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POLICIES OF THE USA, GERMANY AND RUSSIA IN THE ROMANIAN SPACE (1990-2012). GEOECONOMICAL, GEOCULTURAL AND GEOSTRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

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KEYWORDS

Romania, Ceauşescu regime, revolution, 1989, planned economy, economic decline, USA, *American Dream*, Germany, Russia (Russian Federation), *Russkaya Ideia* (*Русская идея* – Russian Idea), NATO, EU, frontier, sphereof influence, geopolitics, geohistory, geoculture, geoeconomics, geostrategy

INTRODUCTION

The paper analyzes the combined actions of influence of the "frontier phenomenon" upon Romania, a phenomenon seen as "the totality of processes by which a historical expansion either of a people or a civilization either of a religion or ideology or, finally, of an empire manifested itself". Subsequent to an influence of the "frontier phenomenon", a country enters into a sphere of interest (influence) of a great power.

In summary, they are briefly analyzed the effects of the advance of the EU (especially Germany), NATO (mainly US) and Russia's "frontiers" in Romania, in the 1990-2012 period (i.e. initial thesis temporal dimension; because of to the extended period of accomplishment, we are practically analyzing the topic until 2015). In this regard, our methodical approach is both diachronic (minimal elements of geohistory are offered) and synchronous.

Interpreting major historical development based on the definitions emphasized above, we note that Russia and Germany have manifested (and still manifest) from the 18th and, respectively, 19th century, a constant tendency of territorial economic, cultural and ideological expansion in the Romanian space. Geoeconomically speaking, the presence of Germany and Russia is very visible today in Romania and the geocultural influence of these countries did not cease to manifest, post-1990, in the Romanian space.

From a geopolitical perspective, the influence of Russia and Germany on the logic of large international deployments in Central and South-Eastern Europe (including Romania) was and is post-1990 overwhelming.

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¹ Ilie Bădescu, Dan Dungaciu et al. (1995), *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei* [Sociology and geopolitics of the frontier], vol. 1, București, Floare Albastră Publishing House, p. 1.

Following the considerations made by Michel Foucher concerning "game interactions" in the case of frontiers between countries, we analyze issues related to the American-German-Russian influences on Romania from the perspective by which "a political system overtake by ideological and especially military means the area of its own theoretical territory (we are in the presence of the imperial system (USSR, USA) and sub-imperial (India, China), of the influence projected beyond the state frontiers". *Mutatis mutandis*, we consider in our scientific endeavor that Germany represents – economically speaking, at least – a sub-imperial system and the United States of America and the Russia (Russian Federation) are definitely imperial systems.

During 1945-1989 Romania was geopolitically, geostrategic, geoeconomically and geoculturally in the Soviet sphere of interests.

Revolution of 1989 and the fall of the USSR in 1991 left suddenly Romania without the protection of the military (including nuclear) and economic umbrella of the USSR, a situation that was skillfully used by the European states from the so-called "capitalist camp", which won the Cold War.

Nothing more natural because international politics, beyond the beautiful speeches about peace, cooperation and harmony between peoples etc. (valid only for a short while, in certain historical moments!) is mainly geopolitics, dictated by interests, not by philanthropy. The World Socialist System that included also Romania had unconditionally surrendered in 1991 so it was nothing to be negotiated; therefore, the victors took everything what we could get.

Lacking the geopolitical protection of the former USSR after 1991, Romania gradually came within the range of German (with special geoeconomical consequences) and

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² Michel Foucher (1988), Fronts et frontières. Un tour du monde géopolitique, Paris, Fayard, pp.25-26.

American (with special geostrategic consequences), "frontiers", then entering in the sphere of interest (influence) of the EU and NATO. Refining our analysis, in the frame of these two organizations, Germany and USA got naturally their leadership, currently a sort of German-American *condominium* (geoeconomic and geostrategic) in Romania being exercised.

Until 2000, Russia counted less than the EU and NATO in geopolitical games in which he was caught Romania, due to the fact that power and political influence of the last president of the USSR Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was at twilight and his successor, Boris Yeltsin, the first president of Russia, it was not just the suitable person to save a power declining in the last decade of the twentieth century.

