

Speech by Dr Agnieszka Glapiak, Chair of the National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT) at  
the 42nd Session of the Polish Senate, 25 September 2025

**Honourable Mr Speaker of the Sejm,**

**Honourable Senators,**

In accordance with my statutory duty, I present the 'Report on the Annual Activities of the National Broadcasting Council', together with the 'Information on the fundamental problems of radio and television' that was prepared in 2024.

Firstly, I would like to remind you that the National Broadcasting Council is a constitutional body responsible for safeguarding freedom of speech, the right to information, and the public interest in radio and television broadcasting, as specified in Article 213 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland. It should therefore be noted that it is not a government administrative body and that its autonomy is constitutionally justified. The National Broadcasting Council's task is to ensure the media's independence from any external influence, particularly the government's. Importantly, media programme control is only permissible *ex post facto*. This type of control is exclusively assigned to the National Broadcasting Council and not to bodies that direct state policy.

I would also like to emphasise that the independence of regulatory bodies in the media sector is essential for maintaining a modern media landscape and ensuring that the media act responsibly, including with regard to freedom of speech, respect for the rights of recipients, and the protection of minors and persons with disabilities.

**The entire reporting period, i.e. calendar year 2024, was largely dominated by monitoring the situation of public media after their takeover by the ruling coalition in December 2023, and the subsequent announcement by the former Minister of Culture and National Heritage, Mr Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz, of the start of their liquidation process. It should be emphasised that no government since the fall of communism has dared to liquidate the public media, which are considered a specific national asset.**

To document these events, which will undoubtedly be the subject of thorough legal and political assessment in the future, I have compiled a two-part report entitled 'Timeline of the Liquidation of the Public Media in Poland'.

I encourage you to read it.

It must be emphasized, that the process of liquidating the public media caused the collapse of Polish Television's and Polish Radio's programming. However, the decline in programming was particularly visible in the context of *Telewizja Polska*, which recorded a drop in viewership throughout 2024. The *TVP Info* programme lost as many as 76% of its viewers compared to the previous period.

The news programme '19.30', which replaced '*Wiadomości*' (the News) under a new name after 21 December 2023, also lost viewers dramatically. In 2024, '19:30' will have an average of between 700,000 and 900,000 fewer viewers than '*Wiadomości*' had. Significant declines in viewership, measured in hundreds of thousands, were also recorded by '*Teleexpress*' and '*Panorama*'. Clearly, the decline in *Telewizja Polska*'s viewership, which is in liquidation, has benefited and continues to benefit its competitors.

The loss of viewers will affect the financial condition and image of the public media. Not only will the liquidation process undermine their existing good position in the media market; it will also significantly limit the public's access to diverse sources of information. This is particularly worrying in the context of maintaining media pluralism, which is fundamental to the functioning of democracy.

Legal chaos and financial instability will strengthen the dominance of major commercial broadcasters in the television advertising market.

**Honourable Senators,**

In view of the uncertainty surrounding who has the legal right to dispose of public funds, the National Broadcasting Council adopted a resolution at the beginning of 2024 to postpone the implementation of the schedule. This was not a change to the schedule, but rather a postponement of the implementation of the funds distribution schedule. Public broadcasters were informed of the legal process by which they could receive these funds due them despite the liquidation of the companies. At the same time, the

National Broadcasting Council decided that the funds from subscription fees would be deposited with the court until the liquidation process was legally confirmed. It should be emphasised that, at the time this decision was made, the liquidators were not legally registered with the National Court Register. Notably, most liquidators did not take the opportunity to withdraw money from the deposits. Over time, this situation changed to some extent. Consequently, the subscription fee amounts allocated for the performance of the public mission was paid directly to entities whose liquidators were legally entered in the National Court Register — that is to say, entities whose entries in the Court Registry (KRS) were recognised as lawful.

The accusations that the National Council is trying to ‘starve’ the public media were and are untrue. I would like to clearly emphasise that the subscription fee is a public levy, as confirmed by the Constitutional Tribunal in 2012 when Mr Andrzej Rzepliński was its president. It is therefore the duty of the National Broadcasting Council to exercise strict control over how these public funds are spent by authorised persons.

