## Presidential Address, Dr. Eileen Borris

Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence Peace Psychology Division APA

# **Political Forgiveness and International Affairs**

### Introduction by Linda M. Woolf, Ph.D.

It is my pleasure and honor today to introduce Dr. Eileen Borris, President of the Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology Division 48 of APA.

Dr. Borris is an internationally known and highly respected peace practitioner, educator, and trainer whose work spans the globe focusing on issues of diplomacy, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and reconciliation. For over 20 years, Dr. Borris has worked extensively and tirelessly to help build more peaceful communities especially with groups and in regions marred by destructive conflict. In 1992, Dr. Borris founded Peace Initiatives, a non-profit organization promoting peacemaking and conflict resolution. She has worked in such disparate places as the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Throughout her work she strives to teach about processes of forgiveness and reconciliation within the broader context of conflict resolution and international peacebuilding.

I could certainly speak much more extensively about Dr. Borris' professional efforts. However, the important point to note is that Dr. Borris' life exemplifies the adage of making the world a better place to live through positive action for peace.

In relation to the Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence, Dr. Borris is an unsung hero. I've discovered through the past year, that Eileen is not one to draw attention to herself, her accomplishments, or the many hours, days, and weeks she has spent working on the behalf of the Society. Whether focusing on smaller but nonetheless important tasks such as changes to the logo or highly significant projects such as her presidential initiative involving a Diversity Task Force within the Society, Eileen has worked gracefully and often graciously directed the recognition for such efforts to others. I can only hope to be half as good of a Society leader as she has exemplified in this past year.

On a personal level, I am proud to call Eileen a friend and I don't have enough words to express my appreciation for her friendship and support over the past year. I am a better person for knowing and learning from Eileen. She is truly an amazing human being.

It is my pleasure to introduce to you today, Dr. Eileen Borris.

# Presidential Address Political Forgiveness and International Affairs Dr. Eileen R. Borris August 18, 2005 - Washington DC

I remember when I was first asked to run for the Presidency of this division. I kept turning it down - mostly because I dreaded the thought of having to give a Presidential address! Then a very wise friend of mine suggested that I talk about what I love doing and why I love it so much. I must admit I thought that would be very fitting for this occasion. And so this probably does not come as a surprise to some of you that I would choose to talk about forgiveness, something which is so very important to me and which has inspired my work throughout the years.

I would like to begin by telling you something about myself. I am a second generation Holocaust survivor. My father left Germany in 1933 after having a run in with the Gestapo. He had two younger brothers who left Germany a few years later. Both of the brothers went into the US army and one of them worked undercover as a spy for the US government completely changing his identity. My father claimed to be an atheist as an adult, the uncle who became a spy permanently took on a Christian identity and denied any ties to the Jewish religion and the youngest brother became a practicing conservative Jew. While growing up my father seldom talked about his life in Germany and on a very rare occasion a story would come out about crystal night but beyond that there was total silence.

I remember as a child having thoughts of Nazi Germany and being horrified. How can people do such ghastly things to one another? I also remember hearing the words "never again" and thinking "never again for anyone." This was probably the time when the seeds where planted for what I was to do in my adult life.

While going to graduate school and living on the upper west side of Manhattan I frequented many of the wonderful bookstores around Columbia University. This is where my love for studying spiritual disciplines and for forgiveness got its start. Soon after graduating a series of unexpected events brought me to Odessa in the Ukraine. It was just when Gorbachev came to power and we were still referring to the Soviet Union as the "Evil Empire." I was with a group of people who referred to themselves as "citizen diplomats." When I arrived in Odessa I was greeted by my Russian counterpart who looked as though she could be my sister. We became very close friends and I began to share my experiences of being on Russian soil and she and her friends began sharing

their stories of how they perceived Americans. Through our conversations I realized how easily it was for all of us to create the face of the enemy. I realized that what we really needed to do was to forgive ourselves and each other for the perceptions we held of one another. Through our conversations a new type of relationship emerged. I began to think more about the concept of forgiveness and its importance especially with groups in conflict and began to sense that because of this trip my life was about to change - And it did.

