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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 50 OF 15 JANUARY

INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN, BELGRADE, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, PRAGUE, SOFIA, EAST BERLIN, ROME, THE HAGUE, LUXEMBOURG, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, ATHENS, DUBLIN, ANKARA, LISBON, OSLO, OTTAWA, REYKJAVIK, UKDEL NATO, STOCKHOLM, HELSINKI, VIENNA, BERNE, MADRID, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, PEKING, TOKYO, NEW DELHI, ISLAMABAD, TEL AVIV, CAIRO, PRETORIA, BUENOS AIRES, MEXICO CITY, STRASBOURG, UKDEL MADRID, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKMIS GENEVA, KATHMANDU.

POLAND

1. THIS TELEGRAM UPDATES FCO TELNO 1974 TO WASHINGTON AND CAN BE DRAWN ON FREELY EXCEPT WHERE INDICATED.

INTERNAL SITUATION

2. THE SITUATION INSIDE POLAND HAS STABILISED. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING TIGHT CONTROL THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. ACTIVE RESISTANCE HAS CEASED, ALTHOUGH PASSIVE RESISTANCE MAY CONTINUE AND IS MOST LIKELY TO BE SEEN IN SHIPYARDS, COAL MINES AND LARGE INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE ANNOUNCED SOME MINOR RELAXATION OF THE MARTIAL LAW PROVISIONS (SOME TRAVEL IS PERMITTED, SOME TELEPHONES RECONNECTED, FOREIGN JOURNALISTS ARE AGAIN ALLOWED TO FILE) BUT THESE ARE LARGELY COSMETIC ADJUSTMENTS.

3. ALTHOUGH MANY OF THOSE DETAINED WHEN MARTIAL LAW WAS FIRST IMPOSED HAVE NOW BEEN RELEASED, THE AUTHORITIES ADMIT THAT THERE ARE STILL OVER 5,000 PEOPLE IN DETENTION (THE REAL FIGURE MAY WELL BE HIGHER). TRIALS HAVE BEGUN OF SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS ARRESTED FOR CONTRAVENING MARTIAL LAW (EG ORGANISING STRIKES OR SIT INS OR DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS). IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN CLASHES WITH THE SECURITY FORCES WHEN MARTIAL LAW WAS IMPOSED, BUT THE NUMBER MAY WELL BE HIGHER THAN THE OFFICIALLY ADMITTED FIGURE OF NINE DEAD.

SOLIDARITY

4. SOME SOLIDARITY LEADERS ELUDED THE AUTHORITIES AND REMAIN AT LARGE. THE MOST PROMINENT OF THESE IS BUJAK, THE RADICAL LEADER OF SOLIDARITY'S WARSAW REGION. SOLIDARITY HAS PRODUCED A NUMBER OF UNDERGROUND BULLETINS WHICH HAVE INCLUDED MESSAGES FROM BUJAK THAT SOLIDARITY CONTINUES TO FUNCTION. WALESA REMAINS UNDER RESTRAINT AND IS APPARENTLY REFUSING TO COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE PERSISTENT RUMOURS THAT THEY ARE CONTINUING TO TRY TO ENGAGE HIM IN SOME FORM OF DIALOGUE. FOREIGN JOURNALISTS VISITING POZNAN UNDER OFFICIAL AUSPICES ON 14 JANUARY NOTED BADGES AND OTHER EVIDENCE THAT SOLIDARITY STILL COMMANDS MUCH SUPPORT AMONG ORDINARY WORKERS.

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/ THE ECONOMY



#### THE ECONOMY

5. THE AUTHORITIES ARE CLAIMING THAT WORK IN THE MINES, SHIPYARDS AND ENTERPRISES IS FAST RETURNING TO NORMAL. THIS CLAIM SHOULD BE TREATED WITH CONSIDERABLE CAUTION: HERE TOO THE EVIDENCE FROM POZNAN WAS TO THE CONTRARY. IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO MAKE PEOPLE WORK EFFECTIVELY AT GUNPOINT: AND POLISH INDUSTRY IS CRIPPLED BY SHORTAGE OF RAW MATERIALS AND SPARE PARTS AND BY THE RESTRICTIONS ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS. THE REINTRODUCTION OF SATURDAY WORKING MAY HOWEVER HELP TO INCREASE PRODUCTION. E.G. OF COAL.

