AGENDA 21
AND YOU

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Manufactured in the United States of America.
Rising prices, high electric bills, water shortages, and a scarce supply of gasoline at the pump. These are but a few examples of some of the conditions that the United States has faced in the past, but just for one moment imagine how you would feel if the next time these happened they were a direct result of government policy.

Imagine that it was becoming more and more difficult each day to live your life and enjoy your home and time with your family because of some local town ordinances or city laws.

Imagine if the government was purposefully rationing the use of electricity, water, gasoline, and natural gas, and that the enactment of these policies came from your local government’s committee or department of sustainability? Well it is happening in hundreds of cities and towns all across the United States.

These local government sustainability boards will decide how much energy, water, and other natural resources your home is allowed to use, limiting your ability to wash your dishes, take a shower or bath, flush the toilet, and drink a glass of water — regardless of the size of your household or how many children you have.

The price of gasoline will be increased as a direct result of your local government’s goal of achieving sustainability and will use economic incentives, such as an environmental tax, to discourage you from driving or taking a plane trip regardless of whether you have to go on a business trip or would like to take a personal vacation cross country.

This scenario is the result of something called Sustainable Development or United Nations’ Local Agenda 21. Sound familiar? In the pages ahead, you will learn what Sustainable Development and Agenda 21 are, how they affect you, and what you can do about it.

What you are about to read may sound too unbelievable to be true, but it is all true and documented. You are encouraged to verify what you are about to read and thereby learn more about Agenda 21.
What is Sustainable Development?

You may or may not have heard of the term Sustainable Development, but when you find out how it relates to you, your home, and work, you will wonder why you haven’t.

Popularized in the now often-cited 1987 UN report, entitled *Our Common Future*, released by the Brundtland Commission, “sustainable development” is defined as:

...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

The commission that authorized the report was named after its chairwoman Gro Harlem Brundtland, the former Director-General of the World Health Organization and the first female Vice President of the Socialist International. Using the framework provided by the Brundtland Commission, the United Nations is seeking to have implemented in your local town or city its agenda — Agenda 21.

This is the official name of the United Nations program on sustainable development and it is also what will change your life, home, and town as you know it.

“Current lifestyles and consumption patterns of the affluent middle class — involving high meat intake, use of fossil fuels, appliances, home and work air conditioning, and suburban housing — are not sustainable.”

— Maurice Strong, Secretary General of the UN’s 1992 Earth Summit.

The 1992 Earth Summit produced its official 1,000 page report and program, entitled *Agenda 21* (cover, left).
Simply put, sustainable development is the UN’s Agenda 21 program for the global control and restriction over your daily life, including your private property, individual rights, and civil liberties — all in the apparent name of the environment and so-called social justice.

With the stroke of a pen, President George H. W. Bush, along with 177 other world leaders, all agreed and signed on to implement this socialist-conceived, new environmental order throughout the world, leaving no town, including your own, free of its reach.

“…sustainable development is the UN’s Agenda 21 program for the global control and restriction over your daily life, including your private property, individual rights, and civil liberties....”

Because Agenda 21 represented soft law and not an actual binding treaty (i.e. hard law), it did not require the ratification of the U.S. Senate or approval from Congress. Instead it was implemented the following year by President Bill Clinton.

Over the next few years, the federal government established bureaus, which published Task Force reports and further advanced sustainable development and Agenda 21. In 1998, the President’s Council on Sustainable Development condensed its reports into a book entitled, Sustainable America: America’s Environment, Economy and Society in the 21st Century (cover, right).
1987 — Conceived by the Brundtland Commission, chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, the Vice President of the World Socialist Party

1992 — Brought to the global forefront by the Secretary-General of the UN Earth Summit Maurice Strong, a staunch supporter and current resident of Communist China

1992 — The Earth Summit resulted in Agenda 21, the UN’s 1,000 page report and strategy for sustainable development

1992 — Agenda 21 is signed at the Earth Summit by 178 world leaders, including President George H. W. Bush

1993 — President Bill Clinton signs Executive Order 12852, which established the President’s Council on Sustainable Development

2011 — President Barack Obama signs Executive Order 13575, which established the White House Rural Council
How does this affect me?