I came back to the states and started to inquire of at all places the Foreign Service to find out if anyone was talking about forgiveness and international affairs. Most people where clueless about what I was talking about. As I began to research this more I came across a story which I would like to share with you today because of its significance in the work of forgiveness. It is the story of Irene Laure, a French woman who had the courage to forgive and by this one act was able to change the face of Europe.

Irene was a rebel against injustice from her earliest days. She was also taught to be a German hater having grown up in France during World War I and later suffering at the hands of the Nazis during World War II. In her youth Irene was a nurse. One evening during the early days of the occupation Irene heard the sound of marching boots shattering the quietness of night. Suddenly Irene was surrounded by a German patrol, with their torchlight blinding her and their harsh orders deafening her ears. She was pointing to her nursing bag hoping it would save her. Instead she was propelled forward by the muzzle of a machine gun in the small of her back wondering if this meant her death.

Anger began fermenting inside of her beginning that evening in May of 1940 when the Germans entered Paris. She vowed at that moment that no matter what happened she would never surrender. Irene was part of the resistance movement and as that dark night was slipping into dawn Irene had no regrets about this, even if the journey of her life was about to end. That night became one of many close encounters.

Irene was a poignant example of a human being wounded by the atrocities of violence and war. Yes, she and her family suffered in so many ways. Just surviving World War II was an extremely painful ordeal. Standing in queues for food, Irene would wait one hour, two hours, perhaps three or four hoping that something would be given to her before she heard the fateful words "no more." Never mind the times when she would finally make it to the front of the line, and into her outstretched hands she would receive just two sardines. She would leave with her basket cruelly light in her hands. Irene rejoiced when she heard Allied bombers flying over head knowing that there would be more destruction to Germany. After the war she witnessed the opening of a mass grave containing the mutilated bodies of some of her comrades. This experience served to reinforce her longing for the total destruction of Germany.

Her heart now frozen, Irene never held out the possibility that there could be an understanding where the Germans were concerned.

This story illustrates that no one is immune to the toxins of anger and hatred. It is like falling into quicksand with seemingly no way of getting out unless someone else who is not caught up in the quagmire of debris can extend a helping hand.

Irene Laure received that extended hand, although at the time she did not recognize it. During the summer of 1947 she received an invitation to attend a conference in Caux, Switzerland. Irene was under the assumption that no Germans would be there and accepted the offer. She found the Mountain House where the conference took place and the surroundings to be magnificent, but to her horror 150 Germans were also invited. This group was the first to be permitted to leave the country after the war. It did not matter that they may have suffered too during the war. After all, in Irene's mind they were Germans. Once the conference began, Irene and mostly any one else who was French got up and walked out if any German spoke to the assembly. At one point when Irene was getting up to leave, an American Lutheran Minister, Frank Buchman posed a question to her asking how could there be a united Europe without Germany. She was at first shocked that anyone would ask her such a question but then something inside of her made her question the possibility of doing something different.

When Irene began to question her experience she unknowingly made a commitment to look deeper within herself. Irene went to her room and for two and a half days wrestled with the question of whether she would be willing to give up her hatred for the sake of a new Europe. She revisited all the reasons why she should hate the Germans and felt extremely justified in holding on to her anger. Then the battle within Irene became more intense. Was hatred and revenge going to give her what she really wanted? Irene then realized that "hatred, whatever the reasons for it, is always a factor that creates new wars." Irene did a great deal of soul searching during those few days. She finally left her room to have lunch and rejoin the conference to share with the participants what had happened to her while in her room. During lunch a German woman sat with her. There was a long silence during the time they were eating. Finally Irene broke the silence.

Irene said to this German woman, "You represent what I hate most in the world. You cannot imagine what my country has suffered because of you. Our women and our children are nothing but skeletons. Our best men were tortured and killed. Do you know how my son, Louis, suffered? They tried everything. He never talked. But the state we found him in! He was a wreck, a wreck. And the walking corpses who come back from your camps! I have to receive them at the Lutetia Hotel. . . . "

As Irene spoke the German woman's hands trembled. Irene spoke for a long time sifting through her terrible memories of the Resistance. When she was finally finished there was a long silence. Only then did Irene look at the woman she was addressing. Irene made one more comment.

"The reason I am telling you this, Madame, is that I want to be free of this hate."

There was another long pause as though time stood still. It was now the German woman's turn.

