Wednesday August 1, 1990

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Mikhail Gorbachev holds talks with Italian Premier

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy had a unique, in-depth, one-to-one talk in Moscow on July 26 to discuss global and bilateral issues.

The discussion was an extension of the two leaders' talks during Gorbachev's state visit to Italy last November.

The talks were fruitful, comprehensive and friendly, according to Gorbachev and Andreotti.

Gorbachev told the Italian Prime Minister about perestroika reforms. The transition to a market economy and the drafting of a new union accord, regulating relations between the Soviet republics, are number one priorities, Gorbachev said.

Italy and Western Europe realise the importance of perestroika and are aware that its failure would be a catastrophe for everyone, Andreotti said.

The Soviet leadership has a clear-cut reform programme. This is extremely important and is crucial for Western help to the Soviet Union, he said.

Gorbachev and Andreotti discussed the results of the recent European summit in Dublin, the NATO meeting in London and the G-7 summit in Houston.

It is very important to ensure progress along directions charted at these meetings, including in co-operation between the Soviet Union and the West, they said.

Gorbachev and Andreotti talked in detail about developments in Europe, praising the character and dynamism of processes on the continent.

They expressed special satisfaction with the progress made in relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Andreotti said he welcomes the fact that Gorbachev has been invited to speak at a session of the NATO Council.

The time is ripe for NATO to reform itself. Member-countries of the two military alliances should expand political co-operation between each other, he said.

Gorbachev and Andreotti underscored the importance of the forthcoming 35-nation Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Paris. They expressed hope that the summit will take meaningful steps on the way towards building new architecture in Europe.

The sides emphasised the importance of developing and deepening Soviet-Italian relations. Gorbachev noted that Italy always, even

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in troubled times, played a pioneer role in developing co-operation with the Soviet Union. "Today, too, although there are some problems, the dynamics of Soviet-Italian relations deserves the highest appraisal.

"The existing difficulties are largely linked with some legal issues of economic reform being unresolved. However, measures which are being carried out as part of preparations for the transition to market, including those pertaining to the terms for foreign investment, will create a qualitatively new and more favourable atmosphere for our co-operation," Gorbachev said

Andreotti, in turn, noted that Italy attached great importance to the development of all-round ties with the Soviet Union. He emphasised that the agreements and understandings, reached during Gorbachev's visit to Italy in November 1989, served as a sign post here. Andreotti said these arrangements and understandings were a good platform for boosting co-operation.

Gorbachev and Andreotti were then joined for a discussion by other officials.

Gorbachev and Andreotti expressed deep satisfaction with the exchange of views held and agreed that contacts between them would be continued.

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Gorbachev – Andreotti news conference

ITALIAN Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's visit to the Soviet Union was confirmation of the continuous meaningful dialogue which has been undeviatingly developing and gaining ever greater strength in relations between the two countries, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said.

He and the head of the Italian Government spoke at a joint news conference in Moscow on July 26 after Andreotti's brief working visit to As the centre of the world politics has shifted to the European continent, talks between Gorbachev and Andreotti naturally focused on European processes, the Vienna talks and the building of a common European home under changing conditions. "We discussed perestroika and developments in Eastern Europe," the President said.

Giulio Andreotti stressed that perestroika was being pursued in the interests of all nations and pointed to the need to remove obstacles from its way and take specific measures to ensure it success.

Asked what aid Italy can offer to promote reforms in the Soviet Union, Andreotti said that financing a series of projects, outlined during Gorbachev's visit to Italy last year, was discussed in Moscow. Credits for repaying outstanding debts were also discussed.

Gorbachev said people in the Soviet Union expected that the Italian people and government would preserve their understanding of the aims of perestroika. He expressed hopes that last year's talks and the current meeting would facilitate the solution of a number of practical problems, including those connected with conversion and consumer goods production.

"We depend largely on ourselves," he added. However, the President continued, the Soviet Union needs foreign financial assistance to blunt the edge of newly-emerging problems.

Gorbachev said that the next two years would be the most difficult and important, as during them "we will have to make the most difficult changes and set the market mechanism in motion."

In order to ensure the success of his reform programme, the Soviet leader said he intends to speed up the creation of a legislation basis for the transition to a market-oriented economy.

According to the President, regulatory enactments and resolutions would soon be promulgated in the Soviet Union dealing with the development of economic independence and entrepreneurship, foreign investments, banking activity, the improvement of the finance and credit system, land reform and the establishment (Continued on page 258)

Presidential decree on illegal arms

ARMED units, not envisaged under Soviet law, are illegal and must be disbanded within 15 days, the Soviet President said in a decree issued in Moscow on July 25.

Weapons, ammunition, explosive substances, military hardware and other types of munitions must be surrendered to representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry within the same period of time.

The decree calls on republican and local bodies of power, militia units subordinate to them, the Soviet Interior Ministry and the USSR State Security Committee to ensure the confiscation of these weapons, ammunition, explosive substances, hardware and other types of military munitions, if this demand is not met, and hand them over the units of the USSR Defence Ministry

If actions of the above armed groups endanger

the safety of the population and the state, the Soviet Interior Ministry has the right to use interior troops, and units of the Soviet Defence Ministry may become involved in some operations.

The above decree was issued in response to the creation of armed groups in some regions, with the connivance of local authorities, which are not part of the USSR Armed Forces, border, interior and railway troops and other parliamentary units, envisaged by the Soviet law.

These groups provoke tensions, destabilise the situation and threaten people's lives. Such actions are accompanied by the seizure of arms, attacks on servicemen and militia men and on various military civilian facilities. They are connected with the commission of other grave crimes, and lead to casualties among innocent people. Criminals, draft dodgers or deserters from the Armed Forces are often drawn into these groups.

Mikhail Gorbachev receives Speaker of Japanese Parliament

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev met in the Kremlin on July 25 Yoshio Sakurauchi, the Speaker of the Japanese House of Representatives. Sakurauchi is visiting the Soviet Union at the head of a Japanese parliamentary delegation.

