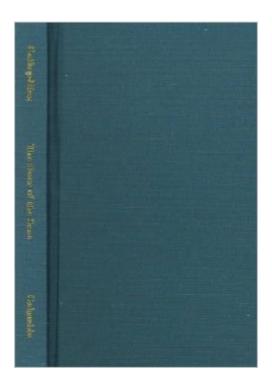
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The European powers were forced to make the Kuna people of present-day Panama and Columbia an integral part of their calculus of empire. Yet the Kunas created new forms of leadership out of foreign contacts, enabling their own survival.

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