

Applicant: **Pattison, James**
Organisation: **University of Manchester**
Funding Sought: £ **[REDACTED]**



Global Responsibilities in the Post-Liberal Order

States have several global responsibilities, from tackling mass atrocities to offering humanitarian assistance to those in need. Prevailing understandings of global responsibilities are largely premised upon the existence of a liberal order, but a post-liberal order seems to be emerging. Some previously key liberal states now eschew some of the central tenets of liberalism and the increasingly influential 'BRICS' states (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) offer seemingly non-liberal, more statist visions of international politics. This project is the first to consider how the shift towards a post-liberal order affects global responsibilities. It will also in turn consider what the impact of these changes means for states' responsibilities now. The findings of the research will be disseminated by an open access monograph, targeted research briefs to policymakers, a policy-orientated workshop, a podcast series, and short videos on social media platforms.

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Section 1 - Research Proposal

Subject Area

Politics

Subject Area Detail - Politics

Please select the detail(s) of your Subject Area:

- ☒ International Relations
- ☒ Political Philosophy - Politics

Title of Research Proposal

Please state the title of your proposed research:

Global Responsibilities in the Post-Liberal Order

Abstract

Please provide a short abstract summarising your proposed research in terms suitable for an informed general audience, not one specialised in your field:

States have several global responsibilities, from tackling mass atrocities to offering humanitarian assistance to those in need. Prevailing understandings of global responsibilities are largely premised upon the existence of a liberal order, but a post-liberal order seems to be emerging. Some previously key liberal states now eschew some of the central tenets of liberalism and the increasingly influential 'BRICS' states (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) offer seemingly non-liberal, more statist visions of international politics. This project is the first to consider how the shift towards a post-liberal order affects global responsibilities. It will also in turn consider what the impact of these changes means for states' responsibilities now. The findings of the research will be disseminated by an open access monograph, targeted research briefs to policymakers, a policy-orientated workshop, a podcast series, and short videos on social media platforms.

Proposed Programme

Please give a detailed description of the research programme, including methodology:

Applicants should be aware of the importance that assessors place on the viability, specificity and originality of the research programme and of its achievability within the timescale, which should be specified in the Plan of Action.

A post-liberal order seems to be emerging that could potentially be very challenging for prevailing understandings of global responsibilities. In the era that has seen Trump, Brexit, fake news, Bolsonaro, and Orbán, shibboleths of the normative liberal order have been rapidly challenged, from the degradation of the anti-torture norm to open support for neo-Nazism. As such, a post-liberal order could involve the eschewing of liberalism by some of the liberal order's previously key proponents, as they move towards authoritarianism and endorse right-wing, populist agenda, and increasingly downplay and ignore the imperative to fulfil global responsibilities, promoting nationalist and xenophobic foreign policies even more than in recent times. Whereas in the liberal order, claims that there are responsibilities to, for instance, tackle mass atrocities and provide humanitarian assistance have sometimes—but, of course, not always—found sympathetic audiences, in a post-liberal world they could increasingly be disregarded. Added to this, the potential rise of (at least some of) the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) is likely to lead to alternative visions of the responsibilities of states, with a much greater emphasis placed on sovereigntist concerns at the expense of the more ambitious, cosmopolitan claims found in many leading accounts of global responsibilities.

Prevailing accounts of contemporary global responsibilities are largely premised upon the existence of a liberal global order. In this order, states may often comply with moral responsibilities because of reputational pressures about legitimacy and the potential to influence policies in international institutions, and because state identities align with liberal values (Keohane 2012; Wheeler 2000). If many states take seriously ethical concerns, accounts of international responsibilities can be ambitious, such as striving for cosmopolitan democracy (Archibugi 2004; Held 1995), an end to global poverty (Pogge 2008), and warfare that does not harm the innocent (Fabre 2012; McMahan 2009). However, the post-liberal order potentially seems to pose significant challenges to the empirical and theoretical assumptions upon which these accounts are based. Nonliberal states may rise in influence and previously liberal states may become less

worried about reputations, degrade international institutions (such as the International Criminal Court, the Human Rights Council, and the World Health Organization), reject liberal identities, and support illiberal actors. The content of several of the leading accounts of global responsibilities are addressed at what may soon be a bygone era, where more was potentially achievable, with many prescriptions risking anachronism.

