

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald R. Ford  
Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central  
Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party  
Stefan Olszowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and  
Assistant to the President  
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to  
the President for National Security Affairs  
Ambassador Richard T. Davies, US Amb. to Poland  
Polish Interpreter

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, October 8, 1974  
11:00 a.m. - 12:40 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House

[General Scowcroft missed part of the opening conversation.]

Gierek: In France, the ethnic group of Poles came during the French Revolution. People of Polish extraction have been introduced into many countries.

Kissinger: Then in the 19th Century, the Polish nationalists concluded that the only way they could get independence was to join every war -- individually.

Gierek: Secretary Kissinger knows our history very well. In our anthem, it says we have been guided by Bonapartist methods of how to win. We Socialists left it in.

Kissinger: I have always been impressed by Warsaw's Old City. It took much pride to restore it that way.

Gierek: That is true.

~~SECRET/NODIS~~



DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5  
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines  
By lit, NARA, Date 1/16/00

~~SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)  
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

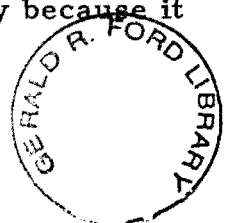
President: Let me at the outset welcome you in a personal way. I really look forward to your mission and what has been done to bring us together as peoples and what we can do in the future to expand our contacts.

Gierek: Thank you again for the invitation to visit the United States. I appreciate the transmission of the invitation by you. I welcome the evidence of your will to expand Polish-US relations and detente. I attach importance to our forthcoming talks and I am confident that the meeting will contribute to Polish-American relations. I am confident the meeting will not only strengthen old ties but will build new measures of contacts between us. They will also contribute to the political prestige of our peoples. The great American people have achieved much, and we will be receptive to anything you do which will promote peace.

In bilateral matters, I think we are doing very well, and I express my satisfaction with the policy of detente. I am very pleased with the preparations for the visit and the statements to be signed. The contribution of Secretary Kissinger and the Department of State are very much appreciated. It has been done in a constructive and favorable atmosphere and will help insure that our talks will be fruitful.

My visit is the result of detente. We attach great significance to that process. Poland pursues that policy in the world, and its national interest is to live in security and cooperation in the international world. We are cooperating with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations on the principles of mutual cooperation and partnerships. At the moment this socialist cooperation is active in making detente a new profound, peaceful coexistence and deepening international cooperation. The meeting of the CEMA in Poland this year worked to make detente irreversible.

Likewise with great satisfaction we welcome improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. These agreements on substance are of great importance. They are of substantial significance to prevent a new world war. They help extinguish the Cold War and encourage bilateral cooperation between East and West. They promote detente. There are many advantages stemming from US-Soviet detente, and we welcome your announcement of its continuation. For as I know from Brezhnev and from my recent conversation with Gromyko, it is the wish of the Soviet leadership to continue good relations with the United States. I know the Soviet Union very well and the Brezhnev policy enjoys the lasting and profound support of the Soviet Union's allies and us. We support it enthusiastically because it meets vital interests of all Poles.



There is the important question of European Security. From the nature of things, Poland is principally concerned with Europe. We think the situation is favorable. For the first time, the continent is enjoying peace. In the 1,000 years of Polish history, only 200 years were peaceful.

Kissinger: In isolated intervals.

Gierek: That is true. Considering the past and our tense relations, especially that there have been wars, there is now recognition of two German states. I don't know if that is correct, but we want to strengthen the two German states.

Kissinger: I was talking to Gromyko about the World Cup Soccer championship. Both East and West Germany were playing. I told Gromyko the worst thing for him would be if East Germany won. He really grinned. Poland got third place. You would have done better than West Germany but for the rain.

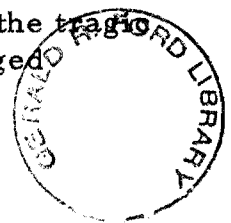
Gierek: We think we must equalize the disparities in development which earlier existed. We are happy with the positive response to detente in Europe. You were in both wars and now are politically, economically and militarily in Europe. So you are vitally interested and can play a great role. We see the United States as actively involved in the European detente.

This is especially true of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I know you have a positive attitude on that question. We think the situation is ripe for the third phase at the end of this year or early next, at the highest level. We think there should be a permanent organ for consultation and cooperation. The difference of opinion isn't too great.

We are also for force reductions in Europe. This is of direct concern to Poland and corresponds to our efforts to reduce tension and confrontation in Eastern Europe.

In the UN we think the work should be intensified so there can be an agreement.

