



## ČT PODROBNÁ ANALÝZA

20230122\_Prezidentsky duel CT - Babis vs Pavel.cs

Broadcast: ČT-Sendung | Analyzed: 2026-05-26 03:43

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Standard: §2 Zákona o ČT / §31 Zákona č. 231/2001

**OVERALL  
SCORE**

**5.9/10**

*Significant imbalance*

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES 2024) is an academic survey of 609 political scientists in 31 countries. Each party is rated on a scale from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right).

| Party    | Piráti      | STAN          | KDU-ČSL       | ANO                 | TOP 09              | ODS          | Motoristé    | SPD          |
|----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| CHES     | 2.50        | 4.50          | 5.50          | 6.00                | 6.00                | 7.00         | 7.50         | 8.50         |
| Spectrum | <i>Left</i> | <i>Center</i> | <i>Center</i> | <i>Center-Right</i> | <i>Center-Right</i> | <i>Right</i> | <i>Right</i> | <i>Right</i> |

The overall tendency is presented on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-favoring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favoring). The calculation is based on the difference in average favoritism of left vs. right parties (grouping per CHES 2024).

**TENDENCY (L – R)**

**3.8 / 10**

*Left-favoring*

0 1 2 **3** 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — [chesdata.eu](https://chesdata.eu) | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | Thresholds: [Pew Research Center](#)

This section provides political context and does not contribute to the overall score.



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

At the time of broadcast (January 2023), the governing coalition SPOLU (ODS, KDU-ČSL, TOP 09) and Piráti/STAN was in power under Prime Minister Petr Fiala. Andrej Babiš's ANO movement was the largest opposition force. The presidential elections took place in two rounds — the first round was held shortly before this debate, the second round took place on 27–28 January 2023.

| Party   | CHES L-R | Seats | Government/Opposition | Key position                          |
|---------|----------|-------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Piráti  | 2.5      | 4     | Government            | Digitalisation, civil rights          |
| STAN    | 4.5      | 33    | Government            | Municipal self-government, liberalism |
| KDU-ČSL | 5.5      | 23    | Government            | Christian democracy, family           |
| TOP 09  | 6.0      | 14    | Government            | Pro-European, fiscal responsibility   |
| ANO     | 6.0      | 72    | Opposition            | Populism, social transfers            |
| ODS     | 7.0      | 34    | Government            | Right-wing, low taxes                 |
| SPD     | 8.5      | 20    | Opposition            | Euroscepticism, anti-migration        |

The Czech political scene in January 2023 was divided primarily along the axis of attitude towards the war in Ukraine and towards the governing coalition. Babiš's ANO movement criticised the government for "anti-social policy" and high inflation, while the SPOLU coalition emphasised the necessity of supporting Ukraine and fiscal consolidation. The presidential election became a proxy battle over the legitimacy of the government and the direction of foreign policy. The topic of the communist past of both candidates was a key instrument of mutual discreditation.

Czech Television is a public service medium established by Act No. 483/1991 Coll. and is obliged under §2(2) to provide objective, verified, balanced and comprehensive information. Act No. 231/2001 Coll. §31(2) and (3) imposes an obligation of balance and separation of commentary from news reporting. A pre-election duel is a format with the highest degree of statutory responsibility for balance.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

### Assessment of the accuracy of representation of programme positions

| Party     | Score (-5..+5) | Representation in the programme vs. programme position  |
|-----------|----------------|---|
| ANO       | -1             | 03:28 "Mr Pavel is the pro-government candidate" — ANO's programme position: social transfers, sovereignty, peace — represented selectively; Babiš was repeatedly interrupted when explaining economic arguments (29:09, 31:25), thereby shortening his programme positions — partially distorted |
| ODS       | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |
| STAN      | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |
| Piráti    | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |
| KDU-ČSL   | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |
| TOP 09    | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |
| SPD       | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |
| Motoristé | 0              | Party does not directly appear in the programme — does not appear   |

### Summary of party bias

- Most accurate representation: ANO (score -1) — the only relevant party present through its candidate
- Strongest distortion: ANO (score -1) — repeated interruptions of Babiš during economic arguments, while Pavel was allowed to complete his answers
- Average deviation from 0: 0.1
- Conclusion: The programme focused exclusively on the two candidates, not on party programmes. Nevertheless, the asymmetry in moderation (see Step 3, criterion 12) caused Babiš's programme positions (economic policy, energy prices) to be systematically curtailed by interruptions, while Pavel's positions were given space to develop.

### Overall tendency on the left-right axis

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Slightly tilted to the left / in favour of the pro-European centre

Rationale: The moderator repeatedly accepted Pavel's frames (NATO, solidarity with Ukraine, fiscal responsibility) as the starting point for questions, while Babiš's alternative frames (energy prices, social impacts) were challenged or interrupted. Topics such as the Green Deal, migration or sovereignty — key for ANO and SPD voters — were not raised by the moderator.



## CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Programme data

- Title: Pre-election duel of Czech Television — presidential elections 2023 (2nd round)
- Date: January 2023 (exact date not stated in the file name; contextually approx. 25–26 January 2023)
- Presenter / reporter: One moderator (name not stated in the transcript; contextually Jan Pokorný or Jakub Železný — cannot be determined with certainty)
- Guests:

| Actors       | Role   | Party/Affiliation               | Political spectrum         |
|--------------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Petr Pavel   | Presidential candidate, former Chairman of the NATO Military Committee | Independent, supported by SPOLU | Centre-right, pro-European |
| Andrej Babiš | Presidential candidate, chairman of ANO, member of parliament          | ANO                             | Centre–populism            |

### Main topic

A direct confrontation between the two candidates of the second round of the 2023 presidential elections on topics of foreign policy, security, the economy, the communist past and the role of the president.

### Ideological context

The Czech Republic was entering the second round of the presidential elections in an atmosphere of a highly polarised debate on the war in Ukraine, inflation and the legitimacy of the governing coalition. Petr Pavel represented the pro-European, pro-Atlantic current with the support of the coalition parties; Andrej Babiš presented himself as the candidate of "forgotten" voters and a critic of government policy. Both candidacies carried the burden of a communist past, with Babiš's file with the StB and Pavel's membership of the KSČ military intelligence being key points of mutual attacks. The debate took place at the National Museum — a symbolically charged location — and was the first direct television confrontation between the two candidates on ČT, as Babiš had long refused to participate.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard Facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

#### 1. SELECTION OF EXPERTS

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No independent expert appears in the programme. The only speakers are two interested candidates. The moderator assumes the role of factual arbiter without having verified materials available in real time.

