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Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at the 'two plus four' talks

BERLIN June 22 Tass – The Soviet delegation to the second meeting of foreign ministers of the two German states and the Four Powers under the "Two Plus Four" formula in Berlin has submitted for the consideration of the "six" a draft document, "Main Principles of a Final International Legal Settlement of the German Issue".

Speaking to the participants about the draft document, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that "the previous state of things, based on agreements reached during the war and in the post-war period, on the rights and responsibility of the Four Powers, on bloc rivalry and military balance, is getting further and further away from the realities of the current situation in Europe. It was replaced by the Helsinki Final Act and a new system of treaties and agreements creating bridges between the East and the West, between the north and the south, across the boundaries of military-political alliances, national, cultural and other borders".

According to the Soviet foreign minister, the time has come to put all issues dealing with Germany's place and role in a new Europe and the world on a new solid international legal foundation. However, he stressed, it will be impossible to settle the foreign aspects of the German issue on a healthy and long-term basis and to open up the prospects of creating a united Europe without two things: first, without changing the philosophy, ideology and way of thinking

that form the basis of the opposing blocs, and making corresponding corrections in the material structures of the blocs, and, second, without formulating and adopting a new code of behaviour of the alliances and their members with regard to each other.

The Warsaw Treaty has begun a far-reaching transformation of its activities in all spheres, including the military sphere. "We are suggesting that the NATO countries start moving in the same direction, and can state with satisfaction that a positive response came from the Turnberry meeting," Shevardnadze said.

He stated that "the USSR is ready for radical, far-reaching steps. It is necessary to change the very character of relations between the two alliances and their member states, to rebuild their present structures and functions, and to subordinate the whole of this radical transformation to the task of a transfer from confrontation to cooperation and interaction on a wide range of issues.

"We should stop regarding each other as potential military adversaries, should give up using the armed forces, both nuclear and conventional ones, for purposes other than those of self-defence, to depart from the present closed character of the alliances, to take resolute measures for achieving disarmament and expanding confidence-building measures, to create mechanisms for evening up the economic and social development levels in Europe, and to ensure both military and economic security".

Dwelling on the main provisions of the final international legal settlement, Shevardnadze said that the problem of the borders of the

future German state was on the top of that list. "The sides have practically reached consensus on this issue," he said.

Shevardnadze described as significant "the agreement that the future Germany will shape its policy in such a way that nothing but peace will come from its territory, that it will not take military action against any other country, with the exception of the exercise of its lawful right to self-defence. The logic of our document consists in creating reliable peace structures by the joint efforts of the Four Powers and Germany".

Shevardnadze described the measures to limit the strength of the German armed forces proposed in the draft document, and the calls for the reduction of forces of the Four Powers deployed in the GDR and West Germany, and about other provisions of the document.

The Soviet foreign minister said that the draft document covered a wide range of issues. When drawing it up, "we sought to orientate it towards the future, towards the creation of optimal conditions for the creation of a new peaceful order in Europe.

"This is why we propose to record that in parallel, and simultaneously with the process of the reunification of Germany and the implementation of the agreement on its main principles, the GDR and West Germany, together with the Four Powers and the other states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will actively promote the further deepening and development of the Helsinki Process as the main factor of stability in Europe".

Mikhail Gorbachev on the future of the CPSU

Moscow June 23 Tass - by Tass correspondents Lev Aksenov and Igor Yefimov:

GENERAL Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Mikhail Gorbachev is convinced that the CPSU has "a long life" in store for it. "I am confident of the long life of the socialist idea and of the communist perspective," he stated.

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Tonight the CPSU leader answered for almost 90 minutes questions from participants in the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

Speaking of his vision of prospects for the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, he emphasised that the CPSU "should become, without fail, a new party sensitive to what happens in and around the country, a party which is really capable of expressing the urgent requirements and aspirations of the people and remaining the generator of perestroika ideas'

If the CPSU does not reform itself, "it will find itself on the sidelines of history," Gorbachev said. He voiced the conviction that the forthcoming 28th Congress of the CPSU would provide "a powerful impulse to the renewal of the party".

Touching upon the organisational principles of the party, the General Secretary said: "I stand for a single CPSU. I am against federalisation."

In response to a question whether he regards as normal combining the posts of the party leader and president of the country, Gorbachev said that, in his view, there should be separation of these posts in principle but that, at the present stage, when a "regrouping of political forces is under way", the holding of these two posts simultaneously "should be kept up".

One of the questions to the General Secretary concerned his evaluation of remarks at the congress by a representative of the armed forces, who asserted that the country's defences had been weakened.

Gorbachev emphasised that the country's leadership proceeded from the doctrine of reasonable sufficiency, but he disagreed with statements about "disregard" for the interests of defence. "This does not correspond to reality. Our defence is reliable now. We are neither adventurers nor credulous people who would engage in cheap bargaining," he stated.

The army should be modern and should have a competent officer personnel and up-to-date reliable weapons, Gorbachev said: "And we are doing everything that is needed for research and for the accomplishment of long-term tasks to maintain parity," he said.

At the same time, Gorbachev recalled, the share of the country's expenditure for the maintenance of the armed forces at one time reached 18 per cent of national income. "Nowhere in the world does a developed country have such expenditure". In this connection he highly appreciated the disarmament process which "has already begun to yield fruit."

Gorbachev described as a normal phenome-(Continued on back page)

Shevardnadze details views on new European security structure

Moscow June 22 Tass – Soviet Foreign Minister and member of the Presidential Council Eduard Shevardnadze supported the creation of new all-European security institutions and structures in an interview with the weekly *New Times*, published in its latest issue.

This is especially necessary today, when the divided Europe is being united, border fortifications along the East-West line have been removed, Germany is being united and Soviet troops are being withdrawn from the East European countries, he said. Shevardnadze went on record in favour of the intensification of the all-European dialogue, regular summit meetings and more frequent conferences of foreign ministers.