The project therefore considers global responsibilities in a post-liberal order. It has two central aims. The first is to understand the shifts in the moral responsibilities of states and other actors in a post-liberal order. The second is to consider the moral requirements on states and other actors now in relation to the potential emergence of the post-liberal order.

A potential post-liberal order has become one of the hottest topics in recent International Relations (IR) scholarship, with several influential accounts of whether, in fact, the liberal order is in decline and predictions of its replacement (e.g. Acharya 2017; Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Hofmann 2020; Hurrell 2018; Ikenberry 2018). However, these accounts do not consider the implications of a potential post-liberal order for the responsibilities of states. For their part, political philosophers have recently offered helpful accounts of the ethics of foreign policy across several domains (e.g. Fabre 2018; Gross and Meisels 2018; Rafanelli 2021) and of the responsibilities in regard to certain measures, such as humanitarian intervention (e.g. Tesón and van der Vossen 2019). Yet, they have not explored international responsibilities in a potential post-liberal context. Indeed, although many political philosophers accept the importance of doing 'Nonideal Theory', leading nonideal accounts (e.g. Rawls 1999) overlook the potential for a post-liberal order where the circumstances are far more unfavourable, such as the breakdown of international institutions and global powers that support far-right movements, and there is far more non-compliance with liberal norms, such as on mass atrocity prevention and warfare.

Accordingly, this is the first project to consider the shifts in global responsibilities posed by the postliberal order. It considers shifts in these responsibilities in a post-liberal order in general, as well as focusing on three domains in particular:

- (i) The responsibility to address mass atrocities. This domain concerns the tackling and prevention of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing, the occurrence of which could increase in a post-liberal order as states focus on domestic concerns, increase border restrictions leading to fewer refugees being granted safe passage, and propagate nationalist and xenophobic tropes. The responsibility to protect (R2P) norm, which holds that states have duties to tackle mass atrocities within and beyond their borders, could be undermined, replaced with a much greater emphasis on sovereigntist norms.
- (ii) Responsibilities in relation to warfare. This concerns the regulations on warfare in the morality and law of war, encapsulated in various formulations of the principles of Just War Theory. These may be subject to far greater non-compliance as states are less worried about the reputational costs of violating international humanitarian law and the UN Security Council is increasingly stymied and bypassed.
- (iii) The responsibility to provide humanitarian assistance. This concerns humanitarian aid to ameliorate global poverty, underdevelopment, and natural disasters. The need for such aid may be much greater in a post-liberal order, but there could be fewer states willing to offer or support humanitarian assistance as they focus on domestic issues, leaving resources much more stretched.

The BA Mid-career Fellowship would enable me to build upon the initial work that I have already done on this topic, which has focused on the first domain in particular – the shifts to international responsibility to protect in a post-liberal order. (My paper based on this research has recently been accepted by the leading US journal, *International Studies Quarterly*.) In this work, I argue that, in a post-liberal order, the international responsibility to protect is likely to be less influential, as its ability to constrain and influence states and other actors decreases, which in turn leads to three major shifts in the requirements of the international responsibility to protect in a post-liberal order. First, it necessitates a more cautious approach to the means used to implement the international responsibility to protect in some scenarios, but in others it requires more forthright action than that which is usually associated with R2P. Second, it necessitates greater consideration of how to prioritise between mass atrocity situations. Third, it requires a re-evaluation, and potential abandonment, of the existing consensus-based approach to R2P.

The Fellowship will enable me to (1) extend and develop these arguments (and new ones) in relation to the other two domains: (ii) responsibilities in relation to warfare and (iii) responsibilities in relation to humanitarian assistance, and to global responsibilities in general. This will culminate in an open-access monograph, with the aim of reaching a broader audience. It will also enable me to (2) write policy-briefs for policymakers, hold a policy-orientated workshop, and record a five-episode podcast series and four short videos for social media platforms.

