Written by: Alan Kocevic Halmstad, Sweden

PROVING GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA

Rebuttal of Diana Johnstone's Fools' Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to offer a rebuttal of Johnstone's book *Fools' Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions.* Diana Johnstone is a writer who belongs to a group of left intellectuals commonly known as revisionists. Characteristic of this type of historical revisionism is a tendency to blame the U.S. government for the break-up of Yugoslavia. According to these revisionists, the U.S. hegemony and imperialism pose a grave threat to international peace and security. In their continual efforts to depict the U.S. as the main culprit for the breakup of Yugoslavia, revisionists like Diana Johnstone, Edward Herman and Michael Parenti are prepared to seriously downplay the Serb atrocities and what is worse even to deny that genocide against Bosnian Muslims took place. Johnstone even asserts that the U.S. foreign policy is extremely flawed and discriminatory, there is no evidence to corroborate this claim. It was the actions of Milosevic and his regime that caused the collapse of the country. Admittedly, the actions of the late Croatian president Franjo Tudjman and his regime also played a pivotal role in the breakup of Yugoslavia. After all, there is ample evidence that the two former leaders made a tacit agreement to divide Bosnia between themselves (for corroboration, see for example Yugoslavia Death of a Nation by Laura Silber and Allan Little).

Johnstone's Version of the War in Bosnia

Johnstone postulates that there is no evidence of genocide in Bosnia. She prefers the term "collective guilt", arguing that all warring parties share equal responsibility for the bloodshed in Bosnia. According to Johnstone, it was the Croat nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism that led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Johnstone asserts that Germany deliberately fueled Croatian nationalism. By supporting Croatian nationalism, Germany sought to induce dissolution of Yugoslavia. To reassert its military might, Germany would intervene against Serbia following the collapse of Yugoslavia, writes Johnstone. Germany has always considered Serbia an enemy; this hatred for the Serbs dates back to the World War II.

Another key international player in the breakup of Yugoslavia is the U.S. Elaborating, Johnstone claims that the U.S. wanted to destroy the last socialist state in Europe. The unconditional U.S. support for Muslims before and during the war had one major purpose: to boost the Islamic fundamentalism. Also, the U.S. alliance with Turkey and other Islamic countries forced the U.S. to aid Bosnian Muslims. Consequently, the destruction of Yugoslavia was the main objective of the U.S. government. Thus, the U.S. imperialism and Germany's quest for European domination played a crucial role in the breakup of Yugoslavia. Thus, the Serbs were the victims of this joint U.S./German conspiracy to destroy Yugoslavia.

Johnstone describes Milosevic as a 'multiculturalist' who advocated unity and denounced nationalism. Johnstone even makes a comparison between Milosevic and Clinton only to subsequently refer to Clinton as a liar. The former president of Bosnia, the late Alija Izetbegovic, is labeled an Islamic fundamentalist whose primary objective was to create an Islamic state in Bosnia. Franjo Tudjman is depicted as a Nazi. Johnstone further suggests that there is no compelling proof that Milosevic was the mastermind behind the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo. None the less, at one point, she admits knowing that Milosevic and Tudjman secretly agreed to partition Bosnia into a Croatian and a Serbian part. Paradoxically, she later writes that she sees nothing wrong with this secret agreement, simply divide Bosnia between Croats and Serbs because after all, who cares about Bosnian Muslims. Despite being familiar with this agreement, Johnstone holds that the Serbs fought to preserve Yugoslavia. How can one fight to preserve something if one wants to divide it in two?

After accounting for the causes of the Yugoslav dissolution, Johnstone goes on to examine the atrocities in Bosnia and Kosovo. According to Johnstone, there is no incriminating evidence that the Serbs were responsible for the abhorrent massacres that took place in Sarajevo. Speculating, she implicitly suggests that the Muslims were targeting their own people to induce a NATO intervention against the Serbs. As regards the gruesome massacre in Srebrenica, Johnstone denies that there was any massacre. The notorious prison camps in Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje never actually existed. All the images of tortured prisoners surrounded by a wire were manipulated as a part of an anti-Serbian propaganda campaign. When it comes to atrocities committed by the Serbs, there is simply never sufficient evidence. The same pattern can be found throughout the book. While Johnstone somehow always finds overwhelming evidence of Muslim and Croat war crimes, the opposite is never true of the war crimes perpetrated by Bosnian Serbs. According to Johnstone, the West deliberately fabricated Serb atrocities in Bosnia and Kosovo in order to dehumanize Serbs. This is in fact Johnstone's central thesis, i.e. the Serbs were the victims.