Gorbachev said he was sincerely glad to have the opportunity to meet Mr Sakurauchi, since ties between parliaments were of immense importance at present. "Japan is our neighbour and we want to have good relations with it, better relations than now," he said.

Sakurauchi thanked Gorbachev for finding time for the conversation despite pressure of work and said that, as a representative of the supreme body of state authority, he regarded as his duty to raise the issue of the so-called northern territories (meaning the four islands of the Kurile chain, to which Japan makes territorial claims).

Gorbachev noted that there was nobody in the Soviet Union who would say that the USSR has other peoples' territory. "All this is confirmed by post-war documents. It was a severe war for all countries. International decisions were made on the basis of the post-war realities and we abide by them. I do not want to launch a discussion today on the issue that has been repeatedly

discussed with representatives of Japan. I can repeat today: we do not have a territorial issue,"

Sakurauchi said: "You frequently speak about the Asia-Pacific region. We share your views, but the new age is not only relations between the USSR and Japan. It is relations with all countries in the region. We are prepared to recognise the Soviet public's view on all issues, but I think you, too, should take into account the Japanese public opinion."

Gorbachev said he hoped for a constructive dialogue on other topics. "We live at a time of sweeping changes in all areas of life and then suddenly find ourselves returning again to our circuits," he noted.

In Sakurauchi's opinion, all problems could be attended to during the Soviet top-level visit to Japan. "Certainly, we have a lot to talk about and we should search for opportunities to cooperate. When you come to Japan, we will be able to talk about everything," Sakurauchi said.

Gorbachev questioned the expediency of the visit if only one such issue was on the agenda. "We stand for the improvement of relations, but we should look for opportunities to achieve it, for ways towards each other. We favour good relations but, regrettably, today they are not notable for their dynamics. Possibly, we will understand each other better with time," Gorbacheverid

Meeting of Soviet Communist Party secretariat

IN AN unprecedented move, reporters were invited to attend a meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat, chaired by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, reports TASS from Moscow on July 28.

The Secretariat discussed the work of Party organisations in implementing the decisions of the 28th Party Congress and prepared a plan of top-priority propaganda and organisational measures.

The report on the issue was delivered by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Alexander Dzasokhov.

Summing up the debate on the issue, Gorbachev said that the number one priority is to overcome the current crisis.

"We have plunged into inner-Party discussions at our congresses and when discussing Party documents. This is becoming increasingly unpopular now. The Party should turn to people's everyday needs. It should be with the people and know what they are worried about. We should remember and understand that the Party serves the people," Gorbachev said.

"I agree that it is necessary to pay more atten-

"I agree that it is necessary to pay more attention to primary Party organisations – they are the centre of events now," he said.

"Party committees should be more open to the people. We must change the style of our work," Gorbachev said.

The Secretariat discussed preparations for the second stage of the founding congress of the Russian Communist Party. The report on the issue was delivered by Russian Party leader Ivan Polozkov.

Central Committee Secretary Valentin Kuptsov reported on the Party's policy towards various public and political organisations.

Gorbachev called for a contructive dialogue and co-operation with all movements that comply with the Soviet Constitution and are prosocialist.

"We shall give up the monopoly on truth and learn not only to speak, but also to hear," he said.

Public movements emerging in the country are often constructive and pro-perestroika, Gorbachev said, calling for a broad coalition of all progressive forces in society.

Gorbachev meets economists

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev had a fourhour meeting with journalists, scientists and publicists specialising in economy reforms, the newspaper *Izvestia* reports in its July 28 issue.

Gorbachev called for a common intellectual effort to ease the transition to a market economy.

"I do not urge you to keep silent, however we should prevent a split in the increasingly powerful left centre. The greatest danger to perestroika lies in a fight between democrats," Gorbachev said.

Asked about relations between the centre and the Russian Federation, Gorbachev said they have agreed on a co-ordinated reform programme

The central government is prepared to carry out radical economic reforms and needs constructive support, Gorbachev said.

Commenting on possible unemployment during the transition to a market, participants in the meeting said authorities should concentrate on training programmes and new jobs.

The consumer market is in a shambles and poses a social threat, speakers agreed.

Presidential decree on finance and credit interaction

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev on July 29 signed a decree on the interaction between union and republican bodies on finance and credit matters during the period of preparation of a new union treaty.

"The process of converting institutions of state-run specialised banks into commercial banks has been started in a number of union republics," the decree points out.

"The role of state banks is rising. Their independence is being strengthened and responsibility enhanced. At the same time republican and union bodies make some decisions without taking into account the actually established economic ties and co-operation of republics within the framework of the USSR as well as lasting interests of the entire country and its citizens.

"In order to prevent negative trends and concentrate efforts on the solution of urgent tasks and on the formation of an all-union market, it is essential to work out common principles and approaches to the organisation of financial and credit relations in the USSR and to use them in preparing a union treaty," the decree says.

"With this end in view, the supreme soviets of the union republics have been recommended to refrain, until a new union treaty is concluded, from adopting and applying legislative acts that would disrupt the financial and banking system.

"Joint efforts of all union republics and the pursuance of an active, co-ordinated monetary, finance and budgetary policy are necessary to normalise the country's finances," the decree says.

The document envisages setting up a council of the State Bank (Gosbank) of the USSR, to consist of the chairman of the Gosbank board and the leaders of the state banks of the union republics, to work out a common credit-and-monetary policy and to jointly manage the banking system until the conclusion of a union treaty.

In addition, the procedure, established by the current legislation, for the issue of loans and the carrying out of settlements by the banks of the USSR shall remain in effect until the conclusion of a new union treaty.

The Soviet Union can count on foreign aid, including financial help, Gorbachev said.

"There is also another point of view – the more difficulties we will face without aid, the more radical our reforms will be. However, I must say that a lack of room for manoeuvre can force us to interfere more in economic activities. I am convinced that the world needs our perestroika no less than we do," he said.