According to Shevardnadze, new European security structures should be created with due account of the interests of all 35 European countries, with their consent and on the basis of the Helsinki process and principles set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

He pointed to the need to "create a centre or several centres to prevent and settle crisis situations" in the military sphere among European countries. He positively assessed the transformation of military blocs into political alliances, as well as the possibility of concluding a "politically binding agreement" between them, which was discussed at the recent Soviet-US summit. Shevardnadze believes that political-military alliances will continue to be part of the future European structure.

Shevardnadze also dwelt on the possible creation of structures that would guarantee Euro-

pean security, irrespective of what takes place in separate countries and regions. "If the worst comes to the worst and a military threat emerges, the European structure can serve as an instrument of collective defence, recognised by the UN Charter," he said. Pointing out that the world is confidently outgrowing "friend-or-foe" stereotypes, the Soviet Foreign Minister spoke in favour of speeding up talks on the reduction of military arsenals.

Touching upon the German problem, he pointed out that Germany's membership of NA-TO would pose a problem to Soviet interests. "Our attitude to the future European structure is practically identical to that of the GDR and West Germany. As for NATO, we maintain a dialogue with this alliance and are discussing possible cooperation agreements. At the same time, it is a fact that NATO opposes us, relying on an impressive military machine, on doctrines and a strategy directed against us." If NATO is actually transformed, the issue of Germany's military-political status would take on a different dimension.

"I do not hesitate to state on everybody's behalf that the Warsaw Treaty in its present form suits nobody, including the Soviet Union," Shevardnadze stressed, adding that the organisation intends to reduce its military aspects and strengthen its political ones. "It should become a democratic alliance of equal, sovereign states relying on the interests shared by all of them."

Shevardnadze linked the depth of the reorganisation of the Warsaw Treaty's military activities with resolutions and agreements that will be reached at the Vienna talks on conventional armaments in Europe, in which 23 countries are taking part, and at the London session of the NATO Council.

Shevardnadze on closure of Checkpoint Charlie

Berlin June 22 Tass – by Tass correspondents Mikhail Voronenkov and Vyacheslal Katyayev:

CHECKPOINT Charlie in the American Sector of Berlin was closed in a ceremony today before the opening of the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the two German States, the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France, in accordance with the "Two Plus Four" formula.

The ceremony was attended by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, US Secretary of State James Baker, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his counterpart from the German Democratic Republic Markus Meckel. Honorary Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Willy Brandt was among the guests.

Speaking at the ceremony, Shevardnadze emphasised that this event is a specific sign of a turn for the better in the international arena, of the gradual ending of confrontation, and of new developments in German affairs.

Another one of the emotional, and at times dramatic, pages in Berlin's post-war history has been turned, Shevardnadze said. Within the framework of the "two plus four" negotiations, decisions are being made out to open the way to German unity on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of all participants in the negotiations, for the consolidation of stability and security in Europe.

Shevardnadze told the people of Berlin that at the meeting of the six, to begin shortly, the Soviet side intends to submit a draft document aimed at a final settlement with Germany in terms of international law. He said the draft document includes provisions bearing on Berlin's near future.

"We want to suggest to our partners that the occupation regime be ended when a single German parliament and government has been formed, and that all troops of the four powers leave

Greater Berlin within six months. Other features of Berlin's present special status would simultaneously be eliminated, and the Western sectors of Berlin would restore ties with their natural environs," the minister said.

"We support a completely full life in Berlin, and support bringing it into the process of creating a new German state," Shevardnadze said.

"On the 49th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, I would like to express confidence that all of us can jointly draw a line under the past and start advancing towards new horizons of mutual understanding and cooperation," Shevardnadze said.

"I wish Berliners peace, tranquility and wellbeing. I wish Berlin to become one of the centres of a new system of stability and security in Europe, a bridge between the East and West of Europe," Shevardnadze said.

To the strains of an American military orchestra, a crane started operating to dismantle the main structure of Checkpoint Charlie.

Soviet official on N-test negotiations

Moscow June 20 TASS – By TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeev:

THE two protocols signed by the Soviet and American presidents on June 1 in Washington, which deal with the

The Requirements of Common Sense

by Stanislav Kondrashov Stanislav Kondrashov (b. 1928), a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, is a political analyst with the newspaper Izvestia. His specialities are Soviet-American relations and life in the United States, where he spent many years as an Izvestia correspondent. Stanislav Kondrashov has written numerous books, essays, featurestories, and articles, including, to mention just a few, Martin Luther King, A Long Look at America and People Across the Ocean.

price 70p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW. 1974 and 1976 treaties on the limitation of nuclear tests, are politically very important. They pave the way to further steps at the Soviet-American stage-by-stage talks on the limitation and termination of nuclear tests, Igor Palyonykh, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks, said today at a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Centre.

The control mechanism contained in the protocols can be used to create a system controlling further limitation and a complete nuclear test ban, he said.

According to the Soviet spokesman, the Soviet Union, which proposed resuming talks with the United States early next autumn, does not intend to confine itself to bilateral dipolomacy in tackling the problem of stopping nuclear tests. The USSR is ready to "tackle it jointly with all other countries at multilateral forums". "At the same time, we, of course, are ready to take the most radical decision — a complete nuclear test ban, if the United States is ready to follow suit, or to announce a moratorium jointly with the American side," he continued.

Touching upon the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, Palyonykh said that the treaties, together with protocols, would soon be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet. "We expect the Supreme Soviet to begin their ratification as soon as it resumes its work," he

Schedule for Hungary troop withdrawal

Budapest June 24 Tass – by Tass special correspondent Oleg Moskovsky:

By the time of the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary – June 30, 1991 – 1,352 trainloads of troops and equipment will leave the country, Colonel-General Matvei, Burlakov, commander of the Southern Group of troops, told a meeting of the group's Military Council.

The meeting was attended by members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defence and State Security, led by committee deputy chairman Valery Ochirov.