What really happened?

In the following I will test Johnstone's claims against the existing evidence. Findings by respectable fact-finding organizations such as Human Rights Watch and U.S. Department of State will be analyzed.

The evidence that the war in Bosnia was genocide is abundant and incontrovertible. In perhaps one of the most authoritative and meticulously researched accounts of the breakup of Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia Death of a Nation (1997), Laura Silber and Allan Little argue that Serbs and Croats secretly agreed to divide Bosnia between themselves. Moreover, Silber and Little provide compelling evidence that the war in Bosnia was a Serbian aggression. When the war in Bosnia began in 1992, the Serbs from Serbia proper began shelling Zvornik. In point of fact, according to José Maria Mendiluce, a senior official of the UNHCR who himself witnessed the Serbian assault on Zvornik: 'there was a big artillery bombardment coming from the Serbian side of the Drina. I even saw smoke coming from the cannons on the Serbian side" (as adopted from Silber and Little p. 223). Among those who participated in the attack on Zvornik and Bijeljina was a notorious war criminal Zeljko Raznjatovic also known as Arkan and his 'Tigers''. Arkan and his paramilitary forces killed and expelled Bosnian Muslims in Zvornik and Bijeljina. This systematic annihilation of a people based on their ethnicity and religion is frequently referred to as "ethnic cleansing". Even Vojislav Seselj, an ultra-nationalist from Belgrade, acknowledged that the attack on Zvornik had been planned in Serbia (Silber and Little: p. 223). Silber and Little further point out that the JNA, the federal Yugoslav army, fought on the Bosnian Serb side. The reader will recall that Johnstone's principal assertion was that all warring parties in the Bosnian 'civil war" were equally guilty. How can it be a 'civil war" when the federal Yugoslav army committed atrocities in Bosnia? What was the JNA doing in an internationally recognized state? How does Johnstone explain the presence of the Serbian paramilitary factions in Bosnia such as Arkan's Tigers and Mirko Jovic's Chetniks? Knowing that these facts seriously undermine her main argument, Johnstone refuses to even address them. Needless to say, the omission of these crucial facts is indicative of spurious or at best extremely flawed research.

In stark contrast to Johnstone's assertions, Thomas Cushman and Stjepan Mestrovic offer in *This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia* (1996) a completely different picture of the war in Bosnia. Analyzing the findings by the CIA, the UN, the U.S. State Department, Helsinki Watch and the Red Cross, Mestrovic and Cushman demonstrate without a doubt that genocide took place in Bosnia. Elaborating, Cushman and Mestrovic write: "genocide has occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina and it has been perpetuated by the Belgrade regime and its proxies" (p.16). They then add that all sides in the conflict committed atrocities but only the Serb side committed systematic war crimes the goal of which was to cleanse Bosnia of non-Serbs. In *Bosnia a Short History* (1996), referring to the war in Bosnia, Noel Malcolm writes that 'this was predominantly an invasion of Bosnia planned and directed from Serbian soil" (p. 238). According to some estimates, there were approximately 94,000 Serbian soldiers in Bosnia fighting for the Bosnian Serbs. Furthermore, in addition to having received manpower from Serbia, the Bosnian Serbs also received sophisticated weaponry (Malcolm: p.239).