With regard to methodology, to clarify and evaluate global responsibilities in a post-liberal order, the project uses the

method of 'reflective equilibrium' (Daniels 2016; Rawls 1999a). This is the predominant meta-ethical method in contemporary analytic political philosophy (De Maagt 2017: 463) and, in turn, analytic approaches to normative questions in IR (e.g. Rawls 1999b). Reflective equilibrium is an iterative method that works by attempting to achieve coherence between one's overarching moral theories – in this case those concerning international responsibilities in general – and one's considered moral judgements about particular cases or instances – in this case those concerning the responsibilities of states in relation to the three domains of mass atrocities, war, and humanitarian assistance. It requires iteratively re-evaluating both considered moral judgements (e.g. about the duties of states to intervene to tackle mass atrocities in a particular case, such as Libya in 2011) and overarching moral theories (e.g. about the duties of states to conduct humanitarian intervention in general) until they are brought into coherence. On one leading form of reflective equilibrium, wide 'reflective equilibrium' (which this project adopts), it is also important to bring in other 'background theories' into this iterative process (Cath 2016). For this project, these background theories concern the nature of the international system and, in particular, of the likely impact of a post-liberal order on state behaviour, provided by contemporary IR accounts of the future of the international order. These predict, for instance, contexts where there is very significant non-compliance and much abuse of moral norms. Consequently, the project reflects on existing overarching moral theories of international ethics in light of considered moral judgements about potential particular cases or instances in a post-liberal order, where there is significant non-compliance with moral norms, and, in doing so, propose amendments to the existing moral theories.

This requires considering several vexing questions about global responsibilities in the post-liberal order. These include the following:

- The nature and extent of global responsibilities: Are any remaining liberal states required to do even more, 'picking up the slack' for others' non-compliance with their positive and negative duties (Stemplowska 2016), or is this particularly unfair in a post-liberal, global context, especially when the international conditions necessary for reciprocity break down? Which actors, in particular, would have responsibilities to do more, especially if there is a collapse in international cooperative efforts?
- Prioritisation of responsibilities: If there are fewer willing agents to act and domestic publics increasingly oppose resources being used to tackle global crises, which global responsibilities should states prioritise? Should states prioritise, for example, tackling mass atrocities or ameliorating underdevelopment, in the face of scarce resources that mean they cannot do both? Should states currently prioritise humanitarian aid projects now that will uphold the values of the liberal order—human rights and democracy—and potentially help to maintain it, if the aid could be used to save more lives in the short-term elsewhere?
- The rules governing the international system that aim to encapsulate global responsibilities. What should the rules of war be in a post-liberal order, if noncompliance with the rules of war is likely to be far higher? How would, for example, shifts in global order affect the plausibility of 'traditionalist', statist versions of the principles of Just War Theory, such as those that rely on claims about widespread state consent (e.g. Benbaji and Statman 2019), against their 'revisionist' rivals (e.g. McMahan 2009)?
- Responsibilities in regard to the effects on the global order: How should the seemingly immeasurable and diffuse effects of the global order be reflected in accounts of international responsibilities and the assessments of particular responses? For example, how much weight should be given to upholding the liberal order in assessments in Just War Theory, such as in the judgements of proportionality and necessity ad bellum principles? Would there arise a legitimate case for what Walzer (2015 [1977]) famously calls a 'supreme emergency' that permits the overriding of the traditional rules of warfare to maintain the liberal order?

Under the international liberal order, states have continually failed to fully fulfil their responsibilities required by contemporary accounts of global responsibilities. However, the project considers how shifts in the global order change the moral requirements on states. That is, it considers how states should behave if there is a post-liberal order that is even less conducive. In doing so, it focuses primarily on political changes to the global order, beyond other potential changes to the way we live, from climate change to automation. Accordingly, the project provides a significant contribution to recent scholarship to international political philosophy and IR. As the first account of international responsibilities in a post-liberal order, it aims to set the agenda for the debates about international responsibilities as the global order shifts over the next few decades, including in general and in the domains of mass atrocities, war, and humanitarian assistance.