Sustainable development will severely curtail your civil liberties and rights as a citizen to run your own community through your elected officials as Local Agenda 21 intervenes in your community and personal life. Every aspect of your life will be affected. According to the book *Agenda 21: The Earth Summit Strategy to Save Our Planet*, published in 1993, Agenda 21 proposes “an array of actions which are intended to be implemented by every person on Earth.”

The book goes on to emphasize its ominous view of its desired relationship between Agenda 21 and every individual citizen, such as you:

**Effective execution of Agenda 21 will require a profound reorientation of all human society, unlike anything the world has ever experienced — a major shift in the priorities of both governments and individuals and an unprecedented redeployment of human and financial resources. This shift will demand that a concern for the environmental consequences of every human action be integrated into individual and collective decision-making at every level.**

Agenda 21 leaves no stone unturned and no person outside of its reach. In order to accomplish its goals of sustainable development and to make you into a so-called “steward of the environment,” Agenda 21 seeks to control you and your life. Once implemented, Agenda 21 will affect you in the following ways:

- Eliminating your right to private ownership (property rights)
- Forbidding you from entering woodland and wetland areas
- Punishing you with higher prices at the store
- Restricting your civil liberties
- Restricting the number of children you can have
- Restricting the amount of trash or waste you can dispose of
- Restricting the amount of water you can use
- Telling you how much to harvest on your farm or land
- Forcing you to participate in community projects
• Diminishing your individual rights in favor of community rights

The last point mentioned above, “Diminishing your individual rights in favor of community rights,” takes us to individualism versus communitarianism.

What is Communitarianism?

Not too dissimilar from communism, which is founded on the premise of the dictatorship of the proletariat or working class, communitarianism is founded on the belief of the dictatorship or supremacy of the community. As a result of this supremacy, the individual is subservient to needs of the “greater good” of society.

“…communitarianism is founded on the belief of the dictatorship or supremacy of the community.”

Examples of communitarian societies include Belarus, Burma, the People’s Republic of China, North Korea and Venezuela. In these states individuals are subordinate to the dictatorship of the community; civil liberties are curtailed and property rights are virtually non-existent. All things belong to and are done for the greater good of the state under communitarianism.

Communitarianism is the central core ideology of Agenda 21 and sustainable development. Your wants, your needs will come second to the needs to the community. Likewise, the wants and the needs of your community will come second to the needs of the global community – i.e. the United Nations, by way of the Agenda 21 program.

Through a campaign of propaganda and playing on the emotions of those actually concerned with the environment, Agenda 21 calls for the government to take your land or property and redistribute the resources of the community to assure each person receives a basic or “sustainable” ration.
People who live in rural or suburban neighborhoods will be encouraged to move to urban or centralized public transportation areas, and punished for wanting to live in rural or suburban neighborhoods. To accomplish this, Agenda 21 promotes the concept of “smart growth” — the central planning of how your community will be organized and where you live.

Agenda 21 proposes using high gas prices, longer convoluted road systems, new tolls, and eminent domain to manipulate migration patterns to get you to live in a city or other metropolitan community, where your ability to travel will be limited to public transportation services.
HIGH GAS PRICES

The imposition of high gas prices through an environmental tax on the price of gasoline will be put into effect in order to force you either to pay more for gas or just not travel as much. Gasoline consumption may also be rationed per customer in the name of reducing pollution, resulting in car lines forming at gasoline stations or pumps unable to give you as much gasoline as you would like.

The book Sustainable America illustrates what this would mean for Americans by praising the following time period in American history:

The American experience with energy during the 1970s and early 1980s is often offered as evidence of the way price-hikes reduce per capita use and promote efficiency and technological innovation.

You or your parents might recall this period as being an era defined by high gasoline and energy prices, long car lines at gas stations, and economic stagflation.
Now, Agenda 21 seeks to recreate those same conditions, of economic stagnation, for the “greater good” of the community by way of raising the price of and rationing the amount of gasoline a station may sell to you.

**MANIPULATING TRANSPORTATION PATTERNS**

In addition to price hikes at the pump, new tolls, rerouting roads by condemning old short cuts and replacing them with new longer routes in the name of protecting the environment and creating a more “scenic” view, Agenda 21 wants to purposely discourage you from driving.