Michael Sells, Professor of Religion at Haverford College, maintains that even though no warring side in the Bosnian war was completely innocent, the Bosnian Muslims irrefutably suffered the most (p. 13-14). According to Sells: 'the organized persecution in Bosnia from 1992 to 1995 was an effort to destroy both Bosnian Muslim culture and Bosnian multireligious culture and to destroy the Bosnian Muslims as a people" (p. 24-25). A mere fact that every single mosque (approximately 600) in the Serb controlled territory has been destroyed divulges an attempt to systematically eradicate every trace of the Islamic heritage in Bosnia (Sells: p.3). Similarly, the destruction of the National Library (Vijecnica) in Sarajevo which contained a great amount of ancient Islamic and Jewish literature speaks of the immense Serb hatred for Islam (p. 1-2). Analyzing the root causes of the Serb hatred for Islam, Sells concludes that it was the Serb mythology and propaganda that facilitated the genocide of Bosnian Muslims. An event that played an important role in the rise of the Serbian nationalism was the infamous battle between the Serbs and the Ottomans in Kosovo in 1389. Prince Lazar was killed in this battle and the Muslims have since been considered Christ killers (p.31). Sells further scrutinizes Serb literature demonstrating its enormous bias against Islam. Containing numerous elements of vicious anti-Islamic propaganda, the Serb literature has had a tremendous importance in fostering Serb nationalism and islamophobia. Ivo Andric's The Bridge on the Drina and Njegos's The Mountain Wrath are the books that perhaps best exemplify this islamophobia.

One important aspect of the Bosnian war was that the Serbs were militarily superior to the Muslims. Malcolm points out that "although the UN itself recognized Bosnia and admitted it as a member-state distinct and separate from Yugoslavia on 22 May 1992, it continued to apply the embargo as if nothing had changed. Of course it continued to apply it to Serbia too; but Serbia held most of the stockpiles of the former federal army, and had a large armaments industry of its own" (p.243). With no heavy weaponry, the Bosnian Muslims remained virtually defenseless throughout the war. Commenting on the arms embargo, Sells claims that its imposition infringed the right of Bosnian Muslims to self-defence because it was in violation of Article 51 of the UN Charter (p.25). Elaborating, Sells writes: "the advantage of the Serb army in heavy weapons over the Bosnians was estimated in anywhere from 20-1 to 100-1" (p.116-117). Thus, the arms embargo severely impaired the ability of Bosnian Muslims to offer solid resistance. If what Johnstone claims is true, i.e. that the U.S. was supporting the Muslims in the war, why did not the U.S. unilaterally rescind the arms embargo? Johnstone is well aware of the fact that the U.S. had intervened unilaterally on numerous previous occasions, what stopped them this time?

Serb atrocities in Bosnia

The reader will recall that Johnstone claims that there is no evidence that the Serbs committed atrocities in Bosnia. According to Johnstone, there were no detention camps in Omarska and Trnopolje, the Serbs were not responsible for the market square massacre in Sarajevo, there was no massacre in Srebrenica and the Serbs did not conduct ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Devoting many pages to the massacre in Srebrenica, Johnstone denies that there is no compelling proof that it occurred. As regards the notorious detention camps in Omarska and Trnopolje, the images of

malnourished men inside a barbed wire were manipulated and fabricated. Johnstone asserts that this 'dehumanization'' of Serbs was a deliberate Western strategy, the goal of which was to put pressure on NATO to intervene in Bosnia on behalf of Bosnian Muslims. Let us now analyze whether or not Johnstone's thesis will be able to withstand close scrutiny. Needless to say, all sides in the Bosnian war committed war crimes. However, did all sides commit systematic atrocities with an explicit aim to annihilate the members of the other ethnic group? No. On this point, evidence is abundant and extremely well documented.