Participants agreed that free enterprise and the lifting of artificial limitations on the foreign economic activities were the key to success.

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Finance Minister on the USSR's economic position

IT IS only possible to get out of the economic crisis in the Soviet Union by changing the entire economic system to secure that relations of ownership change and that not only one or several brains manage the economy 'from above'. Every person should have a say in economic matters, Soviet Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov told the newspaper Trud.

He believes that the economic crisis resulted from inviable political doctrines and serious errors made by the country's former political leadership, who protected the sacred norms of levelling, cultivated primitive exchanges in kind and increasingly lagged behind the times.

The inefficiency of the system is illustrated by the low productivity of social labour and the lack of interest in attaining high results," Pavlov said.

"Strikes cannot improve the situation: there is almost nothing to distribute and money becomes

increasingly 'empty'," he said.

Speaking of ways to transfer to the market,
Pavlov said that the process should not start with an increase in retail prices.

'It is essential to change wholesale and purchasing prices and price formation in a centralised manner, without changing basic retail prices, primarily of food and a number of basic necessities. Grants should be given not to manufacturers of goods but to trade," he said.

According to preliminary data, the emission of money amounted to 10 billion roubles in the first six months alone, which equals the entire amount planned for the whole year, he noted.

Although the country's financial position is rather complex, it is not disastrous, Pavlov be-

The state budget deficit over the six months was reduced to 24 billion roubles whereas only recently it ran at 120 billion roubles, he said.

Much will depend on the economic programme to be adopted by the Soviet Parliament at its autumn session, Pavlov emphasised.

Russia: economic results of the first six months

THE Goskomstat statistic board has released statistics that show that the growth rate has been sluggish in many branches of the Russian Federation's economy in the first six months of 1990.

The Goskomstat statement points to reduced output in some industries, including oil and gas extraction, the production of steel, ferrous rolled stock, synthetic rubber, commercial pulp, newsprint and brick. The national income pro-duced in the Russian Federation was 1.3 per cent lower than last year.

Russian labour resources amounted to 87 million people in the first six months of 1990. Of these, 73.9 million people were employed. The total number of jobs was down by 500,000, as compared with the same period last year, while the number of working people increased some-

The Russian Federation economy, the report says, produced 2.3 billion roubles (four per cent) less in profits during the first six months of 1990

than over the same period last year.
On republican territory, 36.3 billion roubles were deducted from profits and transferred to the state budget, which is 2.7 billion roubles less than during the first half of last year. This loss was made up for by turnover tax money, which brought in 36.2 billion roubles - 3.2 billion more than during the first half of 1989. More than half of the growth was accounted for by sales of alcoholic drinks.

Individual monetary incomes amounted to 177.4 billion roubles, i.e. 12.7 per cent more than over the same period last year. Income exceeded spending by 7.3 billion roubles, in contrast to 6.0 billion in the first half of 1989.

Retail prices for many consumer goods and services went up. The level of inflation in the consumer sector, taking into account spiralling prices for goods and paid services and the growth of unmet demand, was up seven per cent from the previous year.

Labour discipline has worsened. Work stoppages in some regions led to the loss of 85,000 man-days. The miners strike on July 11 cost the country 7.4 million roubles in work-time and products.

Since the beginning of the year, 822,500 crimes have been registered across the republic, up by 14.5 per cent over last year. There were 529 crimes per 100,000 people.

The Russian Federation exported 19 billion roubles worth of goods, or 8.9 per cent less than over the same period last year. The volume of imports went up by seven per cent and reached 22 billion roubles. The foreign trade deficit amounted to three billion roubles.

Soviet Prime Minister meets IMF leader

THE Soviet Union attaches great importance to developing relations with international financial and crediting institutions, especially with the International Monetary Fund, which was set up with Soviet participation, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said on July 28 at a meeting in Moscow with IMF Managing Director Michel Camdesus.

Camdesus is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Camdesus's visit will help improve contacts between the Soviet Union and the IMF, raising them to a new level, Ryzhkov said.

The sides discussed the results of the Houston summit of the seven leading industrialised nations and possible Western aid for Soviet economic reforms.

Camdesus spoke about efforts to analyse Soviet economic development in order to draft measures to help economic reform.

Commenting on Soviet economic reforms, Ryzhkov said that they will help integrate the Soviet Union into the world economy and such authoritative financial institutions as the international monetary fund.

The sides discussed ways of forging cooperation between the Soviet Union and the IMF, its help to restructure the Soviet economy, optimisation of investment programmes, price reforms and rouble convertibility.

The agreed on measures to develop cooperation between the Soviet Union and the

Shevardnadze – Camdesus

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met International Monetary Fund (IMF) Managing Director Michel Camdesus in Moscow on July 28.

Commenting on relations between the IMF and the Soviet Union, Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union considered joining the fund as long ago as 1945.

Soviet experts then warned the Soviet leadership that failure to join the IMF threatened to isolate the country's economy from the rest of the world. The advice went unheeded.

The IMF plays an increasing role in the macro-economic development of its membercountries, helping them to overcome backwardness and pay foreign debts, Shevardnadze said.

The fact that the Soviet Union is not a member of the fund undermines the universal character of this organisation, he said.

The new climate in international relations has prepared the ground for talks on the Soviet Union joining the IMF, he said.

"Our country regards its membership in the IMF as a logical continuation of its policy of wider involvement in the global economic cooperation," he said.

Camdesus responded positively to this proposal. The sides said they were interested in wider co-operation between the Soviet Union and the IMF.

Shevardnadze and Camdesus also discussed the results of the Houston summit of the G-7 industrialised nations and Western aid for the Soviet reform effort.

Abalkin delivers report on Soviet economic strategy

"SOVIET society has unequivocally opted for a regulated market economy. All doubts and hesitations on this issue occur within the framework of this choice," visiting Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin said in

Abalkin delivered the report "The USSR's Economic Strategy for the 1990s" at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation on July 26.

