

# The Ahom look East

## Reconstructing Tai Ahom identity

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The Ahom people are an ethnic group native to Assam in northeastern India. Among Tai–Thai communities in Southeast Asia and southwestern China, the Ahom have long been recognized as a Tai group that has undergone ‘Indianization’ (Saikia 2004). My interest in the Ahom began in early 2025, when I received an invitation to the Tai Youth Festival in India, co-organized by the Shan Language and Cultural Committee of Myanmar and the Tai Ahom community. This immediately raised a question: why were the Shan involved?

While Thai academics are known for supporting the Ahom language revitalization movement, the Shan leadership role in this festival suggests a new dynamic in cross-border Tai relations. Considering Myanmar’s ongoing political instability and armed conflict in Shan State, the increasing engagement of Shan cultural intellectuals with the Ahom community raises further questions about their motivations and the potential implications of such alliances.

More than two decades ago, Werbner (1999) explored the creation of transnational ethnic worlds, noting that migrants and refugees can become cosmopolitan, engaging with diverse cultures much like social elites. Werbner argues that many so-called ‘renewed’ connections are often strategically invented or imagined. This article explores the evolving relationship between the Ahom and the Shan and considers the potential benefits each group may derive from such cross-border engagement.

Although the Ahom’s initiatives can be viewed within the framework of India’s Act East Policy – which positions the northeastern region as a gateway for economic integration with South and Southeast Asia – such outreach may also be understood in its own right as the ‘Ahom looks East’ movement. I argue that this initiative serves both as a strategic response to, and a challenge against, the rise of Hindu nationalist agendas within India. Through this engagement, the Ahom seek to articulate an alternative cultural identity grounded in Tai heritage and transnational alliances.

For the Shan, assisting other Tai groups in reclaiming their cultural practices may serve to position themselves as an ‘authentic’ centre or authority within the Tai world. Werbner (1999) notes that people with money, language skills and the ability to travel usually broker ‘renewed’ kinship. What resources the Shan bring remains unclear.

This article examines the evolving Ahom–Shan relationship in a post-globalization era, where groups are seeking to revive shared culture, strengthen alliances and expand influence. I argue that these ‘alliances of affinity’ represent a new form of supranational connection, characterized by hybridity, shifting boundaries between elite and ordinary members and the engagement of both heritage and popular culture. Such alliances are ultimately not rediscovered, but rather reconstructed to serve contemporary objectives.

Material used in this article is based primarily on week-long ethnographic fieldwork at the Tai Youth Festival in Dibrugarh, India, in January 2025. During the festival, I participated as an attendee, a speaker at an academic seminar and a Shan–English translator between the Shan delegates and the Ahom. My observations during the festival are informed by two decades of engagement with the Shan community in both Thailand and Myanmar, beginning with my PhD research and including periodic field



**Fig. 1.** Ahom priests display Buranji, ancient manuscripts, to Shan delegates, sharing the rich historical legacy of their community.

visits, interviews and participation in cultural, religious and political events.

While my long-term involvement with the Shan has given me substantial insight into Shan perspectives, my engagement with the Ahom community is more recent and primarily limited to the context of the festival. I do not claim deep prior knowledge of the Ahom. Rather, my objective in this article is to understand the renewed connection between the Shan and Ahom from both sides, considering their distinct socio-economic and political contexts.

### Renewing intra-ethnic ties across borders

Intra-ethnic relationships across borders have long existed among various groups. Morton (2015) observes that identity exchanges among minorities in China’s southwestern borderlands and their co-ethnic groups in neighbouring countries – such as the Dai–Lue, Miao (Hmong), Yao (Iu–Mien) and Hani–Akha – began as early as the 1990s. In some instances, state efforts to engage with ‘internal Others’ and their co-ethnics beyond China’s borders took the form of academic initiatives, with state-sponsored international conferences bringing together foreign scholars and elite co-ethnics.

Focusing on the Hani in China and the Akha in mainland Southeast Asia, Morton argues that the pan-ethnic Hani–Akha identity was initially promoted by the Chinese state but later championed by Hani–Akha intellectuals. He contends that these cross-border connections, spanning several countries, are best understood as ‘modern traditions’, negotiated by cosmopolitan actors and continuously shaped by interactions with modernity and local contexts. Similarly, Altung von Geusau (2000) observes that, in the absence of written history, the Akha utilize oral traditions like Akha *zang* to interpret their past and assert cultural heritage. The rediscovery of shared lineage with the Hani thus serves as collective memory and a powerful means of establishing ethnic identity.

The studies discussed above highlight several key points. First, ‘renewed’ transnational kinship is a recurring phenomenon among ethnic groups separated by nation-state boundaries, as seen in the cases of Akha–Hani (Morton 2015), Hmong–Mien (Jonsson 2009) and Tai–Thai relations (Moratto 2025; Walker 2009). Second, these

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connections are often initiated or supported by state actors, social elites or academics tracing origins or reinforcing cross-border ethnic ties.