Regardless of whether you are driving to and from work, school, place of worship, supermarket, home or vacation, Agenda 21 wants to make it much more difficult for you to travel to the point that you will pack up your bags and move into a city where everything is close. You will thus be manipulated into moving, of your own accord, out of rural areas into urban settings, due to high taxes, increase in the price of fuel, and other general inconveniences.

This will not be done in one fell swoop, but rather incrementally and almost unnoticeably through small amounts of sustainability until full sustainable development is achieved.

**MIGRATING PEOPLE FROM RURAL AREAS TO CITIES**

Through the manipulation of transportation patterns and driving habits, it is the intention of Agenda 21 to convince you of your supposed own free will and desire to save money and avoid inconveniences that it would be more prudent for you to move to more urban areas, such as cities or redeveloped communities in which homes and businesses are not far apart from each other.

The American dream of the beautiful house, big front and back yard, white picket fence, and one to two cars is to be replaced with the United Nations’ Agenda 21 vision of living in small urban dwelling, where you
are restricted in the amount of what you can consume or dispose, where prices on goods and services are higher, and where you will have no mobile freedom or independence to travel as you please.

As the rural areas become less populated, they will become off-limits for people, but not animals and plants, such as weeds. Over time, plants and animals will move in and take over. Grass will go uncut and grow creeping into sidewalks. Derelict automobiles will turn rusty and become a breeding ground for vibrant plant growth.

These once lively and prosperous communities will become “open space.” These policies may strike you as farfetched or downright impossible — this is America after all — but in just a few pages we will show you how in three clicks, on your own computer, you can verify this and what you can do to protect yourself.
OPEN SPACE: FORBIDDING HUMAN ACCESS TO LAND

“Open Space” is defined as either agricultural or natural areas that do not have any development on them. Examples of open space range from public state or national parks to the back or front yard of your house. In addition to the traditional definition of open space, it can also refer to community areas that as a result of human neglect have been reclaimed by nature, such as abandoned dwellings or the before-mentioned rural communities.

Eminent domain will be used to seize and demolish the last remnants of private property in ghost towns or other “unsustainable” communities. Other more sustainable communities will be redeveloped with specific preselected portions of land reserved for a mixture of residential and commercial development. This is more than just rezoning; it is central planning at the local community level where unelected redevelopment boards and sustainable consultants will plan the composition of the community and decide what is allowed and not allowed to be developed on that land, including both public and private land.

Simulated Reserve and Corridor System to Protect Biodiversity
As Required by the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, Wildlands Project, UN and US Man and Biosphere Programs and World Heritage Program as a Vital Step in Attaining Sustainable Development

This map was used in the United States Senate to stop the ratification of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity

Image Prepared by Dr. Michael Coffman, Environmental Perspectives, Inc.
Other open space, such as state and national parks, as well as wetlands, everglades (like those in Florida), lakes, rivers and deserts will be preserved and forbidden to you by the Wildlands Project. The Wildlands Project calls for the creation of a Wildlands Network composed of “Wilderness Reserves & Corridors” — a series of interconnected tracts of land with little to no human activity for the protection of biodiversity.

Through the implementation of the Wildlands Project an estimated 50% of the nation’s land will become off-limits for humans. Its implementation will further advance the Smart Growth initiatives to eliminate roads, manipulate transportation patterns, and force the migration of people, such as you, your family and friends to live in cities that will be in full compliance with the protocols and controls of the United Nations and Local Agenda 21.

SEIZURE OF YOUR PRIVATE PROPERTY:

At the You Choose Contra Costa County Forum, which was designed as an information workshop for the people of Contra Costa County, California, to learn about and support sustainable development in the San Francisco Bay Area, an attendee did not understand what was meant by “preserving open space.” She asked, “are you talking about government open space or private open space, people’s private property like eminent domain?”

The sustainability spokesman replied, “It’s both” public and private land. Another woman asked if this meant “the government being able to take over [a] person’s property?” The spokesman avoided the question saying only, “This is not a policy learning session; this is about learning what’s important to you.” Although he may not have been comfortable revealing what public policy would need to be implemented to achieve the goal of preserving open space, other UN and sustainability documents are not afraid to disclose what they really think about Property Rights — your right to private ownership.