He emphasised that it was planned to start implementing, at the beginning of next year, a package of agreed-upon and well coordinated measures to introduce elements of a market economy.

The measures include new pricing and taxation systems, the financial-credit reform, various forms of ownership and measures for the social protection of the population. He said what was already happening and would be implemented in the USSR could be described as a revolution.

Abalkin expressed the hope that Western countries, including West Germany, would give large-scale assistance to the Soviet Union to involve it in the world economy, which was in the interests of all peoples.

Answering journalists' questions during a news conference here, Abalkin positively evaluated the state of trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany. He said the main emphasis would now be put on the development of links between the two countries' enterprises and firms as the main subjects of the market economy.

(Continued on page 257)

Moskovskaya Pravda publishes address of communist reform group

THE co-ordination council of the Marxist Platform in the Soviet Communist Party and the organising bureau of the group of communist reformers in the Democratic Platform in the Soviet Communist Party have issued a joint address to communists of the country.

The document, published by the newspaper Moskovskaya Pravda on July 27, emphasises that the Party has sufficient potential to determine ways in which to overcome the crisis and decisively renew and democratise the country.

The authors of the document, critically assessing the results of the 28th Party Congress, believe it is their task to rework the programme for overcoming the country's crisis, determine prospects for the development of Soviet society and set out and implement measures for the further democratisation of the Party and society.

They support the full implementation of the positive potential contained in the decisions and documents of the Congress. They also oppose anti-communist processes in society and conservative attitudes in the Soviet Communist Party, as well as those who talk of liquidating the Party.

The document emphasises that the Marxist Platform and the group of communist reformers must establish and consolidate ties with the workers' movement, the farmers' union, youth organisations and groups of communist deputies in councils at every level. They must increase their influence in mass democratic organisations of the working people and promote the consolidation of democratic forces of socialist orientation.

The address also emphasises the need to start preparations for future election campaigns.

"One should not preclude the possibility of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or some republican councils being disbanded," the document says. "The forthcoming elections on a multi-party basis will not be easy for communists. It is necessary to win over and consolidate positions in territorial Party organisations, the role of which will considerably increase, as well as in voters' clubs and associations," the document notes.

Yakovlev on results of 28th CPSU Congress

"THE actual separation of the state and Party power occurred at the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress," the newspaper *Izvestia* in its July 26 edition quotes USSR Presidential Council member Alexander Yakovlev as saying at a meeting with scientific workers from the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations held on July 23.

He recalled the situation on the consumer market and the need to provide social amenities in the countryside and solve the food problem.

In Byelorussia, there is no political force other than the Communist Party that can shoulder the burden of these problems or suggest specific action programmes, Sokolov believes.

"The economy is in disarray, crime is on the increase, morals are falling. Separatist sentiments and chauvinism persist. In this situation the CPSU's departure from the political arena would mean inevitable chaos, for we are a country with nuclear power stations, nuclear and chemical weapons.

"As far as the economy is concerned, if the Party continues to play a vanguard role in society, it cannot abandon work in the economic sphere. Its primary role is to suggest a scientifically valid, socially-oriented economic policy to society.

"If anyone believes that Party committees have nothing to do at enterprises today, he either is under a deep misapprehension or deliberately seeks to sidetrack the Party aside from the urgent tasks of perestroika, Sokolov said

Touching upon problems caused by the Chernobyl disaster, Sokolov said that "until recently, the centre left Byelorussia and its people to their own devices in enduring the misfortune. Everything about the subject was classified, and it was very difficult for the leadership of the republic to break through that wall of secrecy."

On the initiative of the Byelorussian delegation, the 28th Congress of the CPSU made a political evaluation of the disaster and the course of clean-up operations.

A legal assessment should be made by the USSR Prosecutor's Office. It is impossible to tackle the problems of perestroika in the republic successfully if its people do not know the full truth about Chernobyl or about the true culprits of the tragedy, Sokolov said.

Yakovlev emphasised that he regarded this as the main result of the Congress. "There is nobody holding any government post in the Party governing bodies now. This is of fundamental importance."

Yakovlev said that the building of the Party has started now, since earlier the CPSU was built into the administrative-state system structure. Therefore, efforts have to be taken now virtually to create the Party anew, so that it deals with the affairs of the Party rather than command the masses.

Yakovlev credited the Congress for thwarting the organised attack by the Party's right-wing aggressive-conservative wing on perestroika. At the same time, he said, the Congress did not push this process much further.

Asked about the distribution of responsibilities among the Presidential Council members, Yakovlev said that this process had not as yet finished. "The Presidential Council is actually at the stage of formation. Some members already have definite responsibilities and to some they will evidently not be assigned," Yakovlev said.

Yeltsin's address to Russian people

"THE situation with provisions in our republic is critical," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said in an appeal to the population, published in the July 26 edition of the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiva.

"In order to avoid disaster, we must improve the situation immediately. Nature was benevolent this year. Good crops are ripening across Russia. These crops must be gathered, stored and the products brought to the tables of the Russian people.

"To improve matters, working people must be granted greater freedom and independence in decision-making and helped with transportation, fuel and labour.

"Active support from townspeople is needed. All forms of economic relations must be used for the purpose."

The appeal stresses that producers will be allowed to freely sell all above-contract farm produce across the Russian Federation at their discretion to any consumers – the state, state-owned enterprises and organisations, cooperatives and citizens at agreed prices.

As an incentive, special Urozhai-90 (Crops-

As an incentive, special Urozhai-90 (Crops-90) cards will be added to procurement prices, enabling producers to purchase for roubles scarce commodities, which the Russian Government will transfer to a special market fund.

The cards will be issued not only for aboveplan but for all provisions sold to the state. Urozhai cards will also be issued as incentives to procurement agencies and processing enterprises for preserving and selling farm produce to the population with minimum losses.

