## Philosophy Faculty Reading List and Course Outline 2015-2016

# PART IB PAPER 07: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

### **SYLLABUS**

- **Democracy:** justifications of democracy; forms of democracy.
- **Equality:** egalitarianism; labour, property and theft; the value of equality.
- Liberty: classical theories of liberty; contemporary theories of liberty.

#### **COURSE OUTLINE**

On one view of contemporary political philosophy its central question is: what should the state do? This course examines three topics that go to the heart of this question.

**The first topic**, democracy, asks whether a government is legitimate only if it is democratic, and what democracy requires. There are many different forms of democracy and this topic explores their competing strengths and weaknesses.

The second topic is a value with hidden complications: equality. Contemporary political philosophy sits on an "egalitarian plateau": the idea that human beings have equal worth is seldom contested. However, it is obvious that humans are far more different than they are the same, so what does it mean to say that people are equal? And given that human beings are in some important sense equal, what normative implication does this have for how the state should treat them? In what sense, if any, should people be treated equally?

**The third topic** addresses one of the fundamental values of contemporary political philosophy: liberty. At least in Western societies, more freedom is widely regarded to be better than less, and governments are thought to do better the more freedom they allow their citizens. But what is liberty and what exactly is its value? This question is explored through the writings of both classical and contemporary political theorists.

### **Prerequisites**

None

### **Objectives**

Students taking this paper will be expected to:

- 1. Acquire a detailed knowledge of some of the concepts, positions and arguments in the central literature on the topics of the course.
- 2. Acquire a sense of how the positions on different topics relate to each other.
- 3. Engage closely and critically with some of the ideas studied.
- Develop their ability to think independently about some of the ideas studied.
- 5. Construct their own arguments, responding to but not merely reproducing the arguments of others.

# **Preliminary Reading**

The following text books are listed in rough order from most to least introductory.

- PARVIN, Phil, and Clare CHAMBERS, *Political Philosophy: A Complete Introduction* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2012). [Teach Yourself series]
- MCKINNON, Catriona, ed., *Issues in Political Theory*. 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- SWIFT, Adam, *Political Philosophy: A Beginner's Guide for Students and Politicians*. 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2014).
- WOLFF, Jonathan, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- KYMLICKA, Will, Contemporary Political Philosophy. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).
- ZWOLINSKI, Matt, ed., *Arguing About Political Philosophy*. 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2014). [Anthology containing readings on many of the topics on the syllabus]

#### **READING LIST**

Items marked with an asterisk\* are important.

#### **DEMOCRACY**

## **Justifications of Democracy**

- \*ARNESON, Richard J., 'Defending the Purely Instrumental Account of Democratic Legitimacy', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11 (2003): 122-32. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9760.00170
- \*BARRY, Brian, Political Argument (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).
- \*COPP, David, Jean HAMPTON, and John E. ROEMER, eds., *The Idea of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). [Especially chs. by Arneson, Christiano, and Estlund]

- \*DWORKIN, Ronald, 'Political Equality', in his *Sovereign Virtue* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 184-210. Also available on Moodle.
- \*ESTLUND, David, *Democratic Authority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

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- \*HARRISON, Ross, *Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1993). Also available online at: <a href="http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=18248">http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=18248</a>.
- \*HONDERICH, Ted, 'A Difficulty with Democracy', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3(1974): 221-26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2264907
- \*WOLLHEIM, Richard, 'A Paradox in the Theory of Democracy', in P. Laslett and W.G. Runciman, eds., *Philosophy, Politics and Society: Second Series* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), pp. 71-87. Also available on Moodle.
- BRIGHOUSE, Harry, 'Egalitarianism and Equal Availability of Political Influence', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 4(1996): 118-41. <a href="http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.1996.tb00045.x">http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.1996.tb00045.x</a>.
- CHRISTIANO, Thomas, *The Constitution of Equality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Also available online at: <a href="http://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198297475.001.0001">http://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198297475.001.0001</a>. [Especially chs. 1-3]
- COHEN, Joshua, An Epistemic Conception of Democracy', *Ethics*, 97 (1986): 26-38. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2381404
- DAHL, Robert, On Democracy (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), Part 2.
- ESTLUND, David, 'The Persistent Puzzle of the Minority Democrat', *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 26 (1989): 143-51. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20014279
- HARRISON, Ross, *Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1993), ch. 12 'Threading some Paradoxes'. Also available online at: <a href="http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=18248">http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=18248</a>.
- WALDRON, Jeremy, 'Rights and Majorities: Rousseau Revisited', in J. Chapman and A. Wertheimer, eds., *Majorities and Minorities, Nomos 32* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1990), pp. 44-75. Reprinted in his *Liberal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 392-421.