6. PRELIMINARY POLISH ESTIMATES FOR 1981 CONFIRM THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF THE ECONOMY LAST YEAR. NATIONAL INCOME FELL BY 15 PERCENT AND INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE STATE SECTOR BY 13 PERCENT. EXPORTS WERE DOWN 14 PERCENT, LARGELY BECAUSE OF SHORTFALLS IN HARD COAL PRODUCTION. (PRELIMINARY POLISH ESTIMATES PUT OUTPUT IN 1981 AT 163 MT, 30 MT LOWER THAN 1980). IN AN ATTEMPT TO CURB DEMAND THE AUTHORITIES HAVE PROPOSED SUBSTANTIAL RETAIL PRICE INCREASES (IN SOME CASES MORE THAN 3 FOLD) FOR BASIC FOOD STUFFS, FUEL AND POWER. THESE INCREASES, WHICH ARE TECHNICALLY OPEN FOR DEBATE THIS MONTH (BUT WHICH IS UNLIKELY TO MEAN MUCH IN THE PRESENT SITUATION) WILL PROBABLY ADD TO EXISTING HARDSHIP AND TO POPULAR RESENTMENT.

#### THE PARTY

7. ECLIPSED BY THE MILITARY TAKE OVER, THE PARTY IS NOW BEING PURGED AND REBUILT. THE OUTCOME OF THIS PROCESS IS LIKELY TO BE A PARTY WHICH IS SMALLER AND MORE ORTHODOX. BUT THERE ARE RUMOURS THAT IF THE AUTHORITIES DECIDE THAT THIS PROCESS IS NOT WORKING SATISFACTORILY, THEY WILL DISBAND THE PRESENT PARTY ALTOGETHER AND BUILD AN ENTIRELY NEW ONE. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW AND WHEN JARUZELSKI INTENDS TO RETURN POWER TO THE PRESENT PARTY OR ANY SUCCESSOR. BUT HE IS LIKELY TO COME UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW TO DO SO SINCE THE PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS HIGHLY UNORTHODOX IN IDEOLOGICAL TERMS.

#### THE CHURCH

8. THE INITIAL REACTION OF THE POLISH PRIMATE, ARCHBISHOP GLEMP, TO THE CLAMPDOWN WAS TO COUNSEL MODERATION IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID BLOODSHED. BUT THIS LINE ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH AS WEAK AND UNCONVINCING, AND HE HAS SINCE COME OUT MUCH MORE STRONGLY IN CONDEMNING MARTIAL LAW AND THE REPRESSION THAT HAS FOLLOWED.

9. THE REGIME HAS BEEN ANXIOUS TO FIND SOMEONE TO TALK TO, IN ORDER TO SUGGEST THAT IT IS CONDUCTING SOME SORT OF DIALOGUE WITH SOCIETY, AND IT HAS THEREFORE BEEN TRYING TO ENMESH THE CHURCH IN NEGOTIATIONS. JARUZELSKI WILL CALCULATE THAT SUCH NEGOTIATIONS WOULD ALSO CONFER A MEASURE OF RESPECTABILITY ON HIM THAT ONLY THE CHURCH CAN OFFER. FOR ITS PART THE CHURCH HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN TRYING TO PROMOTE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND SOLIDARITY, BUT THE PRECONDITIONS LAID DOWN BY BOTH SIDES HAVE SO FAR PROVED TOO MUCH.



THERE IS NEVERTHELESS A GOOD DEAL OF TALKING GOING ON BEHIND THE SCENES AND THE EPISCOPATE IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO PRESS THE REGIME TO RESUME THE DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY AS THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS. THE PREDOMINANT FEAR OF THE CHURCH IS THAT THE SITUATION WILL DETERIORATE TO THE POINT WHERE THE RUSSIANS FEEL BOUND TO INTERVENE, WITH SHARPLY ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CHURCHS PRESENT INFLUENTIAL POSITION.

