



ČT PODROBNÁ ANALÝZA

20250105_OVM - Hrib vs Nacher ve studiu.cs

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OVERALL SCORE

6.2/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation

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)

3.6 / 10

Left-favoring

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 current government of the Czech Republic is a coalition of the ANO 2011 movement (80 seats, 35.0 %), SPD (15 seats, 6.2 %) and Motoristé/AUTO (13 seats, 5.5 %). The Prime Minister is Andrej Babiš. The opposition consists of ODS (27 seats), STAN (22 seats), Piráti (18 seats), KDU-ČSL (16 seats) and TOP 09 (9 seats).

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Gov/Opposition	Key position
Piráti	2.5	18	Opposition	Progressive liberalism, pro-EU, pro-NATO
STAN	4.5	22	Opposition	Municipal liberalism, pro-EU
KDU-ČSL	5.5	16	Opposition	Christian democracy, pro-NATO
TOP 09	6.0	9	Opposition	Conservative liberalism, pro-EU
ANO	6.0	80	Government	Centrist populism, pragmatism
ODS	7.0	27	Opposition	Right-wing conservatism, Atlanticism
Motoristé	7.5	13	Government	Right-wing populism, Euroscepticism
SPD	8.5	15	Government	Far-right populism, EU-scepticism, opposition to migration

The key tension is the relationship of the new ANO–SPD–Motoristé coalition government to defence and security commitments, particularly the NATO commitments adopted at the Hague summit (3.5 % of GDP on defence). The second line concerns fiscal responsibility and the manner of financing public expenditure. The third line touches on the relationship to Russia and the war in Ukraine, with SPD and parts of ANO adopting less unequivocal positions than the previous government. The fourth line is the question of the independence of public media in the context of political pressure from the governing coalition.

Czech Television is a public service medium established by Act No. 483/1991 Coll. and is obliged to provide objective, verified, balanced and comprehensive information enabling the free formation of opinions. Act No. 231/2001 Coll. requires broadcasters to ensure the objectivity and balance of information content and to separate evaluative commentary from news reporting. In the context of the new ANO government, Czech Television faces increased political pressure regarding staffing and editorial independence.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Portrayal in the programme vs. programmatic position
ANO	-2	01:11 "we don't just want to eh wave empty percentages around" — ANO's programmatic position: spending efficiency, pragmatism in defence — depicted partially, but the presenter repeatedly challenges the MP's answers, thereby framing ANO's position as evasive and unreliable; the substantive content of the efficiency argument is not fully examined
SPD	-1	07:23 "the Ministry of Defence is to fall under SPD" — SPD's programmatic position: lower defence spending, scepticism towards NATO commitments — depicted factually, but with a negative connotation in the presenter's introduction; no space is provided for developing the position
Motoristé	0	The party does not effectively appear as an independent actor in the programme; it is not evaluated
ODS	+1	ODS's position (Atlanticism, support for NATO commitments) is implicitly present through the arguments of Petr Hladík (KDU-ČSL), who represents a similar line; direct ODS representation is absent
STAN	0	The party does not appear in the programme; it is not evaluated
Piráti	+2	03:41 Zdeněk Hřib is given space to criticise ANO and to formulate the demand for a clear 3.5 % commitment; his position is presented as substantive and responsible; the presenter does not challenge his contributions with comparable intensity to those of ANO
KDU-ČSL	+2	04:53 Petr Hladík (KDU-ČSL) is given space for substantive criticism as well as a constructive stance; his arguments are not challenged by the presenter; KDU-ČSL's position as a responsible partner in defence is depicted accurately
TOP 09	0	The party does not appear in the programme; it is not evaluated

Summary of party bias

- Most accurate portrayal: KDU-ČSL, score +2
- Strongest distortion: ANO, score -2
- Average deviation from 0: 1.0
- Conclusion: The programme portrays ANO's position as evasive and unreliable through repeated presenter pressure and by framing responses as "inability to answer" (02:13 "the MP's inability to answer the question"). By contrast, the positions of Piráti and KDU-ČSL are presented without comparable challenges. Party bias is measurable through the asymmetry of presenter interventions.