However, Russia for the period of 1990-2001, even if mild, blocked in a very effective manner Romania's policies toward Moldova, preventing the union of the two countries, according to the model of the former Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic, still fresh in the minds of contemporaries. Moreover, Russia, through Gazprom, has had in that period a considerable influence in Romania.

Since December 2000, at the same time with the access to the position of premier (Prime Minister) of the actual president Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin, Russia's situation has changed radically for the better (and this was not necessarily to the benefit of his neighbors!) in geopolitical, geoeconomic and geostrategic terms. For this reason, she got more involved in Romania, in the geoeconomic field, than in 1990-2000, investing in Romania in the oil industry (Lukoil), the aluminum industry (ALRO Slatina), minerals and metals industry etc.

She also blocked the further success of any kind of attempt made by Romania to attract Moldova in its sphere of influence. We mention that the Union of Romania with the

Republic of Moldova is currently, despite the "marches for Union", conferences, protests etc. "a bridge too far", which must be conquered by different means than those used by the Anglo-American allies in Arnhem in 1944.

The essence of this Ph.D. thesis is, briefly, the following: caught in the middle of the process of withdrawal of Russian (Soviet) "frontier", followed by the advancement of German and American "frontiers" and by the return of Russian "frontier", Romania experimented itself post-1990 a succession of major drawbacks, which also continues today especially on the base of structural (especially moral and psychological) weaknesses of Romanians and, also, of the Romanian society.

The present subject is developed in five chapters having the following titles: Geopolitics of the "frontiers" and influence spheres. Introductory considerations; Prisoner of the action of "frontiers". Romania in 1989 – strengths and weaknesses; Policies of the United States of America in the Romanian space after events of December 1989; Germany and Romania post-1989. Geohistorical, geocultural, geoeconomical, geopolitical and geostrategic aspects; Policies of the Russian Federation in Romania post-1991.

CHAPTER 1

GEOPOLITICS OF THE "FRONTIERS" AND INFLUENCE SPHERES. INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

The fall and dissolution of the world socialist system in the period 1989-1991 led to major internationally geopolitical changes, one of these being the occurrence of socialled "unipolar world" dominated by the United States. Post-2007, with the onset of global economic crisis and revival of political and military power status of the Russian Federation, we are witnessing the birth of a multi-polar world, in configuration.

These planetary changes have a huge impact on small countries, with low geopolitical potential. Their position on the international arena must be analyzed (history has already shown this copiously) starting from the concepts of "frontier" and "sphere of influence".

Indeed, a state with low geopolitical potential enters into an international actor's "sphere of influence" with medium or great geopolitical potential. But, before entering this international actor's "sphere of influence", the small state often suffers the action of "frontier/frontiers phenomenon" (seen in geopolitical, dynamic sense, as a process).

The first chapter is strictly methodological, starting from analyzing concepts of geopolitics (including derivatives geoculture, geoeconomics, geostrategy) and leading to the concept of "frontier" (in the dynamic sense, as the socioeconomic, cultural, demographic, mental, military processes), according to the American (i.e. from the US), British, German, French and Romanian geopolitical schools. We must mention that, in the last case, Romania and the Republic of Moldova are taken into consideration.

We chosen the definitions made by these schools from scientific-pragmatic reasons: the Anglo-Saxon school is the first promoter of the dynamic acceptation of the concept of "frontier", used in our paper; French school launched – by Michel Foucher – the special concept of *horogenesis* (Fr. *horogenèse*, i.e. "frontier genesis"), playing the role of international leader in the geopolitics of frontiers; German school of geopolitics launched fundamental explanations related to geopolitics of frontiers (both in static and dynamic sense), considerably influencing on this aspect, the Romanian interwar geopoliticians. In addition, the German "frontier" manifests itself strongly in nowadays Romania; Romanian interwar and post 1990 school of geopolitics launched fundamental scientific approaches in the geopolitics of frontiers field.

