



ČT PODROBNÁ ANALÝZA

20240606_CT Superdebata - Evropske volby 2024.cs

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OVERALL SCORE

6.0/10

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	Left	Center	Center	Center-Right	Center-Right	Right	Right	Right

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)

4.5 / 10

A leading opposition politician with a direct interest in discrediting the governing Prime Minister; presents himself as if offering a substantive solution, in reality it is a political attack

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — 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

The Czech Republic has been governed since January 2025 by a coalition government led by the ANO 2011 movement (80 seats, 35.0%) under Prime Minister Andrej Babiš. The coalition partners are SPD (15 seats, 6.2%) and Motoristé sobě/AUTO (13 seats, 5.5%). The opposition consists of ODS (27 seats), STAN (22 seats), Piráti (18 seats), KDU-ČSL (16 seats) and TOP 09 (9 seats). The analysed debate takes place in the pre-election context of the European Parliament elections, when the previous government of Petr Fiala (SPOLU + STAN + Piráti) was still in office.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
Piráti	2.5	18	Opposition	Digitalisation, civil rights, pro-European
STAN	4.5	22	Opposition	Local government, liberal centre, pro-European
KDU-ČSL	5.5	16	Opposition	Christian democracy, pro-European
TOP 09	6.0	9	Opposition	Pro-European, fiscal responsibility
ANO	6.0	80	Government	Centrist populism, Babiš's movement
ODS	7.0	27	Opposition	Right-wing liberalism, pro-European
Motoristé	7.5	13	Government	Right-wing, opposition to the Green Deal
SPD	8.5	15	Government	Euroscepticism, anti-immigration

The dominant topic of the pre-election debate is the position of the Czech Republic in the EU and the appointment of the post of European Commissioner. The fundamental confrontation takes place between the pro-European parties (STAN, Piráti, KDU-ČSL, TOP 09) and the Eurosceptic SPD, which demands the abolition of the European Commission. ANO takes a pragmatic position — formally pro-European, but with populist elements. The war in Ukraine and support for Kyiv represent the second key line of conflict, with SPD being openly sceptical about aid to Ukraine.

Czech Television is a public service broadcaster financed by licence fees, whose obligations are anchored in Act No. 483/1991 Coll. (the Czech Television Act) and Act No. 231/2001 Coll. The law obliges Czech Television to provide objective, verified, balanced and comprehensive information enabling the free formation of opinions. In the context of the European Parliament elections, this obligation is particularly pressing, as pre-election debates directly influence the voting decisions of citizens.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY BIAS

Assessment of accuracy in the representation of programmatic positions

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the programme vs. programmatic position
ANO	-1	04:00 "we won't be doing the government's personnel work" — Havlíček presents ANO as constructive opposition; ANO's programmatic position (pragmatic pro-European approach) is implied, but the populist attack on Fiala ("only 2% of people trust him") dominates over substantive content — partially distorted
ODS	0	ODS is not present in the programme as a speaker; Fiala is mentioned only as the target of Havlíček's attack — not evaluable
STAN	+2	01:43 "We take this as a responsibility" — Rakušan presents STAN as a responsible coalition partner striving for a strong portfolio; corresponds to STAN's programmatic position (pro-European, local government) — largely correct
Piráti	+2	00:47 Bartoš speaks about the digital agenda and Kolaja as a candidate — corresponds to Piráti's programmatic position (digitalisation, pro-European) — correct
KDU-ČSL	+1	05:30 Statement about a strong portfolio and experience from government practice — corresponds to KDU-ČSL's position (pro-European, pragmatic) — correct, but brief
TOP 09	0	TOP 09 is not represented in the programme — not evaluable
SPD	+3	06:38 Okamura clearly articulates the SPD's position: abolition of the European Commission, sovereignty of nation states, refusal to nominate a commissioner — fully corresponds to SPD's programmatic position — correctly represented
Motoristé	0	Motoristé are not represented in the programme — not evaluable

Summary of party bias

- Most accurate representation: SPD (score +3) — Okamura was able to fully and without interruption articulate the party's Eurosceptic position
- Strongest distortion: ANO (score -1) — Havlíček's contribution was dominantly aggressive towards Fiala rather than substantive; ANO's programmatic position on the EU remained unclear
- Average deviation from 0: 1.1
- Conclusion: The programme allowed the parties present (STAN, Piráti, KDU-ČSL, SPD) to present their positions on the European Commissioner relatively faithfully. The greatest distortion occurred with ANO, where Havlíček used the space for a personal attack on Fiala instead of a substantive presentation of the programme. Parties absent from the debate (ODS, TOP 09, Motoristé) cannot be assessed.