Burlakov said more than 20,000 Soviet troops, out of a total of 50,000, and 353 tanks out of 860, had left Hungary by June 23.

He noted, however, that 11,000 families of the troops returning from Hungary have no homes in the Soviet Union.

During the first stage of the withdrawal, which will last until the end of this year, 70 per cent of all combat units, including 65 per cent of military aircraft, will be withdrawn.

During the second stage – until March 1991 – 90 per cent of combat units, including all aircraft, will be withdrawn.

The remaining 10 per cent of troops will leave Hungary before July 1, 1991.

The Military Council meeting heard that the Soviet side was leaving housing, barracks and other property and equipment worth more than 1.5 billion roubles in Hungary. But, the speakers said, Hungary was in no hurry to reimburse the Soviet Union for the cost of the facilities.

"If Hungary refuses to reimburse the Soviet Union for its expenses, we will ask the Soviet government to take effective measures to achieve a just and mutually acceptable solution of this problem," Ochirov told Tass.

Shevardnadze meets Austrian Vice-Chancellor

Moscow June 20 TASS

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met today with Austrian Vice-Chancellor Josef Riegler, who is on an official visit in the USSR.

They had a lively discussion of the main directions of the development of the all-European process. Shevardnadze stressed that the Soviet Union favours the formation in Europe of new structures in the military, political, economic, humanitarian and other spheres, to bring about a reliable system of security and co-operation on the continent. The sides pointed to the important role played by neutral and non-aligned countries in the creation of an all-European home.

Riegler reaffirmed that the approaches and stands of Austria and the Soviet Union on problems dealing with the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are almost identical. The Austrian side intends to promote the progress of the all-European process in every way.

way.

When discussing other topical problems of the current situation in Europe, the sides focused attention on the foreign aspects of the German settlement within the framework of the "two plus four" mechanism.

The sides stated with satisfication that Soviet-Austrian relations are developing with a dynamism typical of them and said that they were interested in their further development.

On the same day Shevardnadze and Riegler signed a programme of cultural and scientific co-operation between the USSR and Austria for the period 1990-1993.

Gorbachev in talks on Soviet-German relations

Moscow June 20 TASS

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev today met Dr Lothar Spaeth, Minister-President of West Germany's Baden-Wurttemberg state.

The West German official is in the Soviet Union within the framework of traditional contacts between the Russian Federation and Baden-Wurttemberg.

The two know each other well, and their conversation immediately acquired the character of a businesslike, substantive discussion.

The Soviet president stressed that at the current stage of historic changes in Europe, it is very important to preserve and multiply all the accomplishments of the past years.

It is necessary to act so that relations between the two countries attain a new level in the context of German unification.

Spaeth backed this idea, observing that the future of Europe was connected with extensive Soviet-German co-operation.

He said that stable economic relations are necessary for stability in the sphere of security.

Gorbachev and Spaeth discussed specific issues in developing economic relations between the two countries. They agreed that favourable conditions existed for this development.

The point at issue is, specifically, the creation of new models of co-operation between West Germany's small and medium-size companies and Soviet enterprises. It is also envisaged to use opportunities that emerge in connection with conversion.

Moldavian parliament adopts sovereignty declaration

Kishinev June 23 Tass – by Tass correspondent Anatoly Golya:

The Moldavian Supreme Soviet at its first session today completed the formation of a republican government. There will now be only 17 republican ministries instead of the previously existing 50.

A heated debate developed over a Draft Declaration of Moldavian sovereignty. Following the introduction of amendments and an article-by-article vote, the declaration was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes.

The declaration proclaims that land, mineral and other natural resources on the republic's territory, as well as the entire economic, scientific, technical, financial potential, and national wealth, are the exclusive property of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The declaration envisages the supremacy of the Moldavian Constitution and laws throughout the republic's territory. The laws and other normative acts take effect in Moldavia only after they have been ratified by the republican Supreme Soviet.

The session endorsed the conclusion drawn by the commission of the republican Supreme Soviet "on a politico-legal evaluation of the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact and the Secret Protocol dated August 23, 1939, and of their consequences for Bessarabia and for Northern Bukovina".

Some deputies voiced their disagreement with the draft document and suggested that the consideration of the document be postponed until the autumn session. But a majority of deputies insisted on the endorsement of the document, the essence of which is that subsequently all festive activities will be cancelled on June 28, the date when Bessarabia was incorporated into the USSR.

The session suspended its work until July 25. During this period the Financial and Budgetary Commission and the Commission on Interethnic Problems are expected to prepare materials concerning the republic's transition to a market economy, and recommendations on the formation of an autonomous entity of the Gagauz people on the republic's territory.

Byelorussian prime minister re-elected

Minsk June 23 Tass – by Tass correspondent Vladimir Bogdanov:

The resignation of the previous government of Byelorussia was accepted at the Byelorusian Supreme Soviet session today. It was decided to elect a new Chairman of the Byelorussian Council of Ministers without delay.

A group of People's Deputies, who came forward with this proposal, substantiated it by the need to vest the head of government with powers to conclude economic treaties with the other republics of the Soviet Union.

Vyacheslav Kebich, 54, was re-elected as Chairman of the Byelorussian Council of Ministers. Kebich began his working career in 1958, and rose from a technical engineer to become general director of the Minsk Production Amalgamation for the Manufacture of Broaching and Cutting-off Machine Tools, one of Byelorussia's largest enterprises.

Kebich was engaged in party work for several years. Since 1985 he worked as Deputy Prime Minister of Byelorussia and Chairman of the Republican State Planning Committee.

He is a member of the Politbureau of the Byelorussian Communist Party Central Committee and a USSR People's Deputy. In April this year he became the Chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

The Byelorussian Supreme Soviet instructed Kebich to prepare proposals on the composition of the new government.

