

Paweł KUCA¹

MEDIA IN THE PROJECT OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF POLAND. PROGRAM ASSUMPTIONS AND POLITICAL PRACTICE

The paper is part of a wider research project on the relationship between the political camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media. The political project of the construction of the Fourth Republic of Poland was postulated and implemented in Poland by the Law and Justice camp in 2005-2007. The necessity to build the Fourth Republic of Poland was a postulate raised both in the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2005. As part of the project, the author analyzes various aspects of relations between politicians and groups of the Fourth Republic of Poland with the media and examines the relationship of selected media to political events of the Fourth Republic of Poland. The present article is the result of the press studies of selected press titles and analysis of case studies. The presented article concerns the analysis of program assumptions regarding the role of the media in the Fourth Republic of Poland project and the comparison of these assumptions with the practice of political activities in this period. The starting point for the discussion were the provisions formulated in the Law and Justice 2005 program documents. It was an electoral program and a draft of a new constitution. The article also covers the analysis of selected aspects in the relations between the Law and Justice and the media as well as legislative activity concerning the media during the construction of the Fourth Republic of Poland.

Keywords: the Fourth Republic of Poland, mass media, the Law and Justice, public media.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the paper is to analyze program assumptions regarding the role of the media in the fourth Republic of Poland, understood as a political project implemented in Poland in 2005-2007 and comparison of the assumptions formulated in program documents with the practice of political activities in this period. The article is a continuation of the author's research regarding the relations between the political camp of the fourth Republic of Poland and the media in 2005–2007. Until now, as part of this research project launched in 2016, four scientific papers have been published: „*Leaders and political parties of the IV Republic of Poland in chosen daily opinion newspapers in 2005. Analysis of research*”²; *The Idea of*

¹ Dr Paweł Kuca, Instytut Nauk o Polityce Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, al. mjr. W. Kopisto 2a, 35-959 Rzeszów; e-mail pawel.kuca@ur.edu.pl

Paweł Kuca, PhD, Institute of Political Science, Rzeszów University, al. mjr. W. Kopisto 2a, 35-959 Rzeszów; e-mail pawel.kuca@ur.edu.pl

² P. Kuca, *Liderzy i partie IV Rzeczypospolitej na łamach wybranych dzienników opinii w 2005 roku. Analiza badań*, „Polityka i Społeczeństwo”, nr 1/2017, s. 73–85.

*the Fourth Republic of Poland in the pages of opinion dailies in Poland in 2005 - preliminary analysis*³; *The formation of the Government Law and Justice, The Polish Family League and Self-Defence as an element of the structure of the IV Polish Republic – a press analysis of selected daily opinion-forming newspapers*⁴; *Relations within the political camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media in the context of conducting media relations activities – selected examples*⁵. The arguments presented in the paper are based on the analysis of documents and normative acts as well as the analysis of the content of statements made by the politicians of the Fourth Republic of Poland.

2. THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF POLAND AS A PROJECT OF REBUILDING THE STATE

The political project to create the fourth Republic of Poland was postulated and implemented in Poland by the political camp of the Law and Justice in 2005-2007. The necessity of building the fourth Republic of Poland was raised by the Law and Justice both in the parliamentary campaign and in the 2005 presidential election. Lech Kaczyński, the Law and Justice candidate in this election, applied for the presidency with the slogan “Lech Kaczyński. The president of the fourth Republic of Poland”⁶.

The Fourth Republic, proposed by the Law and Justice, was assumed to be a project of a fundamental change in the functioning and reconstruction of the state. The starting point was the assumption formulated in the electoral program: “The fourth Republic of Poland. Justice for All”, that after 1989 Poland chose the wrong path of political transformation. By the decision of the political elites, instead of breaking with the heritage of the People’s Republic of Poland, the path of continuation was chosen, which meant taking over many pathologies of the People’s Republic of Poland by the system of the third Republic of Poland. This was to burden naturally the functioning of institutions in democratic Poland. Secondly, according to the Law and Justice politicians, the choice of the continuation route was to favor the personnel from the People’s Republic of Poland system⁷. It was supposed to have consequences for the functioning of the state, the state apparatus, and the sphere of the economy. Therefore, the recipe for such a situation, raised by the supporters of the construction of the fourth Republic of Poland, was a fundamental reconstruction of the state, change of its socio-economic policy, and restoration is a moral dimension. These changes were to be implemented on the basis of a social contract. Its important assumption was the idea that all Poles should benefit from economic growth, not only the group of the richest people. According to the Law and Justice, the basic condition for the implementation of the

