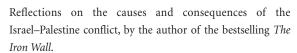
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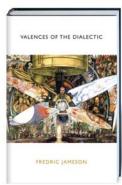
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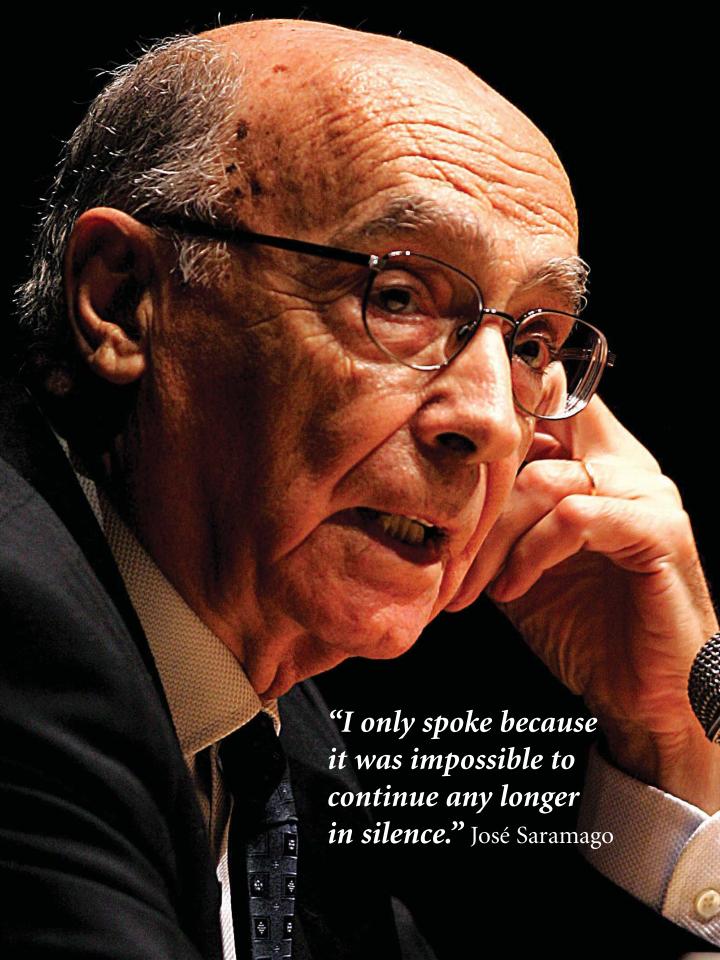
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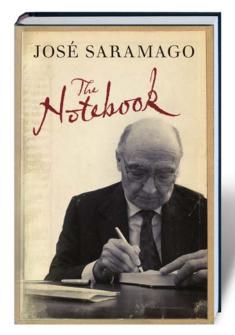
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**JOSÉ SARAMAGO** is a Nobel laureate Portuguese novelist, playwright and journalist. His numerous books, including the bestselling *All the Names*, *Blindness*, and *The Cave*, have been translated into more than forty languages and have established him as one of the world's most influential writers. He lives on Lanzarote in the Canary Islands, Spain.



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"A lot of people look at Adam Gray's story and say people who commit suicide are cowards or they don't have, in the army lingo, 'intestinal fortitude,' 'the hoorah' or whatever. It's exactly the opposite. Adam was the most gung-ho soldier I ever met in my entire life—the first guy to kick down a door. [But] I think he hated who he was when he was there. And I think he couldn't deal with what he had done. And I still have trouble with that. It haunts me every day, and it's something I'll never get away from."

Jonathan Millantz, far left, served with Adam Gray in Battalion 1-68 in Iraq.
On April 3, 2009, Adam took his own life.