Overall tendency on the left-right axis

TENDENCY SCORE: -0.5

CLASSIFICATION: Balanced

Reasoning: The programme provided approximately comparable space to the pro-European centre (STAN, Piráti, KDU-ČSL) and the Eurosceptic right (SPD). The slight negative deviation stems from the fact that Havlíček's (ANO) attack on Fiala was not corrected by the moderator, thereby indirectly favouring the populist narrative. Overall, however, no systematic party bias in favour of the left or right can be established.



CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Programme data

- Title: Czech Television pre-election debate (series of pre-election debates ahead of the European Parliament elections)
- Date: Not precisely determined from the transcript; context corresponds to the turn of May/June 2024 (mention of Monday the 17th and the European Council at the end of June)
- Presenter / reporter: Not identified by name from the transcript
- Guests:

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Ivan Bartoš	Chairman of Piráti, Deputy Prime Minister	Piráti	Centre-left (2.5)
Vít Rakušan	Chairman of STAN, Deputy Prime Minister	STAN	Centre (4.5)
Petr Fiala (mentioned, not present)	Prime Minister	ODS	Right (7.0)
Karel Havlíček	MP, Chairman of ANO in the Chamber of Deputies	ANO	Centre-populism (6.0)
Unidentified KDU-ČSL speaker	Representative of KDU-ČSL	KDU-ČSL	Centre (5.5)
Tomio Okamura	Chairman of SPD	SPD	Right (8.5)
Unidentified female speaker	Representative (probably of the SPOLU coalition or governing party)	Unidentified	Unidentified

Main topic

The debate deals with the appointment of the post of Czech European Commissioner after the 2024 European Parliament elections and the position of the Czech Republic in the European Union.

Ideological context

The European Parliament elections in June 2024 take place in the context of the twentieth anniversary of the Czech Republic's accession to the EU. Surveys show that 58% of Czechs evaluate EU membership positively, while 40% evaluate it negatively — reflecting persistent Euroscepticism in part of society. The key topic is whether the Czech Republic will obtain a strong economic portfolio in the new European Commission. The debate takes place in a tense pre-election environment, with parties competing to define the "national interest" in a European context.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard Facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

1. SELECTION OF EXPERTS

7/10

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Expert 1: Karel Havlíček (MP of ANO, Chairman of ANO in the Chamber of Deputies)

Timestamp	04:00
Statement	"I am convinced that the best candidate for European Commissioner would be Prime Minister Fiala"
Classification	A leading opposition politician with a direct interest in discrediting the governing Prime Minister; presents himself as if offering a substantive solution, in reality it is a political attack

Missing countervoice: An independent political scientist or expert on European institutions who would assess the realism and motivation of the proposal

Credibility assessment (Havlíček):

(a) FUNDING: MP funded from public funds; ANO is a movement with a direct political interest in the fall of Fiala's government

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of an opposition politician is incompatible with a neutral assessment of government candidates

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct political interest in discrediting Fiala

D2 Personal risk: -1 — the attack on Fiala is politically advantageous for Havlíček, not risky

D3 Expert competence: 0 — as a former minister he has experience, but speaks as a politician, not an expert

D4 Consistency of views: -1 — ANO has long been attacking Fiala; the statement is part of a pattern

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -2 — the statement is purely aggressive, without data or analysis

D6 Source level: -1 — secondary source (political statement, not primary analysis)

TOTAL: -7 → SOURCE SIGNAL: RED

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The statement is framed as a "seriously meant proposal", in reality it is a political attack without analytical value — technique no. 2 (selection of sources)

Expert 2: Tomio Okamura (Chairman of SPD)

Timestamp	06:38
Statement	"We are in favour of abolishing the European Commission"
Classification	Chairman of a Eurosceptic party; the statement fully corresponds to SPD's programmatic position; appears as a political actor, not an expert

Credibility assessment (Okamura):

(a) FUNDING: MP funded from public funds; SPD has a direct interest in the Eurosceptic narrative

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of a Eurosceptic politician is incompatible with a neutral assessment of the EU



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- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct interest in weakening EU institutions
D2 Personal risk: 0 — the statement is in line with his voter base
D3 Expert competence: -1 — speaks as a politician, not as an expert in EU law
D4 Consistency of views: +2 — SPD consistently holds Eurosceptic positions
D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — the statement is ideological, without empirical support
D6 Source level: -1 — political statement

TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE SIGNAL: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Okamura is framed as a legitimate political voice, which corresponds to his function; the problem is the absence of an expert counterpart

Missing expert groups:

- Expert in EU law (explanation of the actual mandate of a commissioner)
- Independent political scientist (analysis of the Czech Republic's real chances)
- Economic analyst (assessment of portfolios)

Source Credibility Overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Karel Havlíček (MP of ANO, Chairman of ANO in the Chamber of Deputies)	-2	-1	0	-1	-2	-1	-7	RED
Tomio Okamura (Chairman of SPD)	-2	0	-1	+2	-1	-1	-3	YELLOW

Summary (result of matrix):