Plan of Action

Please indicate here a clear timetable for your research programme:

Try to be as realistic as possible, but keep in mind that research programmes will develop over time and this plan of action is not something that is expected to account for every minute and is not unchangeable. But your chances of award will be affected by the assessors' perception of how viable and realistic this plan is.

Work on the Fellowship would proceed in three main phases. The dissemination activities will happen in the third phase.

Pre-award preparatory phase:

This will build upon my recent work on R2P and the postliberal order, examining recent relevant IR literature to consider the potential contours of a post-liberal order and the challenges that will emerge. It will consider three scenarios that emerge from the leading accounts in IR on this issue: (i) 'Realist-nationalist', (ii) 'moderate-pluralist', and (iii) 'lingering but faded liberalism' (e.g. Acharya 2017; Ikenberry 2018; Mearsheimer 2019). In these three scenarios, from my initial understandings, two general challenges appear to emerge. The first is that the claim that there are global responsibilities will be less influential, as the central means of influencing states will be significantly undermined, as, for instance, states are more resistant to shaming strategies and no longer internalise international responsibilities as part of their identities. The second holds that the underlying basis of prevailing, universalist accounts of global responsibilities will be weaker, as the notion that there is an international overlapping consensus on key values appears increasingly tenuous as disagreement spikes and foundationalist claims about objective moral values appear to be more parochial.

Fellowship phase 1 (January 2023-May 2023)

The first phase will consider the implications of the challenges posed by the shift to a post-liberal order for two domains: the responsibilities in regard to (ii) contemporary warfare and (iii) humanitarian assistance.

- Draft the core chapters of the monograph that concern these two domains.
- Draft articles (1) and (2) on the war domain and responsibilities in relation to the global order
- Submit monograph proposal to open access book publishers.

Fellowship phase 2 (June 2023-September 2023).

This phase will involve reworking core material for the monograph and drafting introductory and concluding chapters.

- Collate existing drafts
- Present papers (1) and (2) at two conferences and submit to journals.
- Prepare recording schedule for podcast series.
- Prepare four policy-briefs, focused on each of the domains and the implications for UK foreign policy.

Fellowship phase 3 (September 2023-November 2023).

This phase will contain most of the dissemination activity.

- Finalise monograph draft, ready to send to colleagues for feedback, with a view for submission to publishers early 2024.
- Record podcast series at biweekly intervals, starting in Oct 2023.
- Record social media videos with links to series, working with Policy@Manchester and the Media Office.
- Finalise policy-briefs and send directly to key contacts in R2P, the constraints on warfare, humanitarianism, and UK foreign policy.
- Host policy-orientated workshop on UK foreign policy in London (Nov 2023)

Planned Research Outputs

Please indicate here what the expected output(s) from your research programme might be.

As appropriate, please indicate as follows: monograph, journal article(s), book chapter(s), digital resources, other (please specify).

Please outline your plans for publication under Plans for publication/dissemination below:

Academic:

- Open access book: Global Responsibilities in a Post-Liberal Order.
 - Two journal articles
- (See below).

Policy-orientated:

- four policy briefs
- workshop

To target particular policymakers, I will write four policy briefs, focused on the three central domains (R2P, just war, and humanitarianism) and what the shifts will mean for the UK's understanding of global responsibilities in relation to its

'Global Britain' initiative and recent 'Integrated Review' of foreign policy. Building on this, a policy-orientated workshop focused on the UK's global responsibilities will be held at the end of the Fellowship in London (e.g. at the Foreign Policy Centre), inviting the Chair of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee and those working in the three domains, such as the Head of Protection Approaches and the UN Special Representative for R2P, with whom I already have strong contacts from my previous work on R2P.

Public engagement

- Podcast series
- Social media videos

The podcast series will be recorded during the final phase of the project, starting in October 2023, and comprise five episodes, recorded bi-weekly, each exploring different elements of the shifts to global responsibilities. These will involve interviews/conversations with leading scholars of the changing global order, as well as practitioners on R2P, the constraints on war in international humanitarian law, and UK foreign policy. I will use the University of Manchester's (UoM) facilities, including the Media Centre for technical support. I will also look to work with the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs, which has a high-profile podcast series with a large reach and audience (and on which I have previously appeared). Four short videos will be hosted on Instagram and Tik-Tok, using the existing official Social Science accounts of UoM where possible, and will link to the podcast series.