## The legacy of torture in the "War on Terror," told through the story of one tank battalion

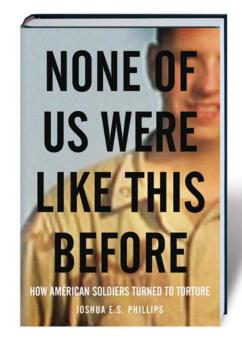
## None of Us Were Like This Before

How American Soldiers Turned to Torture

### **JOSHUA E. S. PHILLIPS**

Sergeant Adam Gray made it home from a year's tour in Iraq only to die in his barracks. For more than three years, reporter Joshua Phillips—with the support of Adam's mother and the cooperation of his Army buddies—investigated Adam's death. What Phillips uncovered was a story of American veterans psychologically scarred by the abuse they had meted out to Iraqi prisoners. How did US forces turn to torture? Phillips's narrative recounts the journey of a tank battalion trained for conventional combat—as its focus switches to guerrilla war and prisoner detention. It tells of how a group of ordinary soldiers, ill trained for the responsibilities foisted upon them, descended into the degradations of abuse. The location is far from CIA prisons and Guantánamo, but the story captures the widespread use and nature of torture in the US armed forces. Based on firsthand reporting from Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as interviews with soldiers, their families and friends, military officials, and the victims of torture, None of Us Were Like This Before reveals how soldiers, senior officials, and the US public came to believe that torture was both effective and necessary. The book illustrates that the damaging legacy of torture is not only borne by the detainees, but also by American soldiers and the country to which they've returned.

JOSHUA E. S. PHILLIPS is based in New York City and has reported from Asia and the Middle East. His work has appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, *Salon*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Atlanta Journal–Constitution*, among other publications. His radio features have been broadcast on NPR and the BBC. In 2009, Phillips received the Newspaper Guild's Heywood Broun Award of Substantial Distinction for his American Radio Works documentary *What Killed Sergeant Gray*.



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## TARIQ ALI THE ISLAM QUINTET

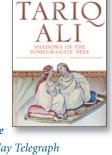
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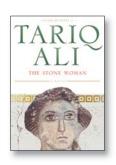
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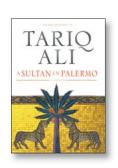
The third novel in the Islam Quintet. This passionate story of masters and servants, schoolteachers and painters, is marked by jealousies, vendettas and, with the decay of the Empire, a new generation which is deeply hostile to the half-truths and myths of the "golden days."

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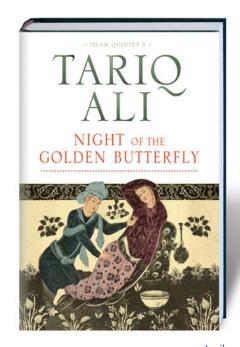
## Night of the Golden **Butterfly**

Islam Quintet Volume 5

### **TARIQ ALI**

Night of the Golden Butterfly concludes the Islam Quintet-Tariq Ali's much lauded series of historical novels, translated into more than a dozen languages, that has been twenty years in the writing. Completing an epic panorama that began in fifteenth-century Moorish Spain, the latest novel moves between the cities of the twenty-first century, from Lahore to London, from Paris to Beijing. The narrator is rung one morning and reminded that he owes a debt of honour. The creditor is Mohammed Aflatun-known as Plato-an irascible but gifted painter living in a Pakistan where "human dignity has become a wreckage." Plato, who once specialized in stepping back from the limelight, now wants his life story written. As the tale unravels we meet Plato's London friend Alice Stepford, now a leading music critic in New York; Mrs. "Naughty" Latif, the Islamabad housewife whose fondness for generals leads to her flight to the salons of intellectually fashionable Paris, where she is hailed as the Diderot of the Islamic world; and there's Jindie, the Golden Butterfly of the title, the narrator's first love. Interwoven with this chronicle of contemporary life is the turbulent history of Jindie's family. Her great forebear, Dù Wénxiù, led a Muslim rebellion in Yunnan in the nineteenth century and ruled the region from his capital Dali for almost a decade, as Sultan Suleiman. Night of the Golden Butterfly reveals Ali in full flight, at once imaginative and intelligent, satirical and stimulating.

TARIQ ALI is a writer and filmmaker. He has written more than a dozen books on world history and politics, as well as scripts for the stage and screen. He is an editor of New Left Review and lives in London.



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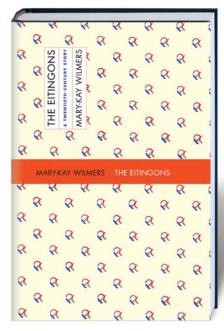
### **MARY-KAY WILMERS**

Leonid Eitingon was a KGB assassin who dedicated his life to the Soviet regime. He was in China in the early 1920s, in Turkey in the late 1920s, in Spain during the Civil War, and, crucially, in Mexico, helping to organize the assassination of Trotsky. "As long as I live," Stalin said, "not a hair of his head shall be touched." It did not work out like that.

