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Recent graduates

In 2017, the Centre has been proud to celebrate seven doctoral graduations from our student body, an incredible achievement for such a comparatively small centre. One further candidate completed late in the year and is due to graduate in May 2018. A summary of the projects undertaken by these eight students demonstrates the range of fascinating research at the Centre. Congratulations to everyone on your success. (See pages 4-5)



From the Director

As the Centre moves towards the end of 2017, the staff and students will look back on a year that has seen the achievement of some important milestones.

Most significantly, from July, Professor Kevin Clements stepped down from his role as Founding Director of the Centre to take up a position as Director of the Toda Peace Institute. Fortunately for the Centre, Kevin maintains his university links in a part time capacity and undertakes his role with Toda from his university base. We are grateful that we still have access to his wisdom, institutional memory and passion for the work of the Centre.

I took up the position of Director from July and Dr Katerina Standish was appointed Deputy Director. It has been a steep learning curve for us as a new leadership team and we are lucky to have capable and supportive colleagues who have willingly taken on responsibilities within the Centre.

It has also been a year of milestones for many of our doctoral students, with the largest number of students graduating in a single year. For a small Centre with 25-30 doctoral students enrolled at any one time, having 8 graduations and completions in a year is significant. This follows the strong growth in the Centre during 2013 and 2014, including the beginning of the Rei Foundation doctoral scholarship programme. Three of the Rei scholars have now completed, two of whom will graduate in December this year. We were delighted to be able to employ two of the Centre's graduates earlier in the year, and will keenly follow the careers of others.

The Centre hosted its first international conference this year in association with the Marsden project led by Dr Jeremy Moses (University of Canterbury) and myself. *Rethinking Pacifism for Revolution, Security and Politics* brought together academics and practitioners from around the world as well as many from New Zealand to discuss the marginal position of pacifism and how a new engagement with pacifism might help us face global challenges. This conference was a great success. Thanks to a group of students, many of the presentations will soon be available on You Tube. In 2018, a number of publications will be produced from the papers presented at the Conference.

The conference was preceded by a lively and stimulating hui on nonviolent activism at Puketeraki Marae at Karitane, organised by doctoral students Joe Llewellyn and Griffin Leonard.

As a Centre, we have made a commitment to actively advance our relationship with Tangata Whenua and to develop a Treaty-based partnership. A range of initiatives is underway and I thank Tuari Potiki, Mark Brunton and Anaru Eketone in particular for their support and advice. To symbolise this commitment, our students presented the Centre with a stained glass window depicting the Treaty of Waitangi, which will be a potent reminder of the importance of relationships as we move into 2018.

Thank you to the staff and students of the Centre for another busy and rewarding year, and we look forward to all that 2018 will bring.

Me Rongo Richard Jackson

Painful History and Reconciliation subject of new Palgrave publication

The latest addition in the *Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies* series from Palgrave (editor: Oliver P. Richmond) has just been published.

Identity, Trust and Reconciliation in East Asia: Dealing with Painful History to Create a Peaceful Present, edited by Professor Kevin Clements, includes chapters by 15 scholars from across Asia and Europe, as well as contributions from Professor Clements and Dr Ria Shibata, both based at the University of Otago in their roles with the Toda Peace Institute.

Professor Johan Galtung has described this book as a peace message in itself.



Clements has brought together in one book major voices from the nations concerned, about their own identities, how they have been insulted, how to build trust and forgiveness.

Former United Nations Assistant Secretary General, Professor Ramesh Thakur, calls the book an impressive and welcome achievement.

"The authors engage in introspection, reflections and exchanges, with candour yet sensitivity, to explore how best to lift the shadow of a troubled history that still darkens the prospects for a functionality-driven harmonious and cooperative security, political, and economic community in Northeast Asia."

Professor Richard Falk, said

Kevin Clements has expertly edited a fascinating series of commentaries on the intensifying tensions challenging East Asia and how these might be addressed for the mutual benefit of China, Japan and Korea. The whole undertaking, deepened by workshop interactions, warns of the dangers posed if new nationalisms are not sensitive to the regional interplay of historical memories and cultural differences.

Congratulations to Kevin on the completion and publication of this important volume.