- Havlíček: RED — statement framed as a substantive proposal, in reality a political attack without analytical value
- Okamura: YELLOW — consistent political position, but without an expert basis
- Other guests: politicians without an expert mandate; no independent expert present in the programme



2. SELECTION OF SOURCES

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Opinion poll (unidentified)

Timestamp

00:19

Statement

"the majority of the country's inhabitants are satisfied specifically this concerns 58% of Czechs 15% of them even evaluate membership in the union very positively on the contrary a negative rating to the past 20 years is given by 40% of people"

(a) Funding and commissioner: The survey is not identified — no commissioner, agency, date or methodology is stated

(b) Structural conflict of interest: A survey commissioned by Czech Television or the government could have different results than an independent survey; without identification this cannot be assessed

(c) Missing source to document the opposing view: A survey focused on specific areas of dissatisfaction (migration, sovereignty, economy) is absent

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 08:24

Claim: "one of the candidates on the candidate list for the European Parliament tri trikolory third place on the candidate list Mrs Majerová Zahradníková Moreover also gave interviews to Voice of Europe so God knows how the connection there is perhaps we will still find out in the future"

Verbal marker: "God knows how the connection there is", "perhaps we will still find out in the future"

Primary source: NO — the claim about "connection" is speculative, without documentation by a primary source — penalty point +1

Summary: The survey at the beginning of the programme is not identified, which makes it impossible to verify its methodology. The speculative claim about the Trikolora candidate and Voice of Europe is presented without a primary source — a serious journalistic shortcoming.



3. TIME ALLOCATION

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Estimated speaking time:

- Ivan Bartoš (Piráti): approx. 1.5 min. (17%)
- Vít Rakušan (STAN): approx. 1.5 min. (17%)
- Karel Havlíček (ANO): approx. 1.5 min. (17%)
- KDU-ČSL speaker: approx. 1.5 min. (17%)
- Tomio Okamura (SPD): approx. 1.0 min. (11%)
- Unidentified female speaker: approx. 1.0 min. (11%)
- Presenter: approx. 0.5 min. (6%)
- Survey/introduction: approx. 0.5 min. (6%)

Summary: The time allocation is approximately equal among the guests present. The problem is not inequality between those present, but the absence of key parties (ODS, Motoristé, TOP 09), whose voters have no representation in the debate.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

7/10

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Omission 1:

Context

The absence of ODS — the largest opposition party with direct experience from government and from negotiations about the European Commissioner

Relevant at: entire debate

Impact

The debate about the appointment of the post of commissioner takes place without the voice of the party that negotiated this position in the past; Fiala is mentioned only as the target of ANO's attack without being able to respond

Omission 2:

Context

The absence of an explanation of why 40% of Czechs evaluate EU membership negatively

Relevant at: 00:34 — "a negative rating to the past 20 years is given by 40% of people"

Impact

The figure is mentioned, but the perspective of the Eurosceptic part of the public (outside SPD) is not developed; 40% is a statistically significant group without a voice in the debate

Omission 3:

Context

The absence of any discussion of concrete candidates for the post of commissioner and their qualifications

Relevant at: entire debate

Impact

The debate remains at the level of political negotiation about "portfolios" without substantive content about who specifically could and should hold this function

Summary: The systematic omission of ODS and independent experts distorts the picture of the debate; 40% of the Eurosceptic public has no spokesperson in the programme.

Missing Voices

- Expert in EU law: Would provide a precise explanation of how the selection of a commissioner works and what the actual limitations of their mandate are
- Economic analyst: Would objectively assess which portfolios are genuinely strategically advantageous for the Czech Republic
- Representative of ODS/SPOLU: As the largest opposition party with direct experience from government, it should have been represented
- Representative of the Eurosceptic public (outside SPD): The 40% of citizens who evaluate membership negatively have no spokesperson in the debate
- Representative of the European Parliament or Commission: Would provide an institutional perspective on the selection of commissioners



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- Representative of the business sector: Would provide a perspective on the concrete economic impacts of portfolios
- Independent political scientist: Could analyse the Czech Republic's real chances of obtaining a strong portfolio without partisan bias
- Representative of the regions: Rakušan mentions regional development, but no representative of the regions is present



5. MANIPULATION WITH NUMBERS

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 00:19

Figure: "58% of Czechs" satisfied with EU membership

Dimension: (a) absolute value — yes; (b) proportion — yes (percentages); (c) trend — NO

Missing context

No development over time is provided — were more or fewer people satisfied than 5 years ago?
No survey methodology, date, agency or sample size is provided

Impact

The figure appears as an unambiguously positive result, but without a trend it is impossible to assess whether this represents an improvement or a deterioration

Finding 2:

Timestamp 02:36

Figure: "one trillion crowns" from structural funds over 20 years

Dimension: (a) absolute value — yes; (b) proportion — NO (how much has the Czech Republic paid into the EU budget?); (c) trend — NO