However, as Werbner (1999) points out, migrants and refugees themselves can also participate in forging transnational ethnic connections. Increasingly, cases are emerging in which migrants and refugees establish bonds with co-ethnic 'kin' in their new locations.

In the case of the Wa-Lawa, Sankham (2021) examines how recent Wa migrants in northern Thailand strategically reconstruct their identities to navigate their position within the Thai state. Labelled as 'Wa Dang' (Red Wa) after 1999 owing to associations with the methamphetamine trade, they utilize social and cultural capital to counter stigma by aligning with the indigenous Lua and adopting the 'Lawa' identity, facilitating both integration and acceptance in Thai society. Similarly, Kuncoro (2018) discovers that Burmese Muslims migrating to Mae Sot, Thailand over the past two decades have sought to establish ethnic and religious ties with Thai, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim communities – often motivated by economic considerations.

While co-ethnic ties among cross-border groups are often shaped by political pressures or economic opportunities, studies of Tai and neighbouring peoples also highlight how identities are negotiated in relation to power dynamics. Scholars in the edited volume *Civility and savagery* (see Turton 2000) argue that mainland Southeast Asian history has frequently been cast through a 'civility versus savagery' lens, with lowland and elite Tai groups positioned as 'civilized' and upland or marginal groups as 'savage'. Evans (2000) notes that mutual accommodation is only possible when power is more balanced. Otherwise, dominant Tai groups can impose assimilation ('Tai-ization') on minorities.

Much like the pan-ethnic projects among the Hani and Akha, the Ahom's recent efforts to build transnational kinship with the Shan represent a renewal of historical and cultural ties, using shared heritage as a basis for present-day identity. While some pan-Tai connections have centred on rediscovering shared origins, the Ahom-Shan relationship centres less on reunification and more on constructing new solidarities in response to marginalization.

I refer to this as 'renewed alliances of affinity', resonating with Moratto's (2025) work among Tai groups across Asia, where exclusion encourages minorities to revive and reshape cross-border networks. This suggests that, in contrast to state-led Tai 'civilizing missions', marginalized groups like the Shan may also assert cultural authority by positioning themselves as authentic bearers of Tai identity within the broader pan-Tai community.

### Ahom dynastic history and culture

Records indicate that the Ahom people have lived in present-day Assam since the 13th century. They are descendants of the Tai people who migrated from the Yunnan region of China under the leadership of Sukaphaa, the founder of the Ahom kingdom. The Ahom kingdom shaped much of Assam's history, ruling over the Brahmaputra Valley for nearly 600 years (1228-1826) before falling to British colonial forces (Guha 1983).

Despite this influence, Assam remained little known outside the region until the British arrival in 1826, after which colonial policies reimagined it as a frontier. The 1873 Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation divided Assam into the 'inner line' (hill areas) and 'outer line' (plains), and in 1874 the region was designated a 'backward tract', further reinforcing its marginal status in colonial governance (Guha 1983; Saikia 2004).

Saikia (ibid.) argues that the construction of Ahom identity in the late 20th century was shaped by the region's

political, cultural and social dynamics, particularly as a response to dominant Assamese Hindu identity and broader Indian nationalism. Historically, Assamese elites sought inclusion within the Aryan Hindu fold but were often rejected, viewed as peripheral, low-caste and outside the Aryan lineage. This long-standing marginalization prompted the Ahom community to distance themselves from Assamese identity and politics, instead asserting a distinct identity rooted in their Southeast Asian – specifically Tai – heritage.

Saikia (2006) notes that efforts to reframe the Ahom within a broader Southeast Asian cultural sphere gained momentum during the 1981 International Conference on Thai Studies in New Delhi. At the conference, Ahom leaders met with Thai scholars. Together, they acknowledged their shared culture and discussed how Indian, Hindu and Assamese authorities had marginalized them. They advocated for a Southeast Asian orientation and called for economic empowerment through land reform, improved resource access and greater autonomy.

As this movement advanced, it evolved along two main trajectories: language revival and religious reformation (Inchan 2002; Saikia 2006). Following regional conferences, Ahom activists institutionalized their resurgence by founding the Ban Ok Publik Muang Tai (Eastern Tai Literary Society), which spearheaded the revival of the Tai Ahom language through publications, teaching materials and community education aimed at reconnecting the Ahom people with their linguistic heritage.

Alongside linguistic revival, the Ahom community also sought spiritual reclamation, aiming to distinguish Ahom identity from Hinduism. The movement centred on the worship of 'Phra' – a Buddha-like figure – and promoted rituals, prayers and dietary customs, including eating beef and drinking local alcohol that deliberately challenged Hindu norms to reinforce cultural distinctiveness (Saikia 2006).