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The stained glass window featuring the Treaty of Waitangi which was presented to the Centre by current and former students.

Doctoral student **Robbie Francis** was delighted to be named Entrepreneur of the Year at the 2017 Attitude Awards, held in November.

Robbie is Director of **The Lucy Foundation**, an organisation committed to empowering people with disabilities by working with local communities to promote education, employment and a culture of disability inclusiveness through environmentally, economically and ethically sustainable trade. The Foundation's first project is in Pluma Hidalgo, southwestern Mexico, working with local families to increase the quality and yield of their coffee crops. All members of the families, especially those with disabilities, are empowered to contribute to the project. As well as attending bi-monthly workshops on sustainable agriculture, the families are encouraged to engage in bee keeping to ensure the healthy bee population necessary for coffee flower pollination.

The Attitude Awards are the only national televised event celebrating the achievements of New Zealanders living with disabilities. The black-tie gala ceremony held at Auckland's ANZ Viaduct Event Centre recognised artists, athletes, employers, young people, and game-changers. Other awards were given in a range of categories including Leadership, Artistic Achievement, and Making a Difference.

Robbie's doctoral study, due to be completed in 2018, focuses on the experiences of people with disabilities during conflict and displacement. In 2013, Robbie completed a Masters with the Centre entitled *Forgiveness in Peacebuilding: What is it, and does it work?*



In September, recent doctoral graduate **Sylvia Frain** presented a paper at the 3rd Marianas History Conference: Milestones to Marianas History.

Her paper, entitled Fan'tachu Fama'lauan: Women's Resistance to Militarization in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, attracted the interest of the Marianas Variety, Micronesia's leading newspaper, which ran a story about NCPACS and scholarship opportunities for doctoral students.

Sylvia's paper focused on three examples of Chamoru and Refalawasch women-led contemporary resistance to the US militarization of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Having returned to California following the submission of her thesis in January, Sylvia has recently been appointed to a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Pacific Media Centre at the Auckland University of Technology, beginning in January 2018.

Recent conference presentations by NCPACS students

More than the usual number of conferences hosted at the University of Otago during November and December created many opportunities for students to present their research. Congratulations to the following students who presented during Semester Two, both here and elsewhere.

HCRI, Manchester, September

 Aidan Gnoth: De-subjugating Knowledge: a critical framework for analysing power within Academia

Rethinking Pacifism for Revolution Security and Politics, Dunedin, November

- Tonga Karena (with Maata Wharehoka): Parihaka and Peace
- Kieran Ford: A pacifist perspective on countering extremism
- Joe Llewellyn and Griffin Leonard: A case for the abolition of the New Zealand Defence Force: Meeting challenges to creating a peaceful world and peaceful Aotearoa New Zealand without the use of violence
- Joe Llewellyn: Listen, Leftist! Violence is not revolutionary
- Monica Carrer: 'Everyone wants peace': everyday pacifist responses to violent conflict and structural violence

NZ Asia, Dunedin, November

- Jonathan Sutton: No Cambodian spring: Hun Sen and the failure of the 2013 democracy campaign
- KhinKhin Lwin: Multiple identities and peace building agency at a time of change in Myanmar: Women's room to manoeuvre as peace builders in the face of challenges

NZ Political Studies Association, Dunedin, November

- Aidan Gnoth: Subjugating Academia: preliminary observations of the academic – policymaking interface in the field of International Peacebuilding
- Jonathan Sutton: Mixed methods in political science: Moving beyond quantitative versus qualitative

Law and Society Association of New Zealand, Dunedin, December

- Hannah Gordon: Engendering trust? Gender mainstreaming in the Tonga Police 2009-2017
- Natasha Jolly: Using Restorative, Relational and Transformative Interventions to disrupt the War-Peace Continuum of Sexual and Gender Based Violence

Sociology Association of Aotearoa New Zealand, Dunedin, December

• Kieran Ford: Securitising Diversity: Governing Extremism with Fundamental British Values

A Fortitude of Graduates



Rachel Rafferty

Civil Society Activists in a Protracted Conflict: Explaining Differences in Motivation to Engage in Intergroup Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland

Why do some people try to build cooperative intergroup relationships in a divided society? There is increased recognition of the role played by civil society actors in contributing to sustainable peace in conflictaffected societies. However, it has also been demonstrated that in the more extreme case of protracted conflicts, collective psychological features such as intergroup enmity and mistrust discourage individuals from building the cooperative relationships necessary for genuine conflict transformation. This thesis focuses on explaining how differing levels of motivation to engage in intergroup peacebuilding have developed among civil society activists living in Northern Ireland, a society affected by protracted ethnic conflict.