Missing context

A comparison with Czech contributions to the EU budget is absent; a comparison with other countries is absent; information on the effectiveness of the use of funds is absent

Impact

The figure is presented as unambiguously positive without any analysis of the net benefit

Finding 3:

Timestamp 04:53

Figure: "only 2% of people trust" (Havlíček about Fiala's government)

Dimension: (a) absolute value — implied; (b) proportion — yes; (c) trend — NO

Missing context

The source of the survey is not stated; no comparison with trust in other governments; no context (trust in government is generally low in most countries)

Impact

The figure is used as a political weapon without any verification or context

Summary: All three key figures in the programme are presented without a trend and without methodological context; the figure "2% trust" is used as an unverified political weapon.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION							7/10		
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Association 1:	
Timestamp	08:11
Quote	<i>"the Kremlin must be pleased with him"</i>
Technique: Okamura is indirectly associated with the Kremlin through the implication that his positions serve Russian interests	
Impact	Suggests that Okamura is consciously or unconsciously a tool of Russian propaganda; this is a serious allegation without direct evidence

Association 2:	
Timestamp	08:24
Quote	<i>"one of the candidates on the candidate list for the European Parliament tri trikolory third place on the candidate list Mrs Majerová Zahradníková Moreover also gave interviews to Voice of Europe so God knows how the connection there is"</i>
Technique: The Trikolora candidate is associated with Voice of Europe (a medium linked to Russian propaganda) through a speculative claim without evidence	
Impact	Suggests a connection with Russian propaganda without any documentation; this is a classic example of guilt by association

Association 3:	
Timestamp	05:10
Quote	<i>"you have only one programme Antifa and you are terribly afraid of me"</i>
Technique: Havlíček associates opposition parties with the term "Antifa" — a politically charged term with negative connotations in part of the public	
Impact	Suggests that opposition parties are extremist or ideologically motivated; the moderator does not correct this association

Check for persons framed as "spreaders of disinformation":

Okamura (framed as pro-Kremlin):

- Works with documented primary sources? NO — his statements are political, not analytical
- Are his key claims falsifiable? PARTIALLY — SPD's positions are political, not conspiratorial
- What did he lose by his position? Nothing — Euroscepticism is electorally advantageous for SPD
- What did he gain? Attention, voters
- Net: Risk < Gain — reduced credibility
- RESULTING CATEGORY: B — borderline case (politically motivated Euroscepticism, not conspiracy)



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Summary: The association of Okamura with the Kremlin and of the Trikolora candidate with Voice of Europe are presented without primary evidence; this is a technique of guilt by association that violates journalistic standards.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1:

Position: 00:00–00:44 (beginning)

Content: Survey showing 58% satisfied with the EU — positive framing of EU membership

Timing effect: The programme begins with a positive image of the EU, which sets the interpretive frame for the entire debate; Eurosceptic voices arrive only after this introduction

Finding 2:

Position: 07:59–08:48 (end)

Content: Attack on Okamura and Trikolora — association with the Kremlin and Voice of Europe

Timing effect: The conclusion of the programme leaves the viewer with a negative image of Eurosceptic parties; this is a classic "last word" effect, where the final impression dominates over the overall content

Summary: The programme is framed with a positive image of the EU at the beginning and a negative image of Eurosceptic parties at the end; this structure systematically favours the pro-European narrative.



8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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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 be assessed as selective only if comparable triggers from other positions did not produce an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 08:11

Triggering event: Okamura expresses Eurosceptic positions and refuses to nominate a commissioner

Reaction: "the Kremlin must be pleased with him" — direct association with the Kremlin without evidence

Comparison Havlíček at 04:00 proposes Fiala as commissioner with the explicit aim of bringing down the government — moderator's reaction: no analogous criticism

Asymmetry: SPD's Eurosceptic positions trigger association with the Kremlin; ANO's politically motivated attack on Fiala triggers no criticism — the asymmetry is demonstrable

Degree of indignation: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: SPD's Eurosceptic positions are associated with the Kremlin, while ANO's politically motivated attack on Fiala passes without criticism; this is a demonstrable asymmetry in the assessment of political statements.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

7/10

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Finding 1:

Timestamp entire debate

Missing perspective: Independent expert in EU law or political science

Relevance: The debate about the appointment of the post of commissioner takes place exclusively among politicians; no expert explains the actual mechanisms of selection, the limitations of the commissioner's mandate or the Czech Republic's real chances

Impact Viewers receive only politically motivated statements without a factual basis

Finding 2:

Timestamp 00:34

Missing perspective: Reasons for the dissatisfaction of 40% of Czechs with the EU

Relevance: 40% is a statistically significant group; their perspective (outside SPD) is not represented in the debate

Impact Euroscepticism is implicitly equated with SPD and the Kremlin, rather than with legitimate concerns of part of the public

Finding 3:

Timestamp entire debate

Missing perspective: Concrete results and failures of 20 years of EU membership

Relevance: The anniversary of EU accession is an opportunity for a substantive stocktaking; the programme is limited to political negotiation about the future

Impact Viewers do not obtain a factual basis for evaluating EU membership

Summary: The programme systematically omits expert voices, the perspective of the Eurosceptic public outside SPD and a substantive stocktaking of 20 years of membership; the result is a politically motivated debate without factual content.