“Section 11.2.3.1.3 Property rights and the use of biological resources” of Global Biodiversity Assessment (1996), published for the United Nations Environment Programme, states the following about property rights:
Property rights are not absolute and unchanging, but rather a complex, dynamic and shifting relationship between two or more parties, over space and time.

Agenda 21’s hostile view toward private property can be traced back to the 1976 United Nations Conference on Human Settlement, held in Vancouver, Canada. Under “Section D. Land,” of the Report of Habitat, which came out of the conference, the preamble reads as follows with regard to the private ownership of land:

Land, because of its unique nature and the crucial role it plays in human settlements, cannot be treated as an ordinary asset, controlled by individuals and subject to the pressures and inefficiencies of the market. Private land ownership is also a principal instrument of the accumulation and concentration of wealth and therefore contributes to social injustice; if unchecked, it may become a major obstacle in the planning and implementation of development schemes.

Reading almost like a publication from the Soviet Union, private ownership is to be replaced with collective ownership. If this new way of managing your property and land sounds familiar, that is because it is.

Consistent with communitarianism, one of the first actions taken by Vladimir Lenin and his Bolshevik government, following the October Revolution of 1917, was agrarian land reform that did away with people’s private ownership of individual or family farms. The farms were seized and converted into collective farms.

On these collective farms, the ruling Soviet government determined production quotas to “bring the rates of harvest into line,” as recommended by the President’s Council on Sustainable Development, in Sustainable America.
FAMILY PLANNING: POPULATION REDUCTION

Agenda 21 also advocates a policy of so-called family planning that in actuality will be in sync with sustainability population reduction efforts, such as those promoted by the United Nations Population Fund. This includes the use of sex education, contraception and abortions to limit population growth.

Furthermore, just like the one-child policy of the communitarian state of Communist China, your local municipal, town, or city government could limit the number of children you could have. Such coercive practices would likely lead to a drastic drop in population for future generations. This idea of population reduction is emphasized in Sustainable America, which states: “The United States must have policies and programs that contribute to stabilizing global human population,” and again:

We must move toward stabilization of the U.S. population and a reduced rate of population growth in the United States and the world.

Poster from Communist China promoting Family Planning
Agenda 21 also proposes altering your or your children’s school or college curriculum to promote smart growth and sustainable development, according to *Sustainable America*:

> **We must also expand the number of curricula, materials, and training opportunities that teach the principles of sustainable development.**

Smaller populations educated with lifelong education about sustainable development will likely lead to future generations of Americans more easily managed by the government and who will never experience the American dream, but will instead be manipulated into believing the propaganda of sustainable development. This is what is meant by smart growth — the government central planning and control over human activity and decreasing the population to more manageable or “sustainable” numbers.

It is remarkable that the people who are pushing for sustainable development, smart growth and population reduction are the same people who also support massive immigration into the United States. This combination of policies would alter the voting patterns in your community, as your vote becomes less important and diluted by the new voting blocs immigrating to your community that may not share the same values and beliefs as you.

### National Service

In addition to subjecting you to Agenda 21 propaganda or lifelong education, sustainable development calls for your local government to require you to volunteer for the “greater good” of the community. *Sustainable America* proposes the:

> … need to expand citizen engagement and public trust–judged by the willingness of people in a community to cooperate for their mutual benefit.

In the name of the “mutual benefit,” the book claims:
We need to work for increased citizen participation in community and civic activities such as professional and service organizations....

Civilian national service coupled with lifelong education about the principles of sustainable development brings to mind the mandatory propaganda youth and civilian service in other communitarian societies of the past, such as Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia. In these countries citizens were forced by the government to work collectively, on state farms or state factories, for the benefit of the greater good of The Fatherland or Mother Russia.

In the case of Mother Russia, one of the first actions taken by the Bolshevik government was the implementation of mandatory national service. “We must organize all labor, no matter how dirty and arduous it may be, so that every [citizen] may regard himself as part of that great army of free labor,” Lenin proclaimed.

Lenin’s vision came from the eighth plank of Karl Marx and Frederick Engel’s *Communist Manifesto*, which called for both the “Equal liability of all to labor” and the “Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.”

*John Adams*  
*John Locke*
As in the case of the Soviet Union, under sustainable development and Agenda 21 mandatory national service, especially for agriculture, is just one of the many ways you will not be free.