The postwar period confirmed that changes which took place in Europe were of great international consequence. For example, the creation of the two German states and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin -- we support these measures toward stabilization. We welcome the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U. S. and GDR. So far as the course of our relations with the FRG, the Treaty of 1970 established the basis for these relations, but there are still a few questions from the past. One can hardly expect too rapid progress. We have exchanged



proposals and are optimistic that there should be a settlement, and I think in the near future my visit to the FRG will be feasible. I have an invitation a year and a half ago from the FRG. We want to settle these issues as soon as possible. The people who lost six million and their national wealth can't forget, but we don't want to live in the past but build for the future.

The Polish position on international affairs is well known. The differences stemming from Vietnam are not easy. We joined the ICCS at your insistence.

President: We thank you for your participation.

Kissinger: We heard of some problems last year. We are interested in your problems.

Gierek: All the parties in Vietnam have something against us. We could not be isolated and yet didn't want to get into conflict with any of the parties. We very seriously felt our policy and the consequences. But we stayed in the Commission in order to contribute to peace, though appearances sometimes may not make it look that way.

In the Middle East I repeat what I said to Kissinger in 1972, that we are in favor of a settlement guaranteeing security to the Arabs and Israel.

President: That is important to both.

Gierek: We have said that for years, and I confirm it. We need normalization with Israel and we hope for that along with settlement of the Middle East question.

We don't think Israel should discriminate against our soldiers as intruders. We are there to maintain guard order and peace and wish Israel would agree to solutions in favor of all the peoples of the area.

I read your UN speech with interest on international economic relations. This is an important problem with political as well as economic significance. I agree that each state is part of the international economic system. We strive for the best system without discrimination. We are willing to participate in all constructive undertakings.



I have only talked about some issues. Dr. Kissinger and Minister Olszowski can take up more of them. I would like to stress our interest in detente and in strengthening it and our relations. This is the only road to consolidate peace and solve world problems. Polish-U.S. cooperation can contribute to detente.

Let me talk about Polish-U.S. relations. First, the economic problems.

Let me tell you about the development of my country. My plans call for closer cooperation between us. Poland has pursued 30 years of economic effort. The beginning was very difficult. President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger know these very well. Our people over these 30 years have not only defended ourselves and rebuilt, but we have industrialized, have built a democratic-socialist structure, health protection, and rebuilt our intelligentsia which was almost destroyed. This took strenuous effort. We did it by our own strength. We are now 10th in the world in industrial production. Our production increased eight-fold and increases at the average developed-country level. We had 26 million people in 1945; we now have 34 million. We have behind us the "takeoff operation" and we are in a qualitatively new phase, characterized by high economic growth, modernization of the economy, and higher standards of living. Our GNP is growing by 9 1/2 %. Income will have increased about 35%, given stable food prices.

Our desire is to continue this growth rate in the next five-year plan. Poland has raw materials for the growth of agriculture and industry. Our balance of payments is good. We are reaping the benefit of the previous investment. One hundred and five establishments were started this year. Next year we plan more.

Of great importance is the expansion of cooperation with foreign countries. The Soviet Union is building a 10-million ton steel mill. Next year they will give us 50 investment projects. We have projects with France and Great Britain. We want to strengthen our credit and help ourselves.

Our strategy is aimed at strengthening Poland. We have a good position among the socialist states and it is growing. A strong, independent Poland is needed for Europe and perhaps the world. This is the starting point for expansion of U.S. -Polish relations. We want the U.S. to have the leading role in expansion of our economic cooperation with the West. We will



present proposals. We have built a structure of closer ties -- the Joint Trade Commission, Ex-Im Bank loans, more contracts with U. S. banks and concerns. We want to broaden contacts and the Joint Commission plays a great role, and it could be even enhanced.

This progress we think is only the harbinger of greater cooperation and progress. The agreement we reached here will help. We anticipate a substantial increase in trade. In three years it went from \$250 to \$500 million and to \$1 billion this year. By 1980 we expect it will be \$2 billion.

We want to buy investment equipment. Our new five-year plan gives to special purchases in the U. S. up to \$1 billion. We are developing cooperation among industries and already have it with International Harvester and others. We have a big undertaking with General Motors. These proposals are linked closely with favorable credit terms. Ex-Im credit terms are important, but not sufficient for our plans. We need private credit but the interest is too high now. I will request greater U. S. Government credit.

President: I look forward to receiving your proposal.

Gierek: I think especially for the long-term undertaking our proposals will be good.

