

Minutes No. 64
from an expanded meeting of the PZPR CC Secretariat of
held on June 5, 1989

S e c r e t

Comrades present: W. Jaruzelski, J. Czyrek, W. Baka, S. Ciosek, Z. Michalek, M. Orzechowski, Z. Czarzasty, L. Miller, M. Stepień, B. Kolodziejczak.

Asent com. K. Cypryński.

Invited:

Com. M.F. Rakowski – Politburo member, Prime Minister

Com. K. Barcikowski – Politburo member, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State

Com. Cz. Kiszczak – Politburo member, minister of internal affairs

Com. A. Miodowicz – Politburo member, Chairman of OPZZ (Trade Unions)

Com. J. Reykowski – Politburo Member

Com. F. Siwicki – Politburo member – minister of national defense

Com. J. Kubasiewicz – associate Politburo member, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR

Committee

Com. Z. Sobotka – associate Politburo member

Com. I. Sekula – Deputy Prime Minister

Com. A. Gdula – division chief, secretary of the Law and Order Commission

Com. M. Lubczyński – division chief, secretary of the Commission of Party Work

Com. E. Szymanski – division chief, secretary of the Commission of Representative

Bodies

Com. A. Kwasniewski – minister, chairman of the Social-Political Committee of
The Council of Ministers

Com. J. Urban – minister, president of the Radion Committee

Com. J. Bisztyga – press spokesman of the CC PZPR

The Agenda:

An exchange of views on the first round of elections to the Sejm and Senate.

Com. W. Jaruzelski stated at the beginning that the election results are very bad for the coalition. What should be done right away in the nearest days?

- in today's TV newscast a statement preceding the official election results-
decide who will speak;
- today a meeting with the allies;
- on June 6 hold a Politburo meeting and a conference with first secretaries
of the Voivodship Committees;
- consider different dates for a CC meeting (in an extraordinary procedure
before June 18, after June 18), take decision at the Politburo, set dates for
consultations with CC members;
- get in touch and hold talks with the Church hierarchy, consider a meeting
with primate J. Glemp. The Church is the major culprit in the situation that
has arisen;
- hold informational meetings with the Ambassadors accredited to Warsaw;
- consider the advisability of going ahead or postponing the planned visits
of the chairman of the Council of State in London and Brussels and
President Mitterrand's visit to Poland.

Com. Czarzasty said the analysis of the election shows that they had had the character of a plebiscite, a referendum, which we had not been assuming. So far full results of voting for the national list are not available.

The Voivodship committees are signaling that the clergy, particularly on election day, were calling to vote for "S". Youth participation in the election was very small.

Com. J. Czyrek assessed that electoral assumptions could not be met. The personal formula turned out to be ineffective. The result has been decided in the first round. The opposition is not interested in the second round. Forecasts of election turnouts also were not on target. The coalition side, the party itself has proven ineffective in its campaigning and propaganda effort. The majority of voters had decided earlier who to vote for.

Now the most important thing is to master moods in the party and in the whole coalition. The allies are uneasy, "Solidarity" has already shown support for some of their candidates and it can still do it in the second round.

Establish urgently contacts with the Church, but also with the leadership of the opposition (decide on the forms and levels). Hold urgently a meeting of the Commission on Understanding.

Realize visits in London and Belgium, but postpone Mitterrand's visit to our country.

Com. S. Ciosek – Today someone from the leadership or com. Urban should appear on TV. He is signaling a mood of depression among the engaged journalists.

Com. Cz. Kiszczak – The adversary has been fighting acutely from beginning to the end, using different means. We have been acting with "white gloves", without taking advantage of even obvious opportunities. Election results have exceeded the opposition's expectations. They are shocked, don't know how to behave. Elections to the Senate are a total disaster for us. The general had warned, we were saying that 65% of mandates in the Sejm would not provide sufficient protection for the coalition, as it is known that "S" stands behind some of our candidates (e.g. Fiszbach in Gdansk). This is true not only of party members, but also SD and ZSL members. This needs to be taken into consideration.