Ed Vulliamy and Penny Marshall were among the first journalists to document the abhorrent atrocities at Omarska and Trnopolje, two of the most notorious detention camps in Bosnia. In addition to collecting countless witness testimonies, Vulliamy managed to obtain visual evidence from Omarska, showing extremely malnourished men. According to BBC news, there were approximately 6000 Croat and Muslim detainees in Omarska. Describing the conditions of the prisoners, BBC news reported: "at Omarska- and smaller camps at Keraterm and Trnopolje, also in northern Bosnia- new arrivals were reportedly beaten with batons and rifle butts, and crammed into stiflingly hot rooms with no beds and meagre sanitary facilities. They were fed a starvation diet". According to Peter Maass, the conditions in Omarska were appalling; the prisoners were frequently tortured, maltreated and underfed. When Maass and his crew visited Omarska they saw terrified prisoners who when asked how they had been treated refused to respond. With guards overseeing all interviews, the prisoners knew that they could not tell the journalists what was really happening in the detention camp. Telling the truth would have them killed. Maass writes that mass killings occurred every day in Omarska with the guards using every instrument available to torture the prisoners. Comparing Omarska to Nazi camps, Maass asserts that 'the Serbs, however, wanted to interrogate their Bosnian prisoners, have sadistic fun by torturing them in the cruelest of ways and then kill them with whatever implement was most convenient, perhaps a gun, perhaps a knife or scissors, perhaps a pair of strong hands wrapped around an emaciated neck. If the Germans had used the same approach, they would have needed decades to kill 6 million Jews" (p. 45). Maass interviewed many survivors from Omarska and Trnopolje who had fled to Croatia. The survivors spoke of unspeakable cruelty and unfathomable suffering. Not only were the prisoners severely beaten, they were also sexually abused. In one horrific case, a prisoner was forced to bite off other prisoners' testicles. In yet another case of gruesome barbarity, the guards put a wire around one prisoner's testicles and then attached the wire to a motorcycle and the rest you can figure out I guess. The prisoners were frequently ordered to fight each other and if they refused, they would be beaten by their guards. Moreover, local Serb residents sometimes came to Omarska to torture the detainees (Maass: p. 50-53).

According to Silber and Little (1997): 'in a systematic campaign, Serb paramilitary hit-squads swept through northern and eastern Bosnia in the spring and summer months and, municipality by municipality, seized control of the region without, in most places, encountering real military opposition'' (p. 244). Not only was this campaign systematic, it also targeted the Muslim elite. Silber and Little further point out that: 'a common characteristic of the cleansing operation was this systematic elimination of community leaders- prominent people, intellectuals, members of the SDA, the wealthy'' (p. 244-245). That the Serbs conducted ethnic cleansing in Bosnia is evident from the fact that approximately 95% of the Muslims were expelled from Zvornik, Visegrad and Foca (Malcolm p. 237). Noel Malcolm further writes that the primary objective of the Serbs was to annihilate Muslim intellectuals and those within the Muslim community who held prominent and respectable jobs (p. 245)

In its report on *Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gross Abuses of Basic Human Rights*, Amnesty International notes the complicity of Serbia in the Bosnian war. According to this report: "the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of Croatia have a heavy responsibility for abuses to the extent that they have supported politically and materially the various forces within Bosnia-Herzegovina". Reporting on the war crimes in Bosnia, Human Rights Watch (HRW) reached the following conclusion: "the overwhelming majority continued to be perpetrated by Bosnian Serbs". One of the most appalling attacks on civilians took place in Sarajevo on February 5, 1994. HRW writes that 63 people were killed in this attack by Bosnian Serbs. In another gruesome mortar attack, Bosnian Serbs killed 71 civilians in Tuzla, writes HRW. Ethnic cleansing of Muslims from Banja Luka by the notorious war criminal Zeljko Raznjatovic, also known as Arkan, constituted a gross human rights violation. After arriving in the town, Arkan and his forces began expelling non-Serbs. According to estimates by HRW, about 5000 non-Serbs were ethnically cleansed from the area. Other areas from which many Muslims had been expelled were Krajina and Bijeljina. Approximately 10,600 Muslims and Croats were forced to leave their homes.

A 1994 human rights report on Bosnia by the U.S. Department of State gives an exhaustive account of the human rights violations perpetrated in Bosnia. While acknowledging that all sides committed war crimes in Bosnia, the report makes clear that only Bosnian Serbs engaged in the process of ethnic cleansing. The document further reveals that Serbia provided Bosnian Serbs with extensive military aid. According to the document: "supported by the Serbian authorities in Belgrade, the BSA (Bosnian Serb armed militia) began a brutal campaign of terror- in which acts of genocide took place- to establish an ethnically pure state linking Serb-occupied territory in Croatia with Serbia/Montenegro to form "greater Serbia". Here is what the same report said of Bosnian Muslims: "the Bosnian Government is Muslim-dominated but continues to support a multiethnic society, and elected officials are drawn proportionally from all national groups". The report further corroborates findings by the HRW that a significant number of Muslims were expelled from Banja Luka and Bijeljina. Several thousand Muslim civilians were killed in the Serb attacks on Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa. According to this report, in order for the Serbs to inflict as much damage as possible, they targeted heavily crowded places such as hospitals etc. Another important strategy of Bosnian Serbs was to deny U.N. food convoys entry to Srebrenica, Gorazde, Zepa and Sarajevo. Bosnian Serbs knew that shortage of food, water and medical supplies would inevitably result in malnourishment, starvation, diseases and despair.