Agricultural crop cooperation is another area. You spoke of food problems and cooperation in agriculture. Poland has been a permanent and stable purchaser of U. S. surplus agricultural products. We want to continue, and we would like a guarantee for the annual purchase of one or one and one-half million tons of grain and more of other produce. We will submit a long-term agreement for such purchases. We are a traditional customer, and perhaps can get CCC credit. We would like a postponement of the PL 480 repayments. I request favorable consideration of our proposal. We want to broaden cooperation in food production. Our program for Poland calls for considerable modernization for import consumption and also for export. Today's agreement should be only an introduction to a broader agreement on foodstuffs. We would like access to your accomplishments.

Also important are the coal agreements we will sign -- the agreements on coal processing and gasification, on scientific and technical cooperation, on agriculture and health protection are especially important. Our agreements will strengthen these links and allow for expansion. This kind



cooperation represents a special interest for us and will help consolidate the west in U. S. -Polish cooperation.

We also believe we can inject new dynamism into our economic relations generally and with nations of the West, and that it would help overcome the current difficulty in the world economy.

We are trying to cooperate in all fields of endeavor and expanding the contacts of our citizens with other countries.

I want to express great satisfaction with the support from your government on these questions.

There are many Americans of Polish extraction. In the majority of cases they contribute to Polish-U. S. relations. We proceed from the premise that American Poles should be good American citizens, and it would be desirable for us if they could maintain a sentimental feeling for their ancestral land. They can contribute to mutual understanding, and we have no other interest in this respect. The many letters I get support the development of U. S. -Polish relations. We in Poland have always cherished great hopes for American Poles and other foreign Poles, because it was due to their influence that President Wilson in 1918 put the question of Polish independence.

These are the principal questions which we think are the base of U. S. - Polish cooperation. We should open a new stage of that cooperation so we can be increasingly dynamic and strengthen detente. We hope you have similar views. This visit and the climate of cooperation helps maintain and preserve the links of traditional friendship and kinship.

I convey my personal invitation and that of my government and people to visit Poland. It would be of great significance for our relations and detente.

We send our best wishes for a speedy recovery to Mrs. Ford. Please let me thank you.

President: I remember my visit in about 1958 as a member of an inter-Parliamentary delegation. We visited mostly in Warsaw, but we spent some time elsewhere. It was very interesting, and I do want to come back. We will discuss when it is possible, but I really want to do so.



Gierek: We would greet you from the bottom of our hearts. We have a saying "the house gives everything to the best."

President: You treated President Nixon with great warmth and I know from American Poles the kind of reception I would get. We will make a maximum effort.

I was very interested to hear your discussion of detente, international relations, and our bilateral relations.

President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger played a big role in putting American-Polish relations and our relations with the Soviet Union on a better basis. We hope to expand these relations as much as possible.

We think Poland and all other countries on both sides benefit from detente. In Europe, it was in the interest of East and West to have a Conference on Security and Cooperation. Secretary Kissinger says it is moving along. We are not in a position to pick a day, but its consummation will enhance the prospects for peace. We are grateful for your comments on the Middle East. A year ago the fourth war broke out, and brought much losses and damage. We want to work with both sides to prevent another outbreak. You know Secretary Kissinger is leaving tonight on another Middle East trip, showing that we will do all we can to get a just and lasting peace. I agree we want peace and protection for both sides. If we can work together, hopefully we can make a contribution.

I was pleased with your account of the economic, political and cultural progress in U. S. -Polish relations over the past ten years. The agreements we will sign are good for both of us, and lay the basis for further expansion. We believe the expansion of trade is vital for detente and the economies of both sides. We are trying to get the Trade Bill through, and what Mr. Brezhnev has said would help with Congressional concerns. We see progress and hope for a bill with MFN -- which you already have.

I am interested in your proposal for a long-term agricultural purchase program. We will study your proposals to see what can be done in that regard.

On MBFR, we would be pleased if it could be jointly supported. Our delegation is there to try for an agreement that is in the best interests of the U. S. and Soviet Union and the allies of both. We hope for progress.





The Polish people in the U. S. have made a tremendous contribution to art, science, culture, etc. In my town there are 40,000 American Poles, so I know first hand.

The things they have done have made the U. S. a better place to live. Those activities will continue to make Poland a strong country in every way.

I look forward to continuing these talks and taking up the details, and the dinner tonight.

Gierek: The questions I had perhaps took too long a time so I abridged them, but you can see our intentions. We are a serious partner, a reliable ally, and a good friend. You can trust us on all these questions we have submitted.

President: Mutual trust is the only way to a better relationship.