Com. Kiszczak acknowledged that the visits planned earlier should be realized.

Com. F. Siwicki explained that in all closed military districts the military (not the staff) had voted on the average 52-62% for the national list. Com. Kiszczak added that similar indicators, or even higher, up to 70-72% was true of the on-the-Vistula units, WOP and ZOMO.

Com. J. Urban was of the opinion that there should be a statement on the TV news of a commentary nature and not a communiqué from the Secretariat meeting, which can be given separately. The statement should emphasize that independently of the results we are for accepting a broad reform coalition, that all extreme attempts would be dangerous.

Geremek stated at a press conference that they are not interested in a coalition with the present system of government.

Com. J. Czyrek – A statement on TV should be agreed on with the allies and made on behalf of the coalition. Com. Reykowski shared this point of view. He thought that in that statement it should be pointed out that: the elections were democratic in preparation and implementation. Our electorate amounts to about 30%, which proves that we are not altogether in isolation. Warn the opposition against the possibility of destabilization under the influence of success.

Com. W. Baka proposed to emphasize in the statement that we had taken into account the unfavorable result. We are consistent, we have no other alternative. Warn against attempts at destabilization, pointing at the situation in China.

Hold the XIII CC plenary meeting at the turn of June and July and present there the party's strategy.

Com. W. Jaruzelski – Urgently prepare who is going to appear on TV today. Perhaps spokesmen of PZPR, ZSL and SD. Perhaps com. Urban or com. Reykowski.

Com. A. Kwasniewski emphasized that a matter extremely important after announcing the election results is to prevent spontaneous demonstrations, which neither side might be able to control. The opposition is also afraid of this. Get in touch with "S", so that any appearances should have peaceful character, without triumphalism.

Com. J. Urban proposed that *com. Kiszczak* should appear on TV as a host of the "round table".

Com. Kiszczak suggested that *com. Urban* might appear, that on this matter it's appropriate to consult with *Onyszkiewicz*.

Com. M.F. Rakowski – *Com. Kwasniewski* might also appear as chairman of the Socio-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers, or *com. J. Bisztyga* as a press spokesman of the CC PZPR.

Com. A. Gdula – It's enough if *com. Bisztyga* appears. He informed that *Kuron* in telephone conversation had expressed concern about the central list. He mentioned that it would be advisable to convene the Commission on Understanding. He stressed the necessity to secure peace.

Com. W. Jaruzelski – We don't know how the "Solidarity" base will behave. Consider a simultaneous speech by spokesmen for the PZPR, ZSL and SD.

Com. K. Barcikowski thinks that from the "S" side there will be high-level spokesmen, so he proposes *com. Kwasniewski* or *Urban* from our side.

Com. J. Bisztyga – We can propose to *Onyszkiewicz* to appear with me, or with the participation of spokesmen for the ZSL and SD.

Com. Cz. Kiszczak – Present them with three variants: *com. Kwasniewski*, *com. Urban* or *com. Bisztyga* with colleagues from the coalition.

Com. Kwasniewski thought that if from the "S" side will come up *Onyszkiewicz*, then from our side *J. Bisztyga* should appear. The most important matter are talks with "S" on joint efforts to prevent loosen public feelings to the extent that neither side will be able to control. Let's not disregard the moods in small centers, in very modern plants.

He thought it advisable to hold urgently a meeting of the Prime Minister with the chief of "Solidarity".

Com. Z. Sobotka – He favors a TV appearance by *com. Kwasniewski*.

Com. J. Bisztyga – Some youth groups may behave like after a victorious match. No appearance is going to silence euphoria. It would be good if *com. Kwasniewski* would appear.

Com. S. Ciosek – It would be best if *Bisztyga* and *Onyszkiewicz* would appear simultaneously. Inform our allies of this and obtain their authorization.

Com. M.F. Rakowski recognized that a plenary meeting should be called for urgently, still this week. Election results and in particular the results of voting for the national list will

hit the party strongly. Consider how we are going to react to the loss of the party and state leadership. What may be the consequences of this defeat?