Max Eitingon was a psychoanalyst, a colleague, friend and protégé of Freud's. He was rich, secretive and—through his friendship with a famous Russian singer—implicated in the abduction of a white Russian general in Paris in 1937.

Motty Eitingon was a New York fur dealer whose connections with the Soviet Union made him the largest trader in the world. Imprisoned by the Bolsheviks, questioned by the FBI. Was Motty everybody's friend or everybody's enemy? Mary-Kay Wilmers, best known as the editor of the *London Review of Books*, began looking into aspects of her remarkable family twenty years ago. The result is a book of astonishing scope and thrilling originality that throws light into some of the darkest corners of the last century. At the center of the story stands the author herself—ironic, precise, searching, and stylish—wondering not only about where she is from, but about what she's entitled to know.

**MARY-KAY WILMERS** is the editor of the *London Review of Books*, the largest-selling literary publication in Europe. She has written for the *Listener*, *TLS* and *New Yorker*.



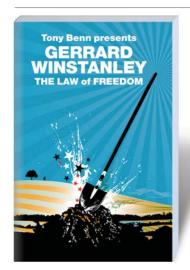
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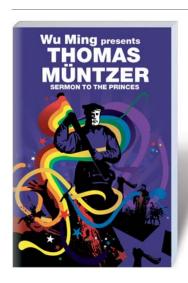
## Tony Benn presents GERRARD WINSTANLEY

#### THE LAW OF FREEDOM

"Those that buy and sell land, and are landlords, have got it either by oppression, or murder, or theft." Gerrard Winstanley

At the end of the English Civil War, Gerrard Winstanley and his comrades, known as Diggers, went to St. George's Hill, to farm the common land and to distribute the food for free amongst themselves. Winstanley's extraordinary writings from this period have remained a huge influence for many on the Left and are cited as some of the earliest examples of communist thought. Legendary voice of the Left Tony Benn examines Winstanley's work and argues that, as we face an ever greater enclosure of the commons, he can still inspire us to turn our world upside down.

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## Wu Ming presents THOMAS MÜNTZER

#### SERMON TO THE PRINCES

"Omnia sunt communia—all things are common." Thomas Müntzer

The Reformation was originally an attack on a corrupt church, sparked by Martin Luther, but for some it did not go far enough. Thomas Müntzer, originally Luther's protégé, became increasingly convinced that the Reformation needed to be a revolution. In 1524 he became one of the leaders in the Peasants' War, where the revolution against the church expanded into a revolutionary attempt to realize the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Wu Ming, the collective of Italian authors who wrote the bestselling novel Q about the Radical Reformation under the name Luther Blissett, ask why Müntzer has inspired radicals for almost 500 years.

**WU MING** is the pseudonym for four Italian writers who are the authors of the novels *54*, *Manituana* and *O*.

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## Trenchant exposé of the myths of "green capitalism"

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## The Broken Promise of the Eco-Friendly Economy

#### **HEATHER ROGERS**

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*Green Gone Wrong* is an appeal to the reader to respond rationally to the current environmental crisis. It asks: What choices and structural forces led us to this perilous place? This book is founded on the belief that we have the capacity to find solutions that are not mere palliatives, but ways of engaging with how we live and what kind of world we want to live in.

**HEATHER ROGERS** is a journalist and filmmaker. Her documentary film *Gone Tomorrow* (2002) screened at festivals around the globe. Her writing has appeared in *The Nation, Utne Reader, Z Magazine*, the *Brooklyn Rail, Punk Planet*, and *Art and Design*. She lives in Brooklyn, New York.



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## "The most dangerous philosopher in the West."

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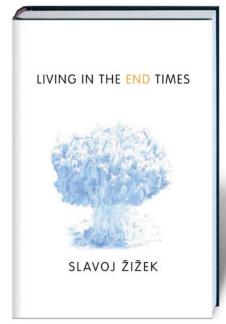
## Žižek analyzes the end of the world at the hands of the "four riders of the apocalypse"

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There should no longer be any doubt: global capitalism is fast approaching its terminal crisis. Slavoj Žižek has identified the four horsemen of this coming apocalypse: the worldwide ecological crisis; imbalances within the economic system; the biogenetic revolution; and exploding social divisions and ruptures. But, he asks, if the end of capitalism seems to many like the end of the world, how is it possible for Western society to face up to the end times? In a major new analysis of our global situation, Slavok Žižek argues that our collective responses to economic Armageddon correspond to the stages of grief: ideological denial, explosions of anger and attempts at bargaining, followed by depression and withdrawal.

