence at St. Francis College in Brooklyn and a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute. He lives in Brooklyn, New York.

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APRIL 2015

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978-1-59403-795-5

6 × 9" / 240 PAGES

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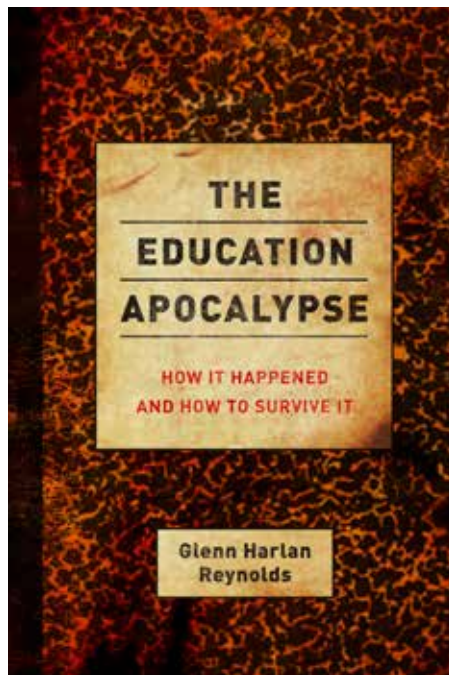
The Education Apocalypse

How It Happened and How to Survive It

Glenn Harlan
Reynolds

FOR DECADES, America invested ever-growing fortunes into its antiquated K-12 education system in exchange for steadily worse outcomes. At the same time, Americans spent more than they could afford on higher education, driven by the kind of cheap credit that fueled the housing crisis. The graduates of these systems were left unprepared for a global economy, unable to find jobs, and on the hook for student loans they could never repay. Economist Herb Stein famously said that something that can't go on forever, won't. In the case of American education, it couldn't—and it didn't.

In *The Education Apocalypse*, Glenn Harlan Reynolds explains how American education as we knew it collapsed—and how we can all benefit from unprecedented power and freedom in the aftermath. From the advent of online education to the rebirth of forgotten alternatives like apprenticeships, Reynolds shows students, parents, and educators how, beyond merely surviving the fallout, they can rethink and rebuild American education from the ground up.



GLENN HARLAN REYNOLDS is the Beauchamp Brogan Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Tennessee. He blogs at InstaPundit.com and writes for The Atlantic, Forbes, Popular Mechanics, the Wall Street Journal, and USA Today. He lives in Knoxville, TN.

MAY 2015

EDUCATION

1-59403-791-4

978-1-59403-791-7

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Trade Paperback

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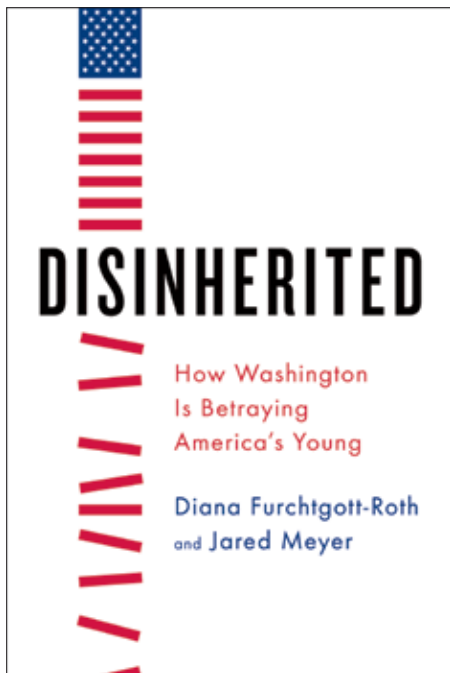
2015



Diana Furchtgott-Roth
and Jared Meyer

Disinherited

*How Washington Is Betraying
America's Young*



IN A SPEECH to high school graduates in Topeka, Kansas, in May 2014, First Lady Michelle Obama told graduates, “I am so proud of all that you’ve accomplished. . . . And I cannot wait to see everything you will achieve in the years ahead.” But these days most young people born between the early 1980s and the beginning of the 21st century, known as millennials, have not known success—and achieving it will be far more difficult than they can even imagine.

Millennials are different from prior generations of Americans: they are the first whose prospects are lower than their parents. Many are giving up on finding work and dropping out of the labor force. In 2013, the percentage of young people employed or looking for work was the lowest since 1972.

In *Disinherited*, Diana Furchtgott-Roth and Jared Meyer explain how our government is stealing from millennials, many of them not even old enough to vote, to pay for lavish services for their grandparents, who do vote. *Disinherited* reveals how our education system is leaving millennials ill-equipped for college and buried under insurmountable mountains of debt. And *Disinherited* exposes how bad labor policy is discouraging young people from finding work.

America’s young people are in a state of crisis engineered, if accidentally, by their parents and grandparents. Their future can be saved, but only if our government’s betrayal comes to an end. *Disinherited* explains how.

DIANA FURCHTGOTT-ROTH is the director of Economics21 and senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.

JARED MEYER is a policy analyst at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.



The Devil's Pleasure Palace

Michael Walsh

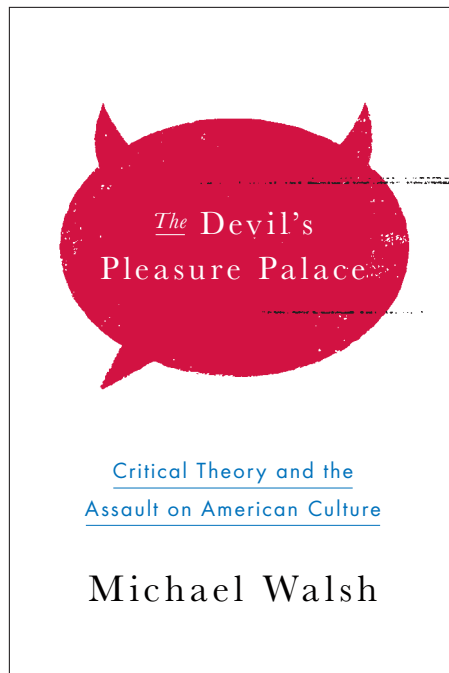
Critical Theory and the Assault on American Culture

IN THE AFTERMATH of World War II, America stood alone as the world's premier military power. Yet its martial confidence contrasted vividly with its sense of cultural inferiority. Still looking to a defeated and dispirited Europe for intellectual and artistic guidance, the burgeoning trans-national elite in New York and Washington embraced not only the war's refugees, but many of their ideas as well, and nothing has proven more pernicious than those of the Frankfurt School and its reactionary philosophy of "critical theory."

In *The Devil's Pleasure Palace*, Michael Walsh describes how Critical Theory released a horde of demons into the American psyche. When everything could be questioned, nothing could be real, and the muscular, confident empiricism that had just won the war gave way, in less than a generation, to a central-European nihilism celebrated on college campuses across the United States. Seizing the high ground of academe and the arts, the New Nihilists set about dissolving the bedrock of the country, from patriotism to marriage to the family to military service. They have sown, as Cardinal Bergoglio—now Pope Francis—once wrote of the Devil, "destruction, division, hatred, and calumny," and all disguised as the search for truth.

The Devil's Pleasure Palace exposes the overlooked movement that is Critical Theory and explains how it took root in America and, once established and gestated, has affected nearly every aspect of American life and society.

MICHAEL WALSH, a former associate editor of *Time* magazine, is the author of six novels and six works of nonfiction, as well as a columnist for the *New York Post* and a contributor to *National Review* and *PJ Media*. He was a winner of the 2004 *American Book Awards* for his novel, *And All the Saints*.



AUGUST 2015
CULTURAL CRITICISM AND EDUCATION
1-59403-768-X
978-1-59403-768-9
6 x 9" / 280 PAGES
CLOTH / \$23.99

Hardcover

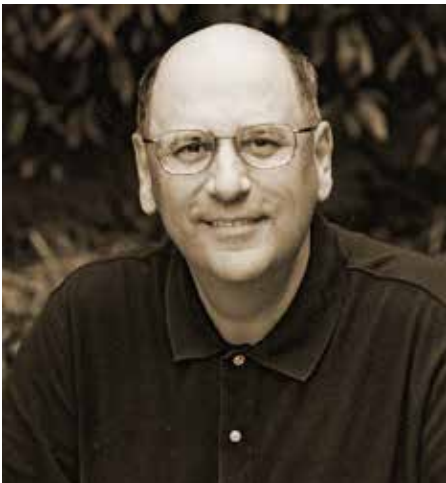
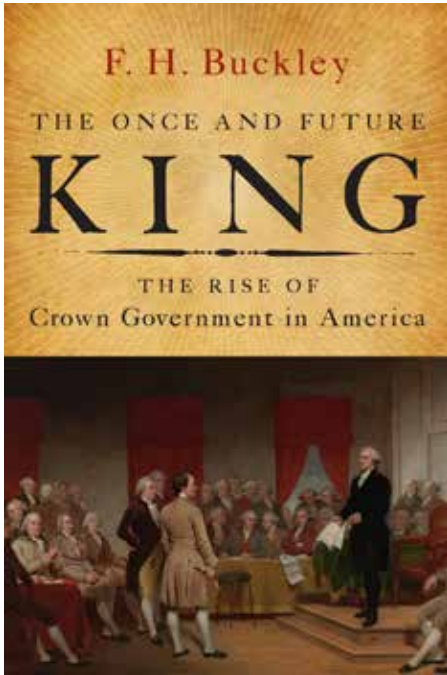
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F. H. Buckley

The Once and Future King

The Rise of Crown Government in America



MOST AMERICANS believe that this country uniquely protects liberty, that it does so because of its Constitution, and that for this our thanks must go to the Founders, at their Convention in Philadelphia in 1787.

F. H. Buckley shatters these myths. America isn't the freest country around, according to the think tanks that study these things. And it's not the Constitution that made it free, since parliamentary regimes are generally freer than presidential ones. Moreover, what we think of as the Constitution, with its separation of powers, was not what the Founders had in mind. What they expected was a country in which Congress would dominate the government, and in which the president would play a much smaller role.

That is not the government we have today. Instead, we have what Buckley calls Crown government: the rule of an all-powerful president. America began in a revolt against one king, and today we see the dawn of a new kind of monarchy. What we have is what Founder George Mason called an "elective monarchy," which he thought would be worse than the real thing.

Much of this is irreversible. Constitutional amendments to redress the balance of power are extremely unlikely, and most Americans seem to have accepted, and even welcomed, Crown government. If there is a way out, it lies in Congress. But Congress must first regain the authority and respect it has squandered.