After three years of Serb occupation and intensive bombardment, Srebrenica fell on 11 July, 1995. What followed

constituted the most serious human rights violation in Europe since World War II. Ratko Mladic who is now being sought for war crimes and his forces entered Srebrenica and immediately began separating men from women. While women and children were taken to Tuzla, men were taken to various locations to be executed. Approximately 7,000 Muslim men were killed in this gruesome massacre. Here is what one report by the U.S. Department of State said:" the Bosnian Serb occupation of the U.N. 'safe area' of Srebrenica in July resulted in one of the worst single reported incidents of genocidal mass killing of members of an ethnic or religious group in Europe since World War II'. Elaborating, the report further pointed out that:" the systematic way in which prisoners were moved to execution sites and the presence of trailers and bulldozers (to transport corpses and to dig mass graves) indicate that the mass killings were planned well in advance. More than 7,000 remain unaccounted for and presumed dead''. According to the same document, there are countless reliable eyewitness accounts of random killings of civilians in Srebrenica. Dutch soldiers themselves witnessed the atrocities; they saw dead bodies by the road, says the report.

HRW writes in its 1996 report : 'following the fall of Srebrenica, Bosnian Serb forces summarily executed hundreds, possibly thousands of men and boys at various mass execution sites near the Srebrenica area and during their flight from Bosnian-Serb-held territory to Bosnian-government-controlled areas. Women, children and elderly persons deported from the area were also terrorized, and thousands of persons remained disappeared'. There is evidence that the massacre in Srebrenica was a direct order of Karadzic and Mladic. According to testimonies by two Bosnian Serbs at the War Tribunal in The Hague (Miroslav Deronjic and a Lieutenant Colonel Dragan Obrenovic), Karadzic and Mladic ordered the Srebrenica massacre . The most compelling proof, however, comes from an official Bosnian Serb investigation into the Srebrenica massacre. The results of the investigations are staggering to say the least. Bosnian Serbs admitted for the very first time that they were responsible for the Srebrenica massacre. This admission shocked the world. Furthermore, the commission also found that 6,447 people remain unaccounted for, only 1,332 have been identified. The commission also incriminated senior Bosnian Serb officials in the Srebrenica massacre.

A British journalist David Rohde, the recipient of the Pulitzer Prize and the author of *Endgame*, visited the region of Srebrenica and was able to obtain significant proof of mass graves. According to David Rohde: 'large empty ammunition boxes littered the fields where the ground had been dug recently. Diplomas and other personal effects of Srebrenica Muslims were scattered near the areas of disturbed earth. When I reached the site this week, three areas of fresh digging were clearly visible. On the edge of the smallest of the three alleged mass graves, what appeared to be a human femur and tibia jutted from the earth''.

Despite this irrefutable evidence and the Bosnian Serb admission, Johnstone claims that Srebrenica massacre never occurred. Not even the fact that Bosnian Serbs officially apologized for the Srebrenica massacre constitutes compelling proof for Johnstone. Numerous corroborated testimonies do not suffice either. One would hope that a testimony by Colonel Obrenovic would prove sufficient given that he himself participated in the attack on Srebrenica. That the Srebrenica massacre was considered an act of genocide by the War Tribunal in The Hague makes no difference either. What does it take for some people to admit the truth?

Conclusion

The present author hopes that he has been able to demonstrate that genocide occurred in Bosnia. As shown here, there is overwhelming evidence that Serbia was actively aiding Bosnian Serbs during the war in Bosnia. Bosnian Serbs received enormous military and financial aid from Serbia. The involvement of the JNA in Bosnia strongly indicates that the war in Bosnia had been planned in Serbia. In light of the facts presented in this paper, there is no evidence to substantiate Johnstone's "collective guilt" theory. In addition, contrary to what Johnstone claims, there is indisputable proof that Bosnian Serbs committed the majority of atrocities in Bosnia. Srebrenica, Gorazde, Zepa, Maglaj, Sarajevo, Doboj, Banja Luka, Bijeljina and Visegrad all represent places where Bosnian Serbs conducted ethnic cleansing and seriously violated human rights by killing and expelling the non-Serb population. Only in Srebrenica 7,000 Muslims were killed in an abhorrent massacre.