³ P. Kuca, *Idea IV Rzeczypospolitej na łamach dzienników opinii w Polsce w roku 2005 – analiza wstępna* [in] E. Maj, E. Podgajna, A. Szwed-Walczak, Ł. Jędrzejski (Ed.), *Komunikowanie polityczne*, Lublin 2017, s. 287-300.

⁴ P. Kuca, *Powstanie rządu Prawa i Sprawiedliwości, Ligi Polskich Rodzin i Samoobrony jako elementu budowy IV RP – analiza prasoznawcza wybranych dzienników ogólnopolskich*, „Polityka i Społeczeństwo”, nr 4/2017, s. 189–205.

⁵ P. Kuca, *Relations within the political camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media in the context of conducting media relations activities – selected examples*, “Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski”, nr 1/2018, s. 105-116, <http://www.naukowy-przeglad-dziennikarski.org>.

⁶ <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/najslynniejsze-hasla-6038688162636929g/7> (accessed 3.03.2018).

⁷ *Program wyborczy „IV Rzeczpospolita. Sprawiedliwość dla Wszystkich”*, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&idoc=3> (accessed 3.03.2018).

social pact was the repair of the state⁸. As T. Borejza points out, reading the program documents of the Law and Justice, shows that the category of the state is of great importance to this party. They emphasize the value of the state, its quality and the quality of its institutions⁹.

Jarosław Kaczyński, the leader of the Law and Justice, emphasized that the goal of his political camp was to “break up the system controlling political and economic life in some social sense”. He included in this system a quadrangle of special services, politics, special groups and business. The response to such relations was to be a new state with new institutions, as well as personnel changes that would include justice, special services and the army. The breakdown of this system was to be more important than detailed solutions regarding taxes or economic policy. It was to allow the unblocking of the free market and allow new people to enter the market who are blocked by this system¹⁰.

The need to repair the state also emphasized Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz in his parliamentary expose. He was designated for the prime minister in 2005 by the Law and Justice. He said that the state repair is the most important element of the government's program. And the state fails to work in two dimensions. First, in the sense of a mechanism that does not fulfill its tasks. Secondly, the corruption of the state also concerns the moral sphere, and such conditions prevent from exercising power effectively¹¹. The second basic element of the government program of K. Marcinkiewicz, apart from the state's repair, was to be its modernization¹².

It should also be emphasized that in the rhetoric of the Law and Justice, the fourth Republic of Poland was compared with the third Republic of Poland, which was described as a state that is digested by pathologies, unable to implement the political will of the government, has a market failure, is seriously appropriated by post-communists¹³. The implementation of the fourth Republic of Poland project was supposed to be a solution to these problems.

3. MEDIA IN PROGRAM DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF POLAND

In accordance with the program assumptions of the fourth Republic of Poland, changes in the functioning of the state were also to affect the media market, with particular emphasis on public media. Their role and tasks were formulated in the program documents of the camp of the fourth Republic of Poland: in the draft of the new constitution and election program of the Law and Justice from 2005.

In the draft constitution from 2005 called the Constitution of the fourth Republic, Article 145 states that public radio and television institutions are to function independently of current political decisions. Public media are to carry out a public mission. The dissemination of national tradition and patriotic values, as well as the dissemination of the achievements

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ T. Borejza, *PO-PiS. Pozorna opozycja*, Warszawa 2009, p. 52.

¹⁰ *O dwóch takich... Alfabet braci Kaczyńskich*, rozmawiali Michał Karnowski, Piotr Zaremba, Kraków 2006, p. 22.