Alexander Borisov

LESSONS OF THE SECOND FRONT

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Soviet Defence Minister on world security concerns

Marshal Dmitri Yazov, the Soviet Minister of Defence is a member of the Presidential Council and an alternative member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee. He speaks here to Vladimir Ostrovsky of Novosti Press Agency:

Judging by the declaration of members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) which was recently adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) in Moscow, and by a session of the Committee of Defence Ministers in Berlin, you as the Soviet Defence Ministers in Berlin, you as the Soviet Defence Ministers on probably have more concerns than ever before. In view of the changing military and political situation in Europe, what is the nature of your new concerns?

You made a quite correct observation. There are indeed more concerns now, above all, in connection with the need to review the character and functions of the Warsaw Pact. We are entering a transition period, about which those attending the PCC session spoke.

The new situation in the world and in Europe specifically put before our alliance new tasks linked with the activation of the disarmament process and the forthcoming formation of a new all-European security system. We have dropped the elements of confrontation contained in our previous documents.

Incidentally, the decisions of the North Atlantic alliance of previous years had many such elements. You can neither add nor subtract

The changes sparked by our perestroika and the new political thinking proclaimed by the Soviet Union altered not only our approaches to the military and political problems of the times, but are also altering ourselves.

We – I refer to the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact – have long since embarked on imparting to them a defensive character, on reducing our forces and withdrawing Soviet troops from the territory of allied states.

As you see, our worries are not diminishing. What do I mean? As I understood from speeches made by participants in sessions of the WTO PCC, their desire to see our organisation more political than military is temporary until new security structures are created in Europe.

In this context a natural and disquieting question arises: what is the prospect of seeing these new all-European security structures if NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) does not intend to disband itself and is also planning to include a unified Germany in its military alliance?

To my mind, there is something amiss with the logic here. Attempts to strengthen NATO further are being presented as measures for stabilisation in Europe, and it is claimed that these measures will benefit the USSR and its perestroika programme.

It looks as though for all the fine assurances we have been hearing from the West of late—which is confirmed by the NATO Council Session in Scotland—about taking the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union and its security into account, NATO does little to allay our concern in practice.

Meanwhile the Defence Ministers' Committee, determined to contribute to the ever growing level of confidence between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic bloc, and desiring to impact a non-confrontational character to their relations so as to take an active part in forming

structures of a system of all-European security, has expressed the hope and stated that the acceleration and deeping of tendencies towards change in NATO in practice would help towards that goal.

If the decisions taken by the bloc to alter its activities are implemented, which will confirm the sincerity and good will of the West, then such steps will at once be felt not only in consolidating the climate of trust on the European continent, but will also accelerate the disarmament process.

My colleagues in the committee stressed with particular satisfaction the importance of the Soviet-American summit meeting and the accords on the reduction of strategic offensive arms and abolition of chemical weapons. We assess positively the results of the Vienna talks on conventional armaments; but these talks

should be speeded up.

I would like to stress that within the Warsaw Pact a joint commission has been set up which towards Autumn must table proposals on the prospects regarding the existence of the military organisation of the Warsaw Pact, including its joint staff.

World public opinion will probably estimate this decision of ours at its true worth. The decision undoubtedly will be a positive political factor. But I must note that I cannot agree with the idea voiced by some participants in the meeting that each country must defend itself by its own efforts. Such an approach has many contradictions, especially compared with what we see in the case of NATO.

Members of the North Atlantic alliance, on the contrary, are seeking to strengthen their alliance, while trying to assure us that American troops remaining in West Germany and Britain make the guarantees of all-European security and for the security of each particular NATO member more reliable.

You recently met with the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Moscow. You drew her attention to the circumstances worrying you that NATO remains at its former positions—advanced line defences—and that the new political thinking seems to be by-passing that alliance. It appears that the Warsaw Pact in its political philosophy and organisational conclusions has moved ahead, compared with NATO, away from confrontation to a higher level of trust. How did Mrs Thatcher react to that?

Unfortunately, I did not receive any answer to my question to Mrs Thatcher about the possible restructuring of the North Atlantic alliance, and its new approaches to the changing situation in

You were a witness to that. How will NATO be restructured, what will be its essence and will it be implemented? We heard nothing about

NATO, as can be seen from the speech by Margaret Thatcher at the session in Scotland, regards its role in Europe as the decisive one. And even the process of troops and conventional arms reduction in Europe is not seen as diminishing the need for a further existence of NATO.

What is more, she called upon the session members to examine the question of how to enlarge the role of NATO from war prevention to peace-building. In short, whatever position is held by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries, NATO's concepts and approaches to military and political issues of the day still remain unchanged.

Regrettably, I can state that for all the external changes towards a better attitude of NATO to the Warsaw Pact, certain forces in the

West still stick to their old positions, namely that the Soviet Union is an enemy of the Western countries.

Our Western partners, on the one hand, are satisfied that the Warsaw Pact is transforming itself into a political alliance, but on the other, they preserve their own alliance as a military and political one and give it a central role in the future. There is a discrepancy here.

Mrs Thatcher says that political commitments and promises alone cannot ensure security and that NATO should preserve strong defences in the future. And in the same breath they are trying to give us only political promises in which they do not believe themselves.

Such a state of affairs cannot but give me a sense of even more anxiety as a Defence Minister responsible for the national security of the USSR.

NATO now has a partial edge in forces in spite of compliments paid to us at the latest conference of that bloc. I am still under the impression that NATO headquarters are guided by a desire unilaterally to disarm the Soviet Union and that certain political leaders are trying to put that idea into practice.

Take the following example. The USA flatly refuses to include its naval forces in the negotiations on arms cuts. At the same time, it is insisting that our ground-based aviation of the navy should be included in the Vienna talks.

A strange picture emerges. The US and NA-TO retain something like 1,500 deck-type aircraft, half of them assault planes based on aircraft carriers. And these will not be affected by cuts, since they are not covered by the talks in Vienna. We, according to their views, must reduce our ground-based naval aviation. Is there any equivalence there? Of course not.

