

**August 16, 1989**  
**Minutes of a Meeting of the Presidium of the  
Citizens' Parliamentary Club, 16 August 1989, 11:30  
p.m.**

**Citation:**

"Minutes of a Meeting of the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, 16 August 1989, 11:30 p.m.", August 16, 1989, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Archives of the Bureau of Senate Information and Documentation; translated by Jan Chowaniec for CWIHP <https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/117204>

**Summary:**

The Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club deliberates the formation of a new Polish government and a coalition to assist with selecting a prime minister. They discuss disassembling the PUWP.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from Leon Levy Foundation

**Original Language:**

Polish

**Contents:**

Translation - English

Present: A. Balazs, G. Janowski, J. Slisz, J. Rokita, E. Wende, O. Krzyzanowska, A. Stelmachowski, A. Celinski, J. Kuron, J. Ambroziak, T. Mazowiecki, B. Geremek, L. Walimsa, K. Kozlowski, A. Wielowieyski, H. Wujec, A. Michnik, J. Kaczynski, L. Kaczynski.

B. Geremek: Today I received an invitation to have a conversation with Gen. Jaruzelski. I responded that first I wanted to meet with Chairman Walesa, whom I had not seen for a few days. There have been important meetings recently: a meeting of Primate Glemp with [Soviet] Ambassador Vladimir Borovikov and the second meeting of Glemp with Jaruzelski.

The time-table for the next few days [is:] today or tomorrow the Sejm is to vote on a resolution on the [1968] intervention in Czechoslovakia. It's a controversial matter. Tomorrow L. Walesa is meeting: at 9 a.m. with Malinowski at 10 a.m. with Józwiak [1] at 12 with Jaruzelski

K. Kozlowski: The PUWP wants to do everything to eliminate Lech Walesa. There will be a compromise candidate-Kwasniewski.

B. Geremek: Is it possible that they will appoint Walesa?

E. Wende: Orzechowski has very clear plans regarding two ministries.

A. Stelmachowski: With bargaining there will be more!

L. Walesa: Generally we are reporting that a new coalition has been set up. It will select the most suitable candidate for prime minister. For the time being we don't say who that will be.

E. Wende: He is referring to information from the PUWP circles, we should not exaggerate, there are warnings.

J. Kaczynski: The question of two ministries has been stated clearly in talks. With the preservation of the president's prerogatives, this needs to be stated once again. The compromise has to be reached on their side.

A. Stelmachowski: The government here in Poland has never had the position of a true government, the disposition centers have always been somewhere aside (Pilsudski [2] -the Chief Inspectorate). We need to return back to the main political decisions reached at Magdalenka.

L. Walesa: We have learned that there is always someone above the authorities and above the law.

A. Michnik: How do you perceive the position of the PUWP?

L. Walesa: We need to create a new coalition, which will stand up to the PUWP. How to form a government to secure both freedom and be tolerant.

B. Geremek: The main thing is that the PUWP doesn't form the government.

L. Walesa: ..... and doesn't impose it!

A. Balazs: I have a suggestion that the "S" RI should not be treated by PUWP like ZSL is.

B. Geremek: Do you foresee a meeting with our Club after your meetings tomorrow?

L. Walesa: It's not me who wants to be prime minister. I have my three candidates.[3] If this proposition doesn't break down, I will be asking you to form the government.

B. Geremek: Does anyone have any comments?

A. Michnik: I think that if you listen to their argument, it means that you are going into their paws. Królewski [4] and Malinowski were stubbornly sticking to this coalition, which means they were doing it with Jaruzelski's approval. We need to form a government with the masters, not with the lackeys.

T. Mazowiecki: This would lead to a series of talks of the type of a new Magdalena with the masters, talks with the actual disposers of power, i.e. with the military and the police.

A. Michnik: You are not going to make a real government with the ZSL and the SD. The PUWP can be broken down.

B. Geremek: The present phase-with the assistance of the ZSL and SD-is an attempt to break down PUWP's monopoly.[5]

[1] Jerzy Józwiak, a lawyer, chairman of the Central Committee of SD, together with L. Walesa and R. Malinowski from ZSL was a signatory of a statement of 17 August 1989 on the "Solidarity" - ZSL - SD coalition.

[2] Józef Piłsudski, a marshal, Chief of State in the years 1919-1921, after a military putsch in May 1926 he actually ruled Poland till his death in 1935. He had never been president nor- with the exception of a brief period (1926-1928 and in 1930)-prime minister, but he held the function of Chief Inspector of Military Forces.

[3] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Bronisław Geremek, Jacek Kuron.

[4] Bogdan Królewski, member of the ZSL leadership.

[5] On 19 August Tadeusz Mazowiecki was designated by president Jaruzelski to the position of prime minister, and on 24 August that mission was entrusted to him by the Sejm.