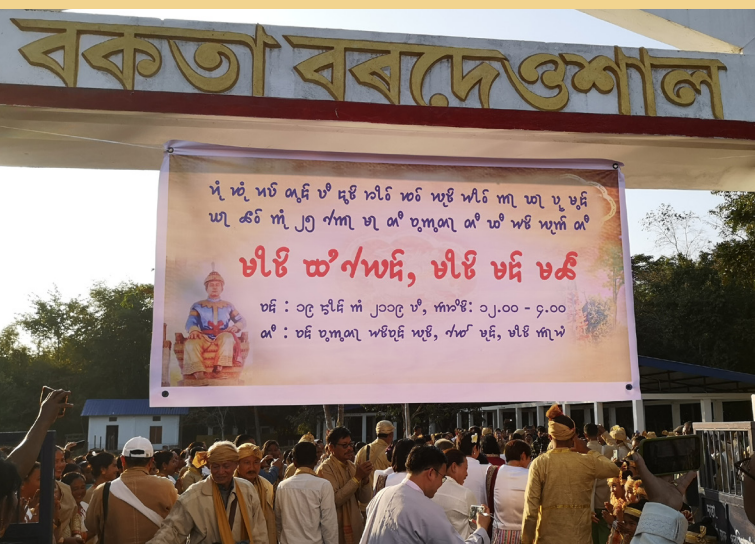
In the 21st century, with India's Act East Policy addressing regional instability and seeking to counter Chinese influence, relationships between the Ahom and Tai/Shan communities have become intertwined with these policy initiatives. However, as Saikia (2006) points out, these transnational connections are shaped by a much longer history of political, economic and cultural marginalization, setting them apart from more recent state-driven strategies.

### New cross-border connections

A key aspect of renewed Ahom-Tai connections is the movement to revive the Ahom language, which is now extinct as a spoken language. Today, Ahom people speak Assamese, and their language survives only in old manuscripts once used in royal courts and rituals. Revival efforts therefore focus on studying historical texts, reconstructing grammar and vocabulary and promoting the language in cultural and academic contexts.

Collaboration with Thai scholars has been vital, especially since the early 2000s when Thai linguists and historians helped to analyze ancient manuscripts like the Ahom *Buranji*. Their work led to the creation of textbooks and learning materials for new generations of Tai Ahom youth (Inchan 2002).

The old manuscripts, or *Buranji*, however, reflect the language of the early Ahom kingdom, dating back to the 13th century, and thus cannot fully meet the needs of contemporary language use. With no living native speakers, revivalists had to go beyond historical documents to address lexical and grammatical gaps. As the original vocabulary was often incomplete or outdated, they turned to other Tai languages, especially modern Thai, to fill these gaps and help standardize usage.



(From left to right, above to below)

**Fig. 2.** Ahom youth perform a traditional dance in front of Shan delegates during the villagers' welcome reception prior to the festival.

**Fig. 3.** A moment of cultural exchange when the Shan delegates tried traditional Ahom food for the first time.

**Fig. 4.** Ahom villagers near Dibrugarh welcoming Shan and Thai delegates during a cultural gathering celebrating shared Tai-Ahom heritage.

**Fig. 5.** Ahom children, dressed in traditional Ahom costumes with proper headdresses, warmly welcome Shan and Thai delegates to the event.

**Fig. 6.** Shan dancers from Mong Mao perform on stage wearing costumes believed to date back to the time of Sukaphaa.

**Fig. 7.** A group of women wearing Ahom-style headdresses, for which participants sought guidance from a Shan intellectual to ensure they were worn correctly.

**Fig. 8.** Peacock dance performed by a group of young Ahom.



This Thai connection proved valuable, though not uncontroversial. As one Thai scholar involved in the revival remarked:

I am not happy with the way they take lexicons and vocabulary directly from the Thai dictionary. For example, the word ‘dolphin’ (*pla-wan*) is not a Tai word. It is new, and they should not use terms that are not rooted in old Tai languages. But they said they want to borrow from Thai because Thailand is the biggest Tai group which has a nation state.

Debates over the ‘right’ approach to language revival and inconsistent collaboration with Thai scholars eventually led the revival’s momentum to shift elsewhere. In contrast, ties with the Shan people have proven more sustained and emotionally resonant. Unlike the Thai initiative, the Shan approach emphasizes kinship, continuity and living heritage. Recognizing their shared ancestry, the Shan have actively worked to maintain cross-border ties with the Ahom.

According to a Thai scholar, Shan involvement with the Ahom began after Thai delegates – accompanied by a Shan historian – visited Assam in the early 2010s. Since then, Shan cultural leaders have invited Ahom representatives to spend extended periods in Shan State and have sent Shan youth to Assam to teach Tai language and culture. Ahom participants have used these exchanges to practise Tai language again. They have learned cultural practices directly and heard oral traditions from the time of their ancestors. Shan delegates shared that when they accompanied Ahom visitors to Mong Mao – regarded in both oral and written traditions as Sukaphaa’s homeland before founding the Ahom kingdom – some Ahom participants wept with joy at seeing their ancestral homeland.