After passing through this zero-point, we can begin to perceive the crisis as a chance for a new beginning. Or, as Mao Zedong put it, "There is great disorder under heaven, the situation is excellent." Slavoj Žižek shows the cultural and political forms of these stages of ideological avoidance and political protest, from New Age obscurantism to violent religious fundamentalism. Concluding with a compelling argument for the return of a Marxian critique of political economy, Žižek also divines the wellsprings of a potentially communist culture—from literary utopias like Kafka's community of mice to the collective of freak outcasts in the TV series *Heroes*.

**SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK** is a Slovenian philosopher and cultural critic. He is a professor at the European Graduate School, International Director of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities, Birkbeck College, University of London, and a senior researcher at the Institute of Sociology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.



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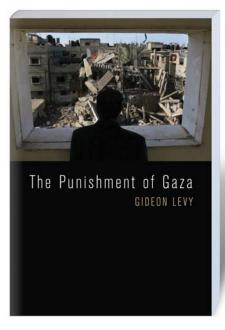
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Israel's 2009 invasion of Gaza was a vicious act of aggression that left well over one thousand Palestinians dead and devastated the infrastructure of an already impoverished enclave. In this searching examination of Israel's policies, awardwinning journalist Gideon Levy shows how the ground was prepared for the assault and documents its continuing effects. From 2005—the year of Gaza's "liberation"—through to 2009, he tracks Israel's abandonment of the pretense of diplomacy in favor of a policy of provocation and raw military power, with the ultimate aim of denying Palestinians any chance of forming their own independent state. Punished by Israel and the Quartet of international powers for the democratic election of Hamas, Gaza has been transformed into the world's largest open-air prison.

From Gazan families struggling to cope with the random violence of Israel's blockade and its "targeted" assassinations, to the machinations of legal experts and the continued connivance of the international community, every aspect of this ongoing tragedy is eloquently recorded and forensically analyzed. Levy's powerful journalism shows how the brutality at the heart of Israel's occupation of Palestine has found its most complete expression to date in the collective punishment of the residents of Gaza.

Described by *Le Monde* as a "thorn in Israel's flank", **GIDEON LEVY** is a prominent Israeli journalist. For over twenty years he has covered the Israel–Palestine conflict, in particular the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, for the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* in his column "Twilight Zone."

## Leading sociologist proposes a new framework for a socialist alternative

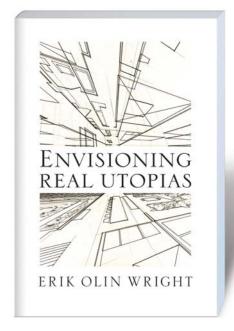
## **Envisioning Real Utopias**

### **ERIK OLIN WRIGHT**

Rising inequality of income and power, along with the recent convulsions in the finance sector, have made the search for alternatives to unbridled capitalism more urgent than ever. Yet there has been a global retreat by the Left: on the assumption that liberal capitalism is the only game in town, political theorists tend to dismiss as utopian any attempt to rethink our social and economic relations. As Fredric Jameson first argued, it is now easier for us to imagine the end of the world than an alternative to capitalism.

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**ERIK OLIN WRIGHT** is Vilas Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. He is the editor of the Real Utopias series, which includes his *Deepening Democracy* (cowritten with Archon Fung), and is the author of many other books, including *Class Counts, Interrogating Inequality, The Debate on Classes* and *Classes*.



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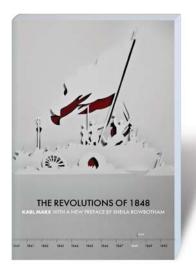
**KARL MARX** studied law and philosophy at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, completing his doctorate in 1841. Expelled from Prussia in 1844, he took up residence first in Paris and then in London where, in 1867, he published his magnum opus *Capital*. A cofounder of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864, Marx died in London in 1883.

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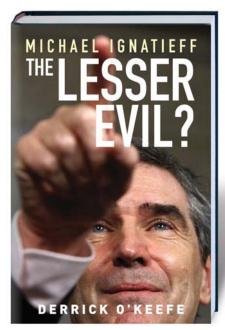


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## Michael Ignatieff

The Lesser Evil?