This thesis finds that personal traits and socialization experiences play an important role in supporting differences in mindset that in turn are associated with different levels of motivation to engage in intergroup peacebuilding. Thus, this thesis argues that the development of motivations to pursue intergroup peacebuilding are not arbitrary and unpredictable, but can be explained by differences in mindset. Resulting from the findings, recommendations are made for supporting the more widespread development of universalist psychological features in populations affected by protracted conflict, as a potential contribution to conflict transformation and the establishment of sustainable peace.



Ria Shibata

War, Identity, and Inherited Responsibility in Sino-Japanese Relations

For groups whose history involves a violent injustice, how both perpetrator and victimised groups deal with their past history is critical to the successful resolution of protracted conflicts. The perpetrator's acknowledgment of responsibility for immoral acts is therefore an essential pre-requisite in promoting reconciliation. Debates about historical injustices, however, focus on whether guilt and responsibility for past wrongs should be passed on from the original perpetrators to the generational descendants.

Seventy years have passed since the end of the Second World War, and yet the memories of the war continue to negatively affect the relations between China and Japan. While Chinese victims and their descendants continue to seek apology and closure, the Japanese public are experiencing 'apology fatigue' a feeling of frustration that no matter what they do, the victims will never be satisfied. This thesis seeks to examine the extent to which present-day Japanese are willing to accept some degree of inherited responsibility for the acts of aggression committed by their ancestors. Drawing on social identity, basic human needs and reconciliation theories, this research aims to identify the social psychological factors impeding Japanese acceptance of collective responsibility for its



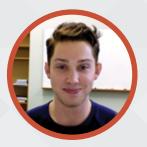
Sondre Lindahl

The Theory and Practice of Emancipatory Counterterrorism

In response to the 9/11 attacks, the US declared a global war on terror to fight and stop terrorists. Ironically, the efforts that were meant to counter and reduce terrorism have resulted in even more terrorism against the West. This thesis takes the conspicuous failures of the Global War on Terror, with violence as a means to counter terrorism, as the starting point for an investigation into an alternative framework for counterterrorism. More specifically, this thesis aims to construct a counterterrorism approach that is rooted in the notion of emancipation.

This thesis draws on Constructivism, Critical Theory, Critical Security Studies, Critical Terrorism Studies, and Peace and Conflict Studies to construct an ideal-type model of counterterrorism, which holds an explicit view on the need for means/ends consistency - a position that leads the thesis to reject the use of violence in counterterrorism. With the construction of the ideal-type model, this thesis shows that it is theoretically possible to offer a non-violent, emancipatory alternative to the violence-based War on Terror. In addition, it conducts an analysis of Norwegian counterterrorism which reveals that many aspects of the ideal-type model are already practiced by a Western state indicating that emancipatory counterterrorism is practically feasible.

The thesis will be published by Routledge (2018) under the title: A Critical Theory of Counterterrorism: Ontology, Epistemology, and Normativity.



John Gray

Owning Peace: Assessing the Impact of Local Ownership of Police Reforms on Post-conflict Peace

In the aftermath of armed conflict the (re) establishment of well-functioning and legitimate security institutions is touted as fundamental for the development of sustainable peace. Postconflict police reform, often carried out with considerable involvement from external donor organisations, has become one of the most frequently implemented mechanisms of peacebuilding. Unfortunately, the track record of post-conflict police reform is, so far, mixed at best. The overall aim of this study is to provide new empirical and theoretical insights into the effects of local ownership on post-conflict peacebuilding by asking: How does the local ownership of postconflict police reform impact post-conflict peace?

This study takes a mixed methods approach. The participants were from external donor organisations, Kosovo Police and government personnel, and members of civil society.