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Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and  
Assistant to the President for National Security  
Affairs  
Stefan Olszowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Deputy Prime Minister Jagielski

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, October 8, 1974  
7:30 p.m. -

PLACE: The Residence  
The White House

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President: This is where they used to have Cabinet meetings. This is the table Lincoln used.

Gierek: We are restoring a castle in Warsaw that was destroyed by the Nazis in 1939. It has great symbolic value. We can't invite you there but we have another which housed President Nixon -- the Wilanow Palace. It was given to the king who was fighting the Turks at Vilnius, and he won. The Turks still complain about that.

Once again, let me give you my thanks for your assurances and your sympathy to me and my friends and your friendly attitude towards my people. You and all Americans understand Polish affairs. Roosevelt said at Potsdam or Yalta that Poland should be strong, and that strong means influential and having a greater chance to influence for good.

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NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines  
By 11/18/00, NARA, Date 11/18/00

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Gierek (cont.): Home affairs are developing well in Poland. We have good attitudes among the people. We would like to use the coming years for the improvement of housing to a greater extent. There is still a 7-8 year wait for an apartment.

President: Still that much.

Gierek: Unfortunately, Recently we have done a lot on the question of the well being of people -- helping women and children -- but we still are dissatisfied. Conditions are still worse than in other countries -- but I don't mean to belittle our accomplishments.

President: I know from my visit that you came up from total devastation.

Gierek: I talked to some of your Secretaries today and appealed for a friendly attitude in the affairs in which we are interested. We want nothing free -- we can afford to pay back. We are a solid partner. We need something in advance in certain cases. For example, we have a lot of raw materials. Surely in 5-6 years, we can exploit these by ourselves. We can do it faster with American capital. We return everything back with the produce which is produced.

President: Will you take private capital?

Gierek: Of course. First National City Bank is helping with our copper industry and takes the returns in copper. We give them a guarantee. It is the same with Rockefeller and Chase Manhattan. We have much coal, lignite. We shall expand the Polish energy industry.

President: Is it clean coal or is it difficult?

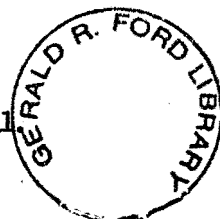
Gierek: The cleanest in Europe. There is no environment problem.

President: Are they deep mines?

Gierek: They average 700-800 meters. We have reserves for 400-500 years. We are interested in the exporting of coal. The one condition is that with our existing production capacity we couldn't increase our exports. In 1975 our production is committed. So only in '76 and after can we do it.

We also have much sulfur, zinc, lead.

So our proposals are based on our solid evaluation of our potential



President: You want investment in all these areas?

Gierek: Sure. Along the principles we already have with American companies.

Then there is the matter of American know-how. I know some things you can't make available, but I would appreciate your review of the embargo list.

President: I will certainly try. We will try to coordinate with you what might be helpful to both of us. What in particular do you have in mind?

Gierek: There are several areas: chemicals, electronics.

President: Computers?

Gierek: Parts. Integrated circuits. I know we couldn't get access to your technicians you offer to all others, but we hope your confidence will gradually extend to us.

President: I hope that will increasingly be possible.

Gierek: There are several other things I would like to raise. Our conversations with the FRG. We discussed this with Secretary Kissinger and he promised help. The FRG should meet our suggestions half-way. What is involved is that we have to have satisfaction to our people -- indemnification to our people who were in concentration camps, the fees which the Germans took from the Poles for "insurance." The Germans have returned to other countries.

President: To all others?

Gierek: Perhaps also to the Soviet Union. I have mentioned to Brandt that I can't go if I am not sure I can return to tell my people I have taken care of it. Otherwise people will say, "Why did you go?"

President: How much does it amount to?

Gierek: Not much. It is symbolic.

Olszowski: According to us the sum to be returned is 600 million marks in indemnities, plus 700-800 million.



President: To the government, or individuals?

Olszowski: Through the government to individuals. It would represent ...

[Secretary Kissinger arrives.]

Kissinger: The Deputy Prime Minister and I signed a historic double taxation agreement. I have no idea what is in it.

President: We were talking about the FRG indemnification.

Kissinger: I thought that when Schmidt comes we could raise it on a personal basis.

Olszowski: Then there is the credit to Poland for mutual financial ventures and the return to Poland of Gdansk gold.

Kissinger: I think we can help on the gold if we get an understanding on the levels.

President: When will you meet with Schmidt?

Gierek: Within a week of our settling our problems.

Kissinger: The distance between Warsaw and Bonn is greater than that between Warsaw and Washington.