Plans for Publication and Dissemination

I will write two papers and present these at the British International Studies Association and Society for Applied Philosophy's Annual Conferences (June 2023):

Article 1: "Just War Theory and Post-liberal Order". This article considers the implications of the post-liberal order for the responsibilities in relation to Just War Theory. Target Journal: European Journal of International Relations.

Article 2: "International Responsibilities and the Global Order". This article will consider the responsibilities that actors have now in relation to potential shifts in the global order. Target journal: Journal of Political Philosophy.

The monograph, *Global Responsibilities in a Post-Liberal Order*, will be the culmination of the project. It will draw upon the two articles above (although I will be careful to ensure the articles appear first). I will aim for open access publication (e.g. Open Book Publishers), given that open access books are much more widely read (and cited) (Emery et al. 2017). Open access publishers also publish leading authors in political philosophy and International Relations (e.g. Robeyns 2017; Ringmar 2019). Since I have already published three monographs (all with OUP), I should be well-placed to turn to open access, which should greatly increase the public access to the findings of the project. (If looking to publish open access proves to be unfruitful, I will look at a leading UP, such as OUP or Princeton).

Chapter 1: Global Responsibilities in a Liberal Order. This chapter will delineate prevailing accounts in global responsibilities of (i) the prevention of mass atrocities, (ii) the constraints on warfare, and (iii) humanitarian assistance, and (iv) in general, and consider how these accounts often depend on idealisations based on the continuation of the liberal order.

Chapter 2: Three Post-liberal Orders. This chapter will delineate three potential scenarios for a post-liberal order, drawing on prevailing accounts of IR.

Chapter 3: The Challenges for Global Responsibilities in a Post-Liberal Order. This chapter will present two central challenges that arise in the scenarios delineated in Ch 2.

Chapter 4: Overcoming the Challenges. Chapter 4 will explore responses to these challenges and delineate how, in general, international responsibilities can still be possible in a post-liberal order, despite the challenges.

Chapter 5: Mass Atrocities. This chapter will consider how responses to mass atrocities should be conducted in a post-liberal order.

Chapter 6: War. This chapter delineates how the requirements in relation to war will shift, drawing on Article (1).

Chapter 7: Humanitarian Assistance. This chapter will consider whether (1) remaining actors who are willing to act are morally required to cover for others' noncompliance with their duties in regard to humanitarian assistance and whether (2) there are duties to include effects on the global order in prioritisation decisions when allocating scarce resources.

Chapter 8: Mitigating a Post-Liberal Order. This chapter will draw on material from Article (2), considering what states should do now in response to a potential post-liberal order.

Chapter 9: Theorising about the Post-Liberal Order. This chapter will summarise the implications of the analysis for global responsibilities in general.

Digital Resource

If the primary product of the research will be a digital resource have you obtained guidance on appropriate

standards and methods?

☒ No

Deposit of Datasets

Please provide details of how and where any electronic or digital data (including datasets) developed during the project will be stored, along with details on the appropriate methods of access:

It is a condition of award that all data be freely accessible during, and beyond, the lifetime of the project.

N/A

Project Start Date

01 January 2023

Project End Date

30 November 2023

Project Duration (months):

11

Overseas Travel - Country

If your research involves travel abroad, please select the relevant country/countries:

No Response

Overseas Travel - Country

If your research involves travel abroad, please select the relevant country/countries:

No Response

Overseas Travel - Country

If your research involves travel abroad, please select the relevant country/countries:

No Response

Overseas Travel Institution

Please indicate if your research involves working in a particular overseas institution, and/or add other countries to which you will travel in connection with this application:

No Response

Support of British International Research Institute Detail

No Response

Endangered or Emerging Subject Area

Applicants should be intending to pursue original, independent research in any field of study within the humanities or social sciences. There are no quotas for individual subject areas and no thematic priorities. The primary factor in assessing applications will remain the excellence of the proposal. The Academy will, however, where appropriate, take into account the aim of providing particular support for certain important fields, either emerging areas of scholarship or areas of research that are endangered or under threat.