Talks with the opposition are necessary. My meeting with Walesa should be considered. Geremek is talking about a change in the system of exercising power.

Com. J. Reykowski – Absolutely hold a talk of the party leadership with the OPZZ. Geremek mentioned in a conversation they would be willing to enter into the Presidential Council with people from the national list (he said so before the elections). If it is possible from the legal point of view, negotiate with the opposition to turn to the Supreme Court for the introduction of an amendment to the electoral law, which would enable candidates from the national list to run in the second round.

Com. J. Kubasiewicz – Hold talks with the opposition on the national list. Take into consideration that in the second round the opposition may support some candidates from our mandates.

Com. J. Czyrek – It has been considered with Kuron how to resolve the situation if candidates from the national list won't get elected. Then, based on a legal act, those 35 candidates would run again within that 65% pool.

Com. K. Barcikowski - The main argument is a political agreement on the distribution of mandates. There is no possibility of repeating the national list in the second round, because, if they fail once again, it's going to be a total discredit.

Com. A. Kwasniewski – Repetition of the national list in the second round is unacceptable. It was crossed out also by our people. There is no guarantee it would pass [the second time]. We need to agree with the opposition that within the 65% pool we will transfer one mandate to each electoral district. This is the only chance. The national list has been a mistake and it should not be repeated. An important matter is to conduct an analysis on who are those who didn't participate in the elections and by what motives they were guided. Is it a passive resistance? It's well known that also party members were crossing out our candidates.

The plenary meeting should be called in fast. Consider convening a party congress.

Com. Cz. Kiszczak – An important and urgent matter is to ensure attendance in the second round. Hold the plenary meeting later.

Com. J. Kubasiewicz – In the first place hold consultations with CC members, then the plenum.

Com. A. Gdula – Hold consultations with CC members very soon and the plenary meeting towards the end of the month. Present at it a penetrating assessment of the domestic situation and motions for the party work.

There is little we can do about the national list. We cannot annul the elections. It is possible for the new Sejm to adopt an amendment to the electoral law and hold new elections, or issue a statement that the Sejm has 425 deputies. Also examine whether it might be possible to make a new distribution of mandates on the basis of an understanding between the parties.

Com. L. Miller expressed anxiety over the condition of the party. Part of it didn't support their own candidates. In the second round attendance may be weak. Also our trade unions and social organizations didn't support us. We have to keep in mind that as triumphalism of the opposition rises, frustration in the party will be rising too. Any effort which we put into the campaign is disproportional to the results.

Com. J. Urban – Don't renew the national list as we would ridicule ourselves before our own base. Negotiate with the opposition over supplemental elections and the composition of the Sejm defined in the Constitution. The opposition should accept this proposal. Start these talks right away. An example that part of the apparatus (party, state) voted for "S" are results of voting in Ulan-Bator, Pyongyang and Tirana. He recognized that meetings of the party leadership with the military circles, security apparatus and the mass media are urgently needed to calm down moods and present further perspectives.

The CC plenum should be held soon despite some risk. Postponing it would be evidence of paralysis of the party structures, of a crisis. Election results prove that the party in its present form has outlived itself. It needs an innovative political, ideological and organizational concept, otherwise there will be disintegration.

Com. Cz. Kiszczak – We are faced with the campaign to elect a president. Examine if the plenum can help or hurt us in this. It's worth pondering on this, it's very important.

Com. Z. Michalek – The election result is a crisis of confidence in us. Initiate talks with the opposition to save the names on the national list. Hold consultations with CC members fast. Postpone the plenum. Define the tasks for party members in the second round of elections. Conduct an assessment of efficiency of the regional apparatus on the basis of the election campaign.

Com. M. Stepien - Postpone discussion on the reasons for the present situation to another time. Today the most important question is to master the moods in the party by direct contacts by the leadership members. He proposed that the Politburo turns to all party members with a letter announcing a plenum and a congress.

Com. E. Szymanski – Negotiate with the opposition a legal procedure which would enable candidates from the national list to run in the second round of elections.