It should be noted that the umbrella group known as ‘Shan’ (who call themselves ‘Tai’) encompasses many sub-groups, including Tai Long, Tai Khun and Tai Mao, among others. While grouping these diverse communities as Shan can downplay important differences, Shan ethnonationalism in recent decades has fostered an ‘imagined community’ of a single Shan nation among them (Phunsuwan 2009). This process of ‘Shanization’ has promoted the Tai Long dialect as the national language, while emphasizing a shared origin in Mong Mao, portrayed in local chronicles as an early Tai political and cultural centre. Today, Tai Mao people identify as Shan but maintain pride in being recognized as the origin of Tai groups in Myanmar.

Stories about common origins drive the Shan-Ahom relationship. The Thai work with the Ahom differently. They recover texts and reconstruct language. The Shan bring something else. They offer living traditions, daily practices, personal connections. The Tai Ahom revival has moved from fixing a dead language to building family ties. Emotion matters now. So does cultural kinship. These bonds cross borders in ways academic linguistics never could.

### When the two frontiers meet

The Tai Youth Festival was held from 17-25 January 2025, with two main events taking place on the 21st and 22nd: a semi-academic conference and a cultural festival. The deputy minister of Arunachal Pradesh attended on the second day. His invited address made that day particularly important. The festival brought together participants from various Tai communities, with a strong presence from Ahom villages in Dibrugarh. These Ahom delegates not only attended but also actively contributed through a range of stage performances.

In addition to the Ahom, representatives from other Tai groups in Northeast India including the Tai Khamti, Tai Aiton, Tai Phake, Tai Khamyang and Tai Turung also took part. Among Assam’s six Tai sub-groups, the Ahom have the largest population. Unlike the other groups who

migrated from Myanmar around the 18th century, the Ahom arrived in Northeast India much earlier, which contributed to their eventual linguistic assimilation into Assamese. Consequently, most of the smaller Tai sub-groups have been more successful in preserving their spoken languages. There were also delegates from the Tai Lai community in Manipur, although they no longer speak a Tai language.

About 30 Shan participants came from Myanmar for the event. The delegation was led by Dr Sang Aik, a historian from Yangon originally from the town of Mong Mao. Among the group were about 20 female dancers, mostly from northern Shan State and connected to Dr Sang Aik through the Shan Language and Cultural Committee of Myanmar. They arrived about a week before the main event to teach traditional dance to Tai Ahom youth.

It should be noted, however, that the Shan delegates were not youths. Most were in their 50s and considered relatively wealthy. They explained that Shan youths could not afford to participate, as attending the festival required them to pay their own expenses. When asked why they were willing to pay to attend the event, the delegates said they wanted to come and see what their Tai brothers and sisters looked like.

One woman said: ‘We wanted to connect with them. We want them to know other Tai people. We want them to learn the Tai language, because their language has already been lost. If we can keep this connection, they will realize that we are all Tai. Their sense of Tai identity can be revived’.

The semi-academic conference took place on a large concert stage, with an audience mainly of villagers and youth from nearby communities. There were two speakers: Dr Sang Aik and I. My presentation addressed the Shan language revival, highlighting how modern media like popular music and Thai soap operas dubbed in Shan have helped spread the language at the grassroots level. I hoped these strategies would inspire the Ahom community in their own linguistic revival.

Although my role as an invited speaker may have suggested authority, I observed that the audience connected more with Dr Sang Aik, whose talk was directed at them and emphasized the Shan-Ahom connection. My presentation seemed academic, not authentic. As a Thai scholar outside both communities, I lacked the personal connections the audience valued.

Two moments from the event stood out to me. First, Dr Sang Aik spoke about the history of the Tai Ahom kingdom, emphasizing its former glory and the strength of its founder. He described the Tai race as large-hearted and powerful, lamenting that he no longer sees that spirit of ‘Tai-ness’ alive among the Ahom people today. He urged the audience to reclaim a sense of ‘royalty’, rooted in notions of kingship, greatness and belonging to a proud and expansive race.

The second moment came during the Q&A session, when an Ahom woman asked about the proper way to wear a headband, admitting that she was unsure which direction was correct. She also asked about the rules for wearing a sarong – specifically, whether married and unmarried women should wear it differently. Her questions, addressed to the Shan, reflected an implicit recognition of their authority and authenticity in matters of Tai cultural knowledge. Later, when I asked another Ahom woman for clarification on this question, she told me: ‘Now we have come to know that the way we used to wear the headress is not the right one. We can make a standard now’.

### Kinship performance at the Tai festival

One of the most striking moments of the Tai Youth Festival was the introduction of Shan traditional dances, particularly the peacock dance. This dance was performed by a

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group of Ahom youth who had learned it during a week-long workshop led by the Shan delegates. The performance drew great attention from the audience, and the Ahom youth expressed pride in mastering what was regarded as the authentic dance of the Tai people within just a week of training.