"I would like to talk to you about myself, if I may," said the young woman at last. "My husband was part of the July 20th plot against Hitler. He was arrested. He was hanged. While I was in prison my two children were taken away from our family and put in an orphanage under false names. Now that I have managed to find them again, I am bringing them up as best I can. I realize that we did not resist enough, that we did not resist early enough and on a scale that was big enough, and we brought on you and ourselves and the world endless agony and suffering. Because of this you have suffered terribly. I want to say I am sorry."

That afternoon Irene asked to address the assembly. Many knew her background but no one really knew what happened in her room or the effect the conversation with Frau von Trott had on her attitude. Speaking to six hundred people in the assembly hall Irene spoke honestly about her experiences with the Germans and what she felt. She went on to say:

"I have so hated Germany that I wanted to see her erased from the map of Europe. But I have seen here that my hatred is wrong. So I wanted to say I am sorry and I wish to ask the forgiveness of all the Germans present in this Assembly Hall today. One cannot forget, but one can forgive" (Henderson, 1994 p.22).

After those words it became so quiet in the hall that you could hear a pin drop. Unexpectedly a German woman got up from her seat and walked onto the stage where Irene was standing. She wanted to shake Irene's hand in gratitude for what she just heard. Irene hesitated. For a moment she felt hatred rearing its ugly head again. Her hand was paralyzed. She prayed to herself that she could forgive and be healed from this hatred. Then suddenly a miracle happened, a moment of grace. Irene took this woman's hand and was overcome by feelings of liberation as though a great weight had been lifted from her shoulders. Irene finally felt free. She realized that *forgiveness was her ultimate freedom*. There was a total transformation in Irene's thinking. By being able to see the world through the eyes of forgiveness, Irene's life took on new meaning. At that moment she made the commitment to take the message of forgiveness and reconciliation to Germany and to the world.

The entire assembly was electrified. The guilt ridden Germans in the room were dumbfounded. Everyone knew that Irene had shown the only way open to Germany if people wanted to join in the reconstruction of Europe. Irene's story exemplifies the possibility and potential that a change in perception and transformation in thinking can bring. This is the miracle that only forgiveness and its processes can bring to life. Irene was willing to look into her heart, acknowledge her weakness and say she was sorry for her hateful thoughts towards the Germans. The result of her actions was profound. In saying, yes, this is what I have done, she was able to change her thinking, grow in compassion, and build a new relationship. Recognizing that we can release guilt and pain, we deepen our self-knowledge, compassion, empathy and spiritual growth.

Irene has shown us that forgiveness is more than the "turning of the cheek," or a sign of weakness. It took courage on Irene's part to experience her hatred and anger, and to admit it was wrong to hate her mortal enemy demonstrating that forgiveness was a decision. She chose to see not only her pain but was able too understand that Germans suffered too. With new knowledge she gained about herself and about other Germans, her perceptions began to change. Irene was becoming more sensitive to our human condition. She became more aware of similarities in all of us, which made it easier for her to let go of her long held resentments. She then could open herself up to forgiveness that added joy and richness to her life.

There is one more thing I would like to say about this story. It is about the moment Irene was freed from hate. This happened because of the power of grace. Grace is that inexplicable power which comes from something beyond ourselves that gives us the ability to forgive when we feel that within our hearts forgiveness is humanly impossible. In an instant we are moved from a heart of bondage to experiencing a well spring of love for our enemy. Grace is experiencing the power of an unknown source giving love and working in us and through us. In these moments we are able to accept someone for who they are, not for what they have done or what we attribute to them. When it happens, one feels the power and presence of a higher intervention which transforms our relationships as we experience an outpouring of this inexplicable love. As great as Irene's struggle was to forgive, so was her commitment to the forgiveness process. Until the very end of that afternoon in Caux, Irene struggled to take the German woman's hand who came up on the stage to thank Irene. Then in a surprising moment an incredible energy propelled Irene's hand and a profound change took place within Irene's inward being. There was something new being created inside of her, an interior renovation that healed Irene so she could move forward to new relationships with the Germans. Something was written upon her inner self where she had no need of outer instruction. Divine initiative came

to pass. This was the miracle Irene recognized. This is the power of grace. And this is what I love about the work of forgiveness.