#### THE UK REACTION

10. MINISTRS HAVE CONDEMNED WHAT IS HAPPENING IN POLAND AND HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY LOOK TO JARUZELSKI TO LIVE UP TO HIS INITIAL PROMISES THAT MARTIAL LAW WOULD BE SHORT LIVED AND THAT THERE WOULD BE A RETURN TO THE PATH OF REFORM. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE LORD PRIVY SEALS SPEECH IN THE HOUSE ON 22 DECEMBER, THE PRIME MINISTERS INTERVIEW WITH THE BBC ON NEW YEARS EVE (RETRACT 21431), MY INTERVIEW WITH KATE ADIE ON 4 JANUARY (VERBATIM 002/82), AND THE INTERVIEW I GAVE ON PANORAMA ON 6 JANUARY (VERBATIM 006/82).

11. WE HAVE SO FAR TAKEN THE FOLLOWING STEPS IN RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND:

- A. STRONG AND REPEATED CONDEMNATIONS OF THE POLISH CLAMPDOWN:
- B. INCREASED BBC BROADCASTING TO POLAND (BY FORTYFIVE MINUTES A DAY IN THE POLISH LANGUAGE SERVICE):
- C. THE SUPPLY OF 8,000 TONNES OF FREE EC BEEF TO POLAND WAS HELD UP UNTIL THE POLISH AUTHORITIES GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THOSE SUPPLIES WILL REACH THE CIVILIAN POPULATION:
- D. DECISIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY ON FURTHER SALES OF FOOD AT SPECIAL SUBSIDISED PRICES HAVE BEEN HELD UP, AND WE ARE EXPLORING WITHIN THE COMMUNITY THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANNELLING FOOD SUPPLIES THROUGH VOLUNTARY AGENCIES:
- E. THE COMMUNITY HAVE ALLOCATED 2 MILLION ECUS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID THROUGH VOLUNTARY AND CHURCH AGENCIES.

IN ADDITION, BUT STRICTLY FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, WE ARE CONSIDERING OTHER MEASURES OF WHICH THE FOLLOWING ARE ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES:

- F. SUSPENSION OF OFFICIAL CREDIT (EXCEPT IN CASES WHERE A LEGALLY BINDING COMMITMENT ALREADY EXISTS):
- G. POSTPONEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT RESCHEDULING POLAND'S 1982 OFFICIAL DEBT:
- H. TIGHTER COCOM CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS TO POLAND:
- I. TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS ON POLISH DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

12. AGAIN STRICTLY FOR YOU OWN INFORMATION WE ARE ALSO CONSIDERING TAKING MEASURES OF THE FOLLOWING KINDS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION:

- A. RESTRICTING IMPORTS, TOGETHER WITH OUR EC PARTNERS, OF SOVIET MANUFACTURES:
- B. TERMINATING THE UK/USSR MARITIME AGREEMENT:
- C. REDUCING SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION OR NOT RENEWING EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS:
- D. REVIEWING THE CONDITIONS SURROUNDING EXPORT CREDITS (SEE PARA 16 BELOW).



#### THE US REACTION

13. PRESIDENT REAGAN MADE MAJOR POLICY SPEECHES ON 23 AND 29 DECEMBER. IN THE FIRST HE ANNOUNCED MEASURES AGAINST THE POLISH MILITARY REGIME, AND IN THE SECOND MEASURES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION IN PROTEST AT THE LATTER'S UNDOUBTED COMPLICITY IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH RENEWAL. (FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, THE AMERICANS HAVE REVEALED TO THEIR ALLIES THAT THEY POSSESS MATERIAL SHOWING THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF POLISH CLAMPDOWN. MARSHAL KULIKOV SPENT LONG PERIODS IN POLAND DURING 1981 AND WAS PRESENT IN WARSAW WHEN MARTIAL LAW WAS DECLARED. HE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN AN IMPORTANT CHANNEL OF SOVIET PRESSURE ON THE POLISH AUTHORITIES).

14. THE AMERICANS HAVE EMPHASISED THAT THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT ARE AIMED AT ACHIEVING THE COMMON WESTERN OBJECTIVE OF RE-ESTABLISHING CONDITIONS FOR RECONCILIATION AND A RESUMPTION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL. THIS WOULD INVOLVE THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW, THE RELEASE OF THOSE DETAINED, AND THE RESUMPTION OF A GENUINE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES, SOLIDARITY AND THE CHURCH. (FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, WE WERE ONLY GIVEN A FEW HOURS' NOTICE OF THE MEASURES THE AMERICANS PROPOSED TO TAKE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THIS LACK OF PRIOR CONSULTATION CAUSED DIFFICULTIES FOR US AND FOR OUR EC PARTNERS AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE IMPRESSION OF DISARRAY IN THE ALLIANCE).