The Shan delegates not only taught the Ahom youth the dance but also brought with them elaborate, handcrafted peacock dance costumes from Shan State – gear that was both heavy and delicate. Their aim was to leave these costumes behind as gifts, hoping that the Ahom youth would continue to practise and preserve the dance long after the festival. They also presented costumes believed to represent authentic royal Tai women's attire from the time of Sukaphaa, offered as a special honour to the Ahom hosts.

Another memorable moment of cultural encounter was a song performance in which a Shan singer narrated the legend of the Ahom people, the story of their origins and ancestral journey. The song was a collaborative creation: the lyrics were first composed by an Ahom cultural leader, who then invited the Shan singer to adapt them into the Shan language and compose a melody in traditional Shan musical style. They translated the song into Assamese. It became the festival's theme song.

While the performance symbolized cultural exchange, it also subtly positioned the Shan as the authoritative voice in retelling Ahom history, suggesting a reversal in narrative ownership, where the Ahom's own story was mediated and returned to them through a Shan lens.

The stage show at the festival was filled with performances from various Tai groups representing Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. Besides the performances themselves, what stood out was the language spoken on stage. Tai Khamti, Tai Phake, and Tai Turung groups each spoke their own dialects. The speakers understood each other and felt connected. However, the Ahom, who no longer speak their traditional language, were unable to understand these dialects.

Representatives from the Ahom community often apologized for the loss of their language, attempting to demonstrate to the other Tai groups that they were actively working to revive it. The masters of ceremony, a man and a woman, announced the programme in Assamese and English, while the man also made an attempt to speak Tai Ahom – a language that has yet to be spoken in daily life.

This stage narrative and announcement underscored several dynamics: the fragmentation of language within the Tai community, the Ahom's ongoing struggle to reclaim their linguistic heritage and the performative aspect of language revival, where language is not just a means of communication but also a marker of cultural survival and identity. But the language revival showed its limits. Ahom is not a spoken language. Neither young people nor elders use it in everyday life. Nobody uses it at home or in the market. The ceremonial language has not become a living one.

On the final day of the festival, there was an important event that I unfortunately missed, but I would like to mention it briefly. The Ahom professor who accompanied me throughout the event shared a critical reflection on the decline of the Ahom people, stating: 'The decline of the Ahom people began when we adopted Hinduism'. She went on to explain: 'Once people started reading history, they realized where we went wrong by adopting Hinduism. We began to see that this was a very narrow path. Now, we are starting to see the light'.

The event that marked the conclusion of the festival was a religious conversion ceremony, where approximately 30 Ahom youth would convert from Hinduism back to Animism. According to the professor, Hinduism's many

regulations had made it impossible for the Ahom people to continue their traditional ancestor worship.

We cannot wear certain clothes, we cannot eat certain foods – all of which are crucial to our traditions. I am aware that Tai people adopted Buddhism in the 11th century, while our people became Hindu in the 16th century. We are not going back to Buddhism or Hinduism. Instead, we are returning to ancestor worship, which is the essence of being Tai before becoming Buddhist or Hindu.

This symbolic return to Animism reveals how the Ahom negotiate multiple temporal reference points in reconstructing their identity. At times, they seek renewed cultural connection with the Shan, incorporating contemporary elements of Tai-ness. At other times, they reach further back to an imagined pre-Hindu, pre-Buddhist origin to reclaim what they perceive as an uncorrupted essence.

The Ahom demonstrate that identity reconstruction is not merely a revival of the past, but a dynamic process of selecting, reinterpreting and positioning different temporal layers of heritage to serve present needs and future aspirations.

## Conclusion

The encounters between the Ahom and Shan communities during the Tai Youth Festival reveal the complexities of cross-border cultural exchanges. The Ahom work with other Tai groups, particularly the Shan, to reclaim their heritage. This cultural revival also resists BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) Hindu nationalist pressures. This 'Ahom looks East' movement is more than a mere cultural revival. It is a strategic assertion of alternative identity that resists the homogenizing forces of mainstream national politics.

From the Shan perspective, the festival can be seen as a continuation of a 'civilizing mission', as Dr Sang Aik emphasized to me in conversation: 'This is partly like coming to educate them. I came here several times over the past two decades. I see that they have made progress in reviving their culture and identity but they have to help themselves now'.

Dr Sang Aik's statement is revealing. The Shan have their own history of oppression: the Burman majority suppressed their culture and language for decades. Now they see the Ahom as long-lost brothers who have drifted away. Perceiving the Ahom as culturally distant from their Tai roots encourages the Shan to claim their place as the source of Tai culture. They want to be teachers. They want cultural authority. Through these roles, they hope to build a Tai alliance around their common past.