End of hard facts — beginning of soft facts

Share of covered perspectives

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

- [A] The perspective of an expert in EU law — what a European Commissioner can and cannot actually do for their country
- [B] The perspective of an economist — which portfolios are genuinely advantageous for the Czech Republic and why
- [C] The perspective of a civil society representative — what ordinary citizens expect from the EU
- [D] The perspective of the opposition (ODS) — how it evaluates the previous government's performance in the EU

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- [E] The perspective of the Eurosceptic part of the public — why 40% evaluate membership negatively
- [F] The perspective of a representative of the European Commission or EP — how the selection of commissioners actually works
- [G] The perspective on the role of the Czech Republic in supporting Ukraine and the security dimension of the EU
- [H] The perspective on democratic standards and media independence in the EU context
- [I] The perspective on concrete results of 20 years of membership — one trillion crowns from structural funds
- [J] The perspective on candidates — who specifically could be commissioner and with what qualifications

[A] IMPLIED

Timestamp: 07:13 — Quote: "according to the rules a European Commissioner must not act in the interest of their home country but in the interest of the EU as a whole" — Assessment: The rule was mentioned by Okamura's side as an argument, not explained by an expert.

[B] IMPLIED

Timestamp: 01:07 — Quote: "what portfolio would be good for the Czech Republic so that it would be an economically strong portfolio whether it is the internal market or the digital market the economy possibly energy" — Assessment: Portfolios are named by politicians, not analysed by economic experts.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The voice of citizens is entirely absent; the survey at the beginning (58% satisfied) is not developed further.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: ODS is not represented in the debate; Fiala is mentioned only as the target of ANO's attack.

[E] IMPLIED

Timestamp: 00:34 — Quote: "40% of people give a negative rating to the past 20 years" — Assessment: The figure is mentioned, but the perspective of the Eurosceptic part of the public is not developed further.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No representative of EU institutions or independent expert on European processes is present.

[G] IMPLIED

Timestamp: 07:59 — Quote: "we are also leaders in aid to Ukraine" — Assessment: The topic of Ukraine is mentioned, but is not the subject of a structured debate.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Democratic standards and media freedom in the EU context are not mentioned.

[I] IMPLIED

Timestamp: 02:36 — Quote: "from that by that trillion crowns the Czech Republic in those last 20 years profited significantly" — Assessment: The figure is mentioned without context, analysis or verification.

[J] IMPLIED

Timestamp: 01:26 — Quote: "generated through the internal party process of ours also a leader as a proposal Marcel Kolaja" — Assessment: The candidate is named, but their qualifications are not discussed in more detail.



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Completeness score: 3/10

Reasoning: Of ten relevant perspectives, three are implied only marginally and four are entirely absent. The debate focuses exclusively on the political negotiation over the post of commissioner between the parties present. An expert perspective, the voice of citizens, the representation of ODS and a structured analysis of the results of EU membership are all absent.



Soft Facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Finding 1:

Timestamp	00:00
Quote	"This year it is 20 years since the Czech Republic became a member of the European community"
Manipulation	The anniversary is used as a positive frame for the entire debate; membership is presented as a natural and positive part of Czech identity

Why this is problematic: The frame "anniversary = celebration" predetermines the interpretation of the survey and the entire debate; Eurosceptic positions are implicitly presented as a deviation from the norm

Finding 2:

Timestamp	08:11
Quote	"the Kremlin must be pleased with him"
Manipulation	Euroscepticism is framed as a pro-Kremlin position; the debate about the sovereignty of nation states is transferred into the frame of a security threat

Why this is problematic: A legitimate political position (Euroscepticism) is framed as a security risk without evidence; this makes a substantive debate about EU reforms impossible

Finding 3:

Timestamp	07:59
Quote	"we are also leaders in aid to Ukraine"
Manipulation	Support for Ukraine is framed as self-evident and positive; opponents are implicitly framed as pro-Kremlin

Why this is problematic: The debate about the extent and form of aid to Ukraine is legitimate; the framing closes it as a settled matter

Summary: The programme systematically frames the pro-European position as normal and Euroscepticism as a deviation associated with a security threat; this makes a substantive debate about EU reform impossible.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

04:53

Quote

"only 2% of people trust absolutely"

Manipulation

The word "only" amplifies the negative connotation; "absolutely" adds emotional emphasis

Why this is problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "trust in the government is X%"; the formulation used is aggressive and without a verified source

Finding 2:

Timestamp

07:24

Quote

"it is merely an expensive sinecure at half a million a month"

Manipulation

The expression "sinecure" has a strongly negative connotation in Czech (corruption, clientelism); "expensive" amplifies the negative image

Why this is problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "the post of European Commissioner is a paid position"; the formulation used discredits the entire institution without argument

Finding 3:

Timestamp

08:24

Quote

"God knows how the connection there is"

Manipulation

The phrase "God knows" suggests mystery and hidden truth without any evidence; this is a classic insinuating language

Why this is problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "no verified information is available about a possible connection"; the formulation used implants suspicion without evidence

Summary: The programme uses emotionally charged language especially when assessing Eurosceptic parties and EU institutions; neutral alternatives are available but are not used.



12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 04:00

Triggering event: Havlíček proposes Fiala as commissioner with the explicit aim of bringing down the government

Quote (moderator) *"and you would have a super post for another P years" — the moderator responds ironically, not critically*

Comparison Okamura at 06:38 proposes abolishing the European Commission — the moderator responds with a substantive remark about the rules

Asymmetry: Havlíček's politically motivated attack is received with irony (without a critical question); Okamura's position is confronted with EU rules — a mild asymmetry in favour of ANO

Finding 2:

Timestamp 07:31

Triggering event: A speaker (probably from the coalition) attacks Okamura and Trikolora

Quote (moderator) *"Thank you you said one sentence thank you" — the moderator interrupts the statement*

Comparison Havlíček's attack on Fiala (04:00–05:04) was not interrupted

Asymmetry: The attack on Eurosceptic parties is interrupted formally (time limit), while ANO's attack on Fiala proceeded without interruption — mild asymmetry

Finding 3:

Timestamp 05:04

Triggering event: Havlíček says "Now it is becoming clear how very afraid of me you are in Czech politics"

Quote (moderator) *No reaction — the moderator does not ask a follow-up question*

Comparison Okamura's position is confronted with EU rules (07:13)

Asymmetry: Havlíček's provocative statements pass without follow-up questions; Okamura's position is confronted with institutional rules

Summary: The moderator displays mild asymmetry — Havlíček's political attacks pass without critical confrontation, while Eurosceptic positions are confronted with EU rules; the asymmetry is demonstrable, but not extreme.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

5/10

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Asymmetry 1:

To Bartoš, 00:47: "according to the coalition agreement the nomination of the European Commissioner falls to STAN and Piráti are ceding this function to the mayors" — neutral/substantive question

To Havlíček, 04:00: "when Mr Havlíček the ANO movement wins the European elections will it want to have a say in the government's choice of commissioner" — neutral question, which enabled Havlíček to launch an attack on Fiala without a subsequent critical question

Comparison

Bartoš receives a substantive question about the coalition agreement; Havlíček receives an open question that enables a political attack without confrontation

Asymmetry 2:

To Rakušan, 01:43: "Mr Rakušan at what price will you defend this privilege" — the question contains the evaluative word "privilege", which implies that STAN has obtained an unwarranted advantage

To Okamura: No comparable evaluative question — Okamura is given space to present SPD's position without an analogous critical formulation

Comparison

Rakušan is confronted with the evaluative term "privilege"; Okamura is not — mild asymmetry

Summary: The questions are overall relatively substantive, but Havlíček is given open space for a political attack without subsequent critical confrontation; the word "privilege" addressed to Rakušan is evaluative without an analogy for other guests.



14. FALSE BALANCE									4/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Finding 1:

Timestamp

entire debate

Construct: The programme presents the debate about the European Commissioner as a balanced discussion between different parties

Analysis

In reality, 4 pro-European parties are present (Piráti, STAN, KDU-ČSL, unidentified female speaker) and 2 Eurosceptic ones (SPD, ANO with reservations); ODS as the largest opposition party is absent; the debate is not balanced in terms of the representation of the political spectrum

Summary: The programme creates an appearance of balance by including SPD as a Eurosceptic voice, but systematically omits ODS and independent experts; the result is a false balance.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

6/10

1

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Finding 1:

Item set on the agenda: EU membership is positive and self-evident; the question is only how to maximise the Czech Republic's influence in the EU, not whether membership is advantageous

Timestamp

00:00 — Evidence: "This year it is 20 years since the Czech Republic became a member of the European community" — the anniversary as a celebration

Alternative agenda: A substantive stocktaking of the advantages and disadvantages of membership; discussion of EU reform; the perspective of 40% of dissatisfied citizens

Finding 2:

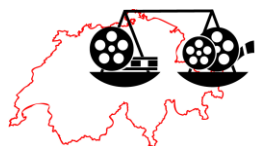
Item set on the agenda: Support for Ukraine is self-evident and positive; opponents are pro-Kremlin

Timestamp

07:59 — Evidence: "we are also leaders in aid to Ukraine and because here those who shout more are given space to express themselves on Ukraine"