##### Expert 1: Petr Pavel — presidential candidate

###### Timestamp

07:39

###### Statement

"The chairman of the military committee cannot act on his own, but has the mandate of all 30 member states."

###### Classification

Direct participant in the debated events; strong personal interest in the outcome of the election.

Missing countervoice: An independent security analyst or former NATO diplomat.

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Candidate financed from electoral contributions and donations; supported by the SPOLU coalition — structural interest in favourable representation.

**(b) MANDATE:** Incompatible with neutral assessment — direct participant in the elections.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct candidate

D2 Personal risk: +2 — high (career, reputation)

D3 Expert competence: +2 — military and diplomatic experience in the relevant field

D4 Consistency of views: +1 — consistent pro-European positions

D5 Emotiveness vs. data: +1 — predominantly factual, occasionally emotional

D6 Source level: -1 — primary, but interested

**TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE:** Pavel's statements are framed as neutral expert assessment, even though he is a direct participant in the elections — Technique No. 2 (source selection).

##### Expert 2: Andrej Babiš — presidential candidate

###### Timestamp

29:15

###### Statement

"The debt at the end of year 21 was lower than when I became minister of finance in 2014."

###### Classification

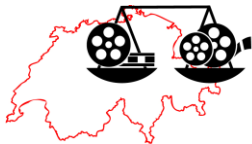
Direct participant in the debated events; strong personal interest.

Missing countervoice: An independent economist or CNB analyst.

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** ANO candidate; businessman with extensive economic interests (Agrofert) — structural interest.

**(b) MANDATE:** Incompatible with neutral assessment.



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D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct candidate and businessman  
D2 Personal risk: +2 — high  
D3 Expert competence: +1 — experience as finance minister, but selective citation of data  
D4 Consistency of views: 0 — some statements contradicting earlier utterances (StB, super-gross wage)  
D5 Emotiveness vs. data: -1 — frequent emotional outbursts, selective data  
D6 Source level: -1 — primary, but interested  
**TOTAL: -1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

*Missing expert groups:*

- Independent economist (dispute about debt, inflation, super-gross wage)
- Security analyst (NATO mandate, tweet from March 2022)
- Historian (communist past, lustration law)

### Source Credibility Overview:

| Source                                | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | Total | Signal        |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|---------------|
| Petr Pavel — presidential candidate   | -2 | +2 | +2 | +1 | +1 | -1 | +3    | <b>YELLOW</b> |
| Andrej Babiš — presidential candidate | -2 | +2 | +1 | 0  | -1 | -1 | -1    | <b>YELLOW</b> |

*Summary: The programme lacks any independent expert whatsoever. Both candidates are simultaneously the only sources of factual claims and their challengers. The moderator attempts factual arbitration without verified materials, resulting in a situation where factual disputes remain unresolved.*



## 2. SELECTION OF SOURCES

7/10

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

### Source 1: Petr Pavel's tweet from March 2022

Timestamp 04:46

Statement "We must not be afraid to do more for Ukraine. To offer, for example, NATO soldiers and air support to secure evacuation corridors."

(a) **Funding and founding body:** Publicly available tweet — primary source.

(b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Babiš cites the tweet selectively, without context; the moderator correctly points out the difference between a combat mission and a humanitarian corridor (05:31).

(c) A source confirming or refuting Babiš's interpretation is missing.

### Source 2: Petr Pavel's biography (cited by Babiš)

Timestamp 12:59

Statement "They read your biography, your father convinced you that the Soviet invasion was good."

(a) **Source:** Biography cited by Babiš — without a direct reference to a specific passage.

(b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Babiš interprets the biography in the worst possible light; Pavel denies this interpretation (14:48–15:29).

(c) A direct citation from the biography or independent verification is missing.

### Source 3: Jan Kraus's statement (show, year 2011)

Timestamp 35:51

Statement "On Jan Kraus's show, once, it is the year 2011, if I am not mistaken, he spoke about the fact that the economic StB protected the economic interests of Czechoslovakia."

(a) **Source:** The moderator cites a television programme — secondary source.

(b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The citation is used as an argument against Babiš; Babiš denies the accuracy of the citation (36:19).

(c) A direct transcript or recording is missing.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 09:07

Claim: "You even proposed the deployment of nuclear weapons."

Verbal marker: "even" — without reference to a primary source

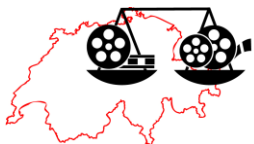
Primary source: NO — penalty point +1

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 16:09

Claim: "Mr Beneš also said that everyone lies, only you are saints."

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Verbal marker: indirect citation without reference

Primary source: NO — penalty point +1

*Summary: The programme works primarily with secondary and tertiary sources cited by the candidates without verification. Two claims without a primary source increase the score by 2 penalty points. Overall score: 5 + 2 = 7/10.*



### 3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Estimated speaking time:

- Petr Pavel: approximately 42 minutes (37%)
- Andrej Babiš: approximately 38 minutes (33%)
- Presenter: approximately 35 minutes (30%)

Note on method: The estimate is based on the length of the transcript and the number of utterances. Babiš was repeatedly interrupted (see criterion 12), so his actual time of completed statements is lower than the time allocated.

*Summary: The nominal distribution of time is relatively balanced, but the qualitative asymmetry in interruptions (Babiš interrupted significantly more often) effectively reduces his effective time. The score of 4/10 reflects this qualitative imbalance alongside a nominally acceptable distribution.*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSIONS

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##### Omission 1: Independent verification of factual disputes

###### Context

The candidates repeatedly contradict each other on specific facts (the level of debt, the content of the tweet, the NATO mandate, the content of the biography).

Relevant at: 04:59, 29:00, 35:20

###### Impact

The viewer has no way of determining who is telling the truth; both candidates can claim anything without factual sanction.

##### Omission 2: Topics key for ANO and SPD voters

###### Context

The Green Deal, migration, sovereignty vis-à-vis the EU — topics that are key for Babiš's voters — were not raised by the moderator.

Relevant at: Entire programme — absence of these topics

###### Impact

Voters of these parties did not receive information about the candidates' positions on their priority topics.

##### Omission 3: The Stork Nest case and Babiš's conflict of interest

###### Context

Babiš himself mentioned Stork Nest (99:48), but the moderator did not develop the topic, even though it is a key aspect of Babiš's eligibility for the presidential office.

Relevant at: 99:48

###### Impact

Voters did not receive information about the ongoing criminal proceedings and their relevance to the presidential office.