President: This has been very helpful. We will discuss it and be in touch.

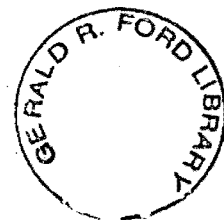
Gierek: I have one more question. Wouldn't it be advisable that if there are any questions where we need assistance, could we write a personal letter?

President: Of course.

Gierek: I had a relationship like this with the President of France. This method is approved. I would use only if there is something urgent.

President: I welcome this kind of personal communication.

[The conversation then ended.]



Transcribed  
by PWR  
10/16/74

P/Gierek/Jazulski/Olszowska/K  
& Oct

(Missed some)

G In France, a certain group came during  
the Revolution. People of Polish extraction  
have been introduced

K Then 18<sup>th</sup> cent Polish nobility that only way  
they could get and work join every  
week - indirectly

G K-henri some history very well. In one direction  
it says and have been guided by Bourgeois  
methods how to win. We reincubated left it  
in

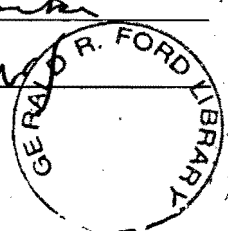
K Always been impressed by Warsaw old city.  
Take much pride to restore it that way.

G That is true.

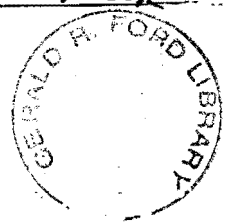
P Let me at least welcome you in present  
way. I really look forward to mission & what  
has been done to bring us together ~~and~~ people &  
what we can do in future to expand our contacts

G Think you again for write. I appreciate transmission  
of a invitation by you (Missed something)  
I welcome initiative of you will to  
expand P-US relations & détente. I attach  
importance to furthering talks & confident  
city will contribute to P-A relations. I  
confident city will not only strengthen old  
ties but build new measures of contacts  
bet. us. They will also contribute to a  
political prestige of ~~the~~ our people. The great  
Our people have & we will  
subscribe to anything you do which will  
promote peace.

In bilateral matters, I think we are  
doing very well & I express my satisfaction  
of policy of détente. Very pleased with



preparations for inset & a statement to be  
 signed. The contribution of K & S state are very  
 much appreciated. It has been done in  
 constructive & favorable atmosphere & will  
 help insure our talks will be fruitful.  
 My inset is result of debate. We attach  
 great sig to that process. Poland proves  
 that policy in a world ~~camp~~ with interest  
 is to live in security and cooperation  
 with world. We are expanding w/ SU & EE on  
 on principle of mutual coop & partnership.  
 At the moment this socialist way is actual  
 in making détente more profound, peaceful  
 existence & dealing with war. The  
 meeting of CE (H?) in Poland this year  
 worked to make debate irreversible.  
 Because w/ great satisfaction we welcome improved  
 US-SU relations. These agreements are substantive  
 and of great importance. They are of great  
 sig to prevent new world war. They  
 help extinguish local war & encourage  
 bilateral coop bet E & W. They provide  
<sup>with</sup> ~~debate~~ <sup>advantages</sup> stemming from  
 US-Sov détente & we welcome your  
 announcement of its continuation. Free as  
 a bonus from Bag & from recent conversation  
 w/ Brezhnev it wish of Sov leadership to continue  
 good relations w/ US. I know SU very well &  
 Bag policy enjoys deep & profound support &  
 of both SU allies & us. We support it <sup>unreservedly</sup>  
 because it meets vital interests of both  
 E & W. Security - Free nature of things, Poland  
 principally concerned w/ E & W - We think



set forth. For 1<sup>st</sup> time in contrast  
emptying place. In case you prefer that, only  
two more paragraphs

K for isolated intervals.

G True. Considering pol & trans activities, esp  
trans-lens, there is map of 2 German  
States. Don't know if that correct, but we want  
to strengthen 2 German state

R (Idea - what thing could be E. see win)

Poland got 3<sup>rd</sup> place. You were better than W. but  
but for win

G We think we must explore disparities in  
disparities which creates disparities. We are happy  
w/ positive response of the detente in E. - You  
came in both cases & now are pol, econ,  
militarily in E. So you initially interested  
& can play a great role. We see US  
a study involved in E. in detente. E. sp.  
True of C.S.C.E. I know you have positions  
attached on that question. We think it  
ripe for 3<sup>rd</sup> phase end of this year or  
early next at highest level. I think  
should be permanent organ for consultation  
& exp. Dig of opinion not to permit.  
We also for your reduction. This of direct  
concern to Poland & comes to our efforts  
to reduce tension & cooperation in E. E. in.  
In UN we think work should be intensified  
to our disappointment