# Forms of Democracy

# Representative Democracy

- \*BRITO VIERA, Mónica, and David RUNCIMAN, *Representation* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).
- \*BURKE, Edmund, *Speech to the Electors of Bristol*, (1774). Available online at: http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch13s7.html.
- \*MILL, John Stuart, *Considerations on Representative Government*, (many editions available, including online), especially chs. 3 & 4. Also available online at: <a href="http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/234">http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/234</a>.
- \*PITKIN, Hanna, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1972).
- \*URBINATI, Nadia, and Mark E. WARREN, 'The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11 (2008): 387-412. http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053006.190533

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- PHILLIPS, Anne, *The Politics of Presence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), chs. 1-3. Also available online at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/0198294158.001.0001.
- RUNCIMAN, David, 'The Paradox of Political Representation', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15 (2007): 93-114. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2007.00266.x
- SAUNDERS, Ben, 'Democracy, Political Equality, and Majority Rule', *Ethics*, 121, no. 1 (2010): 148-77. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/656474">http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/656474</a>

## Deliberative Democracy

- \*BENHABIB, Seyla, ed., *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996). [Chs. by Habermas and Young]
- \*CHRISTIANO, Thomas, 'The Significance of Public Deliberation', in J. Bohman and W. Rehg, eds., *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 243-77. Also available on Moodle.
- \*COHEN, Joshua, 'Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy', in A. Hamlin and P. Pettit, eds., *The Good Polity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 17-34. Reprinted in J. Bohman and W. Rehg, eds., *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 67-91. Also available on Moodle.
- \*GUTMANN, Amy, and Dennis F. THOMPSON, *Democracy and Disagreement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), chs. 1-4 & 6.
- \*MANSBRIDGE, Jane, et al., 'A Systemic Approach to Deliberative Democracy', in J. Parkinson and J. Mansbridge, eds., *Deliberative Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-26. Also available online at: http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139178914.002.
- DRYZEK, John S., *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Also available online at: <a href="http://doi.org/10.1093/019925043X.001.0001">http://doi.org/10.1093/019925043X.001.0001</a>.
- ELSTER, Jon, *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). FISHKIN, James S., *Democracy and Deliberation* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1991).
- MACEDO, Stephen, ed., *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- MOUFFE, Chantal, 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?' Social Research, 66, no. 3 (1992): 745-58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971349
- OWEN, David, and Graham SMITH, 'Survey Article: Deliberation, Democracy, and the Systemic Turn', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 23, no. 2 (2015): 213-34. <a href="http://doi.org/10.1111/jopp.12054">http://doi.org/10.1111/jopp.12054</a>
- PARVIN, Phil, 'Is Deliberative Democracy Feasible? Political Engagement and Trust in Liberal Democratic States', *The Monist*, 98, no. 4 (2015). [Forthcoming].
- SUNSTEIN, Cass, and Redie HASTIE, 'Four Failures of Deliberating Groups', *University of Chicago Law & Economics, Olin Working Paper*, no. 401 (2008). http://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1121400