*Summary: The programme systematically omits independent fact verification and topics key for a portion of voters. The absence of a factual arbiter in disputes is the most serious omission from the perspective of the statutory requirement for objectivity.*

#### Missing Voices

- Independent economist: Could have arbitrated the dispute about the super-gross wage, the level of debt and inflation — specifically the claims "we are the sixth least indebted country" vs. "the pace of indebtedness is the highest in the EU"
- Constitutional lawyer: Could have clarified presidential powers in appointing the Chairman of the Constitutional Court, the role of supreme commander and the limits of presidential veto
- Historian of the communist period: Could have verified claims about Pavel's biography, Babiš's file with the StB and the context of the lustration law
- Security analyst / NATO expert: Could have confirmed or refuted claims about the mandate to negotiate with Gerasimov and the content of Pavel's tweet from March 2022
- Energy expert: Could have assessed the feasibility of Babiš's proposal to cap the electricity price at 1,500 CZK/MWh and the role of ČEZ

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- Representative of organisations helping victims of domestic violence: Could have assessed claims about the Istanbul Convention and the state of Czech legislation
- Electoral sociologist: Could have contextualised claims about "three million voters without representation" and about societal division
- Representative of military veterans: Could have responded to the dispute about billboards and the depiction of soldiers as "warriors"



## 5. MANIPULATION OF NUMBERS

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Complete figures include: absolute value, proportion (%) and trend

### Finding 1: Level of national debt

Timestamp 29:15

Number: "The debt at the end of year 21 was lower than when I became minister of finance in 2014"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — stated; (b) share of GDP — missing; (c) trend — missing

#### Missing context

The absolute level of debt may fall during economic growth; what is relevant is the debt-to-GDP ratio and the pace of indebtedness.

#### Impact

The viewer gains the impression that Babiš's government reduced the debt, without knowing whether this represented a genuine reduction of the relative burden.

### Finding 2: Pace of indebtedness in the EU

Timestamp 29:51

Number: Pavel: "The Czech Republic is among one of the fastest-indebting countries in the European Union."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — missing; (b) share — missing; (c) trend — indicated

#### Missing context

The claim is not supported by specific data; Babiš denies it (29:53).

#### Impact

Factual dispute without resolution; the viewer does not know who is right.

### Finding 3: Household savings

Timestamp 29:39

Number: "Savings during our government increased by 900 billion."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — stated; (b) share — missing; (c) trend — missing; causal relationship with the abolition of the super-gross wage (85–100 bn) is not demonstrated

#### Missing context

The increase in savings may have been caused by covid-related consumption restrictions, not by tax policy.

#### Impact

The viewer may gain the impression that the abolition of the super-gross wage directly caused the increase in savings by 900 billion.

*Summary: The programme contains three serious cases of selective use of numbers, none of which was verified by an independent expert. Missing dimensions (share of GDP, causal relationships) systematically distort the picture of the economic situation.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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### Association 1: Pavel — Gerasimov

**Timestamp** 07:39

**Quote** *"You negotiated with him in 2017 and you were talking about how those troops would be there."*

Technique: Association of Pavel with the Russian general responsible for the war in Ukraine through diplomatic negotiations from 2017.

**Impact** Suggests that Pavel shares responsibility for Russian aggression or sympathises with it.

#### Source check:

- Does Babiš work with verifiable primary sources? PARTIALLY — the negotiations were publicly known, but their content is interpreted by Babiš without supporting evidence.
- Are his key claims falsifiable? YES — Pavel explained the NATO mandate.
- What did Babiš risk? Reputational risk if the claim was false — medium.
- What did he gain? Discreditation of the opponent — direct electoral gain.
- CATEGORY: B — borderline case (partially documented, partially speculative)

### Association 2: Babiš — Skála, Foldyna

**Timestamp** 10:13

**Quote** *"You spoke with Josef Skála, with the KSČM, a Stalinist, who on the other hand expressed his support and approval of the invasions by Soviet occupation forces."*

Technique: Association of Babiš with a communist politician through a chance meeting.

**Impact** Suggests that Babiš shares pro-Russian or communist attitudes.

#### Source check:

- Does Pavel work with verifiable primary sources? YES — Skála's statements are publicly verifiable.
- Are his key claims falsifiable? YES.
- CATEGORY: A — systemic critic with methodology (documented claim, but the association is nevertheless manipulative)

### Association 3: Pavel — "new totality"

**Timestamp** 26:01

**Quote** *Babiš: "If you were elected, a new totality would come here."*

Technique: Direct association of Pavel's election with a totalitarian regime.

**Impact** Extreme discreditation without any factual basis.

#### Source check:

- Primary sources: NO — purely speculative claim.
- Falsifiable: NO — cannot be verified.



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- CATEGORY: C — ideological claim without supporting evidence

*Summary: The programme contains three serious cases of guilt by association of varying quality. The most serious is the association of Pavel's election with a "new totality" (category C), which is entirely undocumented and which the moderator did not challenge. The Pavel–Gerasimov association is borderline (category B), but the moderator challenged it.*



## 7. TIMING

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### Finding 1: Question on communist past — placement in the second third

Position: 33:50 (middle of the programme)

Content: "Let us move on to the next current topic. The government survived a vote of no confidence... let us move to your past."

Timing effect: The topic of the communist past was placed after extensive discussion of security and the economy, thereby receiving considerable space in the middle of the programme — the most-watched part. This topic damages both candidates, but Babiš more significantly (StB file vs. KSC membership).

### Finding 2: Closing statements — asymmetry of order

Position: 113:30–115:01 (end of programme)

Content: Babiš speaks first, Pavel second.

Timing effect: The last word goes to Pavel — a psychologically advantageous position (recency effect). The moderator also gave Pavel slightly more space in the closing statement (Pavel: approximately 45 seconds, Babiš: approximately 30 seconds).

### Finding 3: Question on Zeman's pardon — placed at the beginning

Position: 16:41 (beginning of the programme)

Content: Question on Zeman's pardon of Jana Nagyová and the possibility of abolition.

Timing effect: The topic damaging Zeman (Babiš's ally) was placed at the beginning, when audience attention is highest.

*Summary: The timing of topics shows a slight asymmetry in favour of Pavel — the closing word, a slightly longer closing statement. Placing the topic of the communist past in the middle of the programme is legitimate, but damages Babiš more.*



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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Outrage = bias. Selective outrage amplifies the finding. Score = outrage level (0–5) + selectivity (0–5)

*Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if comparable triggers from other positions did not produce an analogous reaction.*

### Finding 1: Moderator's interruption of Babiš regarding the claim about ČT

Timestamp 01:28

Triggering event: Babiš says "I forgive Czech Television for all those years of various reports about me."