The previous period inspired that changes  
which took place are of great int'l consequence  
11 - 2 German states & guidance agreement  
on Berlin. We support these measures





to avoid discrimination. We welcome any matter  
 left US + GDR. So far no concrete matters on FRG,  
 c Treaty of 1970 a stable basis for these matters,  
 but there are still a few questions from tragic  
 past. We can hardly expect too rapid progress.  
 We have exchanged proposals + our opinion is  
 there should be a settlement + think in more  
 future my visit to FRG will be possible. I  
 have invited 1 1/2 yrs ago from FRG. We want  
 to work these A.A. The people who don't want to  
 work with us don't forget but don't want to live  
 a part but build for future.  
 Political position our world opinion will know.  
 Diff staying from UK are not easy. We  
 found I.C.S. at your institute.

P We thank you for your picture.  
 F We had some problems last year - we understand  
 your point.

G All parties in UK have something good  
 we could not be isolated + get not direct  
 want to get into conflict w/ any of the parties. We  
 very seriously follow our policy + consequences.  
 But we stayed in a census in order to  
 contribute to peace, the circumstances matters  
 may not make it look that way.

In ME I report what I said to K (in 1), we are  
 in favor of settlement guaranteeing security to  
 Arabs + I.

P That important for both.

G We have said that for years + expensive agreements.  
 We'll understand w/ I + hope for working  
 w/ settlement of ME questions.  
 We don't think I should discriminate against

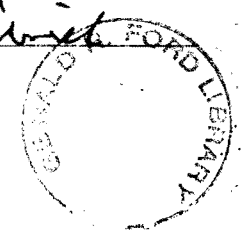


our soldiers and interests. We there to guard  
order & peace & what I would never to submit  
in favor of all people of area.

I read your US speech w/ interest as well  
your relations. This is important prob w/ not  
as well as your sig. I agree that each state  
is part of world system. We strive for  
best system w/ a discriminator. We working  
to parties via all constructive work taking.

I have only touched on some issues - K & O  
from the way more - ~~to~~ These are important  
in details & strengthening it & our relations.  
This is only used to workable peace & other  
world problems. PA - US conf. contribute to distance,  
POC US - within. First some prob.

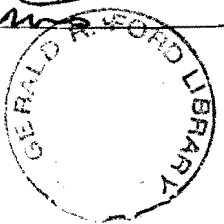
Let me tell you about development of my country.  
My plans call for close cooperation. I don't  
has pursued 30 yrs of econ effort. Reg. was  
very sig. N & K know <sup>these</sup> very well. Our people  
are there 30 yrs have not only depended &  
submitted, but we had industrialized, have  
been demo. formalist structure, health  
protection, which an intelligence which  
was almost destroyed. This is the strongest  
effort. We did it by our strength. USA  
are in 10th in world richest prod. Our prod  
increased 8 fold & we are at average developed country  
level. We had 26 mil in 45 now have 89.  
We have behind us a "takeoff operation" & our  
are in quadruplicate in price, characterized  
by high econ growth, modernization of  
economy, & higher standards of living.  
GNP growing by 9 1/2% - 9%. Increased with



have increased about 75%, giving stable food prices. Our desire is to return this year with in with 5 yr plan. Poland has very favorable for growth of agr. & industry. B of A is good, we seeing benefit of previous investment, 105 estates were started this year. Next year we plan more. Of great importance is expansion of exp w/ foreign countries - S & V building is real the steel mill. Next year they will give us 50 investment proj. We have proj w/ Fr, G.A.

— We want to strengthen our exist & help ourselves. Our strategy is aimed at strengthening Poland. We have good position among socialist states & is growing. A strong, developed Poland is needed for Eur & perhaps world. This strategy must be expansion of US - Pol. relations. We want US to have leading role in expansion of Eur exp w/ West. We will present proposals for ~~to~~ build structures of class (Trade) <sup>jointly</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~USSR~~ <sup>USSR</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~other~~ <sup>other</sup> ~~countries~~ <sup>countries</sup>. We want broader contacts & United Nations play great role & it could be even enhanced.

This progress we think is only harbinger of what ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~expected~~ <sup>expected</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~future~~ <sup>future</sup>. For a year we will work hard. We contribute sub. increased in trade. In 3 yrs from 250 to 500 & to 1 bil this year. By 1980 we expect 2 bil. We want to buy investment equip. Our new 5 yr plan gives special purchases in US up to 1 bil. Also doing exp among industries already done w/ that ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~done~~ <sup>done</sup>. We have big ~~investing~~ <sup>investing</sup> w/ C.M.I. These proj are backed closely w/ possible credit ~~lines~~ <sup>lines</sup>.