As I wonder whether this civilizing mission will persist beyond the festival, I notice on social media that many Ahom youth continue to share photos of themselves performing Shan-style dances during various Ahom cultural events. Remarkably, the peacock dance introduced by the Shan at the festival was chosen to represent Ahom heritage in the Indian national pavilion at World Expo 2025 in Osaka.

The aforementioned Thai scholar involved in the Ahom language revival objected to this choice, noting that the peacock dance is not originally Shan, but was created after the Shan embraced Buddhism. Ultimately, the interactions between the Ahom and Shan highlight the ongoing negotiation of cultural authority, as both groups navigate their histories and futures.

Seeking 'authenticity' in these exchanges would be misguided. I conclude that such alliances are always hybrid and continually evolving, shaped by both elites and ordinary people and expressed through ritual, heritage revival and popular culture. They are not simple rediscoveries of the past but active reconstructions to meet contemporary needs and aspirations. ●



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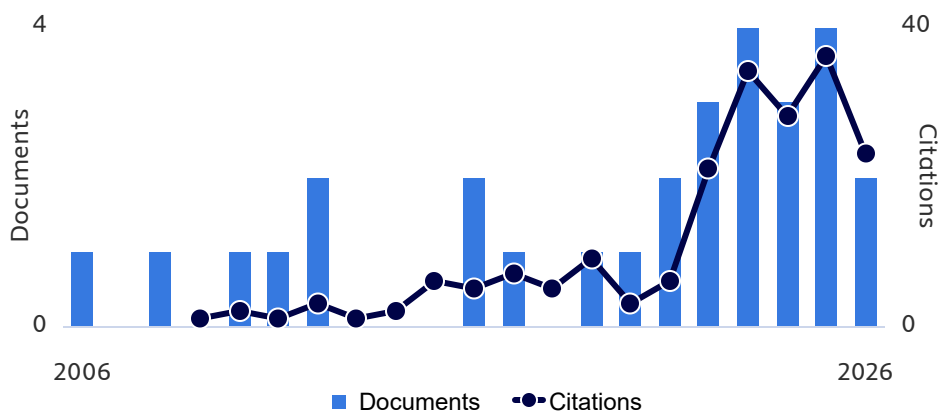
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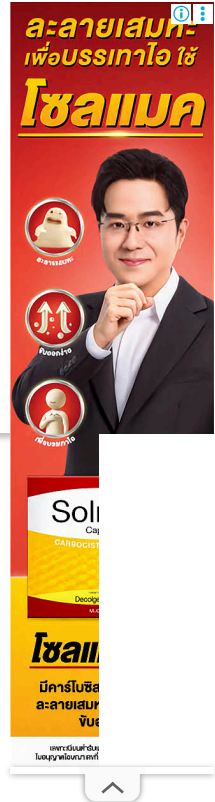
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United States | Universities and research institutions | Media Ranking

Country

United States



Subject Area and Category

Social Sciences  
Anthropology

Publisher

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SJR 2025

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H-Index

Q1 38

Publication type

Journals

ISSN

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Information

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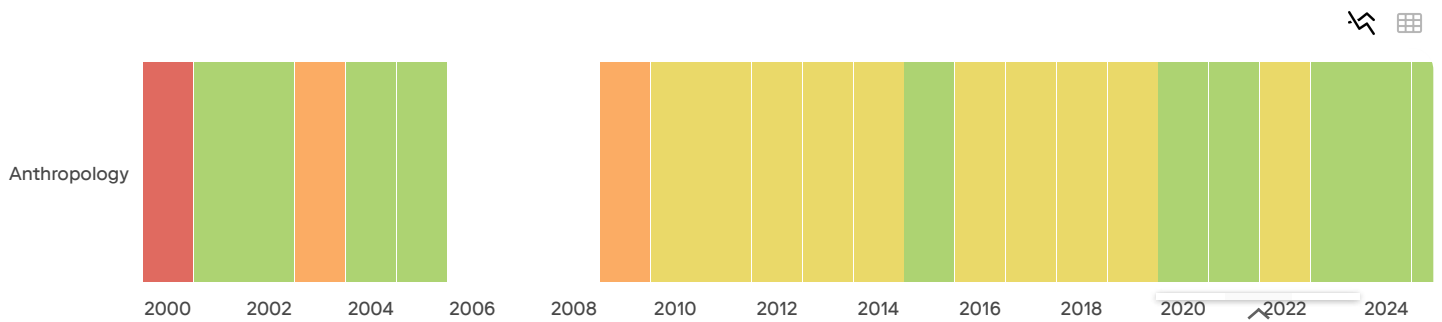