CHAPTER 2

PRISONER OF THE ACTION OF "FRONTIERS". ROMANIA IN 1989 – STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

In this chapter, the following things are demonstrated: in 1989 Romania had a bad but not precarious situation geopolitically speaking; its bad geopolitical situation became later precarious, with catastrophic overtones, because it remained for a long time a no man's land between Russia the successor of the former USSR – and the West (including here the Western Europe and the US); although it joined in 2004 and 2007 the Euro-Atlantic structures, its geopolitical situation (geoeconomic, geocultural, geostrategic) still precarious, with minimal possibilities **improvement**. The empirical geopolitical analysis shows that Romania's geopolitical situation will long remain precarious as long as the quality of the politic act and management in Romania will not change, generating a chain reaction in three stages: moral-civic and religious revival; a new patriotic ethos; a new ethos of work.

The analysis in this chapter takes into consideration three levels: geoeconomic (most consistent), geocultural and geostrategic. At its end, a set of summary conclusions of geopolitical type, regarding also the Romania's role in the international context in 1989, are offered.

In terms of geopolitical analysis of internal realities, the geo-economic, geo-cultural and geo-strategic situation of the country was precarious, but not catastrophic (later, meanwhile, it has worsened). These statements are supported by the consultations and citations of significant amounts of statistical data and representative specialty works.

The geopolitical analysis of external realities shows that Romania had in 1989 a catastrophic situation, not precarious. Through a series of "active measures" of disinformation developed against Romania, starting in 1971, the USSR, supported by the other socialist countries of Europe, presented the Romania's various initiatives to approach the West as being insincere, even secretly directed by Moscow. In this way, the West (including the US) had not given credibility anymore to Romanian initiatives, so that in 1989 the communist regime in Romania was very negatively presented, through a prodigious propaganda campaign, not only in the Western Europe and the US, but also in the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

We quote as conclusions a number of Larry L. Watts's appreciations, suggestive for this (apparently) paradoxical situation.

"At least since the late 1960s, Romania was by far the most constructive international actor of the Soviet bloc and became known for mediation capacities and its achievements in the international community.

Not only did its government participated in the peaceful resolution of international conflicts and blocked the expansion of the disruptive Soviet influence, but also refused to participate in drug trafficking, to support terrorism and anti-Western operations in which services and leadership of the parties were loyal to Moscow and pledged at the Kremlin's order. But, in just a few years, <<close partners>> have changed the Romania and its government's image from that of an appreciated partner in the West, to the one of an international pariah, <<not only to the international community but also to its people>>. With such friends,

Romania did not need to look for more bitter/fierce enemies outside the alliance of the Warsaw Pact^{3,3}.

Although "more bitter/fierce enemies" were not needed, Romania has still "found" them in the West, because of the same Soviet "active measures", a masterly highlighted fact by the same Larry L.Watts.

"While all aspects of foreign and security policy of Romania were systematically reassigned to regimes which were loyal to the Soviets, by using the device of active measures of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, the country and its governance were thoroughly portrayed as supporting exactly the opposite measures promoted in the last quarter of century. From the status of being the unique member of the Pact who refused to blame and condemn USA, West Germany and NATO, Romania became the country which deeply detested the authorities from Washington, Bonn and Brussels. From the pioneer country in the field of relations with Western Europe and especially with the EEC (European Economic Community, our note), Romania had become the most anti-European of all. From being the sole member of the alliance who condemned the Soviet-led military invasions and rejected Brezhnev doctrine, Romania had become a supporter of the military invasions in Europe, even against its own allies (supposedly against Poland and Hungary, our note). But of course, Romania had not become in reality like this, but these were projected images in the West by Soviet's disinformation device with a remarkable success"⁴.

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³ Larry L. Watss (2011), Ferește-mă, Doamne, de prieteni... Războiul clandestin al Blocului Sovietic cu România, translated from English into Romanian by Camelia Diaconescu, București, RAO Publishing House, p. 715. The original edition: Larry L. Watts (2010), With Friends like These: The Soviet Bloc's Clandestine War Against Romania, București, Military Printing House.