¹¹ <http://www.marcinkiewicz.org/expose> (accessed 4.03.2018).

¹² M. Karnowski, P. Zaremba, *Marcinkiewicz. Kulisy władzy*, Warszawa 2007, p. 31.

¹³ T. Borejza, *PO-PiS...*, p. 52.

of Polish and world culture and science, would be particularly important for such a mission. At the same time, public media are to facilitate access to reliable information to its recipients, as well as create conditions for a pluralistic public debate. Public media are to be financed from subscription fees and other sources¹⁴.

In the electoral program, the theses regarding the media were included in the chapter on culture. The program states that the development of national culture is a matter of the Polish reason of state. Among the priorities of the Law and Justice in the area of culture was among others protection of public media. An important element of the changes was to be a transparent system of patronage in culture, based on transparent competition criteria. It was emphasized that creators who come from outside the coterie system will have the opportunity to present their achievements, for example in public media. The process of rebuilding the regional cultural press, referred to as "a valuable treasure of national culture", was also to be supported. It was also postulated to protect radio stations that had a strictly cultural or educational profile¹⁵.

At the same time, new institutional solutions were also announced in relation to the media market. After the elections and the takeover of power, a bill was to be proposed, which would include the liquidation of the existing National Broadcasting Council. In the draft of the constitution of the fourth Republic of Poland, a new institution was registered, which was the Office for Radio and Television Broadcasting with the competences specified in the Act. According to article 146 of the draft constitution, the chairman of the new office was to be appointed by the President of the Republic of Poland for a five-year term. The institution was to watch over compliance with the rules and procedures of the supervisory and management bodies in public media enshrined in the Acts. The Office was also supposed to have control and regulatory powers in relation to radio and television. The institution was to watch over compliance with the rules and procedures of the supervisory and management bodies in public media enshrined in the Acts. The Office was also supposed to have control and regulatory powers in relation to radio and television¹⁶.

In the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997, the National Council of Radio and Television Broadcasting is the guardian of freedom of expression, the right to information and the public interest in radio and television¹⁷. According to the Law and Justice, this office had to be abolished because the activity of the National Broadcasting Council did not serve pluralism in the media, freedom of speech, and did not reflect the concern for the public interest. The Law and Justice in its election program ensured the desire to build a stable and pluralist media order. It was also supposed to release public media from political pressure. The Law and Justice protested against the postulates of the privatization of public radio and television, because the consequence of such processes would be the liquidation of the missions of the public media. At the same time, legal solutions were

¹⁴ *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Projekt Prawa i Sprawiedliwości*, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&iddoc=7> (accessed 3.03.2018).

¹⁵ *Program wyborczy „IV Rzeczpospolita. Sprawiedliwość dla Wszystkich”*, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&iddoc=3> (accessed 3.03.2018).

¹⁶ *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Projekt Prawa i Sprawiedliwości*, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&iddoc=7> (accessed 3.03.2018).

¹⁷ *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z 2 kwietnia 1997 r.*, Dz. U. 1997 nr 78, poz. 783, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19970780483> (accessed 19.03.2018).

announced, under which it would be prohibited to issue programs containing violence and demoralizing content¹⁸.

4. SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE LAW AND JUSTICE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MEDIA

It seems that when analyzing the practical actions of the ruling camp regarding the media in the period of the fourth Republic of Poland, it is possible to indicate a few premises that had an impact on the initiatives undertaken. One of them is the critical opinion of the Law and Justice regarding the media market in Poland, the conviction of its asymmetry in that period, manifested by the prevalence of media with a liberal character and the lesser importance of media with a conservative program. The consequence of this was the conviction of the key politicians of the Law and Justice camp that victory in the parliamentary and presidential elections of 2005 was against the sympathies of a large part of the media.