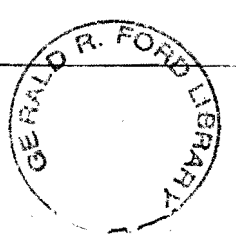
X - All credit terms are important, but not eq. for our plans. We need private credit, but interest too high now. I will request greater US govt credit

P I look forward to seeing your proposal  
G I think long term marketing agreements would be good. Agri crop: you spoke of food prod & crop in agri. Poland has been prominent + stable purchaser of US surplus agri products. We want to continue & would like guarantee for annual purchase of 1 1/2 mil tons of grain + some of other products. Will submit long term agreement for such purchases. We credit customer + perhaps CCC credit.

Would like participation of PH&SO agreements Request favorable consideration of our proposal. Want broader crop in prod production. Our prog for Poland calls for considerable widening of scope & assumptions also for X. Tokyo agreement should be only initial to broader agreement on products. We would like access to your accomplishments.

Also important are envl agreements we will sign. Food processing, gasification. Science - Tech corp. Agri + health protection very important. Our agreements will strengthen these links & allow for expansion. This could help agreements special interest for us + will help agreements agreements in US - Polish coop.

We also believe we can inject new dynamism into our relations gently & w/ patience. If worst it would help someone connect def. in world econ.



are trying to crop in all fields of industrial reminders  
contacts of citizens w/ other countries.

Express gratitude & letters w/ support from your  
part on these questions.

Our US of Polish extraction. In majority focus  
they contribute to Pol-US relations. We proceed from  
promise that US Poles should be good US citizens  
& it would be desirable for us if could water  
sentimental feeling for their ancestral land. They  
contribute to mutual understanding and  
have no other interest in this aspect. The  
many letters I get support & support of US Polish  
relations. US in Poland have always shared  
great hopes for US Poles & other foreign Poles, down  
it within influence within in 1918  
put position of Polish independence

These principal qualities which we think have  
of US Polish exp. We should give a new  
stage of that exp so we can be more  
dynamic & strengthen detente. We hope you  
have similar views. This visit & eliminate of prep  
helps water & preserve links of traditional friendship  
& kinship.

I can say personally to you, & perhaps invite  
to visit Poland. Would be of great sig for  
our relations & detente. We send best wishes for  
speedy return to hos. F. Thank you.

P I remember my visit about 5 or 6 years ago  
delegation. Mostly business but some pleasure  
very interesting & want to come back. We will  
discuss when, but really want to do it.

G We would greet you from bottom of our hearts  
Once saying "As home goes, so goes the world"



P You treated the w/ man with a D honor from US Pol  
C build / receipt I would get. We will make wrap  
up part.

Interested in your discussion of detente, with  
relations, & bilateral relations.

As K played big role in putting US Pol relations  
& w/ SU on a better basis. can hope to expand  
that relations as possible.

We think Poland & all others on both sides  
benefit from detente. For E we it interests  
of E & W to get C S C E K says it moving  
along. We not in position to pick a day but  
consummation will enhance prospects for peace.  
Grateful for comment on ME. Ya ago 4 or was  
berkman't much less, during. We want to  
work w/ both to prevent another trouble leaving  
Tonight for ME trip showing we will do all we  
can to get a just lasting peace.

I agree we want peace & protection for both sides.  
If we can work together hopefully we can make  
a contribution.

Please if you account of economic, pol, & cultural  
problems in US - Pol relations over past 10 yrs.  
Agreements will sign general framework of  
long basis for expansion. We believe in expansion  
of trade vital for detente & economic of both sides.  
We trying to get Trade Bill thru, but Bing said  
would help w/ any success. We all pray & hope  
for bill w/ NIE N - which you already have.

Interested in your proposal for long term grain  
purchase prog. We will study your proposals  
to see what can be done in that regard.

On M.P.C.A. can would be phoned if could be



jointly supported. Our delegation tried to try offer  
 agreement in best interests of US - SU & allies of both.  
 We hope for pay.

Polish people in US have made tremendous sacrifice.  
 of art, science, culture, etc. In any town  
 40,000 US jobs so they can't travel.

The things they have done have made it better place  
 to live. These things will continue to  
 make Poland a strong country in any way.

I look forward to continuing these talks & other  
 negotiations & business transactions.