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Michael Ignatieff has been one of the more influential establishment intellectuals of the English-speaking world, and is likely to become Prime Minister of Canada. His official story is that of an ambitious, accomplished progressive politician and writer, whose work and thought fit within an enlightened political tradition valuing human rights and diversity. Here, Derrick O'Keefe argues otherwise. In this critical assessment of Ignatieff's life and politics he reveals that Ignatieff's human rights discourse has served to mask his opportunistic support for elite policies—he has even provided a philosophical justification for torture. Tracing the course of his career over the last thirty years, from his involvement in the battles between Thatcher and the coal miners in the 1980s, to the Balkan War, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Israel's invasion of Gaza, O'Keefe suggests that Ignatieff and his political tradition have in fact stood in opposition to the extension of democracy and the pursuit of greater equality. Michael Ignatieff: The Lesser Evil? is a timely assessment of a man who has become a phenomenon, one that reveals a great deal about official politics in the West.

**DERRICK O'KEEFE** is a Canadian writer and social justice activist. He is the editor of *rabble.ca*, a popular website featuring progressive news and analysis. He has written widely on Canadian and international politics, and is the cowriter, with Afghan politician Malalai Joya, of *A Woman Among Warlords*.

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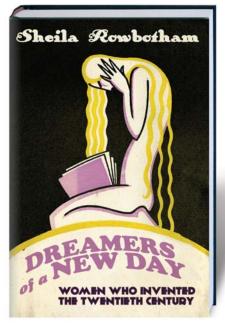
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**SHEILA ROWBOTHAM** is Professor of Gender and Labour History at the University of Manchester, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. Her many books include, most recently, the James Tait Black—shortlisted *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love.* She has written for, among other newspapers, the *Guardian, The Times*, the *Independent*, the *New Statesman*, and the *New York Times*.



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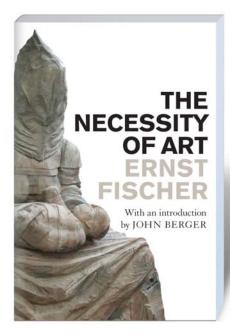
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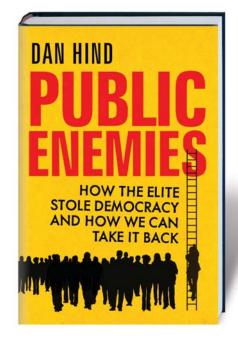
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**DAN HIND** was a publisher for ten years. In 2009 he left the industry to develop a program of media reform centered around public commissioning. His journalism has appeared in the *Guardian*, *New Scientist*, *Lobster* and the *Times Literary Supplement*. His first book, *The Threat to Reason*, was published by Verso in 2007.



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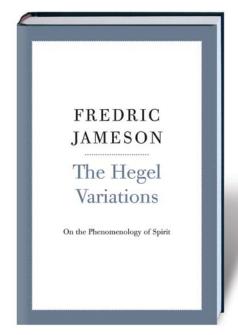
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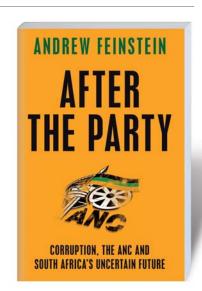
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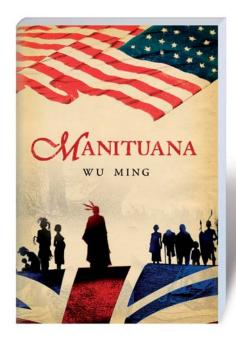
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**WU MING** are a collective of Italian fiction writers, founded in Bologna in January 2000. Their books include the bestselling novel *Q*, published under their previous pseudonym, Luther Blissett, and the Cold War thriller *54*. Their website is www.wumingfoundation.com and *Manituana*'s fully interactive website is www.manituana.com.

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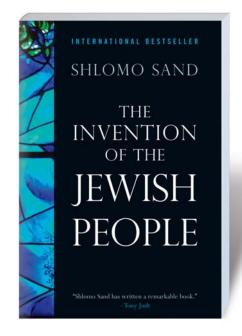
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SHLOMO SAND studied history at the University of Tel Aviv and at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, in Paris. He currently teaches contemporary history at the University of Tel Aviv. His other books include L'Illusion du politique: Georges Sorel et le débat intellectuel 1900, Georges Sorel en son temps, Le XXe siècle à l'écran and Les Mots et la terre: les intellectuels en Israël.