I would also like to emphasise that I was not given the opportunity to explain this situation, despite this accusation appearing in the resolution adopted by the Culture Committee (*Komisja Kultury*). Ladies and gentlemen, the National Council does not demand compensation for the low level of subscription fee inflows. Compensation is the Sejm's responsibility. Subscription fees are intended solely for the fulfilment of the public mission and constitute a supplement to available resources.

At the beginning of 2024, the government decided to transfer money from the budget reserve to public media companies in an attempt to remedy the problem it had created. A year earlier, while in opposition, the ruling party had claimed that 'subsidising government television is irrational'. In 2024, meanwhile, the government will transfer subsidies totalling over PLN 2.3 billion to the public media from the state budget.

**In the face of flooding that occurred in Poland in September 2024, the government recognised the need to support the public media as a reliable source of information, given that public television and radio has a network of local correspondents and centres in different regions of Poland.** The National Council therefore decided to transfer funds directly to the companies' accounts. It also transferred PLN 22 million in surplus subscription fee revenues for 2022 to the public media. *Telewizja Polska*

received 51% of this amount, 70% of which had to be transferred to TVP's regional branches. The remaining 49% was received by Polish Radio and its regional stations.

In November 2024, the National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT) was forced to refuse to conclude agreements on the obligation cards for the years 2025–2029. Public media companies indicated that the costs of implementing the remit would not be covered by subscription fees in subsequent years. Therefore, the National Council could not take state budget subsidies into account without a clear legal basis for their payment. As I mentioned, there were no provisions for compensation.

The Minister of Culture and National Heritage is responsible for this situation and should complete the liquidation of public media, restore the legal status of companies in accordance with applicable regulations, and ensure a stable system of financing for public service broadcasting. However, the Minister of Culture and National Heritage remains deaf to the calls and appeals of the National Broadcasting Council members. The liquidation of public media continues, showing signs of superficiality.

**Honourable Senators,**

**One of the National Broadcasting Council's (KRRiT) tasks is to monitor the implementation of the public mission. In 2024, the results of this monitoring were decidedly negative.** As well as the previously mentioned significant drop in viewership, it was found that TVP programmes had omitted information that was inconvenient for the ruling party. TVP, Polish Radio and the Polish Press Agency were taken over. There was no coverage of social protests against the liquidation of public media. No information was provided on the positions of constitutionalists, the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, the ombudsman or the National Broadcasting Council.

Further manipulation occurred. The '19:30' programme ignored the topic of the journalistic investigation into former Senate Marshal Mr Tomasz Grodzki and failed to address the agricultural protests in the country, the government's insufficient aid to flood-stricken areas and the circumstances surrounding the arrest and inhumane treatment of Father Michał Olszewski and two former Ministry of Justice officials. Information about the activities in Poland of Russian spy Pavel Rubtsov and his Polish journalist partner, who was part of the so-called '*Wejście group*', which took over the public media in December 2023, was scarce.

**Ladies and gentlemen,**

**Pursuant to Article 23(1) of the Broadcasting Act, public media outlets are obliged to give political parties the opportunity to present their views on significant public matters.** Reports submitted by TVP and Polish Radio, as well as regional Polish Radio stations, show that, in 2024, public media will devote significantly more time to political parties belonging to the ruling coalition than to opposition parties. Between January and December 2024, *Telewizja Polska*, which is in liquidation, devoted 84% of its airtime to ruling coalition parties and 16% to opposition parties.

Polish Radio in liquidation, allocated 70% of its airtime to the ruling coalition parties and 30% to opposition parties. This information comes directly from *Telewizja Polska* and *Polskie Radio*. Clearly, there is no proper balance in the public media.

It should also be noted that the National Broadcasting Council was overlooked on an unprecedented scale in important activities related to the future of the audiovisual market in Poland during the reporting year.