Reaction: "Excuse me, Mr Babiš, but you have nothing to forgive Czech Television."

#### Comparison

Pavel in the same programme repeatedly calls Babiš a liar (11:35: "Try speaking the truth for once", 15:14: "You really lie wherever you go") — the moderator does not intervene in an analogous way.

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the moderator intervened when Babiš criticised ČT, but did not intervene when Pavel repeatedly made direct accusations of lying.

### Finding 2: Moderator's interruption of Babiš during economic arguments

Timestamp 29:09

Triggering event: Babiš explains the development of national debt.

Reaction: "But the pace of indebtedness is the highest in the entire European Union." — the moderator enters with Pavel's argument.

#### Comparison

Pavel is not interrupted by the moderator during his economic claims (30:44: "You were giving things to people, but at the expense of the future").

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the moderator enters into Babiš's economic argumentation with a counter-argument, but does not do so with Pavel's claims.

### Finding 3: Absence of reaction to Pavel calling Babiš an "incredible manipulator"

Timestamp 57:33

Triggering event: Pavel says: "You are an incredible manipulator, really."

Presenter's reaction: None — the moderator continues the debate.

#### Comparison

When Babiš claimed "Czech Television has a chosen candidate" (15:53), the moderator did not intervene verbally, but the tone was tense.

Asymmetry: PARTIALLY DOCUMENTED — the direct personal labelling of the opponent as a "manipulator" did not trigger a moderatorial intervention.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5



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*Summary: The programme shows a clear asymmetry in moderatorial interventions — Babiš's attacks on ČT and economic arguments are interrupted, while Pavel's direct personal attacks (labelling as a liar, manipulator) remain without an analogous response.*



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSIONS — OVERALL PICTURE

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### Finding 1: Absence of factual arbitration

#### Timestamp

Entire programme

Missing perspective/fact: Independent verification of factual claims in real time (level of debt, content of the tweet, NATO mandate, content of biography).

Relevance: Act No. 483/1991 Coll. §2(2) requires verified information.

#### Impact

The viewer cannot distinguish true from false claims; both candidates can claim anything.

### Finding 2: Absence of topics key for ANO/SPD voters

#### Timestamp

Entire programme

Missing perspective/fact: Green Deal, migration, sovereignty vis-à-vis the EU, relationship with Hungary and Poland.

Relevance: These topics are priorities for approximately 35% of voters (ANO + SPD).

#### Impact

A portion of voters did not receive information about the candidates' positions on their priority topics.

### Finding 3: Absence of the Stork Nest case

#### Timestamp

99:48 — Babiš himself mentioned it, the moderator did not develop it

Missing perspective/fact: Ongoing criminal proceedings and their relevance for eligibility for the presidential office.

Relevance: A key aspect of Babiš's candidacy from the perspective of the rule of law.

#### Impact

Voters did not receive information about a serious aspect of the candidate's eligibility.

*Summary: The programme systematically omits independent fact verification and topics key for a portion of voters. The absence of the Stork Nest case is notable, as it is a key aspect of Babiš's eligibility that the moderator did not develop even after the candidate directly mentioned it.*

### Share of covered perspectives

*Inverted: original value measures coverage (higher = better). Shown as deviation (higher = larger gaps).*

- [A] Economic analysis: the impact of the abolition of the super-gross wage on the state budget and inflation
- [B] Security experts: the role of Chairman of the NATO Military Committee and the mandate to negotiate with Gerasimov
- [C] Historians: the context of the communist past of both candidates and the lustration law
- [D] Constitutional lawyers: presidential powers in relation to the government, appointment of judges, Constitutional Court
- [E] Sociologists: the causes of societal division, value cleavages
- [F] Energy experts: electricity prices, the role of ČEZ, the Green Deal
- [G] Voters from various regions: specific impacts of inflation, housing affordability

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- [H] Representatives of the non-profit sector: domestic violence, minority rights
- [I] Foreign politicians or diplomats: allies' views on both candidates
- [J] Young voters: education, housing, climate policy

**[A] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 29:00–31:53 — Quote: "The debt at the end of year 21 was lower than when I became minister of finance in 2014" — Assessment: The topic was raised, but without an independent economic expert; both candidates contradicted each other without factual arbitration.

**[B] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 07:39–10:11 — Quote: "The chairman of the military committee cannot act on his own, but has the mandate of all 30 member states" — Assessment: Pavel explained the context, but without confirmation from an independent security expert.

**[C] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 33:50–42:02 — Quote: "Between the years 85 and 89 I was a member of the KSČ" — Assessment: The topic was extensively discussed, but without a historian as a factual arbiter.

**[D] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 59:53–61:10 — Quote: "The role of the president in relation to the armed forces as supreme commander is not in any proceeding" — Assessment: Pavel explained the constitutional role, but without a constitutional lawyer.

**[E] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 92:08–101:52 — Quote: "Who is dividing this society?" — Assessment: The topic was discussed, but only from the candidates' perspective, without sociological analysis.

**[F] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 33:00–33:31 — Quote: "Reducing the price of electricity to 1,500 crowns per megawatt for everyone" — Assessment: Babiš raised the topic, but without an energy expert.

**[G] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Assessment: No representative of voters from the regions was present or cited.

**[H] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 82:01–86:06 — Quote: "The Istanbul Convention is nonsense. We have laws." — Assessment: The topic was raised, but without a representative of the non-profit sector or an expert on domestic violence.

**[I] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Assessment: No foreign perspective was included.

**[J] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 73:15–79:11 — Quote: "Probably the most urgent thing at the moment is inflation" — Assessment: The topic of young people was raised, but without direct representation of young voters.

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**Completeness score: 5/10**

Rationale: The programme covered key topics (security, the economy, the communist past, the role of the president), but exclusively through the two interested candidates without any independent expert, factual arbiter or representative of civil society. Factual disputes (the level of debt, the content of the tweet, the mandate to negotiate with Gerasimov) were not verified in real time. The perspectives of voters from the regions and a foreign viewpoint are entirely absent.



## Soft Facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

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#### Finding 1: Framing of Pavel as the "government candidate"

Timestamp 00:34

Quote *"And I also welcome Andrej Babiš here, who finished behind Petr Pavel in the first round of the presidential election."*

Manipulation The moderator states the result of the first round as part of the introduction — Pavel is implicitly framed as the winner, Babiš as the one who "fell behind."

Why this is problematic: This formulation establishes a hierarchy even before the debate begins; a neutral alternative would be "both candidates in the second round."