F. H. BUCKLEY is the author of The Morality of Laughter (978-0-47209-818-7). A native Canadian, he lives in Alexandria, Virginia and teaches at George Mason School of Law in Arlington, Virginia.

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ENCOUNTER BOOKS
2015

JUNE 2015

HISTORY / POLITICAL SCIENCE

1-59403-793-0

978-1-59403-793-1

6 x 9" / 416 PAGES

TRADE PAPERPACK / \$17.99

Iran's Deadly Ambition

Ilan Berman

The Islamic Republic's Quest for Global Power

ARE WE ON the cusp of détente with Iran? Conventional wisdom certainly seems to believe so. In the aftermath of the interim nuclear deal struck in November 2013 between the Islamic Republic and the P5+1 powers (the United States, France, England, Russia, China and Germany), hopes are now running high for a historic reconciliation between Iran's clerical regime and the West.

Yet there is already ample reason for skepticism that the United States and Europe can truly curb Iran's nuclear ambitions by diplomatic means. Moreover, the current focus on Iran's nuclear program on the part of Western governments is deeply dangerous, because it fails to recognize—let alone address—Iran's other international activities, or its foreign policy ambitions. Those objectives, reveals Ilan Berman, are global in scope, and they are growing.

Iran's Deadly Ambition explains how America's retraction from the Middle East has created significant breathing room for an Iranian regime that not long ago was on the political ropes. Economically, the Islamic Republic is "out of the box" that was erected over the past decade-and-a-half by Western sanctions, thanks to the "interim" nuclear deal. As a result, Iran's leaders are again thinking big about their country and its place in the world. America faces stark choices: to confront Iran's nuclear ambitions and global activities, or to accept and accommodate the region's newest hegemon, with all that that portends for American security and the safety of its allies.

ILAN BERMAN is Vice President of the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington, DC. Mr. Berman is a member of the Associated Faculty at Missouri State University's Department of Defense and Strategic Studies.



IRAN'S DEADLY AMBITION

*The Islamic Republic's Quest
for Global Power*

Ilan Berman



AUGUST 2015
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
1-59403-801-5
978-1-59403-801-3
6 x 9" / 224 PAGES
CLOTH / \$23.99

Hardcover

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James Piereson | *Shattered Consensus*

The Rise and Decline of America's Post-War Political Order

SHATTERED CONSENSUS

The Rise and Decline of
America's Postwar Political Order

JAMES PIERESON



IN THE EXCITED aftermath of the 2008 election, many pundits saw Barack Obama as a liberal messiah who would engineer a new era of liberal reform and cement a Democratic majority for decades to come. He would prove to be, they predicted, a Franklin Delano Roosevelt or a Lincoln for our time. It is clear now that Obama and his boosters were deluding themselves.

President Obama came to power near the end of an era when America's post-war system was beginning to come apart under the weight of slowing growth, mounting debt, the rising costs of entitlements, and political polarization. A new president, coming to power in the midst of the financial crisis, might have tried to consolidate that consensus by bringing off compromises to address these challenges. President Obama did very nearly the opposite.

In *Shattered Consensus*, James Piereson tells the story of the rise and decline of the political order that evolved in the 1940s and 1950s around the role of the federal government in maintaining full employment at home and containing communism and promoting freedom abroad. That consensus seemed so strong and durable during the 1950s that many historians and political analysts thought it was a permanent feature of American life. It came under heavy attack during the 1960s from both the left and the right. It held together—barely—during the Reagan and Clinton years, before coming apart altogether under Obama. Today, the effects of America's shattered consensus are evident in all areas of American life, from politics and the economy to popular culture and higher education.

JAMES PIERESON *is president of the William E. Simon Foundation and a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, where he directs the Center for the American University. He lives in New York City.*



The Nixon Effect | Douglas E. Schoen

How His Presidency Has Changed American Politics

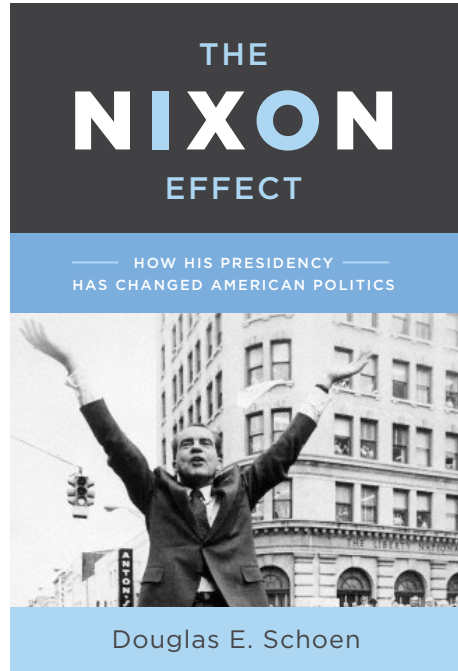
THE *NIXON EFFECT* examines the 37th president's political legacy and makes clear, for the first time, the breadth and duration of Richard Nixon's influence on American political life. In this surprising book, longtime Democratic campaign pollster Douglas E. Schoen argues that in many ways Nixon is the key political figure in post-war American politics.

Nixon's legacy includes a generational shift in the ideological orientations of both the Republicans and Democrats that pushed both parties to their ideological poles. This, taken with Nixon's scorched-earth political warfare and eventually his Watergate scandal, explains Schoen, catalyzed the evolution of politics as war, where adversaries and ideological opponents are seen as unpatriotic or even evil.

The Nixon Effect also examines the pioneering tactics—from the identification of the Silent Majority to the Southern Strategy, from “triangulating” between both parties and claiming the political center to launching the culture war with attacks on “elites” in media, academia, and the courts—that continue to define political strategy to this day.

While other books have argued for Nixon's importance, *The Nixon Effect* is the first to take into account the full range of this complicated man's influence. Without discounting Nixon's misdeeds, Schoen treats his presidency and its importance with the seriousness—and evenhandedness—that the subject deserves.

DOUGLAS E. SCHOEN has been one of the most influential Democratic campaign consultants for over thirty years. Schoen is a regular contributor to the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post and Fox News. He lives in New York City.

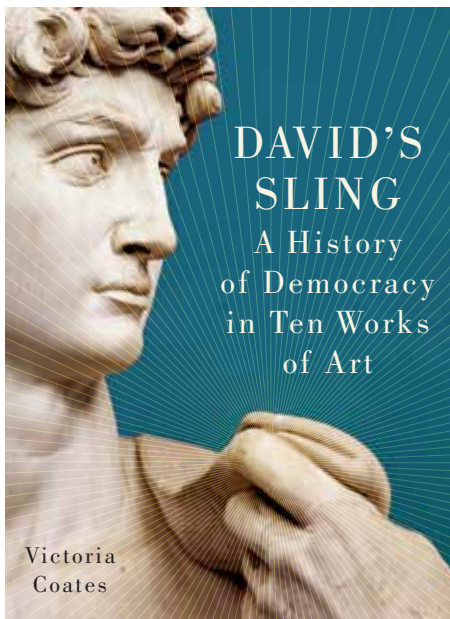


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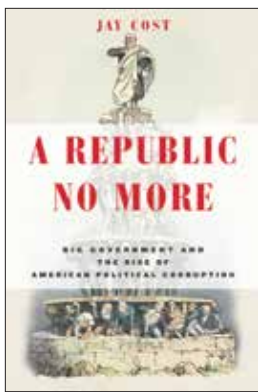
THROUGHOUT western history, the societies that have made the greatest contributions to the spread of freedom have created iconic works of art to celebrate their achievements. Yet despite the enduring appeal of works from the Parthenon to Michelangelo's *David* to Picasso's *Guernica*, histories of both art and democracy have ignored this phenomenon. Millions have admired the works of art covered in this book but relatively few know why they were commissioned, what was happening in the culture that produced them, and what they were meant to achieve. Even scholars who have worked on these objects for decades often miss the big picture as these works have been traditionally studied in isolation.

In *David's Sling*, Victoria Coates integrates the pursuits of creative excellence and human freedom to bring a fresh, new perspective into both lines of inquiry. *David's Sling* places into context ten canonical works of art executed to commemorate the successes of free societies that exerted political and economic influence far beyond what might have been expected of them. The book fuses political and art history with a judiciously applied dose of creative reconstruction to craft a lively narrative around each key work of art and the free system that inspired it. *David's Sling* tells their stories.

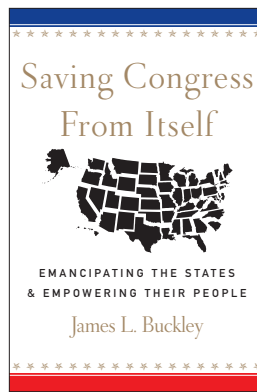


VICTORIA COATES is a cultural historian who received her Ph.D. from The University of Pennsylvania specializing in Italian renaissance studies. She is also a senior fellow at the Commonwealth Foundation, an adjunct fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and a consulting curator at the Cleveland Museum of Art. Dr. Coates lives in Philadelphia with her husband, two children and two dogs.