The findings of the quantitative study suggest that local ownership plays a vital role in the promotion of post-conflict peace. The findings from the qualitative study show that local ownership was significant for the success of Kosovo's police reform program and for its overall stability.

Through deepening our understanding of local ownership, the findings of this research shed light on how to improve the implementation of post-conflict police reform processes so that they are better able to meaningfully improve peace in post-conflict societies.



Sylvia Frain

Fanohge Famalåo'an & Fan'tachu Fama'lauan: Women Rising Indigenous Resistance to Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago

This project examines how Indigenous women nonviolently resist the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization by the United States in the Marianas Archipelago. As "protectors and defenders" of their families, communities, and natural environment, CHamoru and Refalawasch women employ digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance, based and sustained within ancient matriarchal systems and matrilineal genealogies and shared across the new media platforms: Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.

This thesis argues that the United States (US) reinforces and relies on imperial ideologies and the "protector/protected" narrative to justify everyday and expanding militarization. Everyday militarization is fulfilled through the continued political status as insular areas belonging to the United States federal government while expanding militarization is justified through the Pacific pivot foreign policy carried out by the US Department of Defense in the name of national security.

The resistance is much more complex than the local population versus the US government and military. Throughout the thesis, the women articulate that they are not "anti-military" or "anti-American." Instead, their resistance is based on the premise that both the US federal government and the US Department of Defense must address unfulfilled commitments and abide by previous agreements.



Mahdis Azarmandi

Colonial Continuities – A study of anti-racism in Aotearoa New Zealand and Spain

Drawing on critical race and decolonial theory, the thesis seeks to interrogate the lack of engagement in anti-racist work and Peace and Conflict Studies literature with race and colonialism as structuring mechanisms of much of the conflict and violence that afflicts the world today. Moreover, this thesis seeks to explicate the role of colonialism in shaping conceptualizations of race and racism and how the very concept of race (and whiteness) is placed in relationship to the historicity of racism within anti-racist discourse in Spain and Aotearoa New Zealand. The thesis finds that anti-racism is practiced by rejecting the concept of race altogether. Identifying the colonial encounter as fundamental to the discursive formation of race, the thesis interrogates how coloniality circumscribes the possibilities of anti-racism.

Discourse analysis of antiracism materials highlights how the disregard for coloniality's historical continuities is reflected in the absence of engagement with white privilege alongside racism. The dissertation demonstrates how the structure of whiteness, in which anti-racist groups exist, impacts and perpetuates patterns of forgetting and ignorance. For anti-racism this means that not engaging racism in its past and present iterations, and failing to conceptualize race and racialization as historically evolving, runs the risk of re-producing violence and perpetuating racial injustice.



Daniel Fridberg

Military Order Disobedience: An Analysis of Personal and Political Transformation

The discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies attempts, in part, to understand the origins of conflicts and to propose strategies of intervention aimed at transforming the attitudes of the conflicting parties. However, although there is a large range of intervention approaches, understanding the nature of the desired transformation on an individual level is still incomplete.

This project aims to identify and conceptualize processes of personal transformation in conflict situations, by analysing the personal narratives of soldiers in Israel, who, during their military service, chose to disobey an order or to object to carrying on their military service entirely, for conscientious reasons. The question this study addresses is: what are the social and psychological mechanisms which generate military obedience, and what enables some soldiers to challenge and overcome these impediments.

Using Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA), 23 Israeli selective conscientious objectors (SCOs) were interviewed to answer these questions. The analysis sheds light on the social, cognitive, emotional and moral aspects of the transformation process and produced an integrative model of transformation.

This study contributes to the understanding of personal transformative processes leading to the nonviolent practice of SCOs and can potentially provide the foundation for developing a multi-dimensional conflict intervention strategy.



Babu Ayindo

Arts, Peacebuilding and Decolonization: A Comparative Study of Parihaka, Mindanao and Nairobi

Within the resurgent, academic field of arts-based peacebuilding, very few studies examine the 'power of the arts' in resolving conflicts with emphasis on the particularities of 'post-colonial' environments.