Com. I. Sekula – The election results prove that the society wants changes. The party has started the process of changes, but is conducting them very slowly, not radically. We have not fulfilled expectations; that is why "S" has won.

Com. Z. Czarzasty – We need to strive for a renewed voting for the national list, with different names, through a decree by the Council of State.

At the plenary meeting tell about a congress (towards the year's end or March 1990), initiate discussion on a program, statute, the name of the party, a vision for changes.

Com. A. Kwasniewski – A plenum within a short period is necessary. Losing the national list is putting the party leadership in a dramatic situation. Resume urgently negotiations with the opposition relating to the national list, president, government. Hold talks on these matters with the Church. Only after negotiating and working out a position on these major questions set the date for the plenum, talks about congress.

Com. B. Kolodziejczak – We cannot convene the plenum without having a position on the president and government, and an assessment of the situation. If the plenum is going to be prepared as the election campaign was, its result can be foreseen. We have to draw conclusions with the mistakes made by us, present to CC members a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the situation that has arisen. Talks with the opposition regarding a president must be conducted reliably.

Com. F. Siwicki – Convene the plenum when we have a thorough analysis of the reasons [for the defeat] and a concept of the functioning of the state within a new configuration of political forces. Resume urgently consultations with the opposition on the selection of the national list by a simple majority of votes. Start an evaluation of the situation in the basic cells of the party. Square up with the youth organizations for their participation in the election campaign, with conclusions. The most urgent questions are consultations with the opposition regarding the national list, government, president.

Com. J. Reykowski – The party turned out to be weak. What has happened is a result of a joint mistake in assessing the situation. Now the most important thing is the security of the state, president.

Com. Z. Sobotka – Very urgently turn to party members. Triumphant [sic] by "S" has already started. Soon pressure will mount for removing the party from the workplaces. Let's not count too much on an understanding with the opposition. They have already got what they wanted and are not interested in the second round. Let's not create a plenum without preparations, recently we have not been seeking their advice on important decisions. Urgently hold consultations with CC members, and have the plenum at a later date.

Com. S. Ciosek – I don't understand the reasons for the defeat. The party has to pay for it, it didn't follow us. It's a bitter lesson. Those responsible will have to bear the consequences. Now the most important question is the election of the president, for which we need 35 mandates – which were lost. On this we need to talk with the opposition, as the president is a protection for the whole system, it's not only our internal matter, it's a matter of the whole socialist commonwealth, even of Europe. On this matter seek urgent talks with the opposition (Commission for an Understanding) and with the

Church. Guilt is on our side. We trusted the Church, and they have turned out to be Jesuits. We overestimated our possibilities and have turned out to be deprived of the base. We have to keep in mind that very soon various claims and pressures will be rising like an avalanche – e.g. against the mass media. Radical changes must take place in the party.

Com. Z. Michalek – What does it mean -- radical changes in the party?

Com. M.F. Rakowski – We had a false assessment of the situation. The first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees had estimated our chances better. And the conclusion is that the perception of the moods, of what people think, is weak, that the party are not connected with the masses. We cannot use the thesis that the party has not backed us up. It's false. The fact is that the party has not proved to be a mobile force. There was a lack of awareness that crossing out of their own people would cause self-destruction.

There is a fear that there may be strikes, wage pressures, demonstrations, which will complicate the economic situation even more.

One may agree with the notion that the plenum should not be held right now. But one needs to be aware that the party in its present structure is not in a position to stand up to current challenges. At the X plenum of the CC we proposed another model of the party, but this has not been noticed. And we need to go even further.

Talks with the opposition are necessary. It has proven to be trustworthy. It has called all along for crossing out the national list. What has happened in Poland is going to have tremendous impact outside (USSR, Hungary, other countries). This may lead to upheavals in the whole camp, this must be driven to social awareness. We need to draw all conclusions from the fact that considerable part of the society said "no".

Com. K. Barcikowski – In the analyses point out the reasons for the relatively low election turnout. Who are those who have not voted, by what were they motivated? In part they were also party members. One of the reasons was the personal formula of the elections.