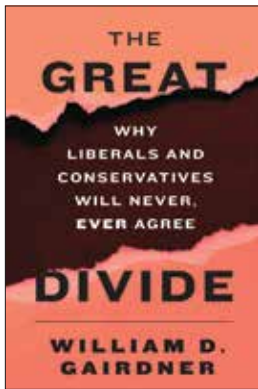




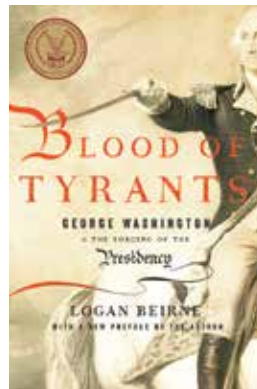
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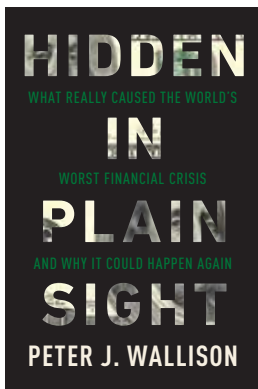
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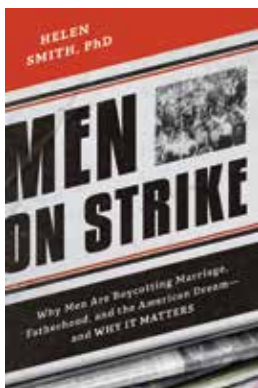
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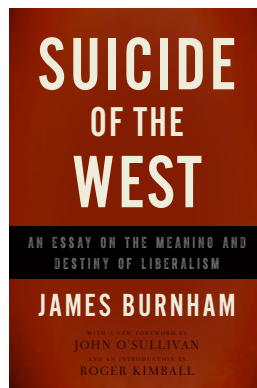
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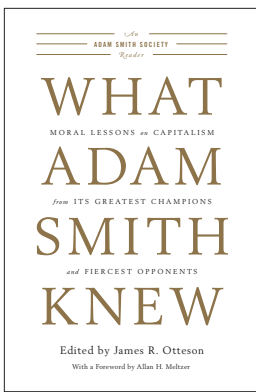
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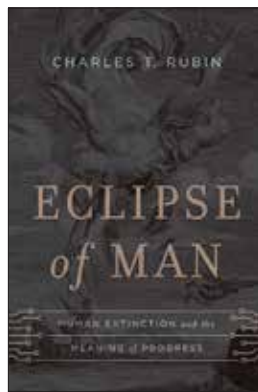
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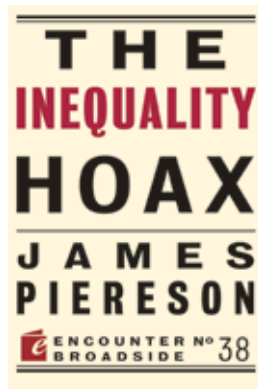
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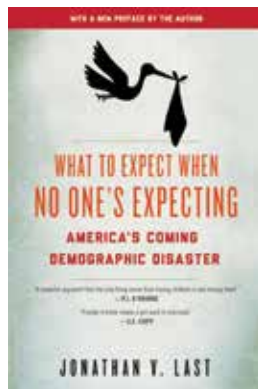
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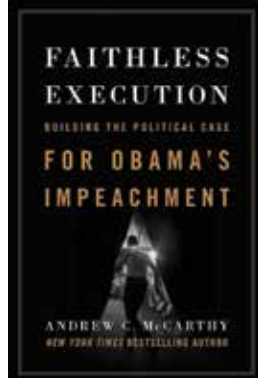
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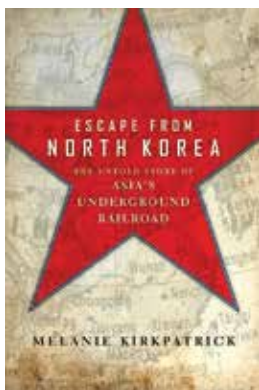
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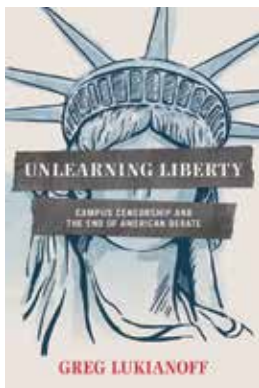
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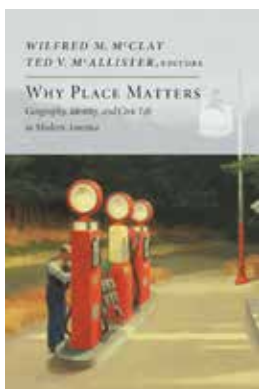
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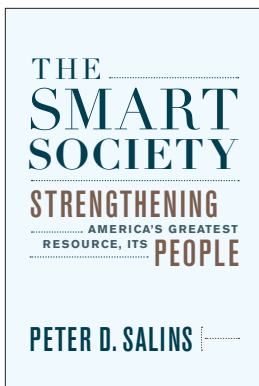
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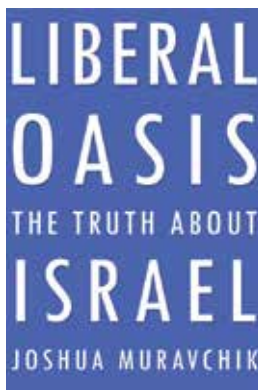
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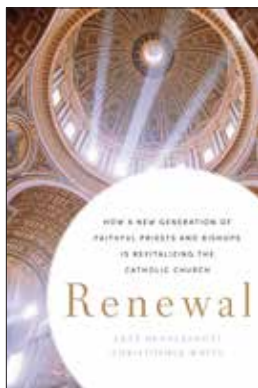
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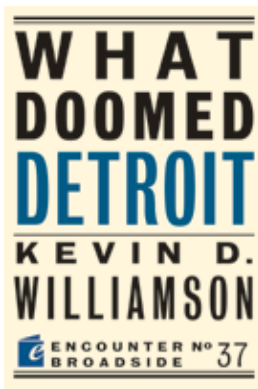
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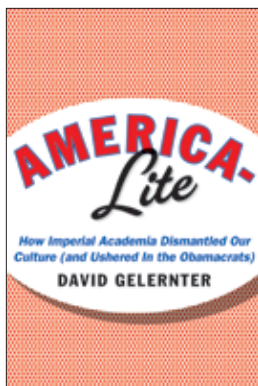
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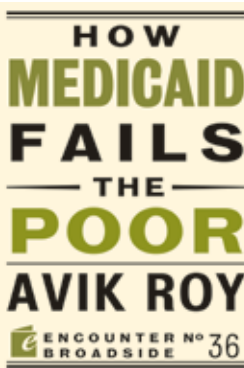
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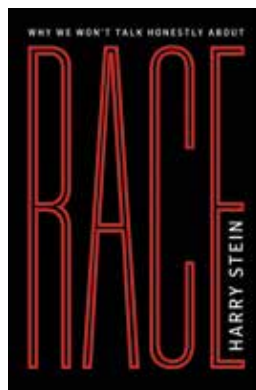