I was so impressed by this story that I began asking myself questions about how can we set the stage within our families, our communities, in our nation and in the international political arena where we can engage in the kind of thinking that supports the forces of forgiveness. What as peace psychologists can we do no matter what area in the field we are working in that will support these healing forces? Almost 20 years later I am still asking these same questions - with one major difference. People are beginning to listen. What I would like to share with you now are some of the things I have learned along the way and how we as peace psychologist can make a difference in promoting forces of forgiveness.

I remember reading a story about an American physician traveling in Bosnia who witnessed an unspeakable act. Her translator, an ethnic Albanian Kosovar with whom she had traveled with for week's, pulls out a gun in a medical clinic and fatally shoots a surgeon. It turns out that the surgeon, who is a Serb, had committed a crime against the translator's family and now it was payback time (Bole, et.al, 2004).

Unfortunately these kinds of stories are all too familiar. It speaks of one of the most destructive forces in society, the spirit of revenge. Revenge perpetuates cycles of violence and until we are healed from our pain and suffering we are gong to continue seeking revenge.

We seek revenge because in our thinking we need to keep score. We keep a tabulation of who did what so we know how to balance the scales. All of us have adapted to a way of thinking that likes to keep track. This is the same kind of thinking that leads us to believe "an eye for an eye," but as Gandhi has told us, and then everyone would be blind.

Yet once in awhile we hear other stories which are just as amazing because they don't speak of revenge. In this particular story a Croatian woman sees her husband murdered in her home by Serbian attackers. Instead of pleading with the aggressors to spare her life and the lives of her children, the mother somehow gets their attention and lets them know that she will strive to forgive them. She tells them that she will not seek revenge and that she believes since her boys will be future priests, her children will learn about forgiveness and teach her how to forgive. With her words, the surprised assailants ended the slaughter in her home (Bole, et.al, 2004).

Both these stories are snapshots of the forces of unforgiveness and forgiveness. They illustrate opposing forces in human social relationships, colliding elements such as truth and myth, forbearance and revenge, empathy and dehumanization. The shooting at the clinic revealed a rejection not just of forgiveness in general but of forbearance from revenge in particular, along with

any thought of eventual reconciliation. One can not help but wonder what kind of "mytho-history" or distortions of the truth the translator indulged in before he was mentally prepared to slaughter his former neighbor, the surgeon? In contrast, the Croatian mother's vow of forgiveness offered a glimpse into the power of forbearance as well as the element of surprise that is often built into such an act which can lead to forgiveness. How was she, in those horrendous moments able not to become a vengeful woman but instead identify with her spirituality?

Donald Shriver Jr. in his book *An Ethics for Enemies: Forgiveness in Politics*, (1995) defines political forgiveness as "a call for a collective turning from the past that neither overlooks justice nor reduces justice to revenge, that insists on the humanity of enemies even in their commission of dehumanizing deeds, and that values the justice that restores political community above the justice that destroys it." From this definition it is clear that justice plays a large role in the political forgiveness process and that they are not mutually exclusive. Forgiveness does not require the abandonment of punishment; it requires the abandonment of revenge. Least we forget we are human and our actions are colored by our fears and perceptions, Pope John Paul II reminds us that there can be "no peace without justice, no justice without forgiveness." He continues to say "because human justice is always fragile and imperfect, subject as it is to the limitations and egoism of individuals and groups; it must include and, as it were, be completed by the *forgiveness which heals and rebuilds troubled human relations from their foundations*.

Before we can even begin to build societies which support the forces of forgiveness I think we need to really understand what political forgiveness asks of us. The elements which make up political forgiveness include forbearance, empathy, commitment and a willingness to forgive. We saw forbearance in the actions of the Croatian woman through her tolerance and restraint. One may ask did this woman already have the wisdom of suffering where she gained the realization that the road of vengeance would never relieve her sorrow. Our healing journey begins when we recognize that revenge will never bring our loved ones back and that the only way to heal our pain is by dealing with our inner feelings.

When we can finally let go of our need for revenge the next step in the forgiveness process is to develop empathy. We can only do this once we can let go of our anger and our guilt. Empathy for enemies may be the most difficult of all the attributes of forgiveness, especially because political conflict is fueled by dehumanization. The possibility of forgiveness can only exist if we are willing to re-humanize the perpetrator of crimes by identifying with the enemy's needs and fears. This can be a very tall order. Forgiveness can only come with a re-thinking of the perpetrator, to better understand the acts of the

perpetrator by understanding the psychological landscape of the individual or the group and by recognizing that if we were to walk in these people's shoes and have the life experiences that brought them to where they are today, we may not have behaved much differently.