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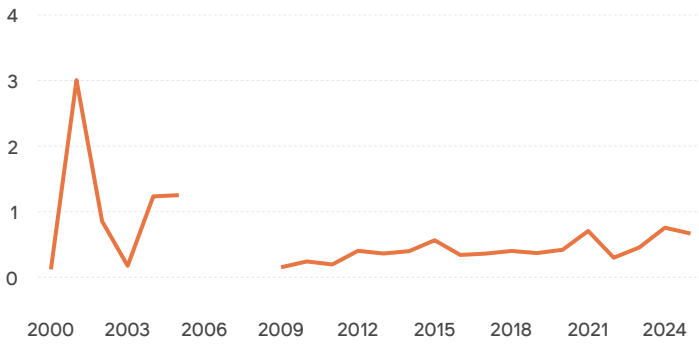
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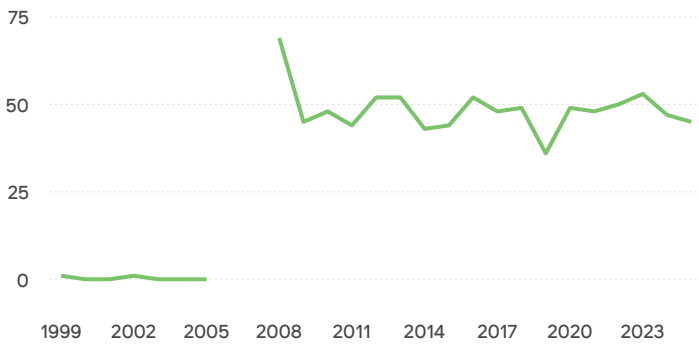


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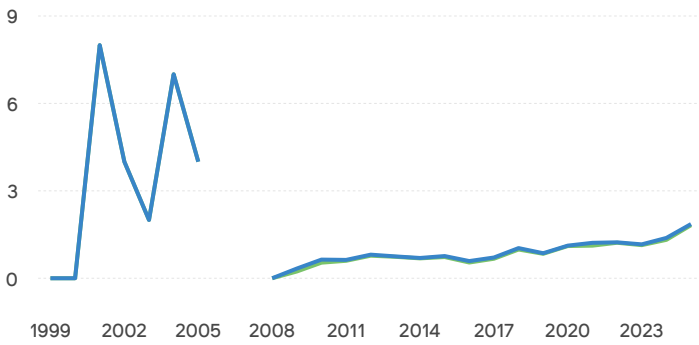


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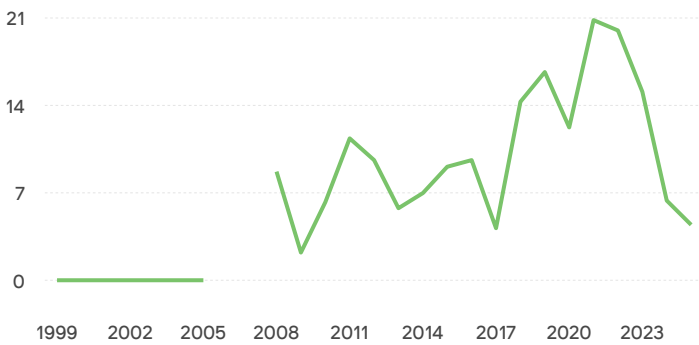


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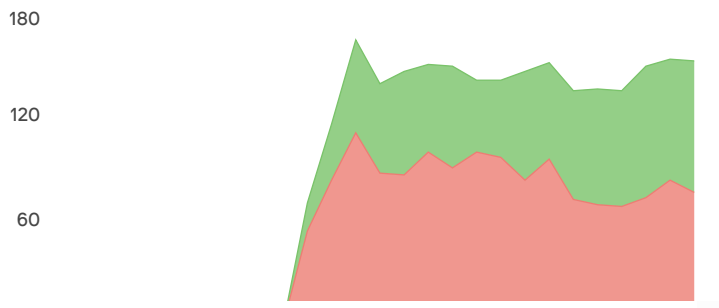


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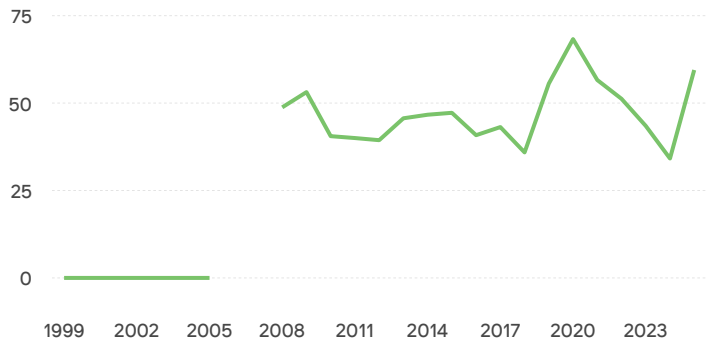