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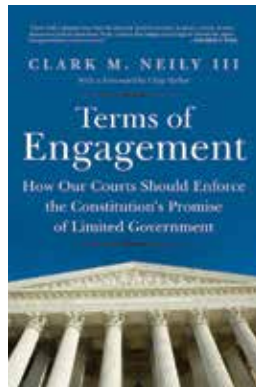
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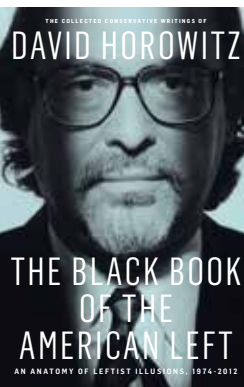
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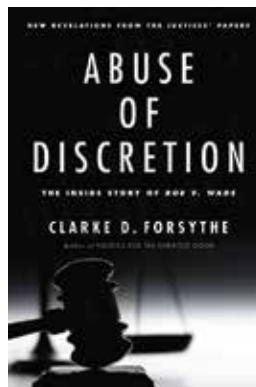
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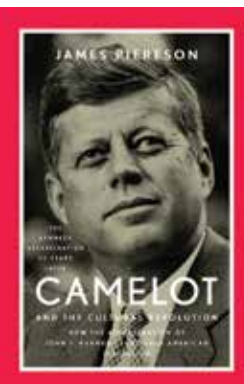
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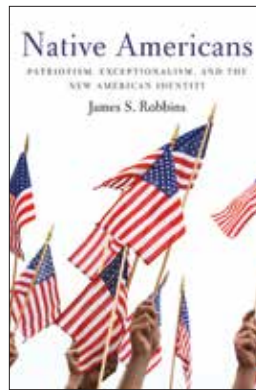
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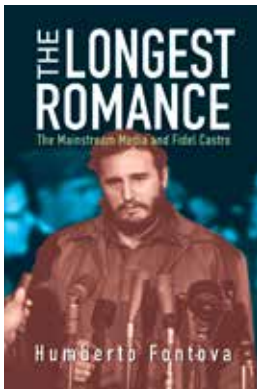
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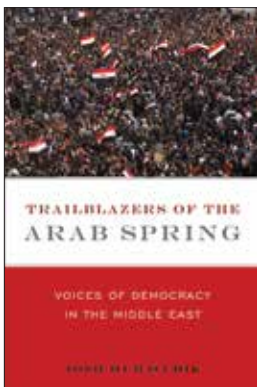
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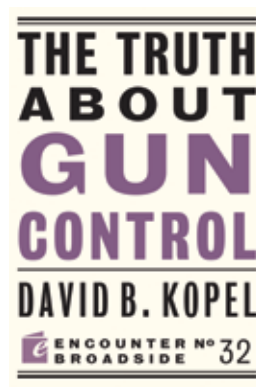
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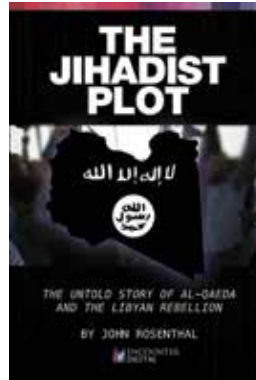
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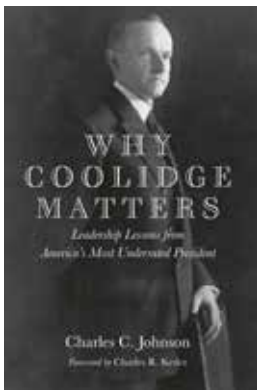
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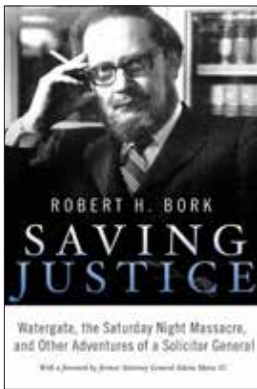
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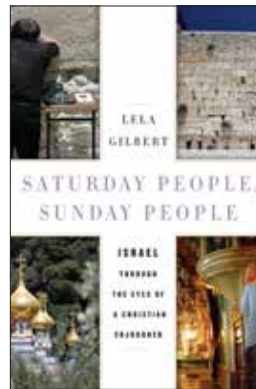
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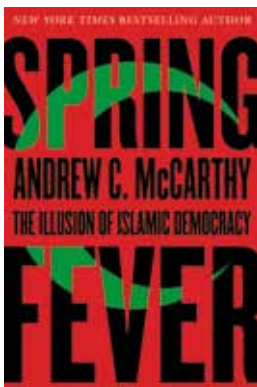
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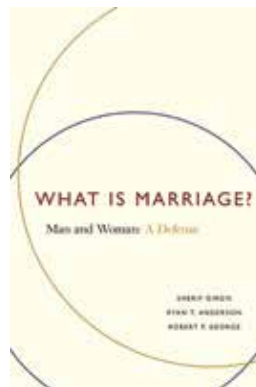
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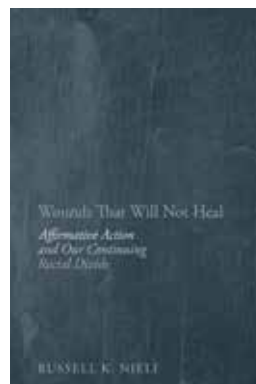
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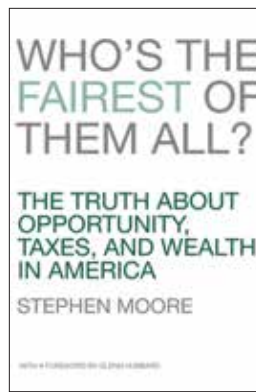
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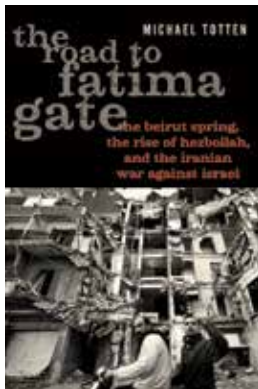
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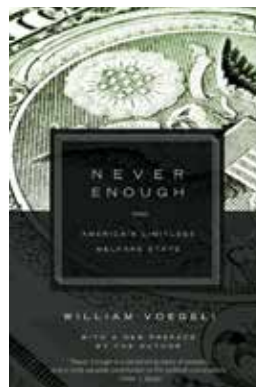
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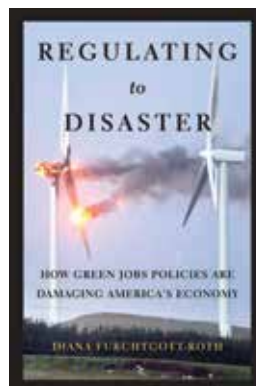
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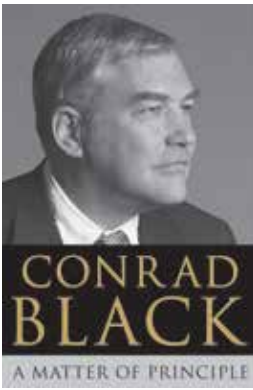
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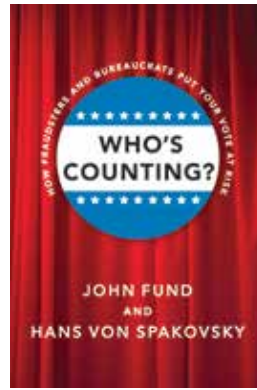
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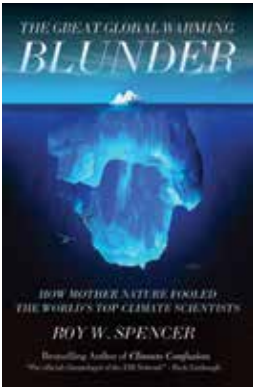
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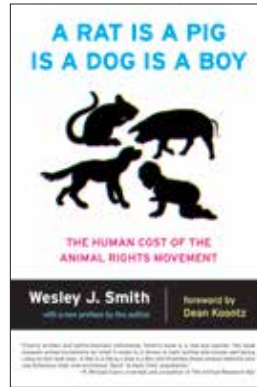
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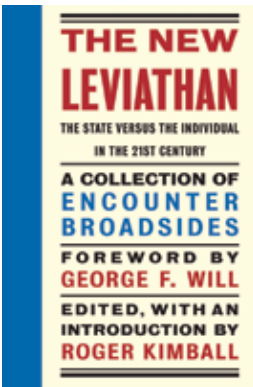
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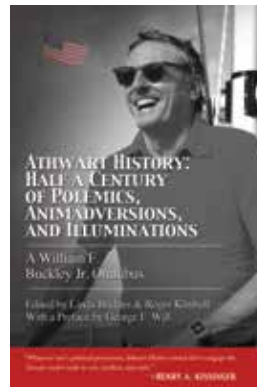
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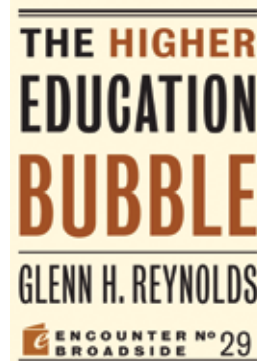
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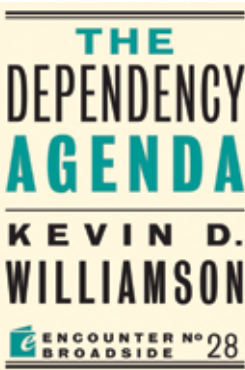
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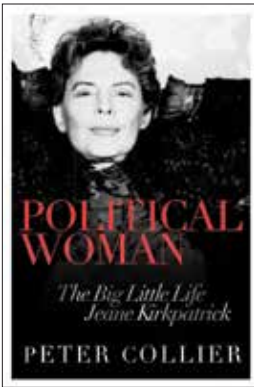
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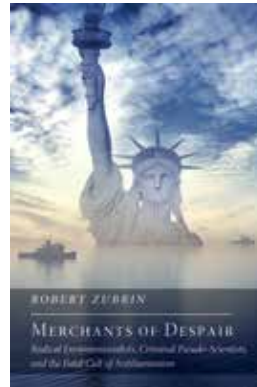
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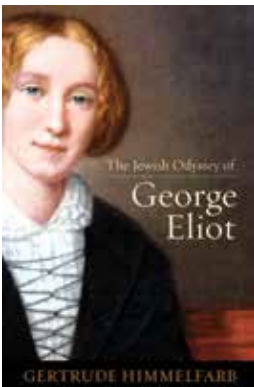
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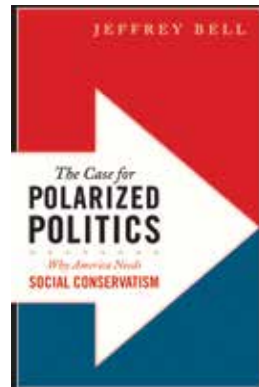
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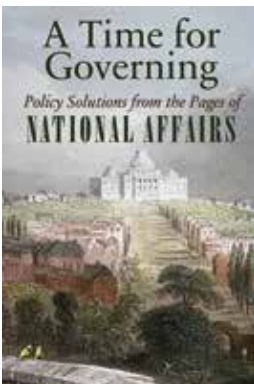
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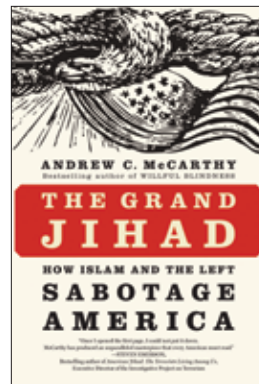