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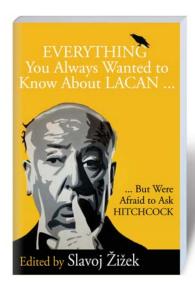
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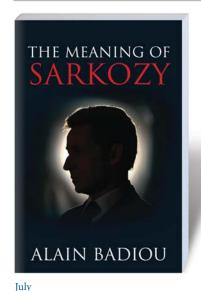
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**SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK** is a professor at the European Graduate School, International Director of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities, Birkbeck College, London, and a senior researcher at the Institute of Sociology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.



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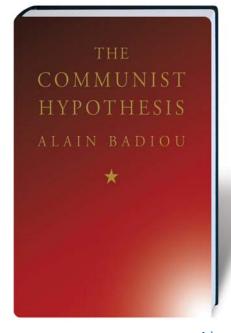
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**ALAIN BADIOU** teaches philosophy at the École normale supérieure and the Collège international de philosophie in Paris. In addition to several novels, plays and political essays, he has published a number of major philosophical works, including *Theory of the Subject, Being and Event, Manifesto for Philosophy*, and *Gilles Deleuze*. His four recent books *Meaning of Sarkozy, Ethics, Metapolitics* and *Polemics* are available from Verso.



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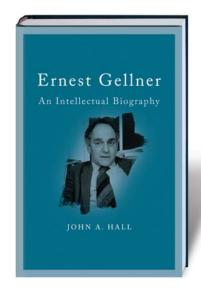
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JOHN A. HALL is the James McGill Professor of Comparative Historical Sociology at McGill University in Montreal. His previous books include *Powers and Liberties*, *Liberalism, Coercion and Consent, International Orders*, and (with Charles Lindholm) *Is America Breaking Apart?* He taught at the Central European University in the early 1990s, when Gellner had returned to Prague, and gained an appreciation at that time of his background in Central Europe.



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**HERVÉ JUVIN** is President and founder of Eurogroup Institute and is the author of a number of books on economics, finance and management. He was a columnist for *Le Monde* and now regularly contributes to *L'Expansion* and *Enjeux/Les Echos*. His last book was *La Production du Monde*.

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## On Torture and the Death of Justice

#### **GARETH PEIRCE**

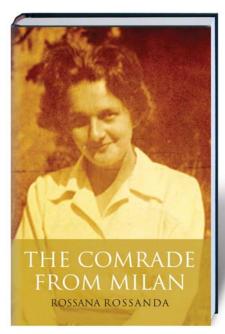
The Obama administration, under some pressure from its antiwar base, has begun to release carefully selected evidence concerning the widespread use of torture in the "War on Terror." In a set of devastating essays, Gareth Peirce argues that there needs to be a similar accounting of the British government's activities. Exploring the few cases that have come to light, such as those of Guantánamo detainees Shafiq Rasul and Binyam Mohamed, Peirce argues that they are evidence of a deeply entrenched culture of impunity toward the new suspect community in the UK—British Muslim nationals and residents. Peirce shows how the British New Labour government has colluded in a whole range of extrajudicial activities—rendition, internment without trial, torture—and has gone to extraordinary lengths to conceal its actions: its devices for maintaining secrecy are probably more deep-rooted than those of any other comparable democracy. If the British government continues along this path, it will destroy much of the moral and legal fabric it claims to be protecting.

The radical solicitor **GARETH PEIRCE** represents individuals who are or have been the subject of rendition and torture, held in prisons in the UK on the basis of secret evidence, and interned in secret prisons abroad under regimes that continue to practice torture. Her many clients have included the Birmingham Six, Judith Ward, the family of Jean Charles de Menezes, and Moazzam Begg. She lives in London.



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## The Comrade From Milan

#### **ROSSANA ROSSANDA**

Translated by Romy Clark

Rossana Rossanda is one of the most important and influential intellectuals on the European Left, and was one of its key figures in the second half of the twentieth century. Born in 1924, by 1943 she was immersed in the Italian Resistance movement. After the war she rose quickly through the ranks of the Communist Party, becoming editor of its weekly paper and a member of parliament. Inspired by the radicalization of the late 1960s, she became a party dissident. She moved further away from party lines after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, helping to found the legendary periodical *Il Manifesto*. After being expelled from the PCI in 1969, she became a major reference point for the New Left in Italy and in Europe more widely.