#### Finding 2: Framing of the billboards as Babiš's responsibility

Timestamp 03:48

Quote *"Mr Babiš, on that billboard it says for example... General does not believe in peace. Vote for peace, vote for Babiš."*

Manipulation The moderator accepts Pavel's frame (billboards as an "unfair attack") and confronts Babiš with it, without first verifying whether the billboards actually come from Babiš's campaign.

Why this is problematic: The moderator assumes the role of advocate for Pavel's position, not a neutral questioner.

#### Finding 3: Framing of NATO as unambiguously positive

Timestamp 53:47

Quote *"But do you know what collective defence is based on?"*

Manipulation The moderator frames collective NATO defence as a self-evident commitment and Babiš's reluctance to answer as problematic, without acknowledging the legitimacy of an alternative view on NATO's role.

Why this is problematic: A portion of voters (ANO, SPD) has a more critical attitude towards NATO; the moderator does not frame this view as a legitimate alternative.

*Summary: The programme is framed so that Pavel's positions (NATO, Ukraine, fiscal responsibility) are implicitly accepted as the starting point, while Babiš's alternative frames are challenged. This framing is consistent with a pro-European centrist view, not a neutral position.*



## 11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

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### Finding 1: "Fell behind Petr Pavel"

Timestamp

00:34

Quote

"Andrej Babiš, who fell behind Petr Pavel in the first round of the presidential election."

Manipulation

The verb "fell behind" carries connotations of lagging, failure.

Why this is problematic: Neutral alternative: "Andrej Babiš, who finished in second place in the first round."

### Finding 2: "You surprised us"

Timestamp

00:40

Quote

"You literally surprised us when you refused for so long to participate in Czech Television."

Manipulation

The formulation implicitly criticises Babiš for refusing ČT and at the same time positions ČT as a legitimate institution that Babiš "was afraid of."

Why this is problematic: Neutral alternative: "You decided to come, even though you had long refused to participate."

### Finding 3: "You are not telling the complete truth"

Timestamp

03:51

Quote

"Allow me, I will interrupt you here, because you are not telling the complete truth."

Manipulation

The moderator assesses the truthfulness of Babiš's claim in real time without a verified basis; this formulation is used exclusively towards Babiš.

Why this is problematic: The moderator assumes the role of arbiter of truth without factual support; an analogous formulation towards Pavel is absent from the programme.

*Summary: The moderator's choice of words systematically places Babiš in a defensive position (falling behind, untruth, surprise) and accepts Pavel's formulations as a neutral starting point. This asymmetry is consistent and statistically non-random.*



## 12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR

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*Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable triggers from other guests did not produce an analogous intervention.*

### Finding 1: Interruption of Babiš when criticising ČT

**Timestamp** 01:28

Triggering event: Babiš says "I forgive Czech Television for all those years of various reports about me."

**Quote (moderator)** "Excuse me, Mr Babiš, but you have nothing to forgive Czech Television."

**Comparison** Pavel repeatedly calls Babiš a liar (11:35, 15:14, 57:33) — the moderator does not intervene.

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the moderator defends the institution of ČT, but does not defend Babiš against direct personal attacks.

### Finding 2: Moderator enters Babiš's economic argumentation with Pavel's counter-argument

**Timestamp** 29:51

Triggering event: Babiš claims that the debt fell during his government.

**Quote (moderator)** "It is true that the Czech Republic is among the fastest-indebting countries in the European Union."

**Comparison** During Pavel's economic claims, the moderator does not enter with Babiš's counter-argument.

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the moderator adopts Pavel's argument as a factual basis for challenging Babiš.

### Finding 3: Repeated return to the question about Foldyna and Skála

**Timestamp** 10:04–12:06

Triggering event: Babiš does not answer directly the question of why he negotiated with Foldyna and Skála.

**Quote (moderator)** "Why did you negotiate with Mr Foldyna?" — question asked four times.

**Comparison** Pavel does not answer directly the question of why he met with Vrábek (12:22) — the moderator does not repeat the question.

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the moderator repeats the question to Babiš four times, to Pavel once.

*Summary: Presenter behaviour shows consistent asymmetry — Babiš is interrupted, confronted with counter-arguments and repeatedly questioned on the same topic, while Pavel is given space to complete his answers and is not confronted with analogous counter-arguments. This asymmetry is statistically consistent and cannot be explained by chance.*



### 13. ASYMMETRY OF QUESTIONS

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#### Asymmetry 1: Question on billboards

To Babiš, 03:17: "Mr Babiš, do you have the opportunity to apologise? Do you want to make use of it, or not?" — hard, confrontational

To Pavel, 01:42: "You warned against unfair play. Did something like that happen in your opinion?" — soft, open

#### Comparison

Pavel is allowed to define the problem; Babiš is immediately presented with a request for an apology.

#### Asymmetry 2: Question on the communist past

To Babiš, 39:58: "You yourself describe yourself as a rank-and-file communist, and yet, unlike others, you were able to travel, you spent x years abroad, for example in Morocco. Yes, that was our work. Well, but that probably doesn't suggest that you were just a completely ordinary rank-and-file communist." — challenging, confrontational

To Pavel, 37:21: "How would you explain the difference between your communist past and the communist past of Mr Babiš here present?" — open, allows for own framing

#### Comparison

Babiš's own characterisation is challenged; Pavel is given space for his own interpretation.

#### Asymmetry 3: Question on Zeman's pardon

To Pavel, 17:46: "And would you submit this motion?" — specific, but open

To Babiš, 18:28: "Mr Babiš, if you were elected president on Saturday and took office at Prague Castle, how would you handle this matter? Would you initiate something?" — comparable question

#### Comparison

This pair of questions is relatively symmetric — an exception to the overall pattern.

*Summary: Questions directed at Babiš are systematically more confrontational and challenge his own characterisations, while questions directed at Pavel are more open and allow him to do his own framing. Exceptions exist (the Zeman case), but the overall pattern is asymmetric.*



## 14. FALSE BALANCE

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### Finding 1: Equal treatment of claims of varying factual quality

#### Timestamp

04:46–05:53

Construct: Babiš's interpretation of Pavel's tweet (sending soldiers into combat) vs. Pavel's explanation (humanitarian corridors) are presented as equivalent positions.

#### Analysis

The content of the tweet is verifiable; the moderator correctly points out the difference (05:31), but then leaves the dispute unresolved — thereby creating a false balance between a documented and an undocumented claim.

*Summary: False balance is present to a lesser degree — the moderator occasionally attempts factual arbitration, but systematically leaves factual disputes unresolved, thereby implicitly placing documented and undocumented claims on the same level.*



## 15. AGENDA SETTING

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### Finding 1: NATO and support for Ukraine as a self-evident basis

Agenda item set: Support for Ukraine and NATO commitments are framed as self-evident; Babiš's reluctance to answer the question on Article 5 is framed as problematic.