#### THE EC REACTION

15. EFFORTS TO CONVENE A SPECIAL MEETING OF EC FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LONDON DURING THE LAST WEEK OF DECEMBER FOUNDERED ON DIFFICULTIES RAISED MAINLY BY THE FRENCH. IT WAS THEREFORE NOT UNTIL 4 JANUARY THAT SUCH A MEETING TOOK PLACE IN BRUSSELS UNDER THE BELGIAN PRESIDENCY. MINISTERS AGREED ON THE NEED TO PRESERVE WESTERN UNITY AND NOT TO UNDERMINE THE US MEASURES THAT HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED. THEY ALSO AGREED ON THE SOVIET UNION'S COMPLICITY IN AND CO-RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND. (FOR THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER THE MEETING, SEE VERBATIM 001/82).

16. AS WELL AS DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF FURTHER HUMANITARIAN AID INCLUDING FOOD (WHICH WE ARE ENCOURAGING), AND FURTHER SPECIALLY SUBSIDISED FOOD SALES (WHICH WE ARE OPPOSING ON THE GROUNDS THAT CHANNELLING FOOD THROUGH VOLUNTARY AGENCIES IS PREFERABLE TO ENSURE THAT IT GETS TO THE RIGHT PEOPLE), THE COMMUNITY IS ALSO CONSIDERING POSSIBLE RESTRICTIONS ON SOVIET EXPORTS AND IS WORKING OUT A COORDINATED POLICY ON NOT UNDERMINING THE US MEASURES. WE HOPE THAT DECISIONS ON THESE VARIOUS ISSUES WILL BE TAKEN AT THE 25/26 JANUARY FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL. WE SHALL ALSO BE EXPLORING WITHIN THE COMMUNITY THE POSSIBILITY OF RECLASSIFYING THE SOVIET UNION'S CREDIT RATING. THERE IS A GOOD TECHNICAL CASE FOR CLASSIFYING THE SOVIET UNION AS QUOTE RELATIVELY RICH UNQUOTE, WHICH WOULD MEAN THE MINIMA FOR OFFICIAL CREDITS WOULD BE HIGHER. THE EFFECT WOULD BE TO REDUCE CREDIT SUBSIDIES TO THE SOVIET UNION. AS THE RUSSIANS ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO CHEAP CREDITS, THE SIGNAL WOULD BE A CLEAR ONE.



17. (NOT FOR USE). WE DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN AGREEING A CONCERTED ALLIED RESPONSE. NOR DO WE BELIEVE THAT THE SANCTIONS AT PRESENT BEING CONSIDERED AGAINST POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON THE POLISH OR SOVIET ECONOMIES TO THE POINT WHERE EITHER ECONOMY WILL BE FORCED TO OPERATE AT A SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER LEVEL THAN AT PRESENT. BOTH SETS OF MEASURES ARE DIRECTED AS MUCH TOWARDS MAINTAINING ALLIANCE COHESION AS INFLUENCING POLAND OR THE SOVIET UNION. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A CLEAR AND VALUABLE WARNING TO BOTH THE POLES AND THE SOVIETS THAT FAILURE TO RETURN TO RENEWAL AND REFORM IN POLAND WOULD CARRY SEVERE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PENALTIES. IN PARTICULAR THE WITHDRAWAL OF WESTERN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE POLES WILL GIVE THEM A PSYCHOLOGICAL JOLT AND MAY FORCE THEM TO DECLARE A MORATORIUM ON DEBT SERVICING EVEN THOUGH THEIR ECONOMY COULD CONTINUE TO FUNCTION AT ITS PRESENT LOW LEVEL OF ACTIVITY BY TRADING ON A CASH BASIS.