Overall tendency on the left-right axis

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.4

CLASSIFICATION: Mildly leaning left/opposition

Reasoning: The programme systematically provides more uncritical space to opposition parties (Piráti, KDU-ČSL), while subjecting the governing party ANO to more intense presenter pressure. The framing of defence as a commitment that must be fulfilled without conditions corresponds to the opposition narrative. The SPD position is mentioned with a negative connotation without space for developing the argument.



CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Programme details

- Title: Undated Czech Television political discussion programme (probably "Otázky Václava Moravce" or an analogous format)
- Date: Not determined from the transcript; the context corresponds to the period following the 2025 elections and the formation of the new ANO–SPD–Motoristé government
- Presenter: Female (name not stated in the transcript)
- Guests:

Actors	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
ANO MP (Šťastný)	Member of the Chamber of Deputies	ANO 2011	Centre-populism
Zdeněk Hřib	Party leader	Piráti	Centre-left
Petr Hladík	MP / former minister	KDU-ČSL	Centre
Boris Šťastný	MP	ANO 2011	Centre-populism

Note: The transcript does not unambiguously state all names; attribution is based on the context of statements and party affiliation.

Main topic

The programme deals with the policy statement of the new ANO–SPD–Motoristé government, in particular the commitments regarding defence spending in the context of NATO requirements (3.5 % of GDP) and the question of fiscal responsibility.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard Facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

1. SELECTION OF EXPERTS

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Expert 1: Zdeněk Hřib — leader of Piráti

Timestamp	03:40
Statement	"We will honour those commitments. After all, we supported the increase in the Chamber of Deputies as well."
Classification	A party politician, not a defence or security expert; represents an opposition party with a clear political interest in criticising the government.

Missing counterpoint: A military analyst or General Staff representative with an expert view on the feasibility of the commitments.

In-depth source check:

(a) FUNDING: Piráti are funded from the state contribution to parties; no direct private or institutional conflict of interest, but a clear political interest.

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of a party politician is not compatible with a neutral expert assessment of military spending.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct political interest in criticising the ANO government

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Standard political risk, nothing extraordinary

D3 Expert competence: -1 — Politician without demonstrated expertise in defence

D4 Consistency of views: +1 — Piráti consistently support NATO commitments

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Combination of data and political rhetoric

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (politician citing other sources)

TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

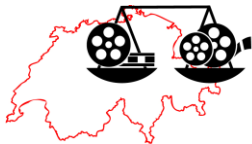
(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Hřib is framed as a substantive critic, even though he represents a party interest; this asymmetry with respect to the framing of ANO is problematic.

Expert 2: Petr Hladík — KDU-ČSL MP, former minister

Timestamp	04:53
Statement	"Let's follow the concept that is in place for building an army, which is approved by what we are required to follow within NATO."
Classification	An experienced politician with ministerial experience; represents an opposition party; not a military expert.

Missing counterpoint: An independent security analyst.

In-depth source check:



(a) **FUNDING:** KDU-ČSL funded from the state contribution; no direct conflict of interest beyond the political.

(b) **MANDATE:** Ministerial experience increases credibility, but the mandate remains political.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Political interest in criticising the government, but less acute than with Hřib

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Standard

D3 Expert competence: +1 — Ministerial experience is relevant

D4 Consistency of views: +2 — KDU-ČSL consistently pro-NATO

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) **PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE:** Hladík is framed as constructive and responsible; this framing is more accurate than for ANO, but still party-conditioned.

Missing expert groups:

- Military analyst / General Staff representative
- Independent economist specialising in defence spending
- NATO or MFA representative

Source Credibility Overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Zdeněk Hřib — leader of Piráti	-2	0	-1	+1	0	0	-2	YELLOW
Petr Hladík — KDU-ČSL MP, former minister	-1	0	+1	+2	+1	0	+3	YELLOW

Summary (matrix result):

- Hřib (Piráti): YELLOW (-2) — party interest, framed as a substantive expert
- Hladík (KDU-ČSL): YELLOW (+3) — greater credibility, but still a political actor
- ANO MP: not assessed as an expert, but as a defender of the government position
- No genuine defence or security expert was invited; the programme is effectively a political debate framed as an expert discussion.



2. SELECTION OF SOURCES

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Supreme Audit Office (SAO)

Timestamp 04:59 — Statement: "those advance invoices were also criticised by the Supreme Audit Office"

- (a) **Funding and founding body:** State institution, funded from the state budget; an independent supervisory institution.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The SAO is an independent supervisory body; its conclusions are relevant, but are cited here selectively as an argument against the previous government, rather than as a comprehensive assessment.
- (c) **Missing source to document the opposing view:** The Ministry of Defence's response to the SAO's conclusions is absent.