**February 2024 was the deadline for implementing the Digital Services Act (DSA) into Polish law.**

According to the DSA, the National Broadcasting Council should be the competent authority responsible for protecting the freedom of expression and right to information of users of online content-sharing platforms. However, the National Broadcasting Council's remit is currently limited to video-sharing platforms. These tasks have been transferred to the UKE (the Office of Electronic Communications). The additional tasks have not been accompanied by the allocation of funds or staff to the Council.

**A similar situation exists with regard to the European Media Freedom Act (EMFA).** The National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT) has not received any official information on the implementation of the EMFA, nor has it been consulted on any relevant draft legislation. The National Broadcasting Council's omission from the drafting of the bill to implement the EMFA provisions into Polish law testifies to the deliberate, politically motivated persecution of a regulatory body that stands guard over freedom of speech and the right to information.

Such actions not only undermine the constitutional control of an independent, pluralistic regulatory body, but also clearly indicate an intention to exclude the current

composition of the National Broadcasting Council for political rather than substantive reasons. This is contrary to the provisions of Article 6 of the Broadcasting Act, which states that the National Broadcasting Council is responsible for cooperating with the Prime Minister in designing state policy in the field of radio and television broadcasting, among other things.

**Ladies and gentlemen,**

The National Council focused on two important issues in 2024: the responsibility of the media for the content they broadcast, and the security of state information.

The National Council has expressed its strong opposition to numerous cases of:

- banning journalists, including those from *TV Republika* and *wPolsce24*, from attending conferences and press briefings held by members of the media, including briefings concerning the floods, which were of great importance to residents. I would like to remind you that Article 6 of the Press Law states that it is forbidden to hinder the press from gathering critical material or to suppress criticism in any way. Above all, however, equal access to information from the government and other state institutions stems from Article 61 of the Constitution, which establishes the right to public information regardless of any legal interest in accessing the information in question. This right is also enshrined in Article 4 of the Act on Access to Public Information, which stipulates the obligation of public authorities to make information available.

I would like to remind you that the authorities cannot block any media outlet's access to information.

**Honourable Senators,**

**Granting licences for programme broadcasting is one of the National Council's key tasks. The Council is guided by the interests of viewers and listeners, and in this case, the aim is to enrich the range of available radio and television programmes.**

Following a competition in 2024, the National Council granted two new licences for terrestrial television programmes of a specialised news and current affairs nature, to be broadcast on MUX-8. These licences were awarded to the television stations *wPolsce24* and *TV Republika*.

The Puls company, which broadcasts the TV Puls programme on MUX-8, also received a licence for the next period. New satellite licences were granted to the CANAL+ Polska group for a sports programme and to the TVN Discovery Group for three satellite licences valid for the next 10 years: TVN Style, TVN Fabuła and TVN International.

The National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT) is also developing the market for programmes on cable networks. In 2024, 28 licences were issued for programmes broadcast on cable networks.

KRRiT members support the development of local radio broadcasting by allocating free frequencies for the granting or extension of local programmes. They strive to select entities operating in a given area that offer local content in their programmes. The National Broadcasting Council granted four new licences for local radio programmes: 'Radio NA STOKU 94.8 FM' in Białystok; 'ESCE Suwałki'; 'RMF MAXX' in Tomaszów Mazowiecki; and 'Radio Andrychów' and gave its consent to the extension of existing programmes by three additional broadcasting stations: 'POPradio' in Łowicz, 'POPradio' in Skierniewice and 'Radio 7' in Sierpc. In the absence of an offer with a predominance of local content, the National Broadcasting Council grants licences to national stations. Two such decisions were made in 2024: one for ESKA and one for RMF MAXXX. The National Broadcasting Council systematically renews radio licences. In 2024, 11 broadcasters received licences for a further 10 years, including Radio Bogoria, CHILLI ZET Katowice, Radio Warta FM and Radio Złote Przeboje 93.2 FM.