#### THE NATO REACTION

18. THE EC MEETING ON 4 JANUARY DID MUCH TO BRING EUROPEAN AND US REACTIONS INTO LINE. IT WAS POSSIBLE TO BUILD ON THIS AT THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING ON 11 JANUARY, WHEN THERE WAS A SUBSTANTIAL CLOSING OF RANKS. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ISSUED A STRONGLY WORDED DECLARATION (VERBATIM 004/82). THIS CONDEMNS THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW, HOLDS THE SOVIET UNION CO-RESPONSIBLE FOR DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, AND WARNS THE POLES AND THE RUSSIANS THAT QUOTE BUSINESS AS USUAL UNQUOTE IS IMPOSSIBLE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. WHILE RE-AFFIRMING NATO'S COMMITMENT TO THE PURSUIT OF ARMS CONTROL, IT WARNS THE SOVIET UNION THAT IT WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE IF THIS PROCESS IS DAMAGED BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO ITS EXISTING OBLIGATIONS, IN PARTICULAR THOSE ENSHRINED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. IN RECOGNITION OF THE RUSSIANS' SERIOUS VIOLATION OF THOSE OBLIGATIONS, ATTENDANCE BY NATO MEMBER STATES AT THE RECONVENING OF THE MADRID REVIEW MEETING ON 9 FEBRUARY WILL BE AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL.

19. THE DECLARATION ALSO ANNOUNCES THAT THERE WILL BE AN EARLY FOLLOW-UP MEETING OF THE NATO COUNCIL TO CONSIDER ECONOMIC MEASURES IN PARTICULAR (SEE PARAGRAPHS 13 TO 16 OF THE DECLARATION). FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION WE HOPE THAT IT WILL PROVE POSSIBLE TO DRAW UP A RESPECTABLE LIST OF NATIONAL MEASURES AGAINST POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION. UK MEASURES WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN CONCERT WITH THOSE OF OUR ALLIES. THE MOST LIKELY TIMING FOR THIS IS DURING THE FORTNIGHT BEGINNING 25 JANUARY.

20. IN SPEAKING TO YOUR CONTACTS, YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT THE NATO DECLARATION ILLUSTRATES THE UNITY AND DETERMINATION OF THE ALLIANCE. MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND IS A BREACH OF THE COMMITMENTS ENTERED INTO BY POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE AT HELSINKI IN 1975. (THIS IS THE ANSWER TO CHARGES OF NATO INTERFERENCE AND DOUBLE STANDARDS COMPARED WITH E.G. EL SALVADOR). THE MEASURES



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OUTLINED IN THE NATO DECLARATION ARE AN IMPORTANT SYMBOL OF THE WEST'S DETERMINATION NOT TO ACCEPT THE PRESENT REPRESSION IN POLAND AND TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS IF THE SOVIET UNION RESORTS TO OVERT INTERVENTION.

21. MORE IMPORTANT STILL, WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN POLAND IS A MAJOR DEFEAT FOR THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM. THIRTYSIX YEARS OF COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT HAVE LED TO MARTIAL LAW, INTERNMENT CAMPS, SPECIAL COURTS, FOOD SHORTAGES, ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY, AND A POLITICAL DEAD END. THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM HAS BEEN SHOWN TO BE A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FAILURE ON A HUGE SCALE. AS I HAVE SAID IN INTERVIEWS AND SPEECHES, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THIS ASPECT OF THE CRISIS SO THAT THIS DISASTER FOR THE EAST SHOULD NOT BE OBSCURED BY STORIES ABOUT DIFFERENCES AMONG THE WESTERN ALLIES.

REPRESENTATION AT POLISH FUNCTIONS

22. YOU WILL SEE IN PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE NATO COMMUNIQUE THAT THE QUALITY OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE POLES SHOULD REFLECT THE ABNORMAL NATURE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THIS AS PERMANENT. THIS HAS BEEN INTERPRETED IN WARSAW BY MOST OF THE WESTERN ALLIES TO MEAN THAT ATTENDANCE AT OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS SHOULD BE AT MIDDLE RANKING LEVEL RATHER THAN BY HEADS OF POST. WE ARE CURRENTLY CONSULTING WITH OUR EC PARTNERS ON THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AT OFFICIAL POLISH FUNCTIONS WORLDWIDE. GUIDANCE WILL BE SENT TO YOU SHORTLY ON THIS AND ON RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

23. FOR NON EC/NATO POSTS: YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THIS TELEGRAM WHEN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITIES ARISE TO EXPALIN THE WESTERN POSITION TO THE GOVERNMENTS TO WHICH YOU ARE ACCREDITED. PLEASE REPORT REACTIONS.

CARRINGTON

POLAND SPECIAL  
STANDARD

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ADDITIONAL DISTN.  
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