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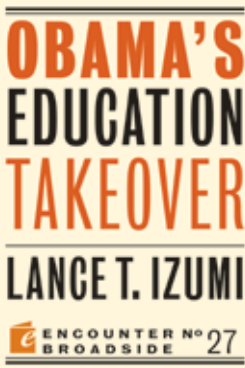
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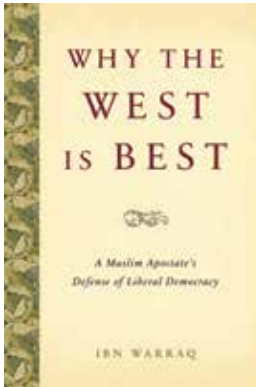
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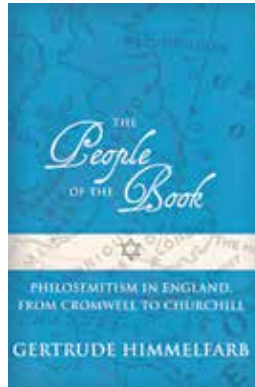
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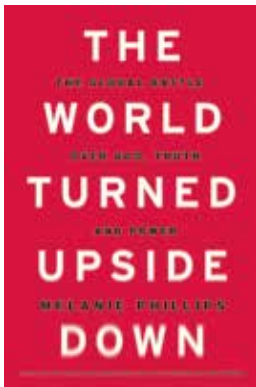
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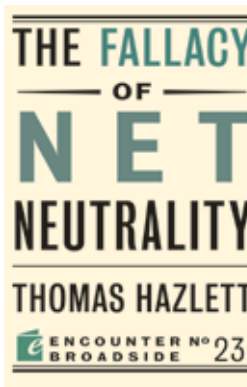
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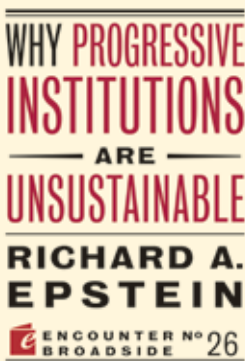
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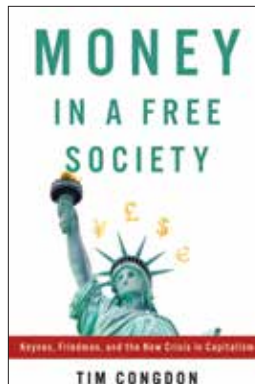
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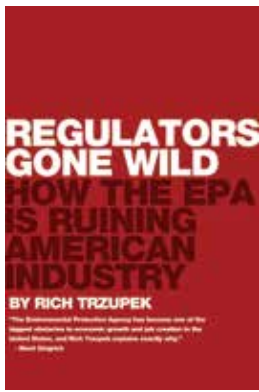
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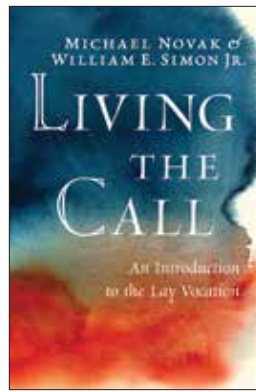
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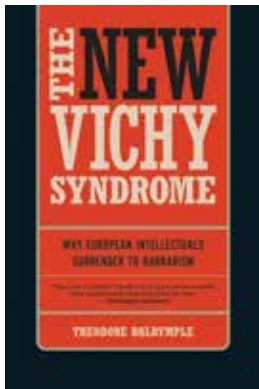
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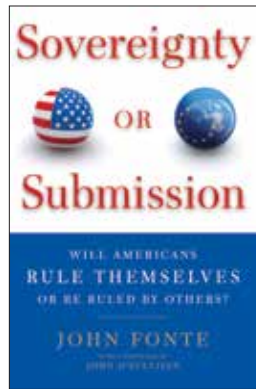
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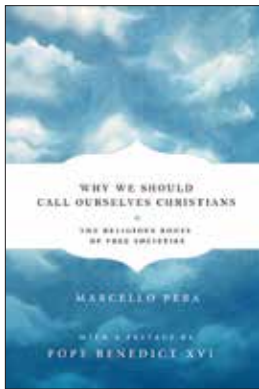
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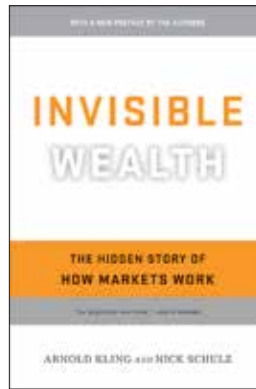
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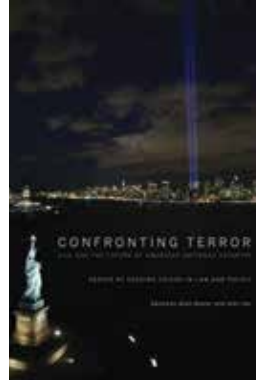
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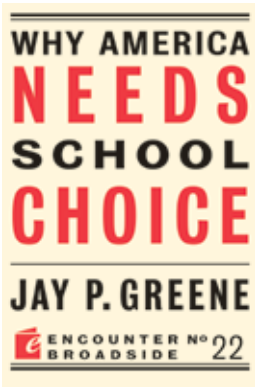
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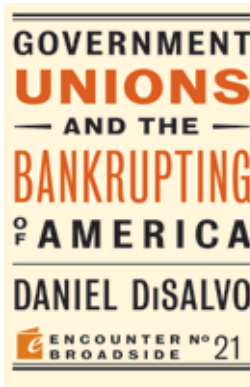
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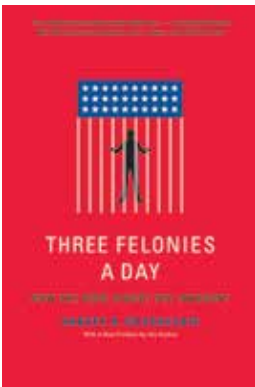
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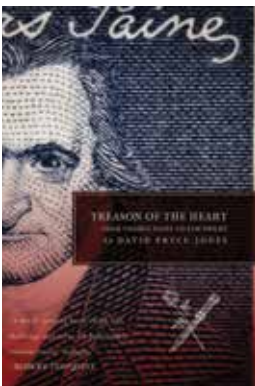
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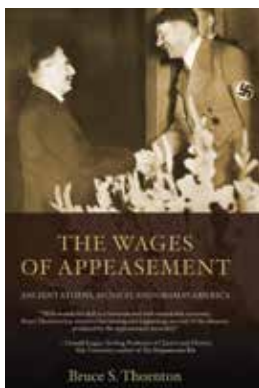
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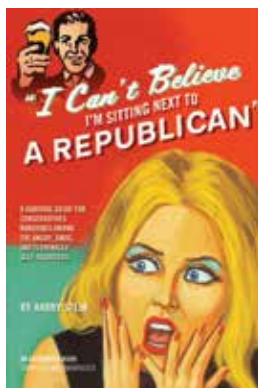
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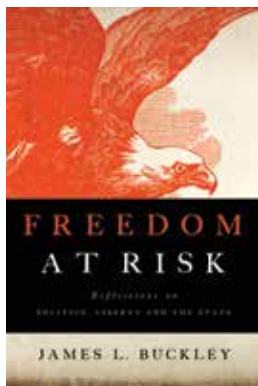
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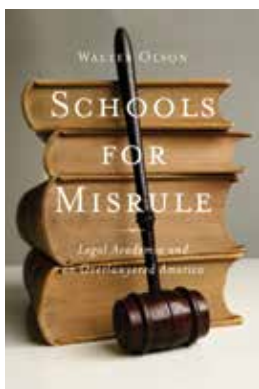
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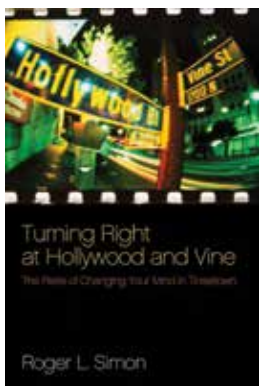
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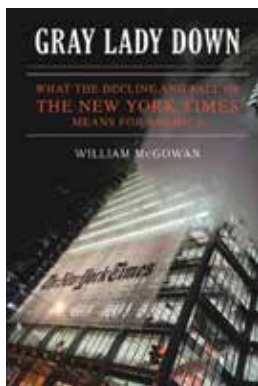
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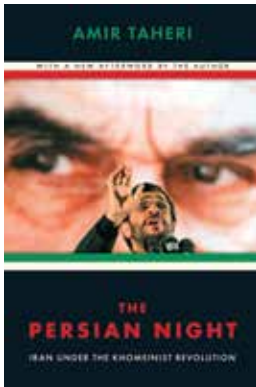
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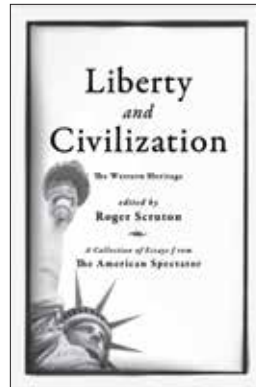
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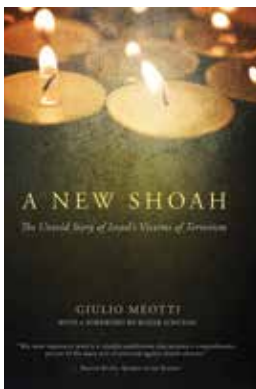
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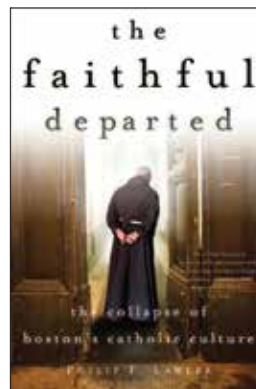
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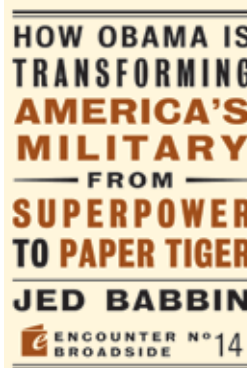
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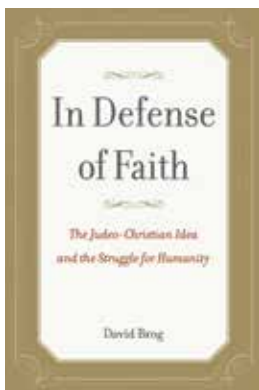
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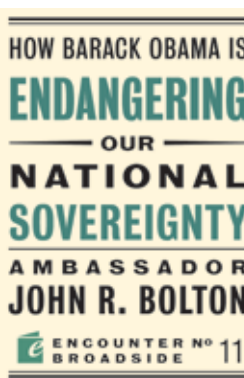
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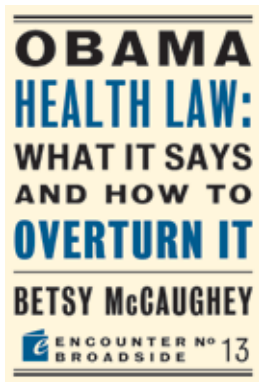
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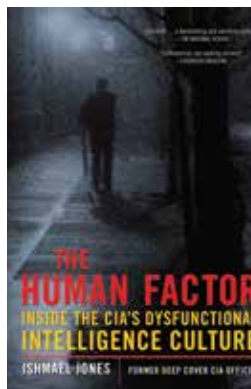