ALAMANAC SOVIET LITERATURE

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Politburo member on Party's role and tasks

THE need to carry out radical economic reforms and tighten discipline has become a priority, Yefrem Sokolov, Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) and chief of the Byelorussian Communist Party, said in an interview published in *Pravda* on July 30.

New press law heralds end to Soviet censorship

THE new Soviet law on the press and news organisations, which comes into force on August 1, will end censorship in the Soviet Union, Chief Soviet Censor Vladimir Boldyrev said in an interview, published in the July 25 edition of *Izvestia*.

However, the Glavlit censorship service will not be disbanded, and will continue to check foreign publications, audio and video materials mailed to the Soviet Union with calls to forcefully overthrow the current state and social system, war propaganda, and pornography, he said.

The agency's tasks will be explained in regulations that will be made public, he said.

"We check books, video and audio materials coming from abroad in line with international agreements and the international postal convention," Boldyrev went on.

The rules that determine which materials are banned in the Soviet Union are also in line with international laws and the new Soviet law on the press, he said.

MAN

Is the Measure of all Things

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Fifteen years along the road started at Helsinki

By Professor Nikita Zagladin, Doctor of History, the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee

THE provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed 15 years ago, on August 1, 1975, in Finland's capital by heads of state and government of 33 European countries, the US and Canada, were largely forerunners of the ideas of new political thinking.

The signing of the Final Act had become the apotheosis of detente of the 70s. The consistent implementation of its provisions would have made it possible in a short period of time to turn Europe into a continent of peace and cooperation, to put an end to military-bloc confrontation. This, however, did not happen: almost immediately after Helsinki, tensions in the world and Europe began gradually to build up, followed by another phase of confrontation. Several more years were spent to resume the dialogue.

The reasons for the scuttling of detente are sufficiently diverse. Politicians of the 70s were simply not prepared to understand and reflect in their strategy the changing realities of the world, its growing integration and interdependence, to begin thinking in terms of human progress and not of 'their' system, society, or nation. What is more, the formulas of the Final Act themselves could appear only because neither the West nor the East wanted to create in the eyes of world public opinion the impression of the nonconstructive nature of their course, to assume responsibility for the thwarting of the all-European dialogue.

Paradoxically enough, it was the latter circumstance that made the decisions of the Helsinki Conference viable. At that time a search for compromise formulas and approaches resulted

in finding a balance of East-West interests, and reflected the problems most pressing for the European peoples. This also predetermined another paradox: in spite of growing international tensions late in the 70s and early in the 80s and the almost complete 'freezing' of Soviet-American relations, the all-European process, which was started in Helsinki continued. Meetings between representatives of the signatory countries in Belgrade, Madrid and Stockholm, although not all equally productive, still promoted the European dialogue, and imparted a permanent character to it.

With a turn towards improving the international climate, the stimulus for which was provided by perestroika in the USSR and the ideas it advanced for new political thinking, the all-European process became markedly active. The meeting of participating countries in Vienna was a landmark. The final document of the Vienna meeting (January 1989), which outlined concrete ways of developing the all-European process until 1992, expressed its participants' determination to apply fresh efforts with the aim of achieving further progress in strengthening confidence and security, promoting coperation and developing contacts between peoples, and to continue the process begun by the CSCE.

As a result, qualitative changes have taken place in the situation on the continent. Former mechanisms of ensuring military security of the peoples, their economic interests, which were established in conditions of Europe's split into two bloc systems opposing each other, began to undergo rapid transformation. Discarding of the image of the enemy, orientation on dialogue, rather than confrontation, created conditions for demilitarisation of European politics, transformation of the military alliances into predominantly political ones, and for overcoming

the division of Germany engendered by the cold war.

In these conditions, during his visit to Italy at the end of 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a proposal to hold a meeting of heads of 35 CSCE member-countries in 1990. Changes in Europe, developing spontaneously, may destabilise the situation, stoke the fears of some peoples for their future. To introduce these changes into the context of the all-European process, to impart an orderly character to them such is the meaning of the Soviet initiative. Moreover, the already existing mechanisms of the CSCE, which involve all countries of Europe (Albania, it will be noted, has also joined in consultations), and also the US and Canada, give a unique chance to build a new Europe of peace and mutual understanding.

The all-European process, however, is itself assuming a new quality. Without substituting for organisations and structures established in Europe, the forthcoming meeting, due to be held in Paris next November, in the opinion of Soviet diplomacy, could impart more distinct outlines to the all-European process. It is proposed, in particular, to set up a council (assembly) of Europe - a forum of leaders of all CSCE membercountries, a committee of foreign ministers of the European countries, a permanently acting consultative mechanism consisting of ambassadors of 35 countries (possibly even 36) in the capital where the CSCE secretariat will be located, a centre for ensuring stability in the military-political field in Europe, and a body to deal with crisis situations.

The proposed structures in combination with politicisation of military bloc activities, development of economic, ecological, scientific, technological and humanitarian co-operation on an all-European scale would become a major practical step towards the realisation of the concept of a European home of peoples.

(Continued from page 255)

Abalkin said the government would work to create favourable political and economic preconditions for intensifying this co-operation. He noted that this did not rule out but presupposed the conclusion of large intergovernmental agreements in this area.

Abalkin said that priority would be attached to those areas of co-operation, which would help solve urgent economic problems and also effect economic reforms in the USSR.

Readers' Concerns THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY ARE UNITED?

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Foreign Ministry briefing on US withdrawal of chemical weapons

THE Soviet Union welcomes the withdrawal of American chemical weapons from West German territory, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow on July 27.

Gennadi Gerasimov said that "until quite recently it would have been hard to imagine that this American decision would fit perfectly well into the context of current international relations as a whole, Soviet-US relations in particular."