Do we now have the right to take offense at the party? We have been managing it for the past 10 years. To whom should we then direct our claims? The same relates to the youth and social organizations. Examine this matter quietly, draw conclusions, ponder what to do to regain trust and how to do it. What to expect from the opposition now? It will make an assault – at national councils, at territorial self-government. Seek urgently talks on the question of the 35 mandates, president and the government. They are also afraid of the power falling apart.

Com. W. Jaruzelski suggested to adopt the following findings:

- on June 6th hold a Politburo meeting, and in the afternoon a conference with the first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees and division heads of the CC, jointly with the Politburo,

- urgently seek talks with the opposition leadership, including a meeting of the Prime Minister with Walesa,
- urgently hold a meeting of the Commission on an Understanding of the "round table",
- hold talks with the Church (modo privato), possibly a meeting with Primate Glemp,
- set the date for the XIII plenum in consultation with the first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees,
- submit for decision by the Politburo and consultations with the first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees the matters of visits to Belgium and England and president Mitterand in Poland,
- send out to all party members a letter of the Politburo (submit the draft to the first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees).

50% of our party now consists of all sorts of managers and retirees. Therefore it

must be disquieting that just such a party (clerical) has not shown a self-protective instinct in the elections. This problem needs to be worked out in particular, draw conclusions. A considerable portion of the party is state administration, employees of the justice system – how to reach them? (staffing quickly vacant positions in the Supreme Court – com. Gdula). Think what to do to uplift in spirit the people engaged on our side, working in the mass media, to convince them that they are not lost. Hold meetings with those groups at the central level (W. Jaruzelski, M. Rakowski) and in the regions.

Comrades: Reykowski, Stepien , Czarzasty, Tabkowski will prepare tomorrow a draft letter from the Politburo to party members (encl. No. 1) [Omitted]

Recorded by: Bozena éopatniuk

S e c r e t

Urgent decisions of the CC PZPR Secretariat

of June 5, 1989

- Work out a formula preceding the announcement of the official results of elections to the Sejm and Senate, e.g. by presenting in today's TV newscast a signal – a preliminary political commentary on the expected results of the first round of elections. Responsible: J. Urban, J. Bisztyga.
 - A calendar of the nearest political measures and initiatives: on June 5 – meeting of the working Secretariat of the Central Election Commission, on June 6 – a Politburo meeting (at 10 a.m.);
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- a) work out a draft letter to the party – responsible: J. Reykowski, Z. Czarzasty, M. Stepien , S. Tabkowski, K. Barcikowski;

b) a conference with first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees (at 3 p.m.)

c) a meeting of the Prime Minister with Walesa;

- a meeting of the Central Commission on Cooperation of PZPR, ZSL and SD (possibly soon);
- a CC PZPR plenum (the date to be decided after the Politburo and conference with the first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees), preceded by a possible information-consultative meeting with CC members;
- Working contacts with Church representatives (correlated with a meeting of com. General with J. Glemp);
- Appropriate "contacts" preceding a possible meeting of the Commission for an understanding of the "round table" (among others to negotiate – determine the manner of supplemental elections in the second round of voting, 35 coalition deputies as an equivalent of the "national list");
- Information for the Ambassadors of states – accredited in Warsaw;
- Analyze all aspects of the planned visits by the General in Belgium and Great Britain and a visit by F. Mitterand.
- Urgently propose the selection of judges to the Supreme Court (for vacant positions). Responsible: A. Gdula.
- For consideration: what measures to take to enhance and keep in good shape the workers of the information-propaganda front (the press, radio, TV). Responsible: M.F. Rakowski, S. Ciosek, S. Tabkowski, J. Urban, first secretaries of the Voivodship Committees.

Translated by Jan Chowanec for The National Security Archive, George Washington University

[Source: PZPR Secretariat files, copies obtained by the Institute for Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences; published in *Tajne dokumenty: Biura Politycznego i Sekretariatu KC, Ostatni rok władzy 1988-1989* (London: Aneks Publishers, 1994) pp. 390-398]