This conviction can be drawn from both the analysis of the statements of the politicians of the fourth Republic of Poland, as well as some political journalists. In this context, it is worth recalling the speech of the chairman of the Law and Justice, Jarosław Kaczyński of February 2006, who criticized the state of the media in Poland, saying that they generally act in the interests of owners or political principals. That is why the Law and Justice would like to introduce legal solutions that would make it impossible to dismiss a journalist who disagrees with the editor-in-chief for whom he works¹⁹.

Quite common in the Law and Justice camp was the conviction that the 2005 elections, in which two right-wing parties Law and Justice and the Civic Platform were competing for the title of the winner, were in a situation of great media imbalance, with the media's majority on the side of the Civic Platform. In October 2005, in an interview for the weekly *Polityka*, Lech Kaczyński said that "it would be good if the main political parties were treated similarly in the main media". In his opinion, this was not the case at the time, and the Civic Platform had a visible, privileged position in the media²⁰.

Jarosław Kaczyński assessed the course of the election campaign in 2005 similarly. In his opinion, the media advantage of the Civic Platform in the election campaign in 2005 was "crushing" and the support of the media also influenced the election support for the Platform. However, during the electoral campaign, the media advantage was levelled by the fact that political groups that do not enjoy the media's high appreciation and have subsidies from the budget and may reach the voters in a different way, e.g. by using political advertising²¹.

This belief that Law and Justice won the double elections in 2005 against the sympathies of the media had, according to some political commentators, influence the way the fourth Republic of Poland was operating after taking power. In November 2005, in the *Rzecz-*

¹⁸ *Program wyborczy „IV Rzeczpospolita. Sprawiedliwość dla Wszystkich”*, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&iddoc=3> (accessed 3.03.2018).

¹⁹ <http://www.nowosci.com.pl/archiwum/a/w-polsce-tak-naprawde-wolnych-mediow-nie-ma,11318251> (accessed 4.03.2018).

²⁰ J. Żakowski, *Więcej wartości*, wywiad z Lechem Kaczyńskim, tygodnik „Polityka”, październik 2005, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/1725206,1,wywiad-z-lechem-kaczynskim-o-polityce-i-bracie-jaroslawie.read> (accessed 5.03.2018).

²¹ *O dwóch takich....*, p. 5.

pospolita newspaper, Piotr Zaremba analyzed the way in which the new team's operations were described. He mentioned the method of description as hysterical and pointed out that the new government camp needed to confront criticism based on arguments. But the publicist also pointed out that the Kaczynski brothers feel that they have won the elections against the position of "media stars and media authorities". And that feeling made them insensitive to criticism. In his opinion, the level of asymmetrical treatment in the media was so large that this insensitivity became so complete²².

It is worth noting that on the part of the Law and Justice politicians, the reluctance towards some of the media had an impact on the way certain political events were implemented, which in effect increased mutual grievances. In this context, the events of February 2006 can be recalled, when the so-called stability pact between the Law and Justice, the League of Polish Families and the Self-Defense was signed. The manner of signing the pact between the leaders of particular political groups Jarosław Kaczyński, Roman Giertych and Andrzej Lepper was at the same time a demonstration of aversion towards a large part of the media. In practice, the pact was signed twice. On the first occasion, at this event, representatives of Radio Maryja and Television Trwam were present. Later, the meeting for journalists from other editorial offices was organized²³. As a result, the press conference at which the document was signed for the second time was boycotted by some journalists. Some members of the management of these editorial offices, whose representatives were not present at the first meeting, believed that there was a breach of equal access of the media to important public events²⁴. In practical political activities, on the side of politicians of the Law and Justice, there were situations in which they treated the media and journalists as a party to a political dispute, and not a transmission belt through which one can reach the media recipients with the message. I analyze this phenomena more broadly in the article *Relations within the political camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media in the context of conducting media relations activities – selected examples* (Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski, No 1, 2018).

5. LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS REGARDING THE MEDIA

Analyzing the relations between the camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media, it is also necessary to analyze the legislative activities that the Fourth Republic of Poland camp carried out after the taking over the power in the autumn of 2005. They affected the functioning of public media and taking over control by the ruling camp. In December, in a very fast pace, in a way that also raised procedural doubts, the Radio and Television Act was changed²⁵. The first reading of the draft in the Sejm [the lower chamber of the Polish parliament] took place on December 8, 2005, and the act was adopted on

²² P. Zaremba, *Nierozumne krytykowanie*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 25 listopada 2005 r., p. 11.

²³ A. Dudek, *Główne konflikty polityczne w Sejmie V kadencji* [in:] J. Sokołowski, P. Poznański (Ed.), *Wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania Sejmu w latach 1997-2007*, Kraków 2008, p. 167.

²⁴ <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/pis-wybiera-pokorne-media-6036381193667713a> (accessed 30.12.2017).

²⁵ W. Staśkiewicz, *Stanowienie prawa* [in:] L. Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, J. Kucharczyk, J. Zbieranek (red.), *Demokracja w Polsce 2005–2007*, Warszawa 2007, p. 137.

December 29, 2005. The bill was signed by the President on the following day. Also on December 30, 2005, the Act was announced in the Journal of Laws²⁶.

The changes were supported by the Law and Justice deputies, the League of Polish Families and the Self-Defense. The amendment reduced the number of members of the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television from 9 to 5. The amendment also allowed for the change of the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television dominated by the leftist, including its chairman, Danuta Waniek (the Democratic Left Alliance)²⁷. On the basis of the amendment, two members of the new council were to be elected by the Sejm and the President, and one by the Senate. The changes in the media law were protested by the Democratic Left Alliance, but also by the Civic Platform, because they paved the way for personnel changes in public television, the head of which was Jan Dworak at that time, associated with the Civic Platform²⁸.

It is also worth adding that the amendment to the Radio and Television Act also contained provisions that granted the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television the right to initiate and conduct activities in the field of journalistic ethics²⁹. As noted by W. Sadurski, such a clause would give the state body such as National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television the possibility of enforcing protection of journalistic ethics. The amendment to the media law was appealed by a group of deputies and the Commissioner for Citizens' Rights to the Constitutional Tribunal. This proposal also included a provision on the issue of journalistic ethics. The Tribunal found such competence of the National Council unconstitutional³⁰. The Ombudsman raised in the application to the Constitutional Tribunal that the assignment of the function of setting the standards of ethical conduct to the state body such as the National Broadcasting Council is inconsistent with its essence. Such a solution would make the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television not only an organ of state control and law protection authority, but also a body for the protection of ethics. According to the spokesman, issues related to the enforcement of ethical behavior belong to the professional self-government bodies and are based on ethical codes that arise in different environments³¹.

The amendment to the Act on the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television gave the Law and Justice and the League of Polish Families and the Self-Defense coalition the possibility of influencing public media. The National Council elected members of the supervisory boards of public media (the term of office of public administration supervisors at that time ended in May 2006)³². The amendment to the Act on the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television launched procedures for the selection of new public media authorities. Six months after the amendment of the act, new boards of public

²⁶ Zob. ustawa z 29 grudnia 2005 r. o przekształceniach i zmianach w podziale zadań i kompetencji organów państwowych właściwych w sprawach łączności, radiofonii i telewizji, Dz. U. z 2005 r., nr 267, poz. 2258; wyrok Trybunału Konstytucyjnego z dnia 23 marca 2006 r., Dz.U. z 2006 r., nr 51, poz. 377 (www.prawo.sejm.gov.pl).

²⁷ A. Dudek, *Historia polityczna Polski 1989–2012*, Kraków 2013, p. 550.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ W. Sadurski, *Porządek konstytucyjny* [in:] L. Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, J. Kucharczyk, J. Zbieranek (Ed.), *Demokracja w Polsce...*, p. 20.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ Wyrok Trybunału Konstytucyjnego z dnia 23 marca 2006 r., Dz.U. z 2006 r., nr 51, poz. 377, (www.prawo.sejm.gov.pl).

³² A. Kublik, *Scenariusz telewizyjny braci Kaczyńskich*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 17 listopada 2005, p. 3.

media were appointed. Bronisław Wildstein became the chairman of the Polish Television, and Krzysztof Czabański became the chairman of the Polish Radio³³.