⁴ Larry L. Watts (2013), *Cei dintâi vor fi cei din urmă. România și sfârsitul Războiului Rece*, translated from

Nobody can win against everyone and Romania was no exception in 1989. The Soviet "intelligence Frontier" acted remarkably well against it, without the Western intelligence services realizing this at that time (they will realize later). In fact, there was not any interest from their services in this regard, as already expected in those years that the economic, cultural and geostrategic Western "frontiers" (represented in the special case of Romania in particular by Germany and the USA) to expand over the Romania.

Conclusions offered by Charles Bungay Fawcett, presented in the first chapter of our Ph.D. thesis, mainly related to the expanding of the frontiers (both in static and dynamic sense) of European colonial empires in the nineteenth century, will find a perfect practical illustration in the chapters 3 and 4 of our scientific endeavor.

Expanding of the Western frontier (i.e. German and American) in Romania has achieved a remarkable success post-1990, but without totally removing the influence of the Russian "frontier", Russia (the Russian Federation) being the successor of the former Soviet Union' interests in Romania.

These issues are analyzed in the following three chapters of this Ph.D. thesis.

English into Romanian by Adriana Bădescu, București, RAO Publishing House, p. 609. The original edition: Larry L. Watts (2013), *Extorting Peace. Romania, the Clash within the Warsaw Pact & the End of the Cold War*, București, RAO Publishing House.

CHAPTER 3

POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE ROMANIAN SPACE AFTER EVENTS OF DECEMBER 1989

Theoretically, post-1991, with the collapse of the USSR, the United States should impose its geostrategic and geoeconomic supremacy on Romania, according to a proved axiom, in two points, of the modern international political life:

- 1. Small states cannot be truly independent, as they depend at least geoeconomically speaking (if not geostrategically too) on a great power.
- 2. In case that great power collapses, its place will be taken automatically, or shortly after, by another great power. Consequently, the small state will not become "independent", but will only change the master.

Apparently paradoxical, the United States of America, although it was the main winner of the Cold War, it did not consolidate in Romania firstly its economic influence (currently being rather modest, practically dating from the time of the Ceausescu regime), but has firstly strengthened and amplified its cultural influence. Subsequently, post 2004, has managed to gradually dominate (nowadays totally) the country in geostrategic terms, placing here the components of the antimissile shield from Deveselu and practically taking it out from the Russia's geostrategic influence – the successor of the former USSR.

Although the foundations of its status of the only superpower of the world has been seriously undermined after 2007, especially by China (in economic terms) and Russia (in military terms), the USA's geo-cultural and geostrategic influences remain dominant in Romania compared to similar influences exerted by the two other states taken into

consideration in this paper: Germany and the Russian Federation.

The Romanian-US geo-historical relations are of recent times, gaining some consistency only in the time of the Ceausescu regime (1964-1989). The US geocultural influence in Romania has remarkably manifested during the communist regime in Romania, being amplified after 1989. This type of influence is greater than similar influences of Germany and the Russian Federation, discussed in the following chapters.

US geoeconomic influence in Romania after 1989 is smaller compared with the influence of Germany and the Russian Federation, as we are going to demonstrate in the next two chapters. This fact is unfavorable to Romania, which is put in the position of being economically dependent on a regional hegemon with a planetary economic power (Germany) and on a geostrategic hegemon and rival with also such a planetary power, with important geoeconomic levers for Romania (Russian Federation). The hegemon on which Romania geostrategically depends (USA) does not ensure its prosperity and geoeconomic protection, transferring mainly on Germany (helped by Austria and Israel) the control of the Romanian economy.

US geostrategic influence in Romania is now overwhelming in comparison with this type of influence exerted by Germany or Russian Federation. As shown in the next chapter, however, a potential German-Russian condominium possibly can nullify US geostrategic preponderance in Romania.

In terms of frontier geopolitics, the American geocultural and geostrategic influence (and preponderance) from Romania is currently not sustainable, from a plain geoeconomic point of view.

The maintenance of the US control on Romania vitally depends on the fact that Germany will not get along with Russia (hypothesis that cannot be neglected after the military

rebirth of Russia/Russian Federation, post-2008!) and as a result of this agreement, not to impose a *condominium* in central and Eastern Europe.