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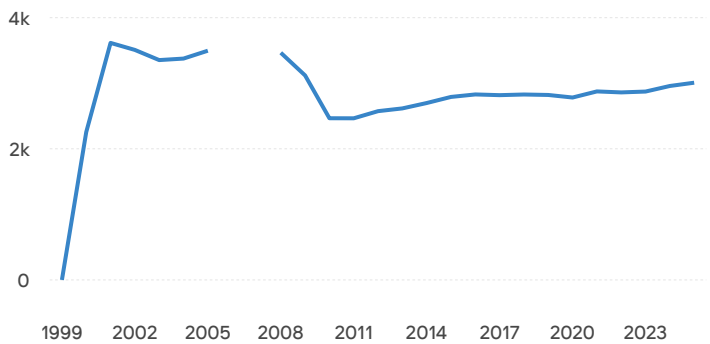
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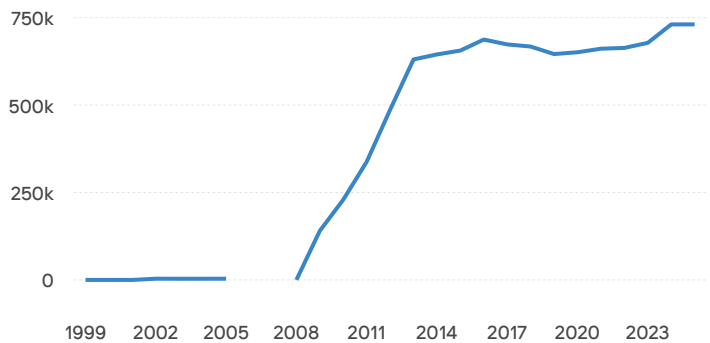
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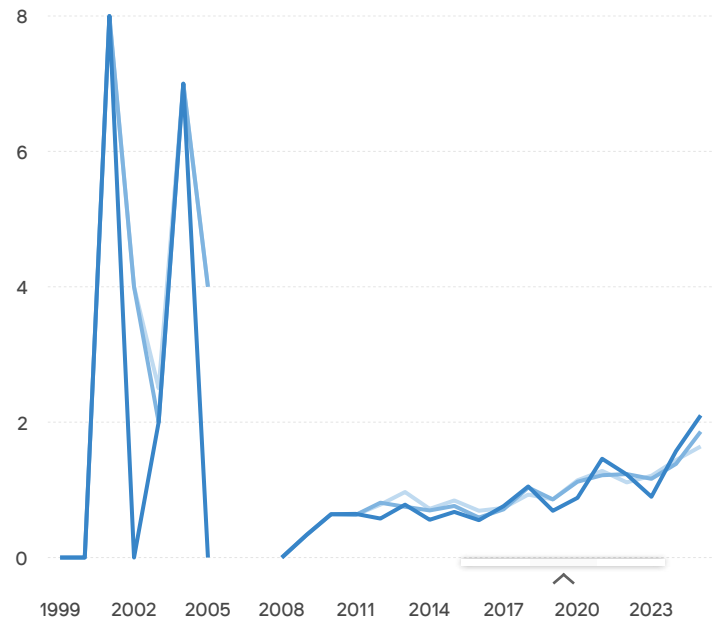


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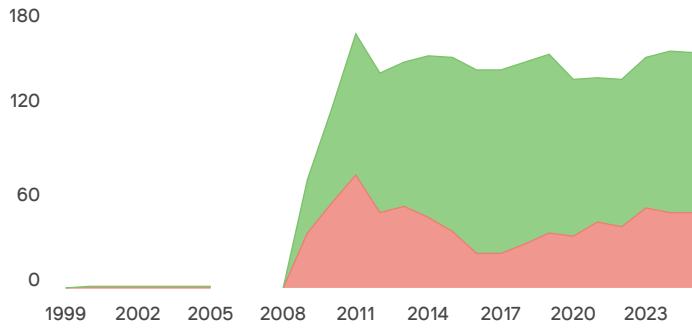


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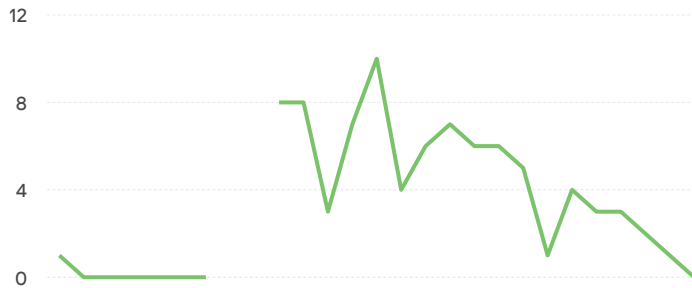


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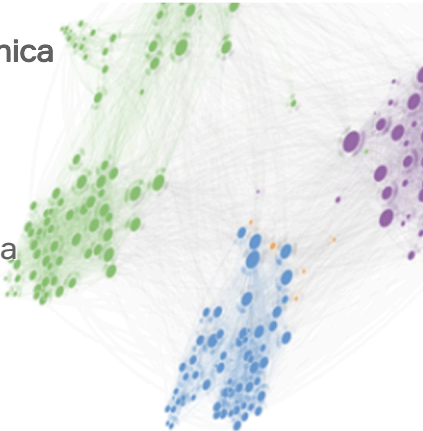
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