Or take this fact. The USA possesses a

Or take this fact. The USA possesses a 200,000-strong Marine Corps. Its equipment testifies to the offensive nature of its tasks. It can be moved to any part of the world and engage in offensive operations. Such numbers of the US Marine Corps enable the US to create a necessary preponderance in manpower and material at any place and at any time.

And the last thing I would like to note is that NATO favours the continued presence of American conventional and nuclear forces in Europe. The question arises: against whom will tactical nuclear weapons in NATO be aimed? You may recall that Soviet units are being

You may recall that Soviet units are being pulled out of central Europe and its other territories in the East. Margaret Thatcher claims that without modernised and forward-based NATO nuclear weapons the defences of that alliance would be less reliable.

As you see, we are considered the enemy as before. And this is being done, as far as I can judge, deliberately, in spite of all our practical steps to strengthen general security not only on the European continent, but also in the world as a whole. This is what is most worrying me now.

Nuclear Deterrence: Past and Future

By Konstantine Nikolayev

price 50p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW

Polozkov repudiates 'conservative' stance

Moscow June 23 Tass – by Tass correspondents Alexandras Budris, Alexander Mineyev and Yuri Rublevsky:

THE Communist Party of the Russian Federation, true to the ideas of the October Revolution, will base itself on the Marxist-Leninist theory and socialist ideals, Ivan Polozkov, who was elected First Secretary of the party's Central Committee at the party's Constituent Congress, told a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

The Russian Communist Party leader pointed to the complexity of the situation in which the party is being founded. He recalled that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had voluntarily reliquished its monopoly on power, that the party as a whole and its component – the Communist Party of the Russian Federation – will have to be renewed, and communists will have to learn to work under conditions of a multi-party system.

The main task now is to elect to the party's leading bodies the most active, thinking and bold people, who would be able to give an impetus to all the restructuring processes, Polozkov believes.

In response to journalists' questions, Polozkov rejected the opinion of a number of news organisations about him as "a conservative unresponsive to innovations". He promised from the very outset to show in practice, not only in words, that he will rely widely on the opinions of the public.

The Russian Communist Party leader pointed out his desire to build relations with the Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Boris Yelt-

sin, and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev "on a businesslike and principled basis, with a view to implementing the policy of perestroika and improving the life of people in Russia."

"Communists who have undertaken to tackle the remaking of society must push into the background their personal relations," Polozkov said.

He favoured the combining of the posts of the leader of the CPSU and the state at the present stage. Presidential authority has not yet moved into high gear, and the party still remains the most influential force in the work of perestroika, Polozkov stressed.

Polozkov stated that he regarded positively the idea of moving to a market economy. He voiced apprehensions, however, that an abrupt transition to a market under the conditions of the current scarcities is fraught with the possibility of provoking a social outburst.

He approves of the development of private ownership in small-scale production, in agriculture, and industrial sectors producing prime necessities.

Touching on the speech made at the Russian Federation Party Congress by General Albert Makashov, who strongly criticised the policy of the government and of the politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Polozkov pointed to the strained situation in the army and to problems brought about in particular by reductions in the armed forces.

However, Polozkov believes that General Makashov "somewhat overdid it from the lexical point of view." The Russian Communist Party leader takes a negative view of the idea of depoliticising the army, the Interior Ministry and the State Security Committee.

Polozkov does not believe that his election "will bring about a split in the CPSU" at the party's 28th Congress. He admitted, however, that "some forces may make use of it".

He spoke out in favour of cooperation with representatives of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU, and supported the idea of a round-table meeting of all of Russia's political parties and organisations that are interested in society's renewal.

Soviet government debates social protection

Moscow June 20 TASS

A CONFERENCE chaired by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov was held yesterday to consider the ensurance of social protection for people in the low income bracket and the disabled, in conditions of a transfer to a regulated market economy. The conference was attended by senior executives of major economic institutions and republican officials responsible for labour and social security.

Participants in the conference discussed proposals dealing with the improvement of the system of allowances paid to families with children and the state's policy guaranteeing social protection to people on low incomes. It was agreed that a clear division of competence, rights and responsibility between the USSR, union republics, local government bodies and labour collectives is important for the solution of this problem

The conference also discussed guidelines for the state's policies towards the disabled, aimed at developing the economic and legal guarantees for the participation of the disabled in the life of society. It specifically called for the disabled to be able to enjoy equal opportunities with other citizens in obtaining education, receiving professional training, and employment.

Commission on regulated market economy established

Moscow June 21 TASS

A COMMISSION on a Regulated Market Economy has been set up to prepare a draft programme to formulate the structure and mechanism of a regulated market economy. The draft is to be prepared and submitted to the government by August 15.

The commission, head by Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Maslyukov, is instructed to co-ordinate all work on the transition to a

Soviet drugs problem "acute"

Moscow June 21 TASS

THE problem of the spread of drugs in the Soviet Union remains very acute, a high placed Interior Ministry official told the newspaper Gudok today.

The number of drug addicts has not decreased. More than 130,000 of them have been registered at Interior Ministry and health bodies.

Half of those registered are chronic addicts and 25,600 are addicted to strong drugs. Thirty per cent of them are glue sniffers.

The official said more than 150 criminal

groups engaged in drug trafficking had been revealed in the first three months of 1990. Drug-related crimes are on the rise.

Interior Ministry bodies have already discovered 1,150 illegal narcotic crops over an area of more than 18 hectares this year.

reguiated market economy, and to define the plan for the transition taking account of recommendations submitted by the parliaments of the union and autonomous republics, and of proposals made at the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The commission will discuss and introduce the bills necessary to ensure the legal and economic conditions for a transition, and work out draft Presidential Decrees and Soviet government decisions on the realisation of legislative acts connected with carrying out the economic reform.