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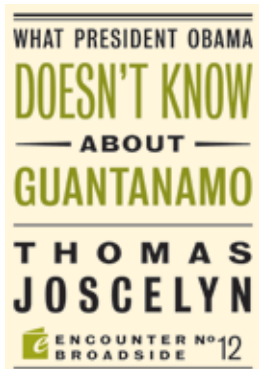
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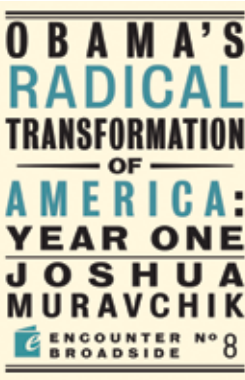
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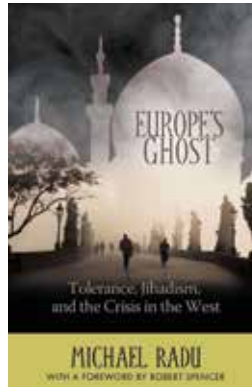
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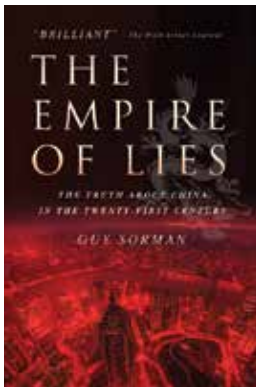
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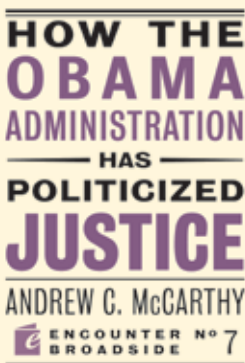
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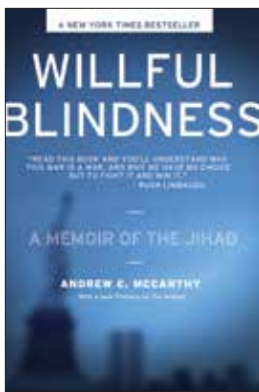
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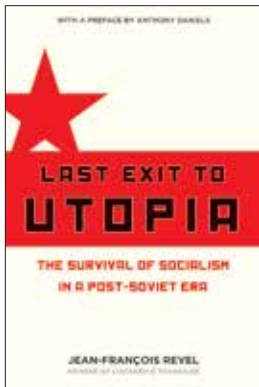
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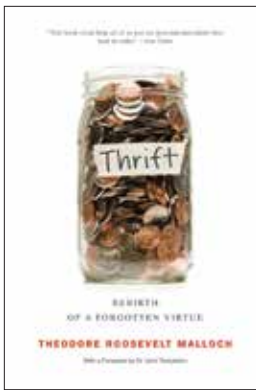
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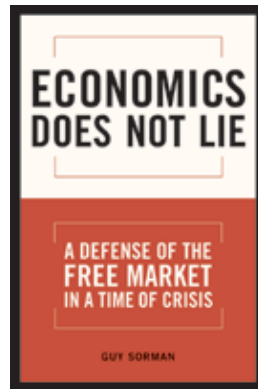
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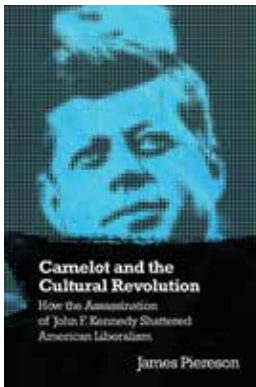
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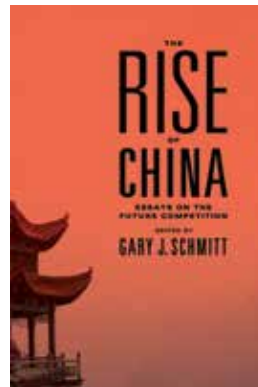
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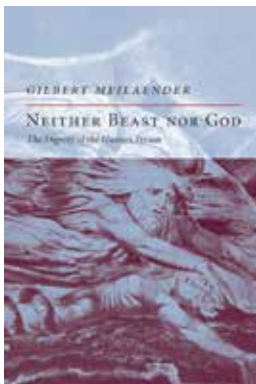
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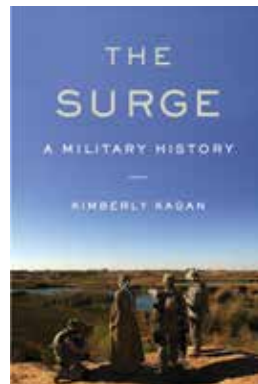
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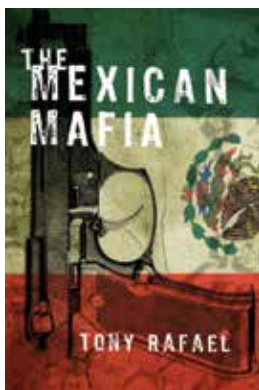
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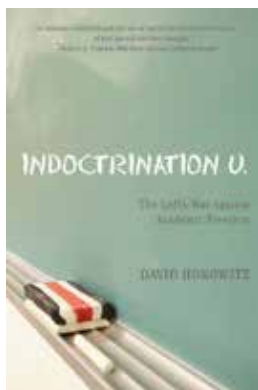
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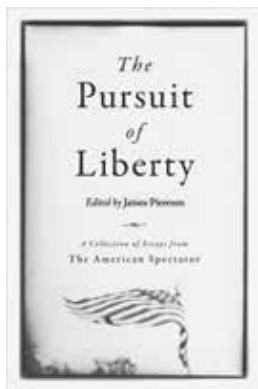
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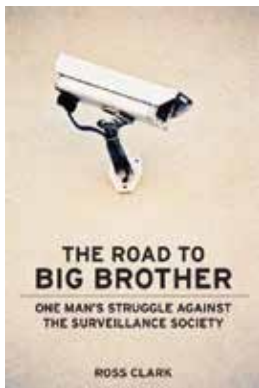
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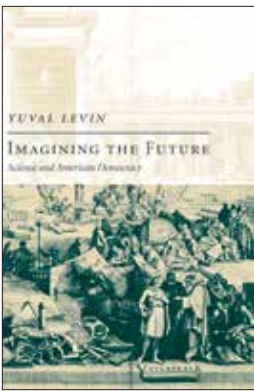
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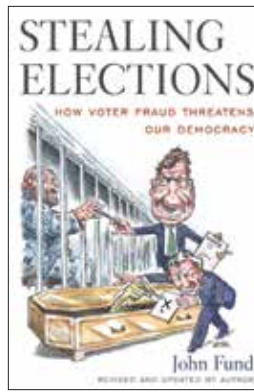
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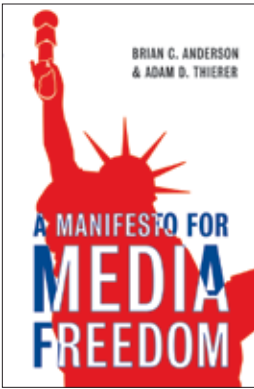
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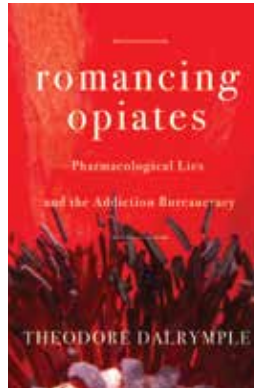
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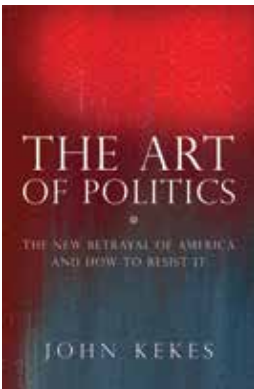
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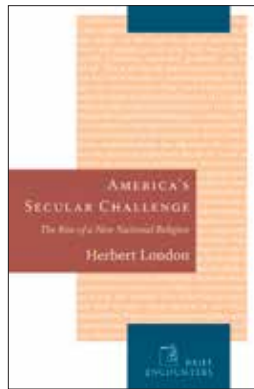
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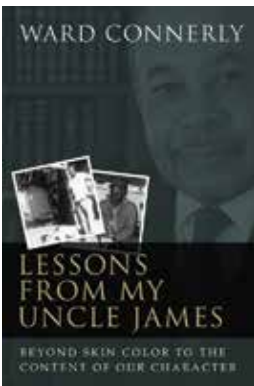
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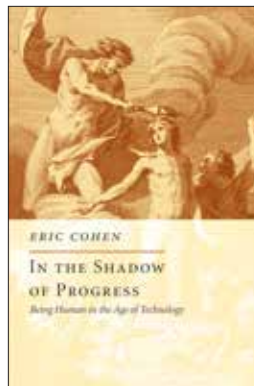
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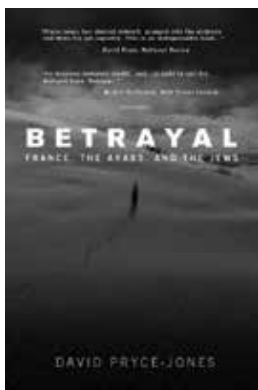
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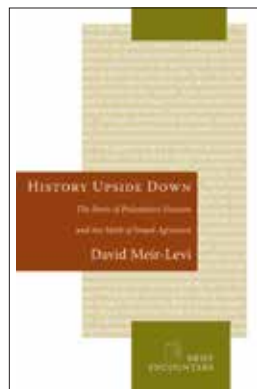
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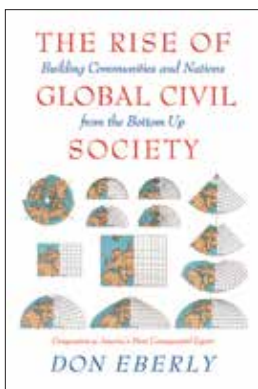
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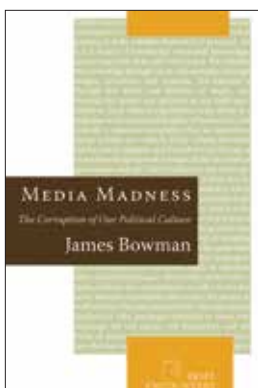
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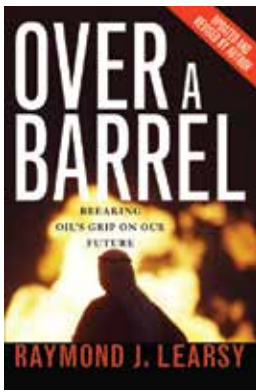
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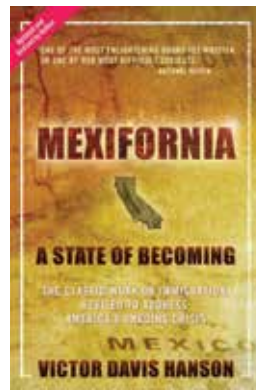
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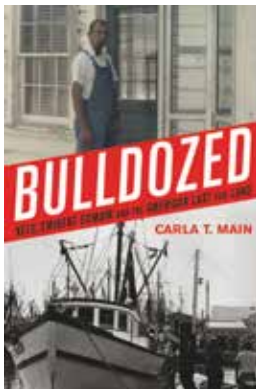
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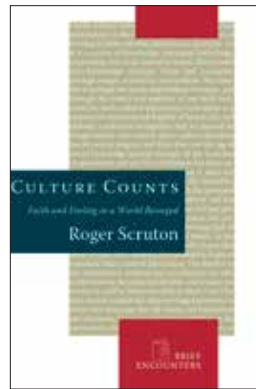