Source 2: National Budget Council

Timestamp 13:48 — Statement: "The National Budget Council questioned 20 billion"

- (a) **Funding:** An independent advisory institution established by law.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** None direct; the conclusions are relevant.
- (c) A direct statement from a National Budget Council representative is absent; the citation is intermediated and instrumentalised by a party.

Source 3: Government policy statement

Timestamp 00:54 — Statement: "In that policy statement the government commits itself to no specific percentages."

- (a) **Funding:** A government document.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The document is interpreted by the presenter as inadequate without presenting an alternative interpretation.
- (c) A direct quotation from the document in full context is absent; the presenter interprets the document without allowing the government side to respond fully.

Rumour check (penalty points):

No statement with classical linguistic markers of rumour (allegedly, reportedly, from sources close to) was identified. Penalty points: 0.

Summary: The sources are substantively relevant (SAO, National Budget Council), but are cited selectively as arguments for the opposition, not as independent voices. Direct statements from the cited institutions are absent.



3. TIME ALLOCATION					5/10				
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Estimated speaking time:

- ANO MP (Šťastný): approximately 5 min. (30 %)
- Zdeněk Hřib (Piráti): approximately 4 min. (24 %)
- Petr Hladík (KDU-ČSL): approximately 3.5 min. (21 %)
- Boris Šťastný / SPD representative: approximately 2 min. (12 %)
- Presenter: approximately 2.5 min. (15 %) — including framing comments and evaluative interjections

Summary: The governing coalition (ANO + SPD) has approximately 42 % of the time, the opposition (Piráti + KDU-ČSL) approximately 45 %. The time allocation is relatively balanced, however the presenter's evaluative contributions (15 %) effectively reinforce the opposition narrative, thereby increasing the effective weight of opposition positions.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSIONS

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Omission 1:

Context

There is no statement whatsoever from a Motoristé representative — the third governing party, which holds 13 seats in the coalition.

Relevant at: throughout the programme

Effect

The coalition is presented as ANO + SPD, while the third partner is entirely absent; this causes the governing coalition to be depicted as less representative.

Omission 2:

Context

There is no mention of the new government's specific plans in the area of defence beyond the policy statement; the government was not asked about a specific timetable or projects.

Relevant at: 01:11 — "we don't just want to eh wave empty percentages around"

Effect

The ANO argument about efficiency remains without substantive scrutiny; the viewer cannot assess whether this is a legitimate position or an evasion.

Omission 3:

Context

There is no context explaining that advance payments for defence contracts are standard practice in other NATO countries; this information is mentioned by Hřib (11:24), but is not further developed by the presenter.

Relevant at: 04:59 — criticism of advance invoices

Effect

The criticism of advance invoices is presented as unambiguously negative, even though the SAO criticised only a portion of them.

Summary: The systematic omission of the third governing party and the absence of substantive scrutiny of the ANO argument about spending efficiency distort the overall picture of coalition policy in the area of defence.

Missing Voices

- Military analyst / representative of the General Staff: Would provide an expert view on the army's real absorptive capacity for increased spending.
- Economist / fiscal analyst: Would provide an independent assessment of the impacts of the 3.5 % commitment on the state budget.
- SAO representative: Would provide a direct statement on the conclusions of the audits, rather than merely intermediated quotations.
- Representative of the Ministry of Defence (new government): Would provide specific plans of the new government in the area of defence.
- Security analyst: Would provide an independent assessment of the Russian threat to the Czech Republic.
- NATO / MFA representative: Would provide a view on international commitments and their legal nature.
- SPD representative with a developed argument: Would provide full representation of the governing coalition party.



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- Motoristé representative: Would provide the perspective of the third governing party, which is entirely absent from the programme.



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 01:04

Figure: "3.5 % on defence and 1.5 % additional spending on further infrastructure"

Dimension: (a) absolute value — not stated in CZK; (b) share — percentage of GDP stated; (c) trend — development over time not stated

Missing context

It is not stated how much 3.5 % of Czech GDP would mean in absolute figures, nor within what timeframe it is to be achieved; comparison with current spending is absent.