Without the intervention of the "overseas equilibrator" – i.e. USA (concept used by John J. Mearsheimer) EU-Russian *condominium* actions (already practically present in the economy of the country) would put Romania in a delicate situation. Its geopolitical interests (and geoeconomic) could be neglected by the EU to Russia in exchange for Russian gas and economic resources of this large country.

Russia (based on the tacit agreement of the EU) will be also able to maintain its influence in Moldova, the Romanian historical province. No mention here of the fate of Romanian territories now belonging to Ukraine, lost to former USSR; northern part of Bukovina, Hertza, former southern districts of Bessarabia, Cahul, Bolgrad and Ismail. They will remain *in aeternum* under Ukrainian or Russian control. And this is not also fair for Romania.

If this scenarios will become reality, Romania cannot have a real statehood, becoming *in aeternum* a colony of the EU or (and) of the Russia. We mention that in terms of empirical political and economic data, Romania **is already** a colony of the EU.

CHAPTER 4

GERMANY AND ROMANIA POST-1989. GEOHISTORICAL, GEOCULTURAL, GEOECONOMICAL, GEOPOLITICAL AND GEOSTRATEGIC ASPECTS

In terms of external relations, Romania's economy was and is since 1990 under the pressure of the integration, regardless of price and means into the economy of the European Economic Community (EEC), which later became the EU. Germany was part of CEE and EU from the beginning (until 1989 as The Federal Republic of Germany, then as Germany unified), so that economic relations between Romania and Germany – which have generated and generate geoecultural and geoeconomic aspects – stood and still stay under the sign of the "European" integration.

The German geocultural presence in Romania is mainly one of elitist type, due to relatively poor knowledge of the German language in Romania (compared with, let's say, Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland or Ukraine!) and in context in which young Romanian prefer especially learn English, more "accessible" than German.

In geoeconomic terms, Germany is unquestionably the main economic hegemon in Romania, having a number of advantages.

First, Germany as state or German companies had no business detrimental to the Romanian state, of the type concluded by Bechtel, OMV or former billionaire Dinu Patriciu (i.e. Petromidia privatization).

Secondly, Germany has invested constantly in Romania although it was not preferred by the Romanian authorities (these quite strangely used instead a speech obsessively pro-American or anti-Russian). Therefore, at present, Germany is currently the main trading partner of

Romania and direct German investors in Romania ranks on the third place among foreign investors, with an investment of 6.49 billion Euro in 2012.

In late January 2014 in Romania there were 20 150 companies with German capital subscribed amounting to 4.39 billion Euros. The number of German companies in Romania objectively could be higher because many German companies are investing in other countries (including in Romania) through subsidiary companies (the so-called "daughter companies" – *Tochterunternehmnen*), which makes them not appear in the Romanian statistics.

Thirdly, Romanian and German economies are not complementary economies, between them existing impressive disparities in favor of Germany. Therefore, we not find the counterpart to the German investments in Romania, i.e. Romanian investments in Germany. If the current economic trend will be maintained, we will see a true subordination of the Romanian economy (a small part of the former pre-1989 economy is still alive) to the German economy.

The influence of Germany on the geopolitical picture of eastern and south-eastern Europe and, implicitly, on Romania is overwhelming.

Germany maintains excellent relations of economic cooperation both with Russia and Hungary, countries whose political elites have repeatedly manifested hostility towards Romania. Russia continues its interwar policy of creating problems for Romania in the Bessarabian issue by "putting pressure" on Transylvania, via Hungary. Nolens-volens, Germany is also in this game (plan, deal) through numerous investments it has in Moldova (especially in the Bălți region) and Transylvania.

Taking into consideration the good relations of Germany with Russia and Hungary, as well as German investments in Moldova and Transylvania, any thoughtless policy against Germany led by the Romanian political elites would be a major geopolitical mistake, which would harm the interests of Romania.

Regardless of how things will develop (Germany will distance from the US and will come closer to Russia or will try to maintain the *status quo*), its geoeconomic, geopolitical and geostrategic influence on business in eastern and south-eastern Europe – and, implicitly, of Romania – is overwhelming.