G Question I had perhaps back for long time but  
 I changed them but you can see some  
 intention. We are a business partner, a reliable  
 ally, a good friend. Success trust us for all  
 those questions are here submitted.

P Mutual trust is only way to better relationships

730 Treaty over



P/Ciwick/Gajdelski/Olszewski/K  
(Residence 1930 & Oct)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Transcribed  
by PWR

- P - This Cabinet Party Trio is taken  
home in usual.
- G - We are visiting cattle in Warsaw  
destroyed by Nazis in 59. Great  
symbolic value. Intimate you  
there but we have another which  
brought N. & Palan's palace. The  
king who was fighting Turks at  
various - he was. Tanks still  
explain about that.
- One again thanks for assurance  
& sympathy to me & my friends &  
friendly attitude toward my people  
you & all Amer. understand Polish  
opinion. Roosevelt said at Potsdam  
Yalta that Poland should be  
strong & strong = independent &  
greater chance to influence for good.  
Some opinions are changing within  
Poland. We have good attitude  
among people. We would like to use  
country years for improvement



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

- of housing to provide without. Still  
a 7-8 yr wait for apartment
- P - Still about much.
- G - Unfortunately. Recently we have  
done a lot on - question of a well  
being of people. Helping women &  
children, ~~etc.~~ but we still  
dissatisfied. Conditions are still  
worse than in other countries -  
but I don't mean to belittle  
our accomplishments.
- P - I know from my visit you  
came from total devastation
- G - I talked to some of your Seays today  
& appeared for friendly attitude  
in affairs in which we interested.  
We are not willing to - we can afford  
to pay back. US = a solid partner.  
We need something in advance in  
certain cases. For example, we  
have lot of raw materials - Smelting



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

in 5-6 yrs, we can delight by ourselves. We can do it faster w/ US capital. We return something back w/c produce which is promised.

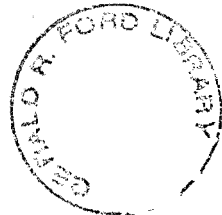
- P Will you take private capital  
G of course, 1st with City Bank is ~~mainly~~ helping w/ copper industry + take returns in copper - we give them a guarantee. Same w/ Rock & Chase Manhattan. We have much coal, lignite. We shall expand Polish breeze industry.  
V It is clean coal or difficult.

G Cheapest in Eur. no investment costs.

P Dry mines?

- G Average - 700-800 meters. We have reserves for 4-500 yrs. We interested in X of coal. Our ambition - w/ our existing yard.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



capacity and market increase over X. In 1975 our production is committed. So only in 76+ after.

Also have much sulphur, zinc, lead.

So our preparation based on our total evaluation of our potential

P You want investment in all areas

G Sure. Other principles we already have w/ US companies

From matter of US know-how. I know some things you can't make ourselves but would appreciate your views of a package list.

V I will certainly try. We will try to coordinate w/ you what might be helpful to both so. What in particular

G Several. Chemical, electronics

P Computers?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

G Parts. Distinguished citizens. I know we couldn't get access to your tech you offer to all others, but we hope your experience will generously extend to us.

P I hope that will increasingly be possible

G Several other things. Our Committee w/ F.R.G. Described as K + he promised help. F.R.G. should meet our suggestions 1/2 way. What is needed is we have to build a rapport to our people - evidence - projects to people in concentration camps. Fees which Germans took from Poles for "insurance." Germans have returned this to other countries

P To all others

G Perhaps also to U.S. I have wanted to know if I can go if I not sure I can return to tell my people I have taken care of it. Christian



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

people will say why you go?

P How much

G Not much. Symbolic

P According to us a sum to be returned is 600 mil marks which in increments, plus 700-800 mil.

K To cover bonds.

P Then govt to bonds. It would represent. (K arrives)

K By PM & I signed historic double taxation agreement. It was no idea what in it.

P We talking about F.R.G. in arrangement

K I think when Schmidt comes we would raise on personal basis

P Credit to Poland for mutual financial ventures + return to Poland of Gdansk gold

K I think we can help on a gold if we get understanding on a bond



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

- P When will you meet w/ Schmidt  
G W/ in a week of our getting  
our pubs.  
K Distance bet Geneva + Bonn  
greater than bet " + Wash.  
P This has been very helpful. We  
will discuss to be in touch.  
G One more question. Wouldn't it  
be advisable that if there are any  
questions where we need assistance  
could we write a personal letter  
P Openness.  
G I had relationships like this w/ P of  
France. This method is approved  
I would be only if urgent  
P I welcome this kind of personal  
communication. Will be