In the context of legal changes regarding public media, one can also note the correction of the political line. In November 2005, in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Jarosław Sellin, the deputy minister of culture in the government of Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, asked whether the law and justice intends to take control of public television, he answered "no, because we want to break with the tradition of sending own people to the media"³⁴. However, as noted by P. Zaremba, in December 2005, when the provisions of the amendment to the Act on the National Council of Radio Broadcasting and Television were decided, no previous prescriptions for the independence of public media were used. The composition of the new National Council "defined the parties of the new alliance – the Law and Justice, the Self-Defense and the League of Polish families with a simple contract"³⁵.

Conclusions about the approach to the role of public media can also be drawn from the analysis of the Bronisław Wildstein casus as the chairman of the Polish Television. The TVP supervisory board elected him as the chairman of public television in May 2006. He was dismissed from this function in February 2007. Speaking about the vision of public television, he pointed out, among others, its culture-creating and educational role, adding that he would like television to be a place of pluralist debate. Before joining the post of chairman of Polish Television, B. Wildstein met with the chairman of the Law and Justice Jarosław Kaczyński, who offered him this position. Speaking of his vision of public media, B. Wildstein explained that he was interested in public television, but he would not create a party television. He announced that his intention is to build an impartial television. This position was accepted by the chairman of the Law and Justice³⁶.

However, when in 2007, B. Wildstein was replaced by Andrzej Urbański on the position of the Chairman of Polish Television, from the Law and Justice chairman's interview for "Rzeczpospolita", it was possible to draw the conclusion that this change has a political context. The Law and Justice chairman said that B. Wildstein as the chairman of public television did not understand the realities, which was then the political situation. And he added that all his predecessors on public television were elected in a political way and they all took that into account. At the same time, the leader of the Law and Justice party added that there is no agreement that public television will compete with private television in attacks on the government³⁷. B. Wildstein himself assessed that his resignation was due to the fact that he did not want to understand political conditions, that is, he did not want to introduce parity parties into public television³⁸.

It is also worth noting the diagnosis of P. Zaremba, who assessed that for the chairman of the Law and Justice the category of journalistic independence is of no significant value.

³³ D. Waniek, *Postawy dziennikarzy wobec „IV RP”* [in:] D. Waniek (red.), *Wybory 2007 i media – krajobraz po „IV RP”*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 150–151.

³⁴ A. Kublik, *Scenariusz...*, p. 3.

³⁵ Cited after., P. Zaremba, *O jednym takim...*, *Biografia Jarosława Kaczyńskiego*, Warszawa 2010, p. 302.

³⁶ P. Zaremba, M. Karnowski, *Niepokorny. Rozmowa z Bronisławem Wildsteinem*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 271–272.

³⁷ J. Lichočka, P. Lisicki, *Przeciwko atakom i krytyce, rozmowa z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 8 marca 2007, p. 1; J. Lichočka, P. Lisicki, *IV Rzeczpospolita warta jest dymisji Wildsteina, rozmowa z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 8 marca 2007, p. 9.

³⁸ B. Wildstein, *W starciu z III RP*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 9 marca 2007, p. 9.

A similar view was also presented by B. Wildstein, who after leaving the function of the chairman of TVP, assessed that the Law and Justice chairman probably does not understand the existence of "independent journalism"³⁹. As analyzed by P. Zaremba, with the approach that Poland is a battlefield between those who want to fix it and those who oppose this process, the Chairman of Law and Justice did not attach much importance to the autonomy of institutions that should have such autonomy. These institutions were rather a tool in achieving the goal of fundamental importance⁴⁰.

At the end of this text it is also worth noting that the issue significantly affecting the debate on the media and divisions of the journalistic environment in Poland in the period of the Fourth Republic of Poland was a postulate of widespread journalistic lustration, which appeared in the Act of 2007. This obligation was then dismissed by the Constitutional Court. This issue has only been noted in this text, it will be subject to a detailed analysis as part of a separate article related to the research project concerning the relations between the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media in 2005-2007.