Gerasimov said this "rather quick" decision by the US was largely due to a succession of Soviet-US contacts on the elimination of chemical weapons, which were capped by the signing of the bilateral Soviet-US agreement by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Washington in

Discussing chemical disarmament, Gerasimov said the Soviet Union "paid attention" to Thursday's speech at the disarmament conference in Geneva by a Dutch representative, who stressed the need to attain specific results at the talks on chemical weapons and favoured holding a meeting of foreign ministers from the conference member-countries.

The Soviet diplomat voiced satisfaction over the fact that an agenda for the common European meeting was co-ordinated at the first session of the preparatory committee of the CSCE summit conference, planned for November. He also hailed agreement on the need to hold regular meetings of heads of stage and government and welcomed the participation of an Albanian delegation as observer.

Replying to a question on the possibility of restoring diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Albania, Gerasimov said: "We favour the restoration of diplomatic relations with Albania. This is our position. So one can assume that they will be restored."

The Helsinki Process A New Dimension

by Yuri Kashlev

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Soviet banking system – a step towards unity

THE Soviet President's decree "On Interaction Between the Union and Republican Bodies in Matters of Finance and Credit During the Preparation of a New Union Treaty", published on July 30, calls for a balanced approach to credit and financial policy.

Aspects of the decree and the issue were the focus of a news conference held on July 30 by Presidential Spokesman Arkadi Maslennikov and Gosbank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko.

and Gosbank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko.

The strengthening of independence of republican state banks and the transformation of some of them into commercial banks are parts of a natural process, but in some cases measures of this kind result in the splitting up the finance and credit system and the emergence of institutions which claim independence, up to introducing their own currency, Maslennikov said.

The presidential decree recommends to abs-

The presidential decree recommends to abstain from taking any steps, until a new union treaty is concluded, that can result in the disruption of the country's existing financial and banking system

The current procedure for issuing bank loans and setting accounts on entire Soviet territory is expected to remain in force for this period.

In order to normalise the country's finances, the decree says, joint efforts of all union republics and an active coordinated monetary and finance-and-budget policy is needed.

Gerashchenko spoke about his meeting with representatives of the Russian Government, at which "an agreement was reached that specific principles for the operation of the country's banking system should be worked out even before a new union treaty is concluded and sign-

As regards union banking legislation, it was recently discussed in the USSR Council of Ministers and will soon be submitted to the country's parliament, Gerashchenko said.

Touching upon the reasons for the delays in the settling of the Soviet foreign debt, he noted that Vneshekonombank is accurate in carrying out its obligations. But many new participants in foreign economic relations "failed to correctly plan receipts from their exports."

A negative role was played by Western creditors' fear of risk: as soon as one of them got frightened, others followed suit, which "resulted in certain difficulties for Vneshekonombank in attracting mid-term and short-term credits from its traditional correspondents in other countries"

As a result Vneshekonombank was compelled to "drain its own currency reserves," and its

accounts in Western Europe have been depleted. "However, the Soviet leadership has no plans to revise the terms of repayment under earlier concluded agreements," Maslennikov said.

Speaking about the Soviet Union's foreign debt, Gerashchenko said that the country's long-term obligations amount to nearly ten billion roubles, mid-term – about four-to-five billion roubles. Vneshekonombank indebtedness is between 18 billion and 19 billion roubles.

Asked about the possibility of union republics creating their own currencies, Gerashchenko described it as "a path which would lead to deadlock," and the hopes of the Baltic republics to create convertible currence as "nostalgic dreams, based rather on recollections of the prewar times than on a sober-minded economic analysis.

"Considerable investments and financial efforts are needed in order to create a modern independent economy. I am not sure these can be made by a single republic," he said.

"If republics do introduce independent currencies, accounts between them will either have to be settled in freely convertible currency, or the currency of an economically stronger partner will turn into a reserve currency. Then, they will have to return to settling accounts in roubles," Gerashchenko stressed.

USSR on the way to becoming a union of sovereign states

By Igor Sedykh

THE 15 republics that form the Soviet Union are, according to the Constitution, sovereign states.

But it appears that this sovereignty will assume tangible form only within the framework of a new concept of a union of sovereign states.

The Soviet Union is to become such a state after a new union treaty is formulated and adopted.

The new concept, submitted to the Presidential Council last week, provides for control not from the above, or the centre, as has been the practice in the virtually unitary system of power, but from below, from the founders of the union themselves.

It is they (the sovereign republics) that will set up bodies needed for the joint running in spheres they will voluntarily delegate to the union's authority.

The question, naturally, arises: will there be room left for the USSR's President and Parliament in such a structure?

Grigori Revenko, a member of the Presidenti-

al Council, in presenting the new concept, said that existing realities and above all the economic structure, as well as international commitments, demanded the retention of central authorities.

From the point of view of Mikhail Gorbachev, the union should have prerogative over eight spheres: defence, the maintenance of territorial integrity and frontier protection, rights and freedoms of citizens wherever they may live, informatics (the movement of goods, ideas and people), energy sources, security, nuclear installations and nuclear weapons, currency, and monetary circulation.

The new concept of the union proceeds from the idea of a common inter-republican market and development of economic ties horizontally.

Its implementation is therefore closely connected with a package of measures to switch over to a market-based economy.

The first step in the realisation of this plan must be full autonomy granted to the producers. Indeed, the common market idea remains

Indeed, the common market idea remains attractive even to the Baltic republics that have set their sights on gaining state independence.

As is believed in the Presidential Council, community of interests in preserving economic and cultural links, loyalty to the principles of democracy and human rights, recognition of geopolitical realities may form the basis for a new union treaty. Various forms of associated membership or some others are possible. It is believed that this dialectical concept may enable each republic to fulfil itself and give up some of its rights in common interests.

It is important to stress, however, that whether to join or not in the union treaty will be decided by each republic itself, possibly by a referendum.

The new union treaty will become part of the constitution of the union and, as Grigori Revenko admitted, the recently adopted laws on leaving the union and on the delimitation of prerogatives between the union and republics will have to be revised.