If we can achieve this then we are setting the stage to repair the shattered relationships. This is when we ask the question "how do we co-exist and live alongside with the enemy?" Thinking about co-existence is the first step towards reconciliation however dim it may seem. It is shifting the tides away from the past and towards the future and including the role of forgiveness in a broader context.

### **Building Political Frameworks**

What can peace psychologists do to develop a political framework which supports the development of a culture of forgiveness? At the Woodstock Colloquium on "Forgiveness in Conflict Resolution" Rev. Andrew Christiansen, S.J. (Dec. 1996) addressed what he considered to be the foundation for such cultures to develop. To develop a culture of forgiveness we need 1) a public philosophy which supports ideas on forgiveness; 2) a supportive culture which makes it possible to think and do acts of forgiveness: 3) social and civic institutions which help institutionalize the thinking of forgiveness and 4) a political structure which does not undercut the plausibility of forgiveness by accusing others and making demands of others while at the same time not being allowed to make space for acceptance and love for others. A public philosophy sets the stage to foster the social conditions which promotes forgiveness and reconciliation. It requires that the citizens of that society are willing to discuss new approaches to political life. Unfortunately most citizens are unaware of the public philosophies that they are unwittingly supporting. For example the "cultural wars" in America, the struggle for the control of culture, the battle over controversial issues such as abortion, affirmative action or the separation of church and state are creating cultural divisions antithetical to setting the conditions for forgiveness. We are supporting a culture of attack, blame and scapegoating, creating a hardening of the heart towards one another which eventually leads people down the path of violence. Societies lose their moral compass and equilibrium between justice and forgiveness. To shift this tide and prepare the groundwork for forgiveness, society needs to converse in a public forum where people are willing to seriously listen to one another so there can be a coming together instead of a fragmentation of society. Within that conversation people can begin to build on common ground setting forth ideas of reconciliation. This is where ideas of forgiveness can be introduced and public opinion shaped. Unless we are willing to talk about the role of forgiveness in society, we will miss opportunities when they do arise and only hear the voices of hostility and

skepticism. We have to build a platform to help the general public be receptive to these new ideas. The more people that are involved in a public discourse about an empathetic and compassionate society, the more it gives people permission to act in those ways.

Culture provides a system of meaning using symbols and symbolic acts to express some of that meaning. These symbols can be manipulated to flame the passions of people leading them towards violence, or to create an environment which supports the qualities and values which represent forgiveness. Symbolic acts are one type of apology which helps the communities involved heal from the wounds of destruction and begin a new history. These symbolic acts serve as healing agents.

Once we have a public philosophy and culture which supports the conditions for forgiveness, then it becomes easier for our social institutions to do the same. Our social institutions structure our society whether they are our churches, educational institutions, trade unions or organizations such as the Red Cross. All of our institutions have specific functions which creates certain opportunities that can support the forces of forgiveness. The majority of conflicts which the world faces today can not be resolved by governments alone because of the issues and psychological healing involved. This has given way for other kinds of institutions and situations to emerge which are more equipped to work with the conflicts at hand in a transformative capacity. This is where educational institutions, human rights and religious groups, and other organizations which make up civil society can participate together in building a different kind of future and take up the important role in resolving the long term protracted conflicts we find ourselves in. In order to do this we need a transformation to take place in our thinking, within our culture and in our institutions if we want to bring about the changes which will make forgiveness possible. All of these components are necessary to create the environment for forgiveness to occur on a political level. Without this political forgiveness becomes virtually impossible.

### The Power of Forgiveness

Forgiveness has the power to transform our consciousness by changing the quality of our consciousness. We think of consciousness as being a diverse and complex world of thoughts, emotions and sensations, but is this the same as quality of consciousness?