6. SUMMARY

In the summary of the presented argument it is worth pointing out that Law and Justice, which expressed a critical attitude to the functioning of the media market in Poland and in the postulate of the Fourth Republic, announced measures to depoliticize public media, after taking power did not introduce long-term solutions to the implementation of these promises. On the example of public television, one may put forward the thesis that rather the logic of which the aforementioned P. Zaremba wrote was chosen. They were rather inferior to the basic goal of the postulate of the construction of the Fourth Republic of Poland and thus subjected to a political game. Especially at the prevailing in the camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland, the conviction that private media sympathize with the opposition.

It should also be noted that before the period of the Fourth Republic of Poland, many other political groups announced activities that would lead to the repression of public media. These activities ended, however, with the fact that individual groups were campaigning the media in their own way. This applies to both the Freedom Union, the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish People's Party⁴¹. It is also worth adding that the presented article includes events from 2005-2007. From this period, power in Poland was held by parties from outside the fourth Republic of Poland, and also did not undertake real and long-term activities regarding the construction of public media independent of politicians.

REFERENCES

1. Borejza T., *PO-PiS. Pozorna opozycja*, Warszawa 2009.
2. Dudek A., *Główne konflikty polityczne w Sejmie V kadencji* [in] J. Sokołowski, P. Poznański (Ed.), *Wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania Sejmu w latach 1997-2007*, Kraków 2008.
3. Dudek A., *Historia polityczna Polski 1989-2012*, Kraków 2013.
4. Karnowski M., Zaremba P., *Marcinkiewicz. Kulisy władzy*, Warszawa 2007.

³⁹ P. Zaremba, M. Karnowski, *Niepokorny...*, s. 274, P. Zaremba, *O jednym...*, p. 303.

⁴⁰ P. Zaremba, *O jednym...*, p. 302.

⁴¹ A. Kublik, *Scenariusz...*

5. Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Projekt Prawa i Sprawiedliwości, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&idoc=7>.
6. Kublik A., *Scenariusz telewizyjny braci Kaczyńskich*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 17 listopada 2005.
7. Kuca P., *Idea IV Rzeczypospolitej na łamach dzienników opinii w Polsce w roku 2005 – analiza wstępna* [in:] E. Maj, E. Podgajna, A. Szwed-Walczak, Ł. Jędrzejski (Ed.), *Komunikowanie polityczne*, Lublin 2017.
8. Kuca P., *Liderzy i partie IV Rzeczypospolitej na łamach wybranych dzienników opinii w 2005 roku. Analiza badań*, „Polityka i Społeczeństwo”, nr 1/2017.
9. Kuca P., *Powstanie rządu Prawa i Sprawiedliwości, Ligi Polskich Rodzin i Samoobrony jako elementu budowy IV RP – analiza prasoznawcza wybranych dzienników ogólnopolskich*, „Polityka i Społeczeństwo”, nr 4/2017.
10. Kuca P., *Relations within the political camp of the Fourth Republic of Poland and the media in the context of conducting media relations activities – selected examples*, „Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski”, nr 1/2018, <http://www.naukowy-przeglad-dziennikarski.org>.
11. Lichocka J., Lisicki P., *IV Rzeczypospolita warta jest dymisji Wildsteina, rozmowa z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 8 marca 2007.
12. Lichocka J., Lisicki P., *Przeciwko atakom i krytyce, rozmowa z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 8 marca 2007.
13. *O dwóch takich... Alfabet braci Kaczyńskich*, rozmawiali Michał Karnowski, Piotr Zaremba, Kraków 2006.
14. *Program wyborczy „IV Rzeczypospolita. Sprawiedliwość dla Wszystkich”*, <http://old.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php?s=partia&idoc=3>
15. Sadurski W., *Porządek konstytucyjny* [in:] L. Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, J. Kucharczyk, J. Zbieranek (Ed.), *Demokracja w Polsce 2005-2007*, Warszawa 2007.
16. Staśkiewicz W., *Stanowienie prawa* [in:] L. Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, J. Kucharczyk, J. Zbieranek (red.), *Demokracja w Polsce 2005-2007*, Warszawa 2007.
17. Waniek D., *Postawy dziennikarzy wobec „IV RP”* [in:] D. Waniek (red.), *Wybory 2007 i media – krajobraz po „IV RP”*, Warszawa 2009.
18. Wildstein B., *W starciu z III RP*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 9 marca 2007.
19. Żakowski J., *Więcej wartości*, wywiad z Lechem Kaczyńskim, tygodnik „Polityka”, październik 2005, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/1725206,1,wywiad-z-lechem-kaczynskim-o-polityce-i-bracie-jaroslawie.read>.
20. Zaremba P., Karnowski M., *Niepokorny. Rozmowa z Bronisławem Wildsteinem*, Warszawa 2012.
21. Zaremba P., *Nierozumne krytykowanie*, „Rzeczpospolita”, 25 listopada 2005.
22. Zaremba P., *O jednym takim...*, *Biografia Jarosława Kaczyńskiego*, Warszawa 2010.