Deploying a decolonizing lens, this study seeks to explore how arts-based initiatives, while composing works and processes of meaning, beauty, and imagination, simultaneously work towards breaking the apparent cycles of violence in 'post-colonial' contexts. The study focuses on arts-practices and approaches in three 'post-colonial' sites: Parihaka/Taranaki in Aotearoa/New Zealand; Mindanao region in Philippines; and urban Nairobi in Kenya.

It is my thesis that the nature of Indigenous arts practices provides a platform and resource both for a (re)discovery of Indigenous wisdom from colonial legacy and creative decolonizing responses to conflicts in 'post-colonial' environments. The process of decolonization needs be an integral part of building *justpeace* through context-specific initiatives that focus on rediscovery, resistance, conscientization, healing and dialogue.

These Indigenous cultures of peace and nonviolence were, and continue to be, encoded in orature and other hybridized arts. In this spirit, this thesis also reexamines dominant assumptions on the 'power of the arts' in building peace and establishes the need to validate, elevate and amplify Indigenous Peacebuilding, providing practical suggestions and recommendations to scholars and practitioners engaged in arts-based peacebuilding in 'post-colonial' contexts.



Wearing Two Hats

Since June this year I have laid down the Directorship of the Centre and reduced my active teaching commitments in the Centre to one day a week. Because I am not yet ready to retire, I was appointed Director of the Toda Peace Institute, based in Tokyo, Japan, as from the beginning of July. I am able to direct the Institute from Otago and have rented my Centre office for Toda four days a week and commute to Japan when and as necessary.

I was fortunate to be able to employ one of my former students and a recent doctoral graduate, Dr Ria Shibata, a Japanese national, who has worked alongside me in organizing and bringing to fruition a full schedule of meetings and workshops over the last six months.

The Toda Peace Institute is a research and practice programme covering four main thematic areas:

- (i) Co-operative Security, Arms Control and Disarmament
- (ii) Climate Change and Conflict
- (iv) Building Stable Peace in Northeast Asia
- (v) Nonviolence and Peacebuilding

To this end, Toda organized its first Tokyo Colloquium in March this year on Challenges to Global Peace. This brought together leading policy makers, Think Tank Leaders, Academics and NGO representatives for discussions on the major dynamics undermining world peace, sustainable development and the non-violent resolution of conflict.

This was followed in June by a high level workshop of academics, practitioners and social movement activists in Washington DC on ways of combining the nonviolence and peacebuilding communities.

While each group could see the value and utility of the other for their projects, in reality, social movement theorists and activists want a focus on resistance while peacebuilding theorists and practitioners want to seek collaborative negotiated solutions to problems.

Most recently I organized and co-facilitated a High Level Workshop in London on Cooperative Security, Arms Control and Disarmament. This brought together policy makers, academics and diplomats in order to explore ways in which the gulf between proponents of and nations supporting the Nuclear Ban Treaty could talk to Nuclear States and their allies – who favour more incremental, step by step approaches to disarmament. This was one of the first times, since the Ban Treaty was passed in July, that these two groups have been able to talk together.

I went from this London meeting to one organized by the United Nations Asia Pacific Centre for Disarmament Affairs and the Republic of Korea (in Jeju Korea) on ways in which nuclear states might make progress towards fulfilling their Article 6 commitments in the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty. There is little doubt that these are gloomy times for combatting rising military expenditure, and for speaking up for the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction.

There was agreement at this meeting that the disastrous Presidency of Donald Trump and the global instability that he has generated, somewhat paradoxically, created some opportunities for more creative thinking about how to guarantee peace and stability in a world seemingly moving in the opposite direction.

Overhanging the Jeju meeting was very real existential nuclear threat from North Korea. There is no humane alternative to a negotiated solution to this threat. I was impressed by all those who were continuing to work for negotiated solutions. Toda, the Asia Pacific Leadership Network, and the European Leadership Network, along with the ROK, are organizing a meeting for Seoul in March 2018 on maintaining virtuous processes to replace the vicious ones in East Asia. So while I am no longer responsible for directing the Centre, my current work is building on all the theoretical and practical knowledge that the Centre has been promoting for the last ten years. I am sure that there will be chances to include doctoral students in our work as it unfolds over the next 3-5 years.