Sustainable Development or Liberty?

“Property must be secured, or liberty cannot exist,” said President John Adams. The implementation of sustainable development and UN Agenda 21 boils down to the loss of your liberty. Every aspect of your life will be under the control of Agenda 21 through the elimination of your property rights.

The right to property is the cornerstone of individual liberty and the prime ingredient for a prosperous and free republic. In his book, the Second Treatise of Government (1689), John Locke, the enlightened English philosopher whose writings influenced the political ideology of the American Founding Fathers, advanced the notion that the sole purpose for the existence of governments was for the self preservation of man and his property. Locke wrote:

The great and chief end, therefore, of men’s uniting into common-wealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property.

The protection of your private property and individual rights are the utmost role of the government; the purpose of government is to protect your property rights, not usurp them. Founding Father and President George Washington was even clearer on the importance of private property; he said: “Private property and freedom are inseparable.” Thus by its very nature of opposition to property rights,
Agenda 21 is incompatible with freedom. So which will it be: sustainable development or freedom? Choose Freedom — STOP AGENDA 21.

How Can You Stop Agenda 21?

The first thing you will want to do is find out whether or not your local municipality, town, or city is implementing Local Agenda 21. You can find this out by taking the following three-click challenge:

1. Type www.ICLEI.org on your web browser & click go
2. On the top bar menu of the website click on “Members”
3. On the left side column click on “Global Members”

After you click, click, click you will be redirected to a webpage of all of the local government global members of ICLEI, listed in alphabetical order by country. Scroll down to the United States of America, or other country of your choosing, and see if your local town or city is listed. If listed then you will know, but if not, do not celebrate just yet; your local government may already have active redevelopment agencies advancing Agenda 21.

For example, in the state of California alone there are officially 127 local member cities listed. However, out of the state’s 477 cities there are over 381 cities that have active redevelopment agencies.

These agencies enter your community without your vote or consent and begin the process of implementing Local Agenda 21 and/or also facilitate your towns’ entry as a global member of ICLEI.
ICLEI was founded in 1990, as the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, at the World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future, held at the United Nations in New York City. According to its website, ICLEI describes itself as “an association of over 1,220 local government Members who are committed to sustainable development.” Spanning over 70 different countries and representing more than 569,885,000 people, ICLEI facilitates local governments in the implementation of UN Local Agenda 21.

**ELECT OR RUN**

You can stop the UN’s Agenda 21 by electing candidates to your local municipal, town or city government who will uphold their oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and who will also be dedicated to both stopping and withdrawing from ICLEI. Where no such candidate exists, run yourself.

Do not expect others or a political party to do the work for you. The solution is not the Republican or Democratic Party, they are both equally responsible for implementing Agenda 21. It was Republican President George H. W. Bush that signed onto Agenda 21 at the 1992 Earth Summit, and it was Democratic Presidents Bill Clinton and Barack Obama with the signing of Executive Orders 12852 and 13575 that gave us the President’s Council on Sustainable Development and the White House Rural Council, respectively, to oversee the local coordination and implementation of sustainable development and Agenda 21.

“The solution is not the Republican or Democratic Party, they are both equally responsible for implementing Agenda 21.”

It does not matter if you are registered as a Democrat, Republican, Constitution or other political party, or whether you identify yourself as a liberal, moderate,
conservative, independent, libertarian, or constitutionalist, because we are all Americans. We are all individuals with freedom and unalienable rights, which under the UN Local Agenda 21 initiative, you will no longer have the benefit of enjoying. The stakes for your civil and individual liberty have never been as high as they are now. Regardless of political party or ideology, the threat posed by sustainable development and Agenda 21 is a threat to us all, and your action can help stop it.

**EDUCATION IS THE KEY**

“...the process of building an informed electorate, an organized approach, is going to be the most effective way for those who are truly concerned and willing to accept the challenge that our civilization and our legacy demand.”

— U.S. Rep. Larry P. McDonald

The only way to elect the right and proper candidates, at all levels of government, who will understand the threat posed by sustainable development and Agenda 21, will be through building and organizing a well informed electorate. You can inform yourself and others by helping to spread awareness about Agenda 21 through reading and distributing this booklet.