LEGAL ACTS

1. Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z 2 kwietnia 1997 r. (Dz.U. z 1997 r., nr 78, poz. 783).
2. Ustawa z 29 grudnia 2005 r. o przekształceniach i zmianach w podziale zadań i kompetencji organów państwowych właściwych w sprawach łączności, radiofonii i telewizji (Dz.U. z 2005 r., nr 267, poz. 2258 ze zm.).

JUDICAL DECISIONS

1. Wyrok Trybunału Konstytucyjnego z dnia 23 marca 2006 r. (Dz.U. z 2006 r., nr 51, poz. 377 (www.prawo.sejm.gov.pl)).

INTERNET SOURCES

1. <http://www.marcinkiewicz.org/expose>
2. <http://www.nowosci.com.pl/archiwum/a/w-polsce-tak-naprawde-wolnych-mediow-nie-ma,11318251>.
3. <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/najslynniejsze-hasla-6038688162636929g/7>
4. <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/pis-wybiera-pokorne-media-6036381193667713a>.

MEDIA W PROJEKCIE CZWARTEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ. ZAŁOŻENIA PROGRAMU I PRAKTYKI POLITYCZNEJ

Prezentowany artykuł jest częścią szerszego projektu badawczego dotyczącego relacji obozu politycznego IV Rzeczypospolitej z mediami. Projekt polityczny budowy IV Rzeczypospolitej był postulowany i realizowany w Polsce przez obóz Prawa i Sprawiedliwości w latach 2005-2007. Konieczność budowy IV RP była postulatem podnoszonym zarówno w wyborach parlamentarnych jak i prezydenckich w 2005 r. W ramach projektu autor poddaje analizie różne aspekty dotyczące relacji polityków i ugrupowań IV RP z mediami oraz bada stosunek wybranych mediów do wydarzeń politycznych z okresu IV Rzeczypospolitej. Przygotowane artykuły są wynikiem badań prasoznawczych wybranych tytułów prasowych oraz analizy studiów przypadku. Prezentowany artykuł dotyczy analizy założeń programowych dotyczących roli mediów w projekcie IV Rzeczypospolitej i porównania tych założeń z praktyką działań politycznych w tym okresie. Punktem wyjścia do prowadzonego wywodu były zapisy sformułowane w dokumentach programowych Prawa i Sprawiedliwości z 2005. Był to program wyborczy oraz projekt nowej konstytucji. Artykuł obejmuje także analizę wybranych aspektów w relacjach Prawa i Sprawiedliwości z mediami oraz działalność legislacyjną dotyczącą mediów w okresie budowy IV Rzeczypospolitej.

Słowa kluczowe: IV Rzeczypospolita, media masowe, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, media publiczne.

DOI: 10.7862/rz.2018.hss.6

Przesłano do redakcji: styczeń 2018 r.

Przyjęto do druku: kwiecień 2018 r.