Alternative agenda: A substantive debate about the extent, form and sustainability of aid to Ukraine; economic impacts on the Czech Republic

Summary: The programme sets the agenda so that the pro-European position and support for Ukraine are presented as self-evident norms; alternative perspectives are framed as a deviation or security threat.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Selection of experts	H	7	No independent expert is present; all guests are politicians with a direct interest
2	Selection of sources	H	7	Survey without identification of the commissioner; speculative claim about Voice of Europe without a primary source
3	Time allocation	H	5	Approximately equal among the guests present, but key parties (ODS) are absent
4	Omissions	H	7	ODS, independent experts and the perspective of 40% of dissatisfied citizens are systematically absent
5	Manipulation with numbers	H	6	Three key figures without trend, methodology or context; "2% trust" without a source
6	Guilt by association	H	7	Okamura associated with the Kremlin; Trikolora candidate with Voice of Europe — without evidence
7	Timing	H	5	Positive EU frame at the beginning; attack on Eurosceptics at the end — systematic structure
8	Selective indignation	H	6	Eurosceptic positions associated with the Kremlin; ANO's attack on Fiala without criticism
9	Completeness	H	7	Systematic omission of expert voices and the perspective of the Eurosceptic public
10	Framing	S	6	Pro-European position framed as the norm; Euroscepticism as a security threat
11	Choice of words	S	6	Emotionally charged language when assessing Eurosceptic parties and EU institutions
12	Presenter behaviour	S	6	Mild asymmetry — Havlíček's attacks without critical confrontation; Okamura confronted with rules
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Havlíček given open space for an attack; Rakušan confronted with an evaluative term
14	False balance	S	4	Appearance of balance with systematic omission of ODS and independent experts
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Pro-European position and support for Ukraine set as self-evident norms

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 6.3 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 5.5 / 10



Dominant techniques

- 1. Guilt by Association (score 7):** Okamura is associated with the Kremlin and the Trikolora candidate with Voice of Europe without primary evidence; this is the most serious manipulative technique in the programme. This technique systematically discredits Eurosceptic positions without substantive argumentation and violates basic journalistic standards.
- 2. Selection of experts and sources (score 7):** No independent expert is present; the survey at the beginning of the programme is not identified. The debate about the appointment of the post of commissioner takes place exclusively among politicians with a direct interest, without any factual basis.
- 3. Selective omission (score 7):** ODS as the largest opposition party is absent; 40% of the Eurosceptic public has no spokesperson; a substantive stocktaking of 20 years of EU membership is absent. The systematic omission distorts the overall picture of the debate in favour of the pro-European narrative.

Key messages of the programme

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The Czech Republic must maximise its influence in the EU through a strong economic portfolio of the commissioner."

Technique: Agenda-setting, framing — Evidence: 01:07, 03:17

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Eurosceptic parties (SPD, Trikolora) are linked to Russian interests and threaten the security of the Czech Republic."

Technique: Guilt by association, framing — Evidence: 08:11, 08:24

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "EU membership is positive and self-evident; 20 years of membership is a reason to celebrate."

Technique: Framing, agenda-setting, timing — Evidence: 00:00, 02:36

Reasoning: The programme displays clear one-sidedness in several dimensions: the systematic omission of ODS and independent experts, the association of Eurosceptic parties with the Kremlin without evidence, the positive framing of EU membership as a self-evident norm. This combination of techniques violates §2 para. 2 lit. a) of the Czech Television Act, which requires balanced and comprehensive information. The overall score of 6.0/10 corresponds to the category "clear one-sidedness", not systematic manipulation, since Eurosceptic voices (SPD) were given space and time allocation is approximately equal.

CONCLUSION

The analysed Czech Television programme is a pre-election debate about the appointment of the post of European Commissioner, which displays a clear pro-European tendency in terms of framing, selection of guests and associative techniques. The most serious finding is the use of the guilt by association technique against Eurosceptic parties — the association of Okamura with the Kremlin and of the Trikolora candidate with Voice of Europe are presented without primary evidence, thereby violating §31 para. 2 of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. requiring the separation of evaluative commentary from news reporting. The systematic omission of ODS as the largest opposition party and the absence of independent experts violates §2 para. 2 lit. a) of the Czech Television Act, which imposes the obligation of comprehensive information. The opinion poll at the beginning of the programme is not identified as to its commissioner, methodology or date, which is contrary to journalistic standards of source verification. Overall, the programme does not meet the statutory requirements for balance and objectivity to a degree that is documentable and legally relevant.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual Scores — All 15 Criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Rating
1	SELECTION OF EXPERTS	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
2	SELECTION OF SOURCES	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
3	TIME ALLOCATION	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
5	MANIPULATION WITH 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 INDIGNATION	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
10	FRAMING	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
11	CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
12	MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
14	FALSE BALANCE	4/10	<i>Slight imbalance</i>
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.3/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.5/10