I like to think of the analogy of the video projector running film through our minds and projecting its contents on the screen of life. The content of our mind gets played out in the world around us. What we see are our perceptions, thoughts and feelings being acted out in front of us. This is the content of consciousness. But what about the light which the projector also shines on our world which is used to see those projections? Without this light we would not

be able to see any of our images. Perhaps this light refers to the quality of consciousness. All the images that we project out are composed of this light, but we are usually unaware of the light itself. We are usually caught up in the projections and the story it tells. In much the same way, we know we are conscious but are usually only aware of our thoughts and feelings. We are seldom aware of consciousness itself. Perhaps this light is consciousness itself. Mystics have spoken of this Inner Light as the Divine light, the Eternal light that shines in every heart. But what if we could brighten that light? This is one of the gifts forgiveness can bring.

We have been given the tools to transcend our hate and anger through forgiveness during this time in history. As more individuals begin to chose the path of forgiveness and practice it in their daily lives, it begins to effect and becomes more of the collective consciousness of humanity. Our individual responses will provide the collective wisdom that will determine how we evolve. Through choosing forgiveness in our lives we in essence are insuring the future of humanity.

We are living in a time of crisis, and in a time of opportunity. We have two choices, that of destruction or that of a radical healing transformation. The stakes are so high that we must either be willing to make the necessary internal changes or eventually self-destruct. We have perpetuated conflicts and honored war. We have decided who shall live and who shall die. We defend ourselves in the name of peace and glorify this defensive kind of strength, not recognizing that our defense is a sign of vulnerability. We have lost touch with what is our true security, the security that the mystical teachings have tried to teach us. It is the security from the power of forgiveness, with its openness that dissolves boundaries.

In his book Out of Weakness Andrew Bard Schmookler (1988) reminds us that: The spiritual insights of Moses and Buddha and Jesus have been described as healing responses to the evils that befell humanity as we became caught in a world ruled by imperial power systems. . . These spiritual leaders taught that each human being is a repository of the sacred, and stands in direct relation to a transcendent source of Goodness. In a world where the apotheosis of man-made power threatened to rule unchecked, these mystics taught that obedience to a power greater than any made by man is the most essential human calling... Perhaps in our time, the new manifestations of power ratcheting up both the dangers and opportunities that confront us - are producing a new time of spiritual ferment. Perhaps from this will yeast up the spiritual insights now needed for healing us to a new level of wholeness.

It is not very common to consider the importance of spiritual principles and its psychological components in the survival of humanity. This reluctance reflects Western society's inability to understand the influence of our spiritual nature

and its critical role in the healing process of humanity. The nature of spirituality is to bring people together and to recognize the oneness in our lives in a world where we think about everything in terms of separation (i.e. separate nations, religions, races). We want to create a consciousness that heals our fragmented thinking. We need to move away from an egoic consciousness based in dualistic thinking to a higher state of awareness, which reflects the wisdom, compassion, and understanding that only our spirituality can bring to us. Can forgiveness become a political virtue? Some people, including those in the political realms search for new relations with each other all the time. They may not talk in terms of understanding, compassion, or forgiveness, but that does not mean that these virtues are not to be strived for. The question of what global society needs in order to recover from past sufferings so as to reach new, shared goals is repeated often. In answer to this Hannah Arendt states (1958) that there are two primary requirements: the ability of people to make agreements to live reciprocally in new ways which contrast to the ways of the past, and the freedom to enter into these agreements with integrity, setting aside, not the memory, but the continuing hostility and need for retribution associated with the memory of the painful past. This setting aside is what Arendt calls forgiveness.

Robert Frost once said, "To be social is to be forgiving (1979). Getting past our past is a prerequisite for entering our future. Brian Frost (1991) comments that new justice in politics is often crippled because the agents and victims of old injustice cannot repair the breach between them. Forgiveness allows us to repair that breach. Forgiveness may not guarantee that we will survive each other, but without it, our capacity to bring greater pain only increases. To learn how to forgive requires coming together; it cannot be done in isolation. We have created our own world and our reality, but this creation has been done largely on an unconscious level. To survive requires that we emerge from the darkness of our own individual minds and find the courage to embrace our common true nature. The challenges we face globally are so severe that we may have to undergo nothing less than a transformation of consciousness if we want to survive. How these changes develop will be of great consequence in the future. Forgiveness is the pivotal point in this transformation. If we can do this then there truly will be peace on earth. Let this be our legacy for our children and grandchildren and for all future generations.

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