Johnstone's failure to even take into account these facts seriously undermines her work. By ignoring the sources that do not support her thesis, Johnstone remains highly selective throughout the entire book. Furthermore, Johnstone frequently downplays findings by the Human Rights Watch and the U.S. Department of State because these organizations are unreliable and biased towards Bosnian Muslims. Instead, Johnstone uses dubious and uncorroborated sources to support her thesis. Another technique frequently employed by Johnstone is speculation. This highly efficient strategy enables Johnstone to confuse the reader. Here is how it works: for example, when describing the mortar attack on Sarajevo, Johnstone writes that there is no proof that Bosnian Serbs fired the shell that had killed many civilians. Then she asserts that the shell might actually have been fired by the Muslims. To prompt the NATO intervention, the Muslims would stop at nothing. In this case and numerous others throughout her book Johnstone is deliberately speculative. Inadvertently, the reader will begin to question whether or not the Serbs actually committed these atrocities. Now, we know that Bosnian Serbs had been shelling Sarajevo and many other cities for that matter for three years killing many people. Why would there be controversy this time about who was responsible for the attack? Why, in light of the Serb admission, should she question whether or not the massacre in Srebrenica occurred? Johnstone shows a flagrant disregard for countless corroborated testimonies by the survivors of the Srebrenica massacre.

Some of Johnstone's assertions are so bizarre and unfounded that there is no point in addressing them. Consider only two examples. Johnstone's theory that Germany wanted to destroy Serbia in order to demonstrate its military supremacy in Europe is so preposterous that it warrants no serious comment. Also, Johnstone's claim that the U.S. sought to boost the Islamic fundamentalism in Bosnia needs no further consideration. Her description of Milosevic as a 'multiculturalist' is very alarming and at best extremely naïve. Similarly, Johnstone's view of Karadzic and

Mladic is deeply disturbing given that both have been charged with genocide by the War Tribunal in The Hague.

So many factual errors and absurd postulations lead me to conclude that this book is not even about the war in Bosnia. It is about the U.S. imperialism. The left revisionists such as Diana Johnstone have always considered the U.S. hegemony the greatest threat to world peace. Johnstone cannot possibly imagine a situation warranting a military intervention especially when the U.S. is involved. Admittedly, the U.S. foreign policy is primarily driven by imperialistic motives. Nevertheless, not all U.S. actions fall under this category. It is imperative that we judge each U.S. intervention individually. It is one thing to criticize the U.S. government's actions throughout the world but it is a completely different thing to deny atrocities and to defend the aggressor. While it is justifiable and warranted to condemn U.S. transgressions, it is sad and insulting to the victims to refuse to tell the truth. The least that the people of Bosnia deserve is that we always tell the truth. For three years, Western diplomats had been trying to negotiate an end to the Bosnian carnage and to stop Serb atrocities in Bosnia but to no avail. The Serbs had been warned many times to immediately refrain from targeting Sarajevo, Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica but they simply ignored the warnings. Once someone crosses the line we are obliged to intervene. It is our moral obligation to put an end to someone's suffering or at least to allow the victim to defend himself. What many left intellectuals fail to understand is that diplomacy does not always work. Sometimes, one has to resort to violence in order to resolve a conflict; Bosnia is a case in point. Johnstone makes no mention in her book of the fact that the NATO had warned Bosnian Serbs many times that unless they ceased their attack on Srebrenica, they would face air strikes. Bosnian Serbs continued with their advancement towards Srebrenica in a flagrant defiance of the NATO's warnings. When they finally entered the town, they slaughtered approximately 7,000 people. If the NATO had intervened before the Serbs overrun the town these people would have been saved. One cannot but wonder would Johnstone oppose the NATO intervention had she herself been trapped in Srebrenica for three years under constant bombardment, with no food, water, electricity and medical supplies.

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