The US cannot hope to attack Russia from Europe without Germany's support and if there will be built a German-Russian Entente to exercise a *condominium* in eastern and southeastern Europe the US will hardly be able to maintain its military troops and economic influence in Europe. In this context, without the support of Germany, it is unlikely that the US could be able to help military in a satisfactory manner the countries from *Intermarium* (i.e. the Baltic States, Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania) in the hypothetical case that a Russian military aggression will occur.

In the latter case (hopefully only hypothetically), strange – regarding a geopolitical and geostrategic point of view – rhetorical anti-Russian and pro-American *a outrance*, without detailed analysis of risks and benefits, combined with lack of initiatives of the Romanian political class to construct friendly policies towards Germany, can affect the future of Romania. Solving the Ukrainian crisis (EU would continue economic and political sanctions of will finally cooperate with Russia in order to get some economic benefits) will be, in this respect, "the litmus test".

CHAPTER 5

POLICIES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN ROMANIA POST-1991

Starting with the second half of the eighteenth century, relations with Russia were and are fundamental for the destiny of Romania. However, this geopolitical truth has not penetrated the consciousness of the general public in our country that, it seems, that post-1878 (Peace Congress in Berlin) oscillates between either anti-Russianism often obsessive or (at best) recklessness and ignorance of the realities of Russia.

The reception of Russian culture, as well as Russia's image in the Romanian space (issues related, from a scientific point of view, to the history of mentalities) are generally poorly studied problems in Romania, subject to distortions generated by the legacy of the past.

Russian culture is now seen by the public opinion of Romania – wrongly – as inferior to the Western culture, even inferior to the Romanian culture. At this contributes very poor knowledge – currently – of the Russian language in Romania and cultural Westernization of Romania, done post 1990 period, in which the Russian Federation has been declining for a decade and could not influence the realities of Romania.

Russian geoeconomic presence in Romania is lower than the German one, but stronger than the US, manifested mainly in the energy sector (gas) and ferrous and nonferrous metals industry.

Currently, Russia decisively influence Romania's (NATO member state!) geostrategic situation, especially in the case of a possible war of this alliance with Russia.

Currently, NATO is a military alliance of Western powers (the most powerful alliance in history!), who have the best military traditions and the most advanced weapons in the

world. Therefore, without a collapse of NATO, Russia cannot find a Western-style military power in order to conclude together a military alliance.

In this context, the basic US strategy in order to counter Russia's aggressive geopolitical intentions in Eastern Europe remains the maintenance of NATO, in the present form, in this part of the continent. But the situation changes completely if Russia develops an active military alliance with China (in this regard, at present there some good perspectives), let alone India. A Russian-Indian alliance would be based on good relations between the former USSR and India and on the fact that Pakistan, India's traditional enemy in the $20^{th}-21^{st}$ centuries, is supported by the United States.

If a Russian-Chinese military alliance will be established, NATO has no way of win against two countries which possess nuclear weapons and advanced military technologies, with a population of nearly 1.5 billion and huge economic resources. If a Russo-Sino-Indian military alliance will be built, it will comprise a population of about 2.5 billion people, three states possessing nuclear weapons, advanced military technologies and a giant economic power. In that (we hope hypothetical) case, the situation of NATO and the West will be forever doomed.

Regarding the specific case of the Republic of Moldova, we have to mention that Russia decisively influence, in geopolitical terms, its relationship with Romania. Political, economic, military, cultural etc. cooperation between Moldova and Romania (let alone the union of the two states!) is closely linked to Russia's attitude to these processes.

Empirical geohistorical analyses made by us personally over time show that a state cannot create, maintain and keep a stable position on international arena without being able to expand outside from the politico-military, economic or at least cultural-religious or ideological point of view. Without succeed at least one of these types of expansionism, every

state is condemned to stagnation, followed by diminishing its international importance (sometimes followed by its extinction...).

By its geography and history (actually, by its geopolitics!), Romania cannot expand outside except towards the Republic of Moldova. On the one hand, if Russia opposes this expansion because of one or more reasons (no matter whom), its attitude is a major threat to the future of Romania, in the medium and long term. On the other hand, we definitely exclude the idea that the West (including the US) or any other power will risk to start an economic war – let alone a military one – with Russia for the sake of Romania or Moldova.

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