In this beautifully written memoir, which was greeted with literary acclaim in Italy, Rossanda recounts in a cool and trenchant manner the course she traveled through these stormy and decisive years, never stooping to sentimentality or *bien-pensant* rhetoric. From her uniquely privileged perspective, we gain a fascinating insight into the history of fascism, communism, postwar reconstruction and the stirrings of the revolts that were to shake Europe through the 60s and 70s.

**ROSSANA ROSSANDA** is a regular contributor to *Il Manifesto* and *New Left Review*. She is the author of numerous books, including *Brigate rosse*. *Una storia italiana*.

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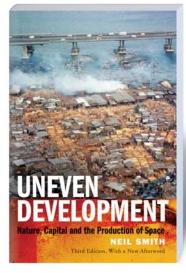
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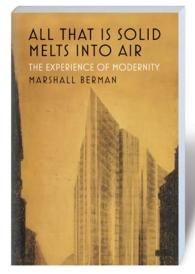
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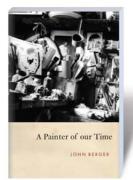
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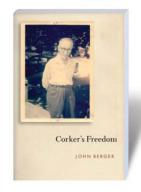
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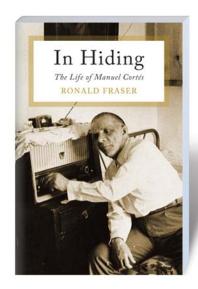
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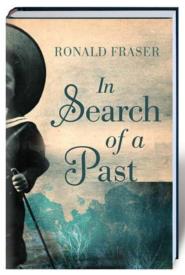
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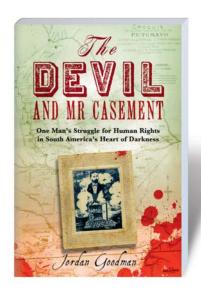
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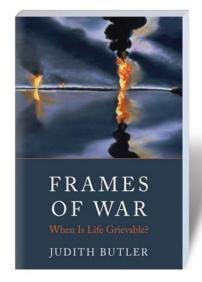
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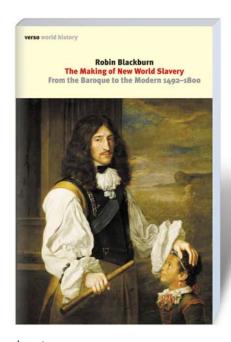
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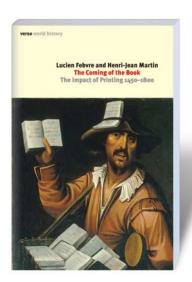
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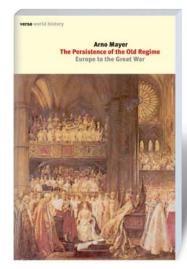
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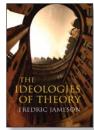
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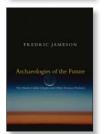


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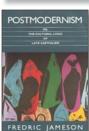


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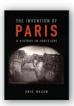
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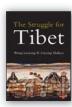


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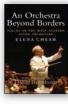


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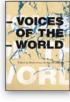


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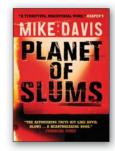
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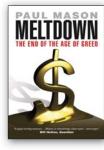
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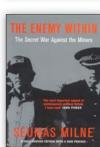
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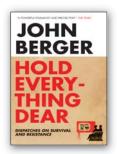
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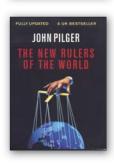


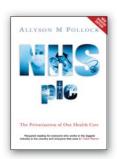
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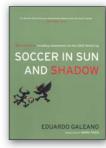
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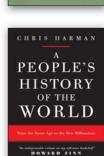
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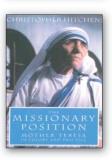
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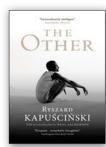
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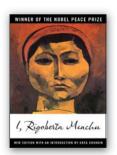
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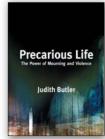
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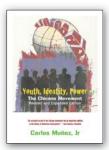
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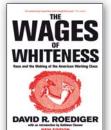
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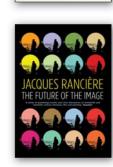
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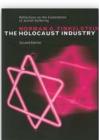
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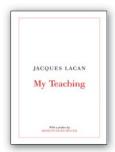












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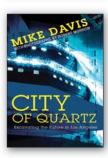
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