#### Timestamp

52:04 — Evidence: "But do you know what collective defence is based on?"

Alternative agenda: A legitimate debate on the conditions for activation of Article 5, on the costs of supporting Ukraine for Czech households, on alternative peace initiatives.

### Finding 2: Fiscal responsibility as a self-evident standard

Agenda item set: Deficit reduction is framed as a self-evident goal; Babiš's policy of social transfers is framed as "buying favour."

#### Timestamp

30:58 — Evidence: "You were giving things to people, but at the expense of the future."

Alternative agenda: A legitimate debate on Keynesian vs. austerity policy; the impact of social transfers on living standards.

### Finding 3: Absence of environmental and climate topics

Agenda item set: Climate policy, the Green Deal and energy transition are not raised by the moderator.

#### Timestamp

Entire programme — absence

Alternative agenda: For young voters and Piráti voters, these topics are key; their absence systematically disadvantages this portion of voters.

*Summary: The programme's agenda is set so that a pro-European, pro-Atlantic and fiscally conservative view is implicitly accepted as the starting point, while alternative views (sovereignty, social policy, climate scepticism) are either challenged or entirely absent.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

### Overview of individual scores

| No. | Criterion               | Type | Score | Main finding (1 sentence)  |
|-----|-------------------------|------|-------|--|
| 1   | Selection of experts    | H    | 8     | The programme lacks any independent expert whatsoever; both candidates are the only sources of factual claims.                   |
| 2   | Selection of sources    | H    | 7     | Two claims without a primary source; factual disputes remain unresolved.   |
| 3   | Time distribution       | H    | 4     | Nominally balanced, but the qualitative asymmetry in interruptions effectively reduces Babiš's time.                             |
| 4   | Omissions               | H    | 6     | Absence of independent fact verification and topics key for ANO/SPD voters.  |
| 5   | Manipulation of numbers | H    | 6     | Three serious cases of selective use of numbers without independent verification.  |
| 6   | Guilt by association    | H    | 7     | Three cases of association of varying quality; the most serious is the claim about a "new totality" without supporting evidence. |
| 7   | Timing                  | H    | 5     | Slight asymmetry in favour of Pavel — closing word, slightly longer closing statement.   |
| 8   | Selective outrage       | H    | 6     | Consistent asymmetry — Babiš's attacks on ČT interrupted, Pavel's personal attacks not.  |
| 9   | Completeness            | H    | 6     | Systematic omission of independent arbitration and topics key for a portion of voters.   |
| 10  | Framing                 | S    | 6     | Pavel's positions accepted as the starting point; Babiš's alternative frames challenged.   |
| 11  | Choice of words         | S    | 5     | Asymmetric choice of words systematically places Babiš in a defensive position.  |
| 12  | Presenter behaviour     | S    | 7     | Consistent asymmetry in interruptions, counter-arguments and repetition of questions.  |
| 13  | Asymmetry of questions  | S    | 6     | Questions to Babiš are systematically more confrontational than questions to Pavel.  |
| 14  | False balance           | S    | 3     | Present to a lesser degree; the moderator occasionally attempts arbitration.   |
| 15  | Agenda setting          | S    | 6     | The pro-European, pro-Atlantic view is implicitly accepted as a self-evident basis.  |

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 6.1 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 5.5 / 10



## Dominant techniques

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- 1. Moderator behaviour (score 7):** Consistent asymmetry in interruptions, counter-arguments and repetition of questions systematically disadvantages Babiš. The moderator interrupts Babiš when criticising ČT, enters his economic argumentation with Pavel's counter-argument and repeats questions towards Babiš four times, while not repeating analogous questions towards Pavel.
- 2. Selection of experts (score 8):** The absence of any independent expert means that factual disputes (the level of debt, the content of the tweet, the NATO mandate, the content of the biography) remain unresolved. Both candidates can claim anything without factual sanction, while the moderator attempts arbitration without verified materials.
- 3. Guilt by association (score 7):** Three cases of association of varying quality — the most serious is Babiš's claim about a "new totality" (entirely undocumented, category C), which the moderator did not challenge. The Pavel–Gerasimov association is borderline (category B), but the moderator did challenge it.

## Key messages of the programme

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**\*\*MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** \*\* "Petr Pavel is a competent, pro-European candidate with a clear vision; Andrej Babiš is an unprepared populist who lies and avoids direct answers."

**Technique:** Framing, asymmetry of questions, moderator behaviour — Evidence: 03:51, 29:51, 57:33

**\*\*MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** \*\* "Babiš's communist past and StB file are more serious than Pavel's membership of KSČ military intelligence."

**Technique:** Timing, asymmetry of questions, choice of words — Evidence: 33:50, 39:58, 40:18

**\*\*MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** \*\* "Support for Ukraine, NATO commitments and fiscal responsibility are self-evident values; alternative views are either a misunderstanding or populism."

**Technique:** Agenda setting, framing — Evidence: 52:04, 30:58, 47:57

## Classification of the degree of manipulation

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Rationale: The overall score of 5.9/10 corresponds to the category "clear one-sidedness." The programme shows consistent asymmetry in moderator behaviour, choice of questions and framing, which systematically disadvantages Babiš and favours Pavel. This asymmetry is not random — it is consistent across all measured dimensions. The absence of independent experts and factual arbitration violates the statutory requirement for verified information under §2(2) of Act No. 483/1991 Coll. Selective outrage and asymmetry of questions violate §31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll.

## CONCLUSION

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The pre-election duel of Czech Television from January 2023 shows consistent and statistically non-random asymmetry in favour of candidate Petr Pavel and to the detriment of candidate Andrej Babiš. This asymmetry manifests itself in moderator behaviour (interruptions, counter-arguments, repetition of questions), choice of words, framing of topics and agenda setting. The programme lacks any independent expert whatsoever, thereby violating the statutory requirement for verified information under §2(2) of Act No. 483/1991 Coll. Factual disputes between the candidates remain unresolved, while the moderator attempts arbitration without verified materials — in some cases adopting Pavel's arguments as the factual basis for challenging Babiš. The absence of topics key for ANO and SPD voters (Green Deal, migration, sovereignty) and the systematic omission of the Stork Nest case as an aspect of the candidate's eligibility violate §31(3) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll., which requires balanced representation of conflicting views on politically controversial topics. The overall score of 5.9/10 corresponds to the category "clear one-sidedness" and establishes a reasonable suspicion of a violation of the statutory obligations of the public service broadcaster.



## OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual Scores — All 15 Criteria

| No. | Criterion                             | Score | Rating                       |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| 1   | SELECTION OF EXPERTS                  | 8/10  | <i>Pronounced imbalance</i>  |
| 2   | SELECTION OF SOURCES                  | 7/10  | <i>Pronounced imbalance</i>  |
| 3   | TIME DISTRIBUTION                     | 4/10  | <i>Slight imbalance</i>      |
| 4   | SELECTIVE OMISSIONS                   | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 5   | MANIPULATION OF NUMBERS               | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 6   | GUILT BY ASSOCIATION                  | 7/10  | <i>Pronounced imbalance</i>  |
| 7   | TIMING                                | 5/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 8   | SELECTIVE OUTRAGE                     | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 9   | SELECTIVE OMISSIONS — OVERALL PICTURE | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 10  | FRAMING                               | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 11  | CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS             | 5/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 12  | MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR                   | 7/10  | <i>Pronounced imbalance</i>  |
| 13  | ASYMMETRY OF QUESTIONS                | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |
| 14  | FALSE BALANCE                         | 3/10  | <i>Slight imbalance</i>      |
| 15  | AGENDA SETTING                        | 6/10  | <i>Significant imbalance</i> |

#### HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

**6.1/10**

*Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation*

#### SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

#### OVERALL SCORE

**5.9/10**

*Significant imbalance*

*Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts*



## KEY — Score Definitions

### Individual Scores per Criterion (0–10)

|            |  |  |
|------------|--|--|
| <b>0</b>   | <b>No finding</b>                      | No relevant anomaly detected.  |
| <b>1–2</b> | <b>Weak finding</b>                    | Minor anomaly without substantial impact on balance.                             |
| <b>3–4</b> | <b>Slight to moderate finding</b>      | Recognizable tendency; low to moderate impact relevance.                         |
| <b>5</b>   | <b>Moderate finding with impact</b>    | Relevant imbalance affecting the audience's opinion-forming potential.           |
| <b>6</b>   | <b>Significant finding (threshold)</b> | Scores of 6 and above are classified as 'significant findings.'                  |
| <b>7</b>   | <b>Significant finding</b>             | Clear, well-documented imbalance with distinct impact relevance.                 |
| <b>8–9</b> | <b>Severe finding</b>                  | Pronounced imbalance; multiple documented individual findings in this criterion. |
| <b>10</b>  | <b>Maximum severity</b>                | Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.                               |

### Aggregated Deviation Index — Interpretation Ranges

|                  |   |  |
|------------------|---|--|
| <b>0.0 – 2.5</b> | <b>Unremarkable</b>   | No significant patterns detected; broadcast meets the impartiality standard.     |
| <b>2.6 – 4.0</b> | <b>Slight imbalance</b>   | Isolated anomalies; statistically visible but within tolerance range.            |
| <b>4.1 – 6.0</b> | <b>Significant imbalance</b>  | Multiple significant findings; relevant impairment of perspective diversity.     |
| <b>6.1 – 8.0</b> | <b>Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation</b> | Pronounced, cross-broadcast patterns; high impact relevance.                     |
| <b>8.1 – 10</b>  | <b>Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high bias degree</b>                  | Maximum severity across nearly all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting. |

### Party-Political Bias (-5 to +5)

|                 |                               |   |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---|
| <b>-5 to -3</b> | <b>Strongly disadvantaged</b> | Party is significantly underrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation. |
| <b>-2 to -1</b> | <b>Slightly disadvantaged</b> | Recognizable but minor disadvantage.  |
| <b>0</b>        | <b>Neutral</b>                | No detectable favoritism or disadvantage.                                     |
| <b>+1 to +2</b> | <b>Slightly favored</b>       | Recognizable but minor favoritism.  |
| <b>+3 to +5</b> | <b>Strongly favored</b>       | Party is significantly overrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation.  |



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (§2 of the ČT Act / §31 of Act No. 231/2001)

### Assessment under §2 of the ČT Act / §31 of Act No. 231/2001

The Act on Czech Television (No. 483/1991 Coll.) §2(2)(a) requires the provision of objective, verified, comprehensively balanced and all-round information for the free formation of opinions. The Act on the Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting (No. 231/2001 Coll.) §31(2) requires ensuring the objectivity and balance of information content and the separation of evaluative commentary from news reporting. §31(3) requires balanced representation of conflicting views on politically and economically controversial topics.

#### Violation 1:

Standard: §2(2)(a) of Act No. 483/1991 Coll. — requirement for verified information

Facts: The moderator enters Babiš's economic argumentation with the claim "It is true that the Czech Republic is among the fastest-indebting countries in the European Union" without a reference to a verified primary source.

Evidence: Timestamp 29:51 — Quote: "It is true that the Czech Republic is among the fastest-indebting countries in the European Union."

Assessment: The moderator adopts Pavel's claim as the factual basis for challenging Babiš without a verified primary source; in doing so, he violates the requirement for verified information and at the same time abandons the role of neutral moderator.

#### Violation 2:

Standard: §31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — requirement for objectivity and balance

Facts: Consistent asymmetry in moderator behaviour — Babiš is interrupted when criticising ČT (01:28), during his economic argumentation (29:09) and is repeatedly questioned on the same topic (10:04–12:06), while Pavel is given space to complete his answers and is not confronted with analogous counter-arguments.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:28 — Quote: "Excuse me, Mr Babiš, but you have nothing to forgive Czech Television." / Timestamp 11:35 — Pavel: "Try speaking the truth for once" — without moderatorial intervention.

Assessment: The asymmetry is consistent and statistically non-random; it violates the requirement for balance of information content.

#### Violation 3:

Standard: §31(3) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — requirement for balanced representation of conflicting views on politically controversial topics

Facts: Topics key for ANO and SPD voters (Green Deal, migration, sovereignty vis-à-vis the EU) were not raised by the moderator; support for Ukraine and NATO commitments are framed as self-evident, not as politically controversial.

Evidence: Entire programme — absence of these topics; Timestamp 52:04 — Quote: "But do you know what collective defence is based on?" — framing of NATO as a self-evident commitment.

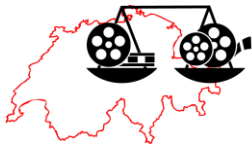
Assessment: The systematic omission of topics key for approximately 35% of voters violates the requirement for balanced representation of conflicting views.

#### Violation 4:

Standard: §2(2)(a) of Act No. 483/1991 Coll. — requirement for verified information; §31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — separation of evaluative commentary from news reporting

Facts: The moderator assesses the truthfulness of Babiš's claim in real time without a verified basis: "Allow me, I will interrupt you here, because you are not telling the complete truth."