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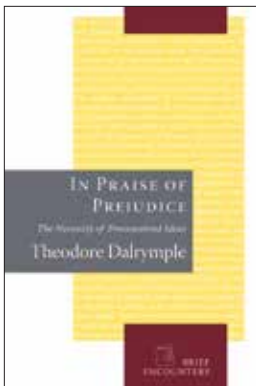
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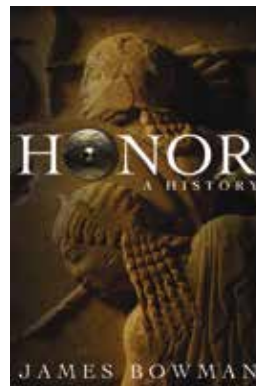
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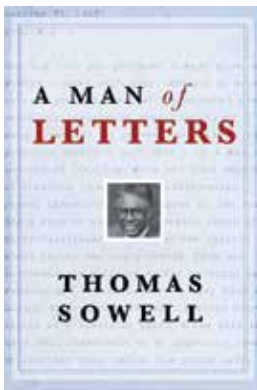
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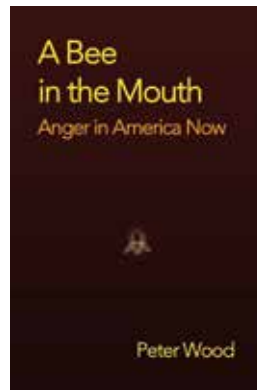
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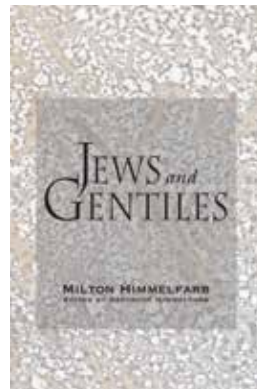
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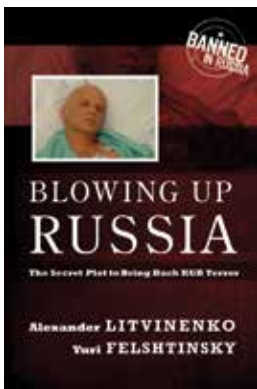
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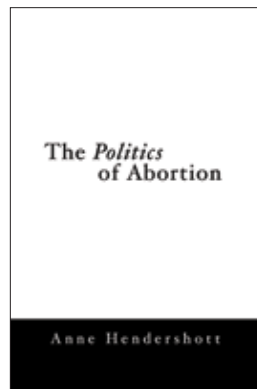
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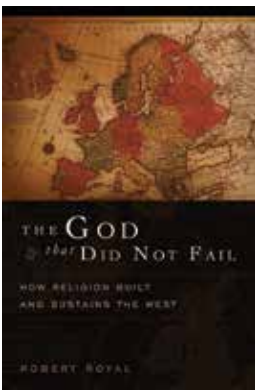
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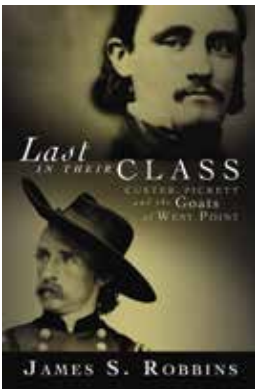
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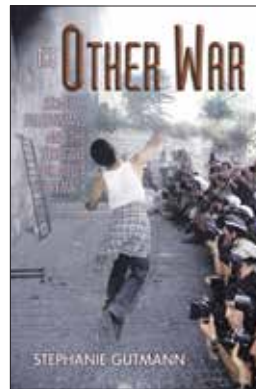
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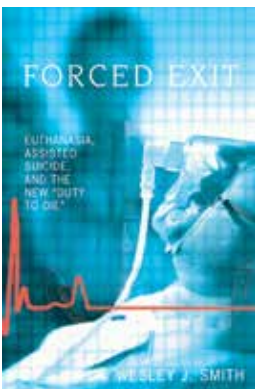
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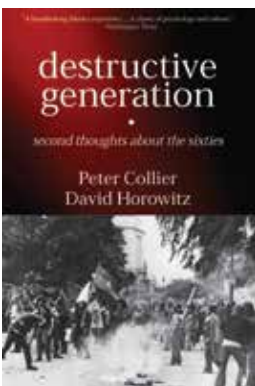
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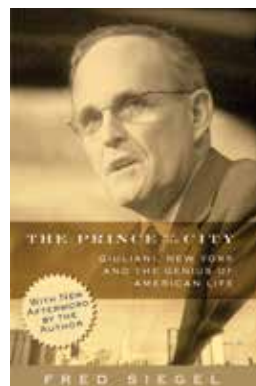
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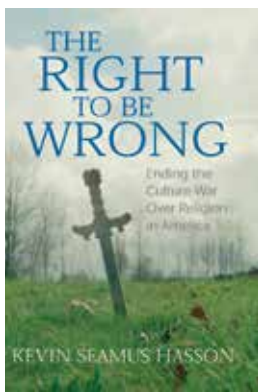
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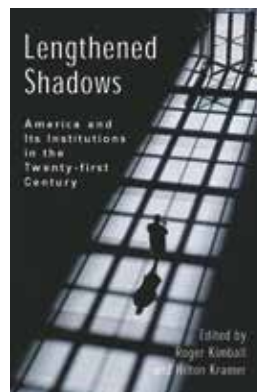
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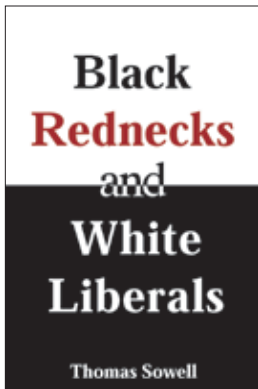
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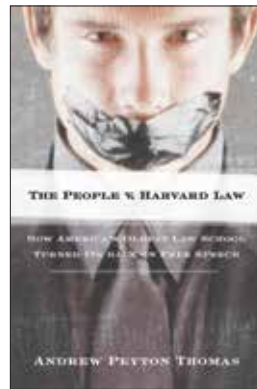
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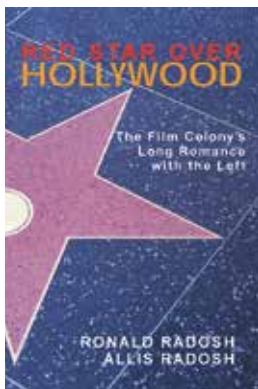
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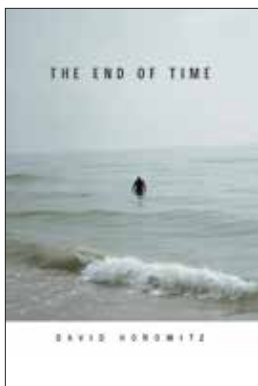
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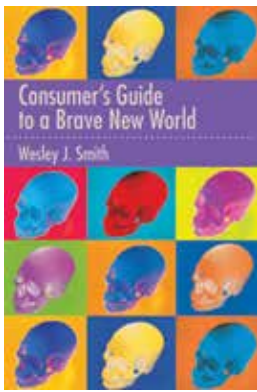
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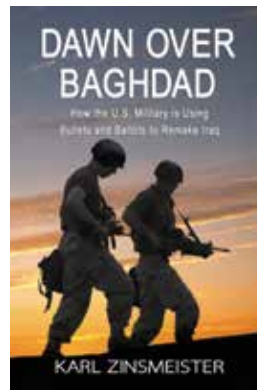
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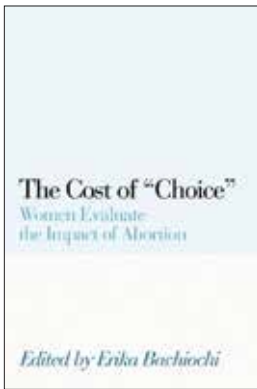
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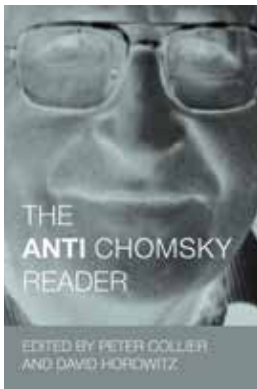
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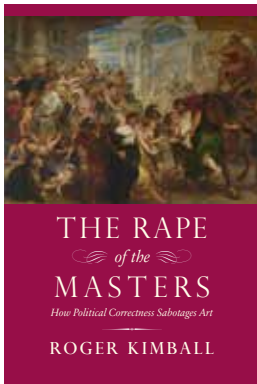
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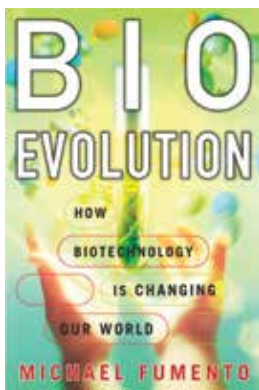
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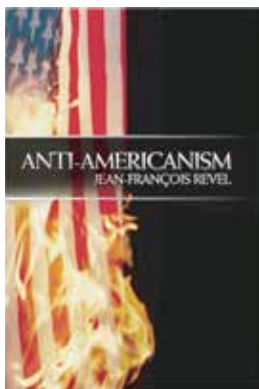
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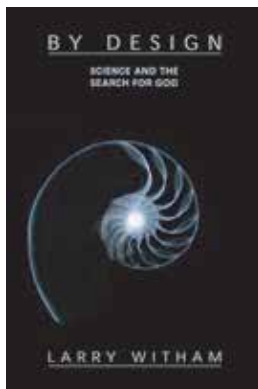
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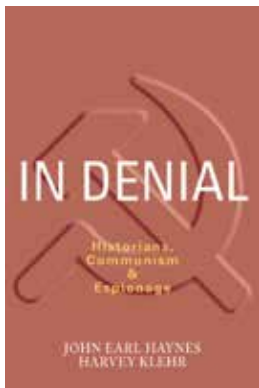
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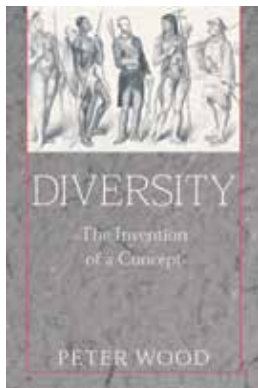
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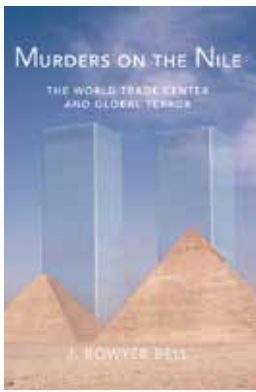
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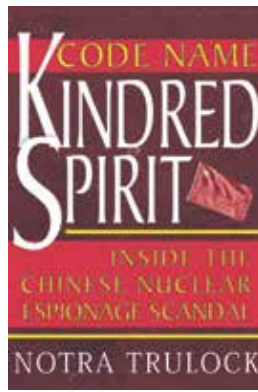
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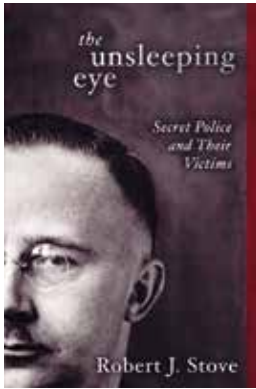
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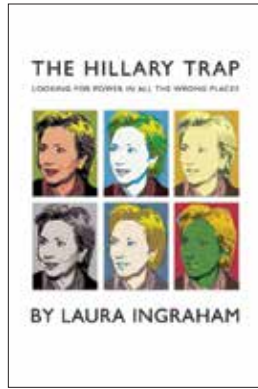