Significant imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

6.0/10

Significant imbalance

Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts



KEY — Score Definitions

Individual Scores per Criterion (0–10)

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

Aggregated Deviation Index — Interpretation Ranges

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

Party-Political Bias (-5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment under §2 of the Czech Television Act / §31 of Act No. 231/2001

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

Violation 1:

Standard: §31 para. 2 of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — separation of evaluative commentary from news reporting

Factual basis: The speculative claim about the connection of the Trikolora candidate with Voice of Europe is presented as a news fact, not as an evaluative commentary

Evidence: Timestamp 08:24 — Quote: "Moreover also gave interviews to Voice of Europe so God knows how the connection there is perhaps we will still find out in the future"

Assessment: The statement contains speculation without a primary source ("God knows how the connection there is") and is made in the context of a news debate without being labelled as a personal opinion; the moderator does not correct the statement or require documentation; this constitutes a violation of the obligation to separate evaluative commentary from news reporting

Violation 2:

Standard: §2 para. 2 lit. a) of the Czech Television Act — comprehensive information; §31 para. 3 of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — balanced representation of opposing views

Factual basis: ODS as the largest opposition party (27 seats, 13.5%) is not represented in the debate about the appointment of the post of European Commissioner; Fiala is mentioned only as the target of ANO's attack without the possibility of responding

Evidence: Timestamp 04:00–05:04 — Quote: "I am convinced that the best candidate for European Commissioner would be Prime Minister Fiala"

Assessment: The debate about the appointment of the post of commissioner is a politically controversial topic within the meaning of §31 para. 3; the absence of ODS as a key actor violates the requirement of balanced representation of opposing views; the attack on Fiala without the possibility of response violates §2 para. 2 lit. a) on the comprehensiveness of information

Violation 3:

Standard: §2 para. 2 lit. a) of the Czech Television Act — verified information

Factual basis: The opinion poll presented at the beginning of the programme is not identified as to its commissioner, agency, date or methodology

Evidence: Timestamp 00:19 — Quote: "the majority of the country's inhabitants are satisfied specifically this concerns 58% of Czechs"

Assessment: The Czech Television Act requires the provision of verified information; a survey without identification of the commissioner and methodology cannot be considered verified information within the meaning of the law; viewers cannot assess the credibility and relevance of the figures presented

Violation 4:

Standard: §31 para. 2 of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — objectivity and balance; §31 para. 3 — balanced representation of opposing views



Factual basis: The association of Okamura with the Kremlin is presented without evidence in the context of a news debate

Evidence: Timestamp 08:11 — Quote: "the Kremlin must be pleased with him"

Assessment: A statement associating a politician with a foreign power is a serious evaluative judgement; it is made in the context of a news debate without being labelled as a personal opinion and without moderator correction; this constitutes a violation of the obligation of objectivity and separation of evaluative commentary

Overall assessment under §2 of the Czech Television Act / §31 of Act No. 231/2001

The analysed programme displays four documentable violations of the statutory obligations of Czech Television. The most serious is the use of the guilt by association technique against Eurosceptic parties without primary evidence in the context of a news debate, which violates §31 para. 2 of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. The absence of ODS as the largest opposition party in a debate on a politically controversial topic violates §31 para. 3 of the same act. The presentation of an unidentified survey as verified information violates §2 para. 2 lit. a) of the Czech Television Act. These violations are documentable by direct quotes with timestamps and are legally relevant for a potential complaint to the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting (RRTV) or the Czech Television Council.

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

Opinion poll (unidentified)

- 1. FUNDING:** Unknown — the commissioner, agency and date are not stated; cannot be assessed
- 2. MANDATE:** Cannot be assessed without identification of the commissioner
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** A survey commissioned by Czech Television or a government institution could have different results than an independent survey; without identification, a conflict of interest cannot be excluded
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — unidentified commissioner, conflict of interest cannot be excluded
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — cannot be assessed
 - D3 Expert competence: 0 — cannot be assessed without identification of the agency
 - D4 Consistency: 0 — cannot be assessed
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — figures are presented, but without methodology
 - D6 Source level: -2 — tertiary source (figures without primary documentation)**TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE SIGNAL: YELLOW**
- 5. COUNTERVOICE:** A comparative survey or a survey focused on specific areas of dissatisfaction is absent; any methodological note is absent

IMPORTANT: A "survey" without identification of the commissioner and methodology is not verified information within the meaning of §2 para. 2 lit. a) of the Czech Television Act. Presenting such a survey as a fact is journalistically unacceptable.

Analysis prepared in accordance with methodology v3.0-detail, criteria K11+K8 (documentation of the triggering event for asymmetry). All quotes are in the original language of the transcript. The analysis is intended for internal use and for a potential complaint to the relevant regulatory authorities.

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).



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**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

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

- §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

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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