

## Minutes of a Meeting of the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club

16 August 1989, 11:30 p.m.

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. Walesa, 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 Jozwiak 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—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. 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. Krolewski 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.

*[Source: Archives of the Bureau of Senate Information and Documentation; translated by Jan Chowanec for CWIHP.]*