No Response

Language Competence

No Response

Ethical Issues

Are there any special ethical issues arising from your proposal that are not covered by the relevant professional Code of Practice? You must answer yes or no:

☒ No

Have you obtained, or will you obtain ethical approval from your employing institution or other relevant authority? You must answer yes or no:

☒ Yes

If the answers are yes to special ethical issues and no to having obtained prior approval, please describe here the non-standard ethical issues arising from your research and how you will address them:

If the answer is no to special ethical issues please enter N/A

N/A

Section 2 - Eligibility

Primary Subject

Please indicate the subject most relevant to your research:

Politics

Primary Subject Detail - Politics

Please select the detail(s) of your primary subject:

☒ International Relations

Secondary Subject

If your application is more interdisciplinary, you may choose to indicate a secondary subject to which your application might also be relevant:

No Response

Interdisciplinary Proposal

Please explain the interdisciplinary nature of your proposal.

No Response

Time Period

Please select your time period(s) from the list below:

☒ Contemporary

Audiences

Please select your audience(s) from the list below:

☒ Policymakers at national level (e.g. working with Government departments, participating in public in

☒ General Public

Regional Interests

Please select your regional interest(s) from the list below:

☒ Unspecified Region

GMS ORGANISATION

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(2) Conference Fees (£500)

The PI will present articles (1) and (2), and an overview of the project, at the annual conferences of the British International Studies Association (BISA) (£300) and Society for Applied Philosophy (SAP) (£200), which will enable him to receive feedback from more empirical (BISA) and philosophical (SAP) audiences. The following costs are requested:

- Conference fees for the British International Studies Association (BISA) (£300) and Society for Applied Philosophy (SAP) (£200)

Applications to Other Funding Bodies

Have you made any other applications in connection with this project? If so, with what results:

N/A

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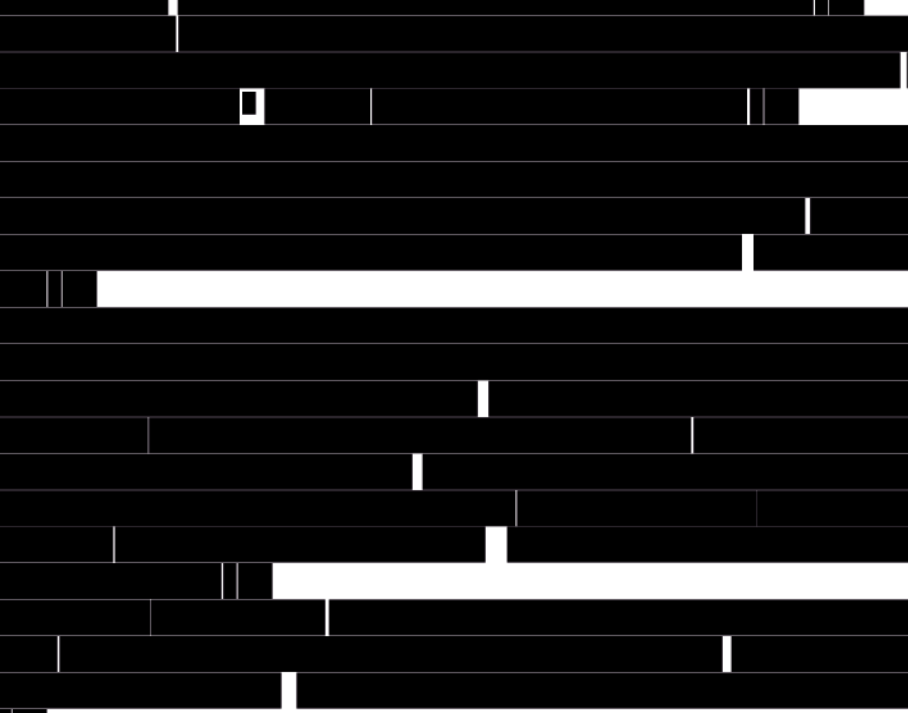
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