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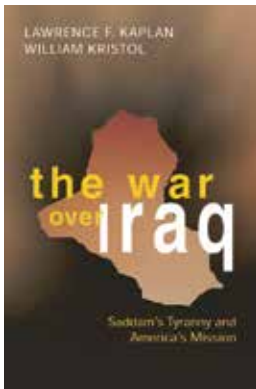
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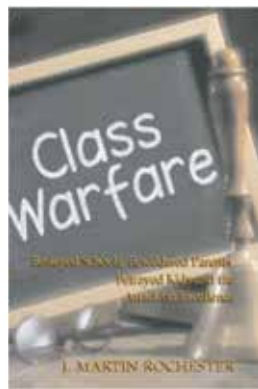
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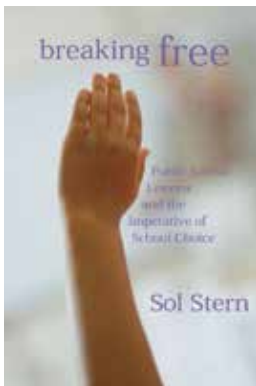
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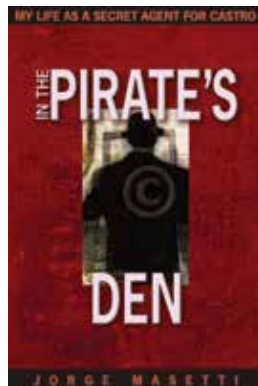
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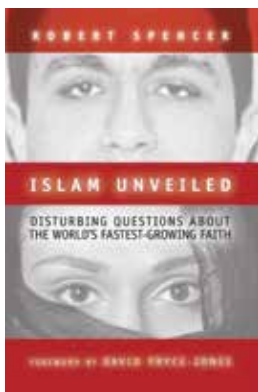
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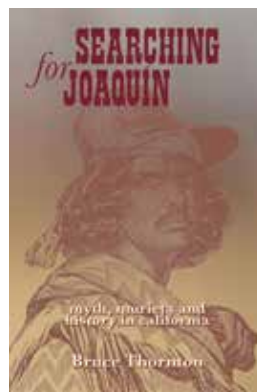
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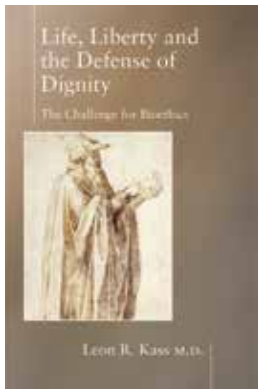
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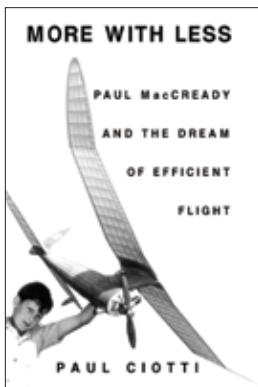
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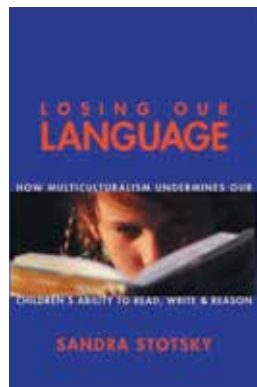
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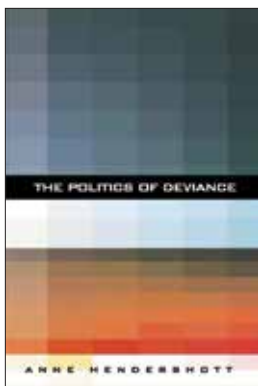
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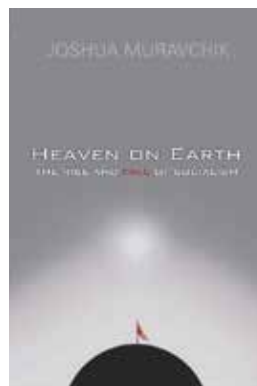
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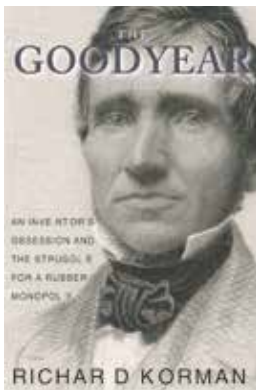
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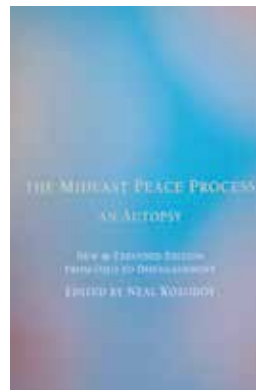
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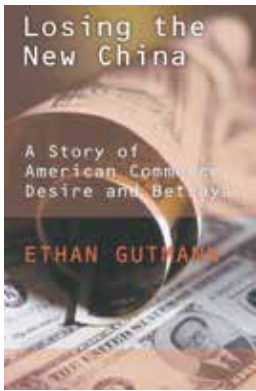
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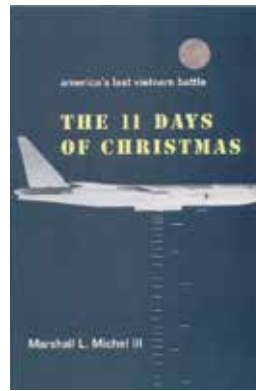
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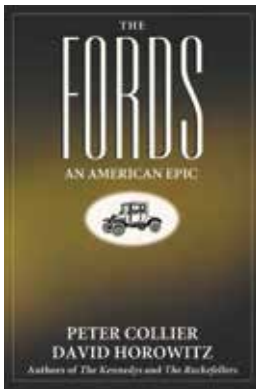
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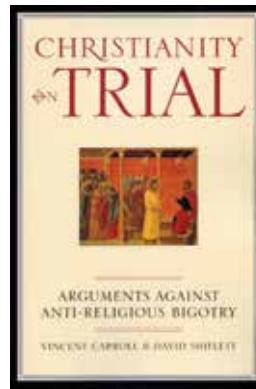
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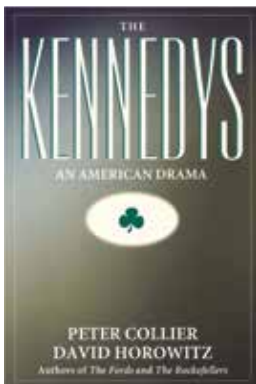
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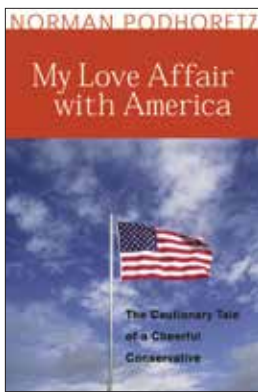
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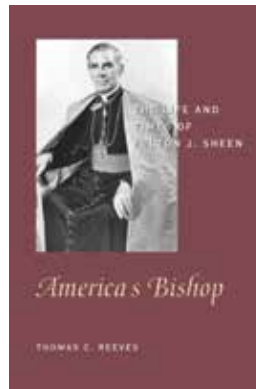
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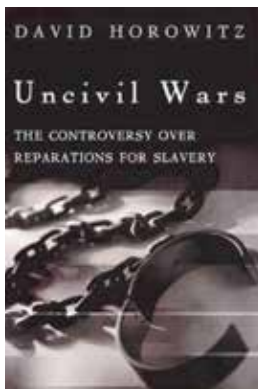
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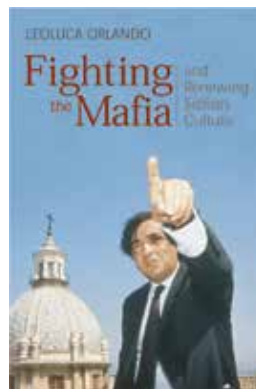
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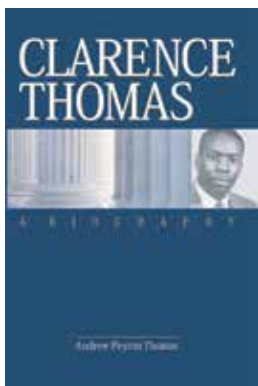
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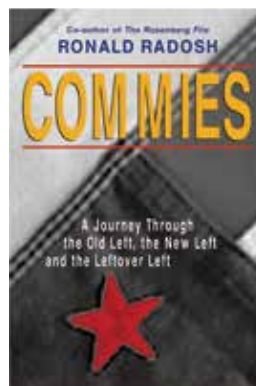
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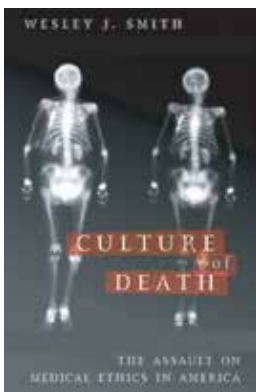
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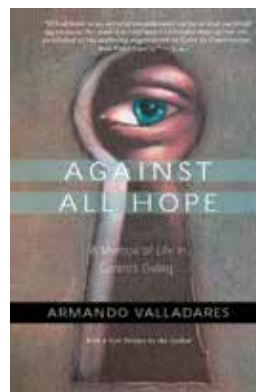
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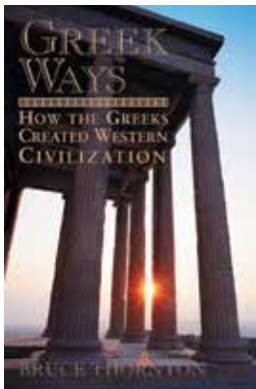
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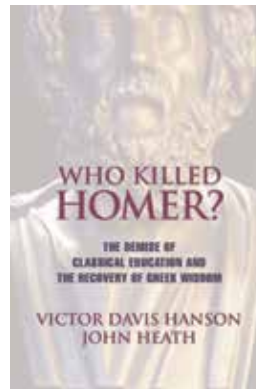
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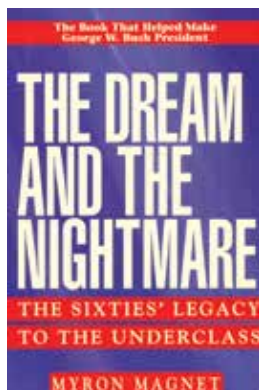
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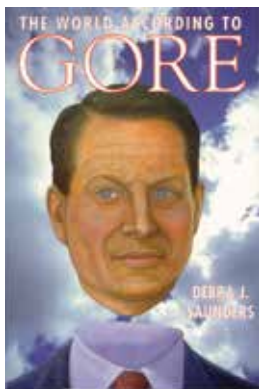
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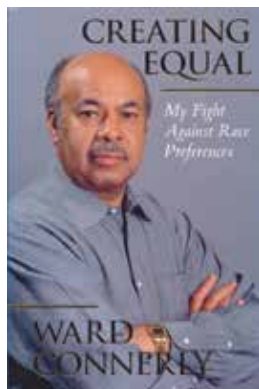
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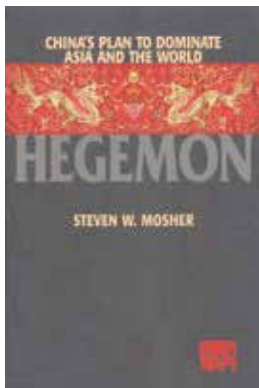
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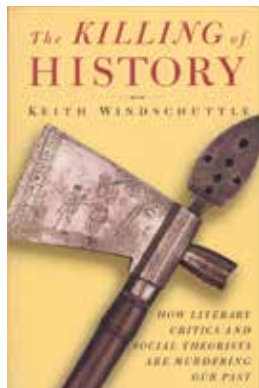
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