The John Birch Society has also produced other materials to assist in the campaign to stop Agenda 21, such as a tri-fold pamphlet, DVD, and the reprint of the article “Your Hometown & the United Nations’ AGENDA 21,” by William F. Jasper of The New American. Additional well written and highly informative articles are available online at TheNewAmerican.com.

After educating yourself and others, stay in contact with those others and organize. Find your local chapter of The John Birch Society and join.
With the Society’s new action project, “Choose Freedom — STOP AGENDA 21” at JBS.org, you will be able to join with other concerned citizens and work to stop Agenda 21 by contacting and visiting local government officials and testifying against sustainable development and Agenda 21 at your local town or city hall. Urge your local government officials to withdraw from Agenda 21 or ICLEI.

ICLEI is the United Nations in your local community. If you have any doubts that your local community, through membership in ICLEI — as demonstrated before in three clicks — is working with the United Nations Agenda 21 program then you need do no more than take another three-click challenge, which is:

1. Type www.ICLEI.org on your web browser & click go
2. On the top bar menu of the website click on “Programs”
3. Scroll down and click on “Agenda 21”

Upon clicking on Agenda 21 you will be directed to the official UN.org webpage (above) for the United Nations’ Local Agenda 21, proving that ICLEI is tied to the UN’s Agenda 21.

Effective education about this requires organization. Form a local committee to discuss, educate, and fight sustainable development. The more people who join your local committee, the greater likelihood of success you will have in getting rid of it and withdrawing from ICLEI. Effective organizations work best when people coalesce. Working together you will be able to educate each other and stop Agenda 21.

Withdrawal from Local Agenda 21 or ICLEI will simply not be enough. Examine the words and documents of your local community development or planning boards and make sure that they are void of Agenda 21 and ICLEI’s policies and regulations. Propose that these changes be made or make them yourself by running for office.
The most effective way to assure that ICELI and Agenda 21 will be stopped and prevented from entering into your local community would be by officially getting the United States out of the United Nations and getting the United Nations out of the United States.

The more people who are on board with this campaign to stop Agenda 21, the more your local government officials will see and realize that this matters to you and that you do not want it to be a part of your community. Get rid of ICELI, sustainable development, smart growth, and Agenda 21 in your community and “Get US out!” of the United Nations.

This has been one of the most recognized slogans of The John Birch Society for over 50 years. During all of this time, The John Birch Society has understood and warned others about the danger of the United Nations and its threat to our independence and national sovereignty.

For more information on Agenda 21, and how to help keep your local community free, go to JBS.org and click on the graphic for “Choose Freedom—Stop Agenda 21.”
Bibliography


TOOLS TO DEFEAT AGENDA 21

How Does Agenda 21 Affect You — Pamphlet
Sustainable development sounds responsible, yet attach it to a foreign entity trying to impose its environmental regulations on your city or town, and it’s anything but responsible. This tri-fold pamphlet offers a general overview of the United Nations Agenda 21 and how it is usurping local control by imposing restrictions on your family and local community. A great tool to initiate a conversation on Agenda 21. Also incorporates the 3-click challenge! (2011, four-color tri-fold pamphlet, 1/$0.20; 100-499/$0.15ea; 500-999/$0.10ea; 1,000+/$.08ea) PA21

Your Hometown & the United Nations’ Agenda 21 — Reprint
Businesses — and their jobs — are fleeing California at breakneck speed because of costly, even abusive, regulations meant to adhere to UN standards. Is your state next? An eight-page reprint about the push to enact the United Nations’ “sustainability” plan, from an article by William F. Jasper from the February 21, 2011 issue of The New American — pgs. 10-17. (2011, 8pp, 1/$0.50; 25/$10.00; 100/$35.00; 1,000/$300.00) RPA21

Agenda 21 and You — Booklet
This 32-page booklet provides an overview of what Agenda 21 entails, looking at its origins, goals, and ramifications. It also explains how this UN agenda is sold to the populace through ICLEI: an association of local governments that believe they’re achieving “sustainability.” (2011, 32pp, pb booklet, 1/$2.95; 10-24/$2.00ea; 25-49/$1.50ea; 50-99/$1.00ea; 100-999/$0.75ea; 1,000+/$.50ea) BKLTA21

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