The tasks were set by the decision of the Soviet government on measures to carry out the Soviet parliament's resolution of June 13, 1990 on the plan for a transition to a regulated market economy in the Soviet Union.

The government considered it necessary to set up a commission of economists, heads of enterprises, representatives of associations, unions and other public organisations to assess the alternative variants for a transition to a regulated market economy. The commission is instructed to submit its conclusions on alternative variants to the Soviet government in July 1000

The decision instructs Soviet ministries and departments to prepare specific proposals on new approaches to financial and credit policy, a new prices policy, and changes in the structure of Soviet economic management bodies, by July 15, 1990.

A forecast of the social and economic consequences of the transition to market relations will also be elaborated and submitted by July 15.

In the series Perestroika
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Yeltsin calls for cooperation

THE President of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet must equally protect the interests of all strata of the Russian population, whether they are party or non-party members, from one party or five parties, the holder of the post, Boris Yeltsin, said in an interview with *Pravda* on June 20.

Asked if he planned to suspend his membership of the CPSU after the 28th Party Congress, Yeltsin said that since the communists of Sverdlovsk had placed their faith in him by electing him as a delegate to the 28th Party Congress, this question could not be decided before the congress.

The decision, he said, would depend on what the communists will say and on what the Russian Federation Communist Party Conference and the 28th Party Congress decide. The overwhelming majority of party organisations ardently and energetically supported the idea of a Russian Communist Party. Yeltsin said.

ty, Yeltsin said.

"Undoubtedly, this should have been done long ago, but since we have not, then it should be done now. The Russian Communist Party should be formed," he was quoted as saying.

According to Yeltsin, on renoucing its monopoly on power and the command style, the new party must co-operate with the bodies of state power. "We don't need any confrontation or head-on attacks. We should seek co-operation."

Yeltsin called the passage of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Russia a major event. The Russian Federation had now become independent within the union with complete sovereignty. Only the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, he said, can now decide what share of authority it should devolve to the centre.

Russian Prime Minister backs radical economic reform

Moscow June 19 TASS – by TASS correspondents Dmitry Polunin:

"I plan to use the time given to me to carry out a radical economic reform in the Russian Federation," Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, confirmed in his new position by the first Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR's biggest republic a day before, told a news conference here today.

The Russian premier called for complete

economic freedom for all producers operating on Russian territory.

The future government, he said, would encourage the transfer of small enterprises in the services sector and consumer goods manufacture to private owners.

Replying to questions from journalists, Silayev said he planned to form a government within one month.

Candidates to ministerial posts will be chosen depending on their susceptibility to new ideas and commitment to a radical economic reform.

Silayev favoured a substantial reduction in the number of republican branch ministries and renewed managerial structure.

Standing parliament for Russian Federation

Moscow June 20 TASS – By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksyonov and Dmitry Polunin:

THE first Congress of Deputies of the Russian Federation today completed the formation of the republic's standing legislature, the Supreme Soviet.

The last nine vacancies in the Council of the Republic, one of the parliament's two houses, were filled in additional elections. A total of 251 parliamentarians have been elected.

Only one seat remains vacant in the council of nationalities, allocated to Siberia's Kemerovo region. At the request of the regional deputation, the vote will be held at the second congress.

After the congress decided this morning to assign the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission work to finish drafting the Decree on Authority and submit it for consider-

Peoples of the Soviet Union Traditions and Customs

by Georgi Kublitsky

price 70p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW. ation to the next congress, a group of lawyersdeputies presented an alternative document — a Draft Resolution on People's Authority.

This draft proposes a mechanism for exercising people's authority in the Russian Federation.

The debate on the procedure of discussing the draft was stormy, with long lines of deputies waiting to speak near microphones.

The resolution proclaims that "in keeping with the Russian Constitution and the Declaration on Sovereignty, all power in the Russian Federation belongs to the people" who "exercise state authority through Soviets of People's Deputies and through forms of direct democracy".

To guarantee the equality of citizens, the draft stipulates that the republic "does not allow the head of a state body of authority or management to hold another position, including in political or socio-political organisations."

Not all articles in the draft gained the support of deputies. One of these was the provision that "judges, public prosecutors and officials of the Russian Federation's law enforcement bodies suspend their membership of parties and sociopolitical organisations throughout their tenure".

The majority of deputies also rejected the article providing for the congress to propose that the USSR's top bodies of state authority eliminate bodies of party-political management within the Soviet Union armed forces.

The resolution was adopted by the majority of votes after an article-by-article discussion.

The congress, due to close today, will continue its work on Thursday in keeping with the agenda.

Ukrainean communists call for party restructuring

Kiev June 21 TASS

THE 28th Congress of the Ukrainean Communist Party began discussing the report of the party's Central Committee on Wednesday.

The delegates expressed concern about the fate of the Ukrainean Communist Party, of the Ukraine and the Soviet Union on the whole, and the desire to find a way to bring Soviet society out of the crisis situation.

Some speakers said that having heaved up all the burden of the perestroika problems on its shoulders, the party had left neither time nor strength for its own renovation. Therefore, restructuring inside the Ukrainean Communist Party has become the most urgent task today.

Some delegates suggested that questions of a party charter, the status of the primary organisation, the setting up of commissions to check on the use of the party's budget, as well as the issue of party prviliges, be included on the congress' agenda.

Ukrainean Communists spoke in favour of preserving democratic centralism as the basic principle of the party's organisation. This system is capable of ensuring the freedom of discussion, platforms, alternatives, positions and views, while factionalism and the federal principle of organisation will inevitably lead to a party split.

Speaking about the transition to a market economy, the delegates stressed the need to guarantee social protection to the population.

Russian Communist Party established

Moscow June 20 TASS

RUSSIA'S communists, who account for some 60 per cent of the CPSU's membership, decided today to create a communist party of their own.

At the constituent congress delegates chose to name it the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Participants in the congress announced that they regarded the Communist Party of the Russian Federation as an inseparable part of the CPSU.

More glasnost, more perestroika

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Lithuania debates moratorium

Vilnius June 22 Tass – by Tass correspondent Kazis Uscilla:

"Moratorium", hardly a household word in Lithuania, is now on the lips of young and old. People are trying to understand what it stands for, lauding or lambasting the government for its "risky step".

On June 16, the Lithuanian government, without doubting Lithuania's right to independence on reneging on the parliament's March 11 Declaration of Independence, suggested that lawmakers consider a moratorium on the act for the duration of talks with the Soviet Union.

The government believes that the moratorium will help normalise relations with the Soviet Union, establish the Lithuanian state and ease its international recognition.

Although the government explained that the moratorium will not annul the act but only temporarily freeze it without changing Lithuania's independent status, the proposal caused an

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The moratorium is the number one topic with Lithuanian newspapers and radio and TV speakers.

The moratorium is a "trap" against independent Lithuania, Antanas Pernatskas, leader of the League of Free Lithuania, said in a par-

liamentary newspaper.

The Council of the Sejm of the Sajudis movement also called on parliament not to allow a temporary moratorium on the March 11 act, pointing out that the motives behind the government's decision are not yet clear, that the moratorium is currently unacceptable and that new ways for talks with the Soviet Union should be found.

Even if extreme attacks in the press are left out, calls to "protect the act on Lithuanian independence" and "denounce opponents of independence" prevail in the newspapers.

"It is a pity that the government has come under heavy fire for allegedly wanting to give up independence. This is either due to ignorance or malice," Lithuanian Minister of Justice Pranas Kuris complains.

Meanwhile, the republic is losing millions of roubles every day.

Georgia discusses restoring independence

Tbilisi June 20 TASS – by TASS correspondents Devi Berdzenishvili and Boris Gazzayev:

THE extraordinary 15th session of Georgia's Supreme Soviet opened here today. It was convened a month earlier than scheduled at the demand of fasting Tbilisi university students. Their demand was supported by a number of Georgian public organisations and political parties.

The session is to discuss making amendments to the March 9, 1990 decree of the Georgian Supreme Soviet "On guarantees for the protec-

tion of Georgia's state sovereignty." The decree notes that Georgia's incorporation into the Soviet Union was invalid. The session will also determine measures for the decree's implementation. The deputies will discuss the creation of a legal mechanism to restore Georgian state independence.

It is planned to discuss a package of bills on Georgian citizenship, on general democratic elections to Georgia's Supreme Soviet, on citizens' associations, the foundations of economic independence and other matters of public concern.

Givi Gumbaridze, President of the Presidium of Georgia's Supreme Soviet and First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, also delivered a report to the special session

Georgia passes alternative service law

Tbilisi June 21 TASS – By TASS correspondent Eduard Gasparov:

AT a session here on June 19, the Georgian parliament endorsed the first reading of a bill on the fundamentals of Georgia's economic independence and approved in full a bill on a labour alternative to military service.

The Georgian parliament also adopted an address to the Russian parliament, suggesting that the 1921 events, as a result of which Georgia

A NEW POSTER FROM THE USSR

This is the USSR WHO LIVES IN THE USSR

price £1.20 from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW became a Soviet republic, be re-evaluated.

The address emphasises that such an act would serve as grounds "for the establishment of genuinely equal and mutually beneficial relations, characteristic of sovereign states, between Georgia and the Russian Federation."

In order to create a "legal mechanism to restore the state independence of Georgia", it was decided to form a commission from among deputies and specialists as well as representatives of political parties, socio-political associations and movements.

The session decided to complete, with the participation of the public at large, the drafting of a bill on the citizenship of Georgia and to bring it up for discussion at the next session of parliament, as well as a bill on multi-party elections to the republican parliament. The elections are scheduled for October 28, 1990.

The session adopted the Georgian parliament's statement recognising "the right to self-determination and the political will of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and all the union republics to create truly sovereign states", and expressed readiness to establish direct inter-state political, economic and other relations with them.

Uzbek parliament adopts sovereignty declaration

Tashkent June 19 TASS – by TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger:

A "Declaration of Sovereignty of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic within a renewed Soviet Federation" was passed at a session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet in Tashkent today after heated debates.

The Declaration proclaims Uzbekistan's state sovereignty and the supremacy of republican laws on its entire territory.

The declaration puts all issues of domestic and foreign policy under the authority of Uzbekistan.

The document emphasies that Uzbekistan acknowledges and respects the principles of international law and determines the nature and foundations that underlie its future economic, cultural and other relations with foreign countries.

The proposal to discuss the draft declaration on the first day of the session was opposed by some deputies. Some of them believed that the issue should be postponed until a new union treaty, defining relations between union republics and the union on the whole, is concluded.

Supporters of the declaration won the discussion, however, and the declaration was approved by the majority of votes.

The session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet also focused on bills on land ownership and on creating a Committee for Constitutional Compliance.

The deputies are planning measures to improve the status of women and to protect motherhood and childhood in the republic.

Lithuanian economy suffers

Vilnius June 21 TASS

"LOSSES caused by the Soviet Union's economic blockade amounted to 102.1 million roubles by June 18, according to estimates submitted by Lithuanian industrial enterprises," the Lithuanian Department of Statistics reported today.

According to the report published here, ten industrial enterprises have completely stopped functioning and 22,000 workers and office employees were given a paid holiday ahead of time. Some 40,200 industrial, building and transport

employees were forced to stop normal work. Another 8,300 machine-operators in collective and state farms could not perform their regular duties, the report revealed.

"THE WORLD HAS BECOME A SAFER PLACE"

by Eduard Shevardnadze

"The foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union are dictated by the interests of the people and conform to the ideals and principles of a socialist society," declared member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

at 60p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW.

Soviet responses to Iran earthquake disaster

USSR sends quake relief to Iran

Moscow June 22 Tass - A special Aeroflot flight took off from Moscow for Iran today with a team of doctors and rescue workers who will help clear the aftermath of the earthquake that hit the country on the night between June 20 and

In addition to rescue workers, the aircraft carried relief aid - tents, blankets, and bandages from the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

President Gorbachev sends condolences

Moscow June 23 Tass - Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message of condolences to President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of Iran, expressing sincere compassion in connection with the natural calamity that hit the country - the earthquake that claimed numerous hu-

Mikhail Gorbachev asked the Iranian president to convey his deep condolences to the families and friends of those who lost their lives in the earthquake.

Armenian rescue party leaves for

Yerevan June 23 Tass - the Spitak Rescue Party left for the earthquake-devastated area of Iran today. The personnel of the rescue p: v did not remain indifferent to the misfortune the neighbouring state a 1, upon k the disaster, immediately res expressing the desire to help the Iraman people as much as possible.

The Spitak Rescue Party has been in existence in the Yerevan Physics Institute for almost two years. In december 1988, when the terrible earthquake rocked Armenia, the institute's students and faculty members were among the first to hurry to the aid of their fellow countrymen. It was at that time that they decided to set up a rescue party and to become professional

They established close contacts with other similar organisations in the country, and cooperate with the rescue services of West Germany

Gennady Gerasimov on 'Group of 15' Joint Appeal

Moscow June 20 TASS - By TASS correspondent Alexander Kanishchev:

THE non-aligned and developing countries increasingly understand the usefulness of the Soviet-American dialogue, not only for the Soviet Union and the United States but for the whole world, said Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov at a news conference here today.

He was commenting on the Joint Appeal of the leaders of the so-called Group of Fifteen to the Soviet and American presidents. The first session of the leaders of fifteen non-aligned and developing countries was held in Kuala Lumpur in early June this year to discuss the third

Turkey returns hijack plane

Istanbul June 20 TASS

TURKEY has decided to return to the Soviet Union the AN-2 passenger aircraft hijacked on Monday from the Ukrainian town of Izmail by a former pilot of the Odessa Aviation Unit, the Anatolian Agency reported.

The aircraft had landed on the Turkish Black

The pilot asked for political asylum in Turkey. On Tuesday, he was taken to Ankara to investigate the reasons for and circumstances of the hijack. The Turkish authorities have yet not revealed the name of the pilot.

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world's economic development strategy during global changes, as well as strengthening South-South co-operation and the resumption of the South-North dialogue.

The heads of states and governments, who assembled in the Malaysian capital, appealed to Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush during the Washington summit. The message expresses the hope that the Soviet-US dialogue in Washington will mark a new era in international relations, when trust and co-operation will become the norm and progress a common aim shared by all.

The Soviet spokesman expressed satisfaction with the fifteen countries' growing understanding of the usefulness of the Soviet-American dialogue, including for the countries of the third world. He stressed that the interests and aspirations of the non-aligned and developing countries are invariably taken into account by the Soviet Union in its international contacts.

Big increase in Soviet emigration to Israel

Moscow June 20 TASS

THE number of people leaving the USSR for Israel increased more than 12 times in 1989 as compared with 1985, Pravda reported today.

Illya Karakulko, deputy chief of the Moscow Visa Office, said there have been few refusals of late. Only eleven out of the 1,764 people were denied exit visas in the first quarter of this year. The reasons for these refusals were mainly due to knowledge of state secrets or a criminal

Karakulko gave the example of a recent case in which the visa office was contacted by managers of the Alexeyev Worsted Factory. They informed the visa office that the chairman of one of the co-operatives at the factory had drawn a loan of some 200,000 roubles. Only a quarter of the work undertaken had been done, and the quality was inferior. The person concerned had now applied to emigrate to Israel.

Soviet-Canadian talks on **Arctic cooperation**

OTTAWA June 21 TASS

SOVIET and Canadian Foreign Ministry experts met in Ottawa from June 18 to 20 to discuss co-operation in the Arctic.

The decision to hold regular exchanges on the issue was agreed by President Mikhail Gorbachev and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney during their summit.

Experts discussed a wide range of issues of interaction between the Soviet Union and Canada in the sphere of multilateral co-operation, in addition to military-political and international legal problems.

Special attention was paid to discussing measures to protect the frament and forge mutually-be in al contacts in the scientific, technical, econoc, social and cultural spheres.

Both sides acknowledged that the consultations were constructive and useful.

The sides agreed to continue exchanges. The next round of consultations will be held in Moscow in 1991.

(Continued from front page)

non the fact that "perestroika has also affected such a very important institution as our Soviet army. But this does not mean in any way that we should pay less attention to the army, to the armed forces," he added.

In response to a question whether the West is putting pressure on the Soviet president on the "Lithuanian issue", Gorbachev said "we shall not allow interference in our internal affairs".

Summing up the work of the Russian Communist Party's Constituent Congress, the first phase of which drew to a close today, Gorbachev expressed "immense satisfaction" with the stand of delegates who firmly stated that they visualise their party within the CPSU.

Speaking of the divergencies of positions which at times told on the course of the congress, the CPSU leader said that it was essential to seek consolidation, not a split". He called on the delegates "to concentrate our energies and through the party - the energies of the whole of society, on the main direction of perestroika."

This does not mean that one may "back out of principled positions or act to the detriment of our choice," he added.

Within the framework of the socialist choice, we have vast resources for cooperation," Gorbachev emphasised.

He warned that "a split in the party would lead to the polarisation of social forces in society. This would weaken all the constructive forces in the country, and at this decisive stage of perestroika, this would be a thing desired only by those who want to inflict a defeat on perestroika.

For the Peaceful and Safe Use of the Atom

Novosti Press Agency correspondents interview:

Nikolai LUKONIN, Minister of the **USSR Nuclear Power Industry**

Vadim MALYSHEV, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Safety Supervision in the Nuclear Power Industry.

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