In addition to its expertise in traditional media, the National Broadcasting Council Television also oversees other media services, including VoD (video on demand) channels and VSP (video sharing platform) services that remain under Polish jurisdiction, such as those of YouTubers. In 2024, 183 decisions were issued regarding entry into the VoD register. However, many VoD service providers avoid the obligation to register, and thus avoid the associated statutory compliance obligations.

According to the National Broadcasting Council's estimates, the registration obligation applies to several thousand online creators who post programmes or catalogues on platforms (including: YouTube, TikTok, Facebook, and Instagram). By the end of 2024, the list of these creators amounted to 659 people. Currently, 924 audiovisual media services are registered.

In 2024, the activities of 16 video-sharing platforms were analysed, including *wgrane.pl*, *cda.pl*, *kwejk.pl* and *demotywatory.pl*. In many cases, providers did not use appropriate technical safeguards or fulfil their information obligations regarding, among other things, the ownership structure. There were also clear problems with content moderation on these platforms. The National Broadcasting Council will consistently require these entities to comply with the law. In particular, this concerns provisions relating to profanity, the protection of minors, and the advertising of alcohol and other stimulants.

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

The National Council also monitors and controls various types of complaints received from viewers and public institutions.

**The statistics for all penalty decisions issued in 2024 are as follows:**

- 72 decisions were issued imposing financial penalties totalling slightly over PLN 2 million.
  - Of all decisions to impose penalties:
    - 32 were related to various aspects of advertising and sponsorship activities;
    - 8 were related to protecting minors from harmful content;
    - 4 were related to the broadcast of profanity in violation of the statutory requirement to protect the Polish language.
    - 12 decisions were issued due to non-compliance with facilities for disabled persons.
    - 3 were issued due to hate speech in broadcast programmes.
    - 2 concerned the dissemination of pornographic content.
    - 7 were issued due to failure to register activities in the register of on-demand audiovisual media services.
    - 4 decisions concerned violations of the regulations in force regarding European quotas.



**Honourable Senators,**

**The year 2024 marked the fourth year of the National Media Institute's (KIM) existence.**

During this time, KIM continued its Founding Study and conducted a number of qualitative studies, such as an investigation into fake news as a form of disinformation in the media, an analysis of disinformation and a study of Generation Alpha. It will also conduct a survey on the popularity of audio tracks and a study on local television station viewership, as well as carrying out research on the use of artificial intelligence in controlling and analysing media streams.

**Unfortunately, the 2025 budget act deprived the National Broadcasting Council of funds to finance tasks carried out by the National Media Institute.**

Consequently, the KIM was put into liquidation in July 2025.

**Ladies and gentlemen,**

The dominance of major commercial broadcasters in the advertising market, particularly television, and the high degree of programme and ownership concentration in the media threaten media pluralism. This has a negative impact on information pluralism and the availability of diverse content for viewers. The National Council will use all available legal instruments, primarily those relating to the granting of licences, to address this issue.

I am in favour of this solution.

The National Broadcasting Council will continue to pay particular attention to compliance by providers of all media services with their statutory obligations, including in the areas of protection of minors, facilities for persons with disabilities, advertising, respecting the obligation to enter their activities in the register and all other obligations specified in the Broadcasting Act or resulting from the conditions specified in the licences obtained. As Chairwoman of the National Broadcasting Council, I will not cease in my efforts to identify and pursue legal consequences in the event of violations by providers, whether on the air, on satellite or on the internet, of regulations related to national security, social welfare and human dignity.

**Honourable Senators,**

The National Broadcasting Council strongly objects to accusations by the government that it is hindering the development of the public media. Unfortunately, during Tuesday's meeting of the Senate Culture Committee, I was not given the opportunity to respond to the allegations contained in the resolution adopted by the Committee. Each of these allegations is untrue. However, I would like to emphasise that the National Broadcasting Council is ready for cooperation and dialogue, both on the issues I will raise in my speech and on legislative matters related to the implementation of new legal acts.

The National Broadcasting Council will always defend viewers and their right to information and protect freedom of association, regardless of criticism or pressure. Thank you very much.