But, replying to the question about the Baltic

republics, he said that if they insist on full independence, the process of separation must be followed according to the present Constitution and the Law on Secession.

Anyhow, Revenko announced a major change in the centre's approach to negotiations with republics. Now such negotiations are seen as talks on an equal footing, without any diktat on the part of the centre.

Moreover, readiness was expressed to start talks with each of the republics as soon as they were ready for that.

At the same time, the Presidential Council realises that these talks must be speeded up. "The new treaty has been many years late in coming," said Revenko. "I am convinced that we should have started this work at least at the beginning of perestroika."

Basic principles will be worked out in August-September during talks, and in October-November they will be given document form. Their first reading at the USSR Supreme Soviet is planned for December.

(Novosti)

Visit of Mikhail GORBACHEV to CANADA

May 29-30 1990

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(Continued from front page) •

of a committee to supervise the stripping of the state of its excessive monopoly in all areas.

"In this way we want to stimulate free entrepreneurial activity of those who wants to develop business co-operation with us," Gorbachev said.

Asked about his attitude to German unification and German membership in NATO, the Soviet President said that the Soviet stance on the matter had been influenced by many factors, including the decisions made by the NATO summit in London and the process of two-plus-four talks.

A united Germany is taking shape as a fully sovereign state. It is for this sovereign state – and not East or West Germany – to decide on its alliances, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Soviet-American talks to broaden co-operation in emergencies

NEGOTIATIONS about broadening Soviet-American co-operation in fore-casting natural disasters and elimination of their consequences in emergencies and rendering assistance to those affected opened in Washington. This is the first such meeting at the level of the US Agency for International Development and the USSR State Commission for Emergencies in the framework of the broadening fruitful dialogue between the two countries.

The participants in the negotiations conduct debates, exchange experience in forecasting natural disasters, such as devastative quakes, and discuss ways to eliminate their consequences and render technological and material aid in emergencies.

Special attention is given to broadening scientifically substantiated systems of the observance of earthquakes which take a toll of thousands of lives, as was seen in Iran and the Philippines.

The initial contacts show the readiness of salvage services in the USSR and the United States

to pass on from scientific and technological cooperation to interaction in emergencies.

Andrew Natsios, Director of Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance of the Agency for International Development, declared for joint solution of trans-national problems constituting a separate area of co-operation in the framework of the American-Soviet dialogue. These are questions of environmental protection, including problems of global changes of the climate and interaction in elminating the aftermaths of natural disasters.

In an interview with the news agency TASS, Vladimir Gorchakov, leader of the Soviet delegation and Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Commission for Emergencies, noted the usefulness of Soviet-American agreements for the search and rescue of those in distress on the high seas, and for the creation of a joint radio-navigation system in the north-west Pacific and also for combating pollution in the Bering and Chukchi seas in emergencies.

He expressed hope for the broadening of cooperation with the United States in forecasting natural disasters and eliminating their aftermaths. The negotiations will be continued in Moscow where a delegation of American specialists is expected in September.

Warsaw Treaty armies undergo transformation, general says

"THE Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) will soon be less 'militarised' and its military agencies will be reduced to a minimum. Subsequently the WTO will serve a purely consultative function," General Vladimir Lobov, Chief of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces, said on July 30.

The complex and varied processes taking place in Warsaw Treaty countries have a strong influence on their armed forces, Lobov said.

"Most countries are elaborating and implementing new laws on defence. New defence concepts are being adopted on the strength of those laws. Tables of troops organisations are

The Requirements

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 SovietAmerican 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. changing with an emphasis on qualitative parameters.

"The task now is to secure that the WTO Armed Forces, geared to a level of defence sufficiency, can successfully perform their functions."

According to Lobov, the number of military exercises in the Warsaw Treaty will be cut, placing more demands on the level of their organisation.

organisation.

"In view of the democratisation of military service, the principles of relationships in military collectives are changing in WTO armies.

"The texts of military oaths and all-arms regulations are also being changed to correspond to the new constitutions that have been adopted in a number of member states.

"There is a tendency towards reducing the term of military service. In the Polish Army, young people will be drafted for a term of 18 months and in the Hungarian Army – for 12 months," Lobov said.

Soviet-Albanian relations normalised

THE Soviet Union and Albania have agreed to normalise their relations and reopen embassies in Moscow and Tirana, it has officially been announced in Moscow on July 30.

The agreement was reached during talks between Soviet and Albanian delegations on June 29-30 in Sofia and July 30 in Tirana.

The sides were guided by a mutual desire to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation on the basis of sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, it was said.

The sides pledged to expand contacts in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other spheres.

They will work jointly to restore and expand the legal basis of Soviet-Albanian relations, it was said.

Soviet-US forum ends in Washington

THE second conference of politicians, specialists in US and Soviet studies, scholars, historians, military analysts and peace activists from the Soviet Union and the United States recently ended in Washington.

The conference was organised by the US World Institute, the Coordination Centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Participants discussed the lessons of the depressing cold war period, which was marked by an unprecedented arms race and mutual mistrust and suspicion, and ways to build open and constructive Soviet-US relations.

Leading Soviet and US experts analysed the sources of the 40-year cold war that overshadowed the world policy and Soviet-US relations, the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, the war in the Pacific, the role of politicians and peaceful circles in the development of new ties between Moscow and Washington.

They noted the great international importance of the recent Soviet-US Summit between presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. They agreed that the summit boosted the improvement of the political climate in the world and the establishment of completely new relations between the two countries. It helped switch from mutual understanding to interaction and co-operation in resolving current key problems.

Participants in the conference agreed that the progressive development and broadening of US-Soviet relations in all directions stabilises the international situation at the stage, when the survival of the mankind and the elimination of the danger of nuclear war are on the agenda.

The forum has undoubtedly introduced a new element in Soviet-US relations and, above all, increased the level of mutual trust, Professor Alan Weinstein, the leader of the US delegation, told a TASS correspondent.