Professor Kevin P. Clements

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Student-organised Hui a big success

The Radical Nonviolence in Aotearoa Hui took place from 20 -22 November at Puketeraki Marae, Karitane. It was co-organised by National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies PhD students, Griffin Leonard and Joe Llewellyn.

The Hui brought together scholars, academics, students, community leaders, practitioners and activists with an interest in, and commitment to, pursuing a more just world and creating nonviolent communities. The aim of the gathering was to allow people to discuss what it meant to practice nonviolence in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand - a colonised space, share their experiences in peaceful community-building, learn from other participants and facilitators, provide training, and to develop networks with one another through which we might continue our work. Forty five people attended the Hui. Participants came from places as far afield as the USA, Sweden, and Australia, as well as from all around Aotearoa. The majority came from and work within the local Otago community.

The two and a half days of the Hui were run as a series of facilitated workshops. Workshop topics included discussions around Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the experiences of members of the Parihaka community and training in nonviolence. Participants also took place in a number of structured discussion groups designed to facilitate dialogue on bringing social change. Workshop facilitators included Professor Stellan Vinthagen (Sweden/USA), Dr Janine Joyce (Dunedin), Maata Wharehoka (Parihaka), Hine Forsyth (Dunedin) and Tonga Karena (Parihaka).

We are hopeful that the Hui will serve as impetus for further events and actions that share similar kaupapa, both within the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and the wider community. Conversations and planning that have occurred among participants since the Hui's completion make us optimistic that the Hui will have an ongoing influence as participants continue to engage with one and other and assist each other in their activist/academic work.







Glorious weather and the beautiful environment at Puketeraki Marae in Karitane enhanced the valuable two day experience for hui participants.

Rethinking Pacifism Conference positive and uplifting

From 22-24 November, NCPACS hosted the *Rethinking Pacifism for Revolution, Security and Politics Conference* at the University of Otago.

Convenor Professor Richard Jackson was delighted to see the event come to fruition as a key outcome of his 3-year Marsden project. Invited keynote speakers for the conference were Professor Stellan Vinthagen (Sweden/USA), Professor Duane Cady (USA), Dr Molly Wallace (USA) and Moana Cole (NZ).

The conference explored what a new engagement with pacifism can offer to theories of revolution, practices of resistance, security policy and civilian protection, counterterrorism policy, political philosophy and democratic theory, state-building, peacebuilding, social justice movements, and other aspects of politics. The opening keynote from Professor Vinthagen discussed Revolutionary Nonviolence, and the case of the Zapatistas. Professor Cady spoke about eradicating the dangerous disease of warism, while Dr Wallace spoke about 'messy' pacifism and the need to find the human face of those with whom we disagree.

An important element of the conference was an exploration of what indigenous pacifist traditions have to teach Western political philosophy and international relations theory. Maata Wharehoka and Tonga Karena from Parihaka gave a powerful presentation on Parihaka and Peace, followed by a screening of the film *Tatarikihi: The Children of Parihaka*.

The feedback from the conference was very good. One participant commented that they enjoyed "having so many contributions that came together in taking pacifism seriously, but still presented disagreements that led to important and constructive discussions." Another remarked that they valued "the radical and nonconventional approach to pacifism, and the combination of activists and academics".

The conference will be followed by publications featuring many of the papers presented. A YouTube channel has also been set up, and recordings of presentations will be uploaded over the next few weeks. Details will be announced on the NCPAC website otago.ac.nz/ncpacs.



Conference participants assemble for the final session on 24 November.



Professor Richard Jackson (conference convener), Joe Llewellyn (presenter and Hui organizer) and Professor Stellan Vinthagen (keynote speaker) enjoy a break during the Rethinking Pacifism for Revolution, Security and Politics Conference in November.

Recent graduates

Congratulations to August and December graduates from the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

PhD

Dr Mahdis Azarmandi Dr Sylvia Frain Dr Daniel Fridberg Dr John Gray Dr Sondre Lindahl

Master of Peace and Conflict Studies

Briar Bradfield Watson Russell Hunter KhinKhin Lwin Sadiqa



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