### **EQUALITY**

# **Egalitarianism**

- \*ARNESON, Richard J., 'Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare', *Philosophical Studies*, 56 (1989): 77-93. <a href="http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1475-6765.00455/epdf">http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1475-6765.00455/epdf</a>. Reprinted in L. Pojman and R. Westmoreland, eds., *Equality: Selected Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 229-41
- \*ARNESON, Richard J., 'Equality of Opportunity for Welfare Defended and Recanted', Journal of Political Philosophy, 7 (1999): 488-97. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-9760.00088/epdf
- \*COHEN, G.A., 'On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice', *Ethics*, 99 (1989): 906-44. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2381239">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2381239</a> Reprinted in M. Otsuka, ed., *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice and Other Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). Also available online at: <a href="http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=296502">http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=296502</a>.
- \*COHEN, G.A., Rescuing Justice and Equality (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), Part 1, especially ch. 1.
- \*COHEN, G.A., 'Where the Action Is: On the Site of Distributive Justice', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 26 (1997): 3-30. <a href="http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1997.tb00048.x">http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1997.tb00048.x</a>. Reprinted in his *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2000). .
- \*DWORKIN, Ronald, 'What Is Equality?', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 10 (1981): 283-345. Part 1 'Equality of Welfare' available at: <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2264894">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2264894</a>; Part 2 'Equality of Resources' at: <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2265047">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2265047</a>. Reprinted in his *Sovereign Virtue* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 11-119.
- \*FREEMAN, Samuel, Rawls (London: Routledge, 2007), chs. 3 & 4.
- \*RAWLS, John, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- \*RAWLS, John, *A Theory of Justice*. Rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), chs. 1-3 & 5.
- \*WILLIAMS, Andrew, 'Incentives, Inequality, and Publicity', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 27 (1998): 225-47. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1998.tb00069.x
- BURLEY, Justine, ed., *Dworkin and his Critics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). Also available online at: <a href="http://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996386">http://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996386</a>. [Papers by Cohen and Otsuka]
- CLAYTON, Matthew, and Andrew WILLIAMS, 'Some Questions for Egalitarians', in M. Clayton and A. Williams, eds., *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 1-19.
- DANIELS, Norman, 'Equality of What: Welfare, Resources or Capabilities?', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 50 (1990): 273-96. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2108044">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2108044</a>. Reprinted in his *Justice and Justification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 208-31.
- DANIELS, Norman, *Reading Rawls* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975; 2nd ed. 1989). [chs. by Nagel and Scanlon]
- FREEMAN, Samuel, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Also available online at: http://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521651670. [Chs. by Daniels and Van Parijs]

- KUKATHAS, Chandran, and Philip PETTIT, Rawls: A Theory of Justice and its Critics (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), chs. 1-3.
- POGGE, Thomas, Realizing Rawls (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- SEN, Amartya, 'Equality of What?' in S. McMurrin, ed., *Tanner Lectures on Human Values*. Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1980), pp. 195-220. Also available online at: <a href="http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/documents/a-to-z/s/sen80.pdf">http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/documents/a-to-z/s/sen80.pdf</a>. Reprinted in S. Darwall, ed., *Equal Freedom* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1995).
- SEN, Amartya, *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), chs. 1-3. Also available online at: http://doi.org/10.1093/0198289286.001.0001.
- WOLFF, Jonathan, 'Equality: the Recent History of an Idea', *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 4, no. 1 (2007): 125-36. http://doi.org/10.1177/1740468107077389

# Labour, Property and Theft

- \*COHEN, G.A., Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially chs. 2.-, 6, 9 & 10. Also available online at: <a href="http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511521270">http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511521270</a>.
- \*NOZICK, Robert, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), chs. 7 & 8.
  \*OTSUKA, Michael, 'Self-Ownership and Equality: A Lockean Reconciliation', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 27, no. 1 (1998): 65-92. <a href="http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1998.tb00061.x">http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1998.tb00061.x</a>. Reprinted in P. Vallentyne & H. Steiner, eds., *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 149-73.
- BARRY, Brian, 'Review of Anarchy, State and Utopia by Robert Nozick', *Political Theory*, 3, no. 3 (1975): 331-36. http://www.jstor.org/stable/191118
- BRENKERT, George, 'Freedom and Private Property in Marx', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 8, no. 2 (1979): 122-47. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2264931
- FRIED, Barbara H., 'Left-Libertarianism: A Review Essay', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 32, no. 1 (2004): 66-92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3557982
- LUKES, Steven, *Marxism and Morality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), ch. 4 'Justice and rights'.
- MARX, Karl, 'Critique of "The Gotha Programme", in T. Carver, ed., *Marx: Later Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 208-26.
- MARX, Karl, 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts', in D. McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977; 2nd ed. 2000), pp. 83-104.
- RYAN, Cheyney C., 'Yours, Mine, and Ours: Property Rights and Individual Liberty', *Ethics*, 87, no. 2 (1977): 126-41. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2380061">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2380061</a>. Reprinted in J. Paul, ed., *Reading Nozick* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), pp. 323-43.
- SCHWARTZ, Justin, 'What's Wrong with Exploitation?' *Noûs*, 29, no. 2 (1995): 158-88. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2215657">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2215657</a>
- TOMASI, John, *Free Market Fairness* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012). VALLENTYNE, Peter, and Hillel STEINER, eds., *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), chs. 1, 4, 13 & 14.
- WOOD, Allen, *Karl Marx* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), ch. 16 'Capitalist exploitation'.