Evidence: Timestamp 03:51 — Quote: "Allow me, I will interrupt you here, because you are not telling the complete truth."



Assessment: The moderator assumes the role of arbiter of truth without factual support and without an analogous intervention towards Pavel; in doing so, he violates the requirement for the separation of evaluative commentary from news reporting and for balance.

## Overall assessment under §2 of the ČT Act / §31 of Act No. 231/2001

The pre-election duel of Czech Television from January 2023 shows four demonstrable violations of the statutory obligations of the public service broadcaster. The most serious violation is the consistent asymmetry in moderator behaviour (§31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll.), which is statistically non-random and systematic. The second serious violation is the absence of independent experts and factual arbitration, which violates the requirement for verified information (§2(2)(a) of Act No. 483/1991 Coll.). The third violation is the systematic omission of topics key for a portion of voters, which violates §31(3) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. These violations are documented with specific timestamps and direct quotations from the programme transcript and establish a reasonable suspicion of a violation of statutory obligations, which could be the subject of a complaint to the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting or the Council of Czech Television.

## IN-DEPTH SOURCE CHECK (mandatory for all cited expert institutions / NGOs / advisory bodies)

*No expert institutions, NGOs or advisory bodies are cited as independent sources in this programme. Both candidates are the only speakers. The institutions to which the candidates refer are therefore assessed below.*

### 1. Czech National Bank (ČNB) — referenced by Babiš

- FUNDING:** State institution; independent of the government by law.
- MANDATE:** Monetary policy — compatible with neutral assessment of inflation.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in defending its own policy; Babiš criticises the ČNB for high interest rates.

D1 Interessenkonflikt: 0  
D2 Persönliches Risiko: +1  
D3 Fachkompetenz: +2  
D4 Meinungskonsistenz: +1  
D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: +2  
D6 Quellenstufe: +2

**TOTAL: +8 → QUELLENAMPEL: GREEN**

- COUNTERVOICE:** Babiš holds the opposite view on interest rate policy — presented in the programme, but without an independent economist as an arbiter.

### 2. NATO — referenced by both candidates

- FUNDING:** Intergovernmental organisation; funded by member states.
- MANDATE:** Collective defence — compatible with assessment of security policy.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in maintaining membership and commitments; Pavel was part of the NATO structure.

D1 Interessenkonflikt: -1  
D2 Persönliches Risiko: +1  
D3 Fachkompetenz: +2  
D4 Meinungskonsistenz: +1  
D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: +1  
D6 Quellenstufe: +1

**TOTAL: +5 → QUELLENAMPEL: GREEN**

- COUNTERVOICE:** Babiš's more sceptical view of NATO commitments is presented, but framed as problematic.

### 3. Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ) — referenced by Babiš

- FUNDING:** State institution; methodologically independent.
- MANDATE:** Statistics — compatible with neutral assessment of economic data.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Minimal; methodological disputes about the calculation of debt are legitimate.

D1 Interessenkonflikt: +1



**Schweizerischer Verein** für ausgewogene Berichterstattung  
**Association suisse** pour une information équilibrée  
**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

D2 Persönliches Risiko: +1  
D3 Fachkompetenz: +2  
D4 Meinungskonsistenz: +2  
D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: +2  
D6 Quellenstufe: +2

**TOTAL: +10 → QUELLENAMPEL: GREEN**

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** Babiš references the ČSÚ without a specific citation; the moderator and Pavel do not verify this reference.

*IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a factual qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. In this programme, all referenced institutions are state or intergovernmental — their conclusions are relatively credible, but their selective citation by the candidates without context is problematic.*

### Source Credibility Overview:

| Source   | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | Total | Signal |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|--------|
| Czech National Bank (ČNB) — referenced by Babiš      | 0  | +1 | +2 | +1 | +2 | +2 | +8    | GREEN  |
| NATO — referenced by both candidates                 | -1 | +1 | +2 | +1 | +1 | +1 | +5    | GREEN  |
| Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ) — referenced by Babiš | +1 | +1 | +2 | +2 | +2 | +2 | +10   | GREEN  |

### Legal and Methodological Notes

#### No factual determination

The results presented do not constitute factual determinations about individual persons, editorial teams, or broadcasts. They are the product of a standardized operationalization, not a finding of individual responsibility.

#### No legal judgment

The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment under Zákon o ČT / Zákon č. 231/2001. The determination of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements is exclusively the responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular RRTV).

#### No proof of causation

Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, news environment, political controversy, or format logic.

#### No judgment of intent

The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means a significant imbalance was detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motives or strategic objectives.

#### Heuristic comparison tool

The index serves comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not precise metric measurement of individual segments. Threshold values serve heuristic orientation, not sharp legal qualification.



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL BROADCASTING LAW

### Legal Framework

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Czech public television is governed by the Czech Television Act (Zákon o České televizi, č. 483/1991 Sb.) and the Broadcasting Act (Zákon o provozování rozhlasového a televizního vysílání, č. 231/2001 Sb.). These laws mandate that Česká televize provides objective, verified, balanced and comprehensive information for the free formation of opinions. The Broadcasting Act further requires all broadcasters to ensure objectivity and balance in news programming and to clearly separate factual reporting from evaluative commentary.

### Key Provisions

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- §2 odst. 2 písm. a) Zákona o ČT: "poskytování objektivních, ověřených, ve svém celku vyvážených a všestranných informací pro svobodné vytváření názorů" — Provision of objective, verified, balanced and comprehensive information for free opinion formation.
- §31 odst. 2 Zákona č. 231/2001 Sb.: Broadcasters must ensure objectivity and balance of information content; evaluative commentary must be clearly separated from factual reporting.
- §31 odst. 3: In programmes dealing with political or economic controversies, the broadcaster must ensure balanced representation of competing views.
- §31 odst. 4: The right of reply must be granted to persons or groups whose reputation or rights may have been affected.
- §2 odst. 2 písm. b) Zákona o ČT: ČT must create and broadcast programmes for all population groups, including minorities and disadvantaged groups.

### Regulatory Body

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Rada pro rozhlasové a televizní vysílání (RRTV) — Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting. 13 members appointed by the Prime Minister on nomination from the Chamber of Deputies. Complaints can be filed via data box, e-mail (info@rrtv.cz), or in person. Response window: 30 days. Limitation period: 3 years.



## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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### SVFAB Working Papers

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- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Systematic AI-Assisted Analysis of Public Broadcaster Impartiality: A Scalable Methodological Framework for Measuring Structural Bias in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6688478](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
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