Effect

The figure appears as an unambiguous commitment whose non-fulfilment is automatically negative, without the context of its fiscal burden.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 13:50

Figure: "The National Budget Council questioned 20 billion"

Dimension: (a) absolute value — CZK 20 billion; (b) share — it is not stated what proportion of total defence spending this represents; (c) trend — not stated

Missing context

It is not explained from what total volume of spending the 20 billion was questioned; without this context the figure appears more dramatic than corresponds to reality.

Effect

The viewer gains the impression of an extensive accounting fraud without being able to assess the proportions.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 15:18

Figure: "the first thing you cut in your first budget for 2022 was CZK 5 billion on defence"

Dimension: (a) absolute value — CZK 5 billion; (b) share — not stated in the context of the total defence budget; (c) trend — the development of spending over the entire electoral term is not stated

Missing context

It is not stated whether these funds were transferred elsewhere or actually saved; the overall picture of the development of defence spending 2022–2025 is absent.

Effect

The claim appears as unambiguous evidence of underfunding of the army without the possibility of verification.

Summary: Figures in the programme are used as argumentative tools without sufficient context (absolute values without shares, without trends); this prevents viewers from drawing their own conclusions.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Association 1:

Timestamp

00:26

Quote

"your Filip Turek, as it has turned out, doesn't even pay taxes. That means you are not exactly the ones who should be talking about taxes here"

Technique: Transferring a negative characteristic of an individual (Turek) onto an entire party (ANO/coalition) and discrediting their tax policy through the personal failure of one nominee.

Effect

The viewer is led to the conclusion that the coalition as a whole has no moral authority to speak about taxes; this is a classic guilt-by-association technique.

Association check:

- Does the ANO MP work with documentable primary sources? YES — cites the SAO, National Budget Council.
- Are his key claims falsifiable? YES — claims about spending efficiency are verifiable.
- What did the ANO MP lose by taking his position? Standard political risk.
- What did he gain? Nothing extraordinary.
- OUTCOME CATEGORY: A — systemically critical actor with methodology (in the context of defence spending); the association with Turek is irrelevant to the substantive debate.

Association 2:

Timestamp

03:06

Quote

"I'm going to be shouted at here by Zdeněk, who is from a party where their chairman still a few years ago didn't know how he would vote if there were a referendum on leaving NATO"

Technique: Discrediting Hřib through the historical position of a different Piráti leader (Ivan Bartoš); transferring past uncertainty onto the party's current position.

Effect

Hřib's criticism of NATO commitments is challenged by reference to the party's history, not by substantive arguments.

Association check:

- Did Hřib personally hold this position? NO — this concerns a different leader.
- Is the association substantively relevant? NO — Hřib consistently supports NATO commitments.
- OUTCOME CATEGORY: C — association without a substantive basis in the context of Hřib's personal position.

Summary: The programme contains two pronounced association techniques: discrediting ANO through Turek (00:26) and discrediting Hřib through the historical position of a different Piráti leader (03:06). Both are substantively irrelevant to the debate on defence spending.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1:

Position: 00:26 (beginning)

Content: "your Filip Turek, as it has turned out, doesn't even pay taxes"

Timing effect: The mention of Turek at the very beginning of the debate on defence spending sets a negative frame for ANO's entire contribution even before the substantive discussion; the viewer is predisposed negatively towards the governing party from the outset.

Finding 2:

Position: 02:13 (shortly after the beginning)

Content: "the MP's inability to answer the question"

Timing effect: The presenter's evaluative comment about the "inability to answer" comes at the moment when the ANO MP is only just developing his argument; the argument is thereby discredited before it can be fully articulated.

Finding 3:

Position: 13:02 (conclusion)

Content: "I am very troubled that the policy statement doesn't actually mention, completely plainly, the elephant in the room. That is to say, that there is this Russia"

Timing effect: A powerful emotional argument about the Russian threat is placed at the end of the programme as a concluding chord; the viewer takes away the impression that the ANO government is ignoring an existential security threat.

Summary: Negative framing of ANO is strategically placed at the beginning of the programme, while the strongest emotional argument of the opposition (the Russian threat) closes the debate; this structure reinforces the opposition narrative.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

6/10

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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:

Timestamp 02:13

Triggering event: The ANO MP answers a question about NATO commitments with an indirect response emphasising spending efficiency rather than directly confirming