## The Value of Equality

- \*ANDERSON, Elizabeth S., 'What Is the Point of Equality?' *Ethics*, 109 (1999): 287-337. http://www.istor.org/stable/10.1086/233897
- \*FRANKFURT, Harry, 'Equality as a Moral Ideal', *Ethics*, 98 (1987): 21-43. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2381290">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2381290</a>. Reprinted in his *The Importance of What We Care About* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 134-158 and also available online at: <a href="http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511818172">http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511818172</a>. Also in L.P. Pojman and R. Westmoreland, eds., *Equality: Selected Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 261-73.
- \*NAGEL, Thomas, 'Equality', in his *Mortal Questions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 106-27. Also available online at: http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107341050.
- \*PARFIT, Derek, 'Equality or Priority?' in M. Clayton and A. Williams, eds., *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 81-125. Also available on Moodle.
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- \*TEMKIN, Larry, 'Equality, Priority, and the Levelling Down Objection', in M. Clayton and A. Williams, eds., *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 126-61.
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- WILKINSON, Richard, and Kate PICKETT, The Spirit Level: Why Equality Is Better for Everyone (London: Penguin, 2010).

### LIBERTY

Excerpts of much of the listed material can be found in:

CARTER, Ian, Matthew KRAMER, and Hillel STEINER, eds., Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006). [Especially Parts I, VII and VIII]

MILLER, David, ed., *The Liberty Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006). Previously published as D. Miller, ed., *Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

## **Classical Theories of Liberty**

- \*HOBBES, Thomas, Leviathan, selected passages. Available on Moodle.
- \*KANT, Immanuel, *The Metaphysics of Morals*, selected passages. Available on Moodle.
- \*LOCKE, John, *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*, selected passages. Available on Moodle.
- \*MARX, Karl, 'On the Jewish Question', in D. McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977; 2nd ed. 2000).
- \*NEUHOUSER, Frederick, 'Freedom, Dependence and the General Will', *The Philosophical Review*, 102, no. 3 (1993): 363-95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2185902
- \*ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract*, selected passages. Available on Moodle.
- BENTHAM, Jeremy, *Of Laws in General*, selected passages. Available on <u>Moodle</u>. BRETT, Annabel, *Liberty, Right and Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), ch. 6 '.
- PETTIT, Philip, 'Liberty and Leviathan', *Politics, Philosophy and Economics*, 41, no. 1 (2005): 131-51. http://doi.org/10.1177/1470594X05049439
- RAWLS, John, 'Rousseau Lectures II and III', in his *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). Also available online at: http://site.ebrary.com/lib/camuk/detail.action?docID=10318537.
- RIPSTEIN, Arthur, 'Authority and Coercion', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 32, no. 1 (2004): 2-35. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2004.00003.x
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- SIMMONS, A. John, *A Lockean Theory of Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), ch. 6 '.
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# **Contemporary Theories of Liberty**

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- \*COHEN, G.A., 'Freedom and Money', in M. Otsuka, ed., *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other Essays in Political Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 166-92. Also available online at: http://lib.myilibrary.com/?id=296502.
- \*FILLING, John, 'Liberty', in M.T. Gibbons, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. 1st ed., (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015). Also on <u>Moodle</u>.
- \*HIRSCHMANN, Nancy J., 'Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom', in her *The Subject of Liberty* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 199-238. Also available online at: <a href="http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/451351">http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/451351</a>. Reprinted in Miller (above).

- \*MACCALLUM, Gerald C., 'Negative and Positive Freedom', *Philosophical Review*, 76 (1967): 312-34. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/2183622">http://www.jstor.org/stable/2183622</a>. Reprinted in Miller (above), ch. 5.
- \*PETTIT, Philip, Republicanism. A Theory of Freedom and Government (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), chs. 1-3. Also available online at: <a href="http://doi.org/10.1093/0198296428.001.0001">http://doi.org/10.1093/0198296428.001.0001</a>.
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