There were corresponding positions and there were differences, but participants in the conference proceeded from the two countries' great responsibility for ending the cold war and for the solution of other complex international problems, he said.

The establishment of trust and mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States is becoming a good sign of our times and the Soviet and US people's top priority, Weinstein said.

Pages of History THE TURNING POINT

by Otto Lacis

When farmers lease plots of land in abandoned villages today, the state of desolation they find there is amazing. Those villages are found in areas that were occupied by the enemy during the war and also regions that the enemy did not reach. The desolation and neglect have nothing to do with the war. They were caused by the Great Turn imposed on the nation by Stalin – the turn that crushed the peasants' initiative, diligence and desire to work.

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General Batenin on the prospects for European security

MAJOR-GENERAL Gely Batenin, military expert at the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, answers questions put by Novosti Press Agency on behalf of the German daily die Welt:

DIE WELT: What is your concept for a new structure for European security?

BATENIN: The Europeans are likely to come to a co-operative bloc-free security structure. The interim period implies an elimination of the military confrontation line between East and West in Central Europe.

The blocs' security structures will also be transforming in different ways. Though preserving and even perfecting its military organisation, NATO may politicise its institutions and draw their activities closer to the European community. The Warsaw Treaty will largely lose its centralised system and turn into a political organisation of Eastern European countries, emphasis being laid on bilateral military links between the USSR and other members.

Soviet-Polish relations may contrast with the generally weakening links between the Warsaw-Treaty member-countries.

The European model of security in the interim period is expected to be based on transformed blocs and new institutions within the CSCE framework. Integrated centres may be set up to control processes of security, stability, and disarmament through the Eastern (Warsaw Treaty) and Western (NATO) regional military-political associations.

Such associations could be established after transforming the existing military commands. For this purpose the military commands need to be reoriented to ward off the external threats to Europe. They should also perform definite information and coordinating function to maintain the European military potentials at the level of reasonable sufficiency.

Could the USSR join NATO?

Such a supposition may seem absurd. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty were established to oppose each other. These powerful military blocs can now conduct active offensive operations. Stability has been reached and the threat of a European war reduced to minimum exclusively by political means.

The Europeans will be absolutely sure of their security only after major reductions of forces and armaments on the continent, considerable extension of confidence-building measures,

legalisation of all necessary military inspections and verifications, and exclusion from military doctrines and strategic provisions for a possible deployment of European war theatres. These measures coupled with a proper institutionalisation of the CSCE system would be enough to maintain stability and security in Europe.

As a result, the blocs would cease to play their present role. The USSR could view NATO as a partner in the European security system to combat any possible threats from third countries. Conditions could be provided for NATO and the USSR to be integrated into a common military and political organisation. In any case, the zone of security would be extended from the Atlantic to the Urals.

How long will Soviet troops be staying in Germany?

During their recent meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl noted that it will take three to four years to withdraw Soviet troops from Germany.

At the present stage of perestroika this is a serious socio-economic problem for the Soviet side. Its domestic and international aspects should be resolved step by step as a major political issue facing the USSR and a united Germany.

State programme for future production has been finalised

THE elaboration of theory and the development on its basis of new generation technologies and equipment for a radical transformation of Soviet machine-building is the main aim of the state scientific and technological programme "Future Technologies, Machinery and Production", which was discussed on July 30 at the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

US peace prize awarded to Soviet Foreign Minister

EDUARD Shevardnadze, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the Soviet Presidential Council, has been awarded the Ralph Bunche Anti-War Prize for his great contribution to strengthening peace among nations through respect for the norms of international law.

This distinction is conferred annually by two professional associations of lawyers from the state of Washington.

The prize, awarded to a Soviet person for the first time, was named after a prominent American diplomat who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 for promoting the Arab-Israeli armistice in Palestine under the aegis of the United Nations.

Patriot, Fighter, Humanist Patrice Lumumba

50p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW Committee Chairman Nikolai Laverov, who is also a Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, told the agency TASS that the realisation of the programme will enable the creation of automated production and new work organisation on the basis of computerisation of production processes, design and control systems.

This will ensure the transition from ineffective island-type automation to the creation of enterprises which will operate on the 'on the dot' principle and ensure radical cuts in the time required for the designing and the introduction into serial production of products and the manifold increase in the productivity of labour.

The programme was planned in the form of individual projects, each complete in itself, with its own installations and specific customers. It comprises three main directions – future technologies, new generation machinery and computerised integrated production lines.

The selection of projects for the programme was performed by a group of highly qualified experts on a competition basis. Of the one thousand projects submitted to the competition, only 107 were selected.

These include the technology for the production of ceramic dispersal building materials, plasmic covering of complex configuration details, the production of equipment on the basis of electromechanotronic units and submicronic measuring systems.

The Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology said that this programme will serve as an example for working out a system of managing state scientific and technological programmes in general.

In order to stimulate the implementation of state programmes in general.

In order to stimulate the implementation of state programmes the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology has identified a system that will be put effect in 1991.

In addition to state financial support through

the committee's innovation fund, lower tax rate is expected to be introduced on the profit from the production of advanced products, and easier credits are expected to be issued for new production lines consistent with world standards.

Nikolai Laverov stressed that state scientific and technological programmes appear to be the most effective forms to pool the efforts by Soviet researchers, designers, financiers and production organisers.

Without pooling these efforts, none of the programmes can be realised by any one Soviet republic.

Soviet-Irish consultation in Dublin

SOVIET-IRISH consultations on the Middle East were held in Dublin on July 25.

The sides expressed concern about the dangerous situation in the region and spoke in favour of stepping up efforts to establish a peace process and achieve the earliest comprehensive settlement between the Arabs and Israel.

Irish Deputy Foreign Minister Padrag Murphy, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vladimir Polyakov and Soviet Ambassador in Ireland Gennadi Uranov took part in the consultations.

The End of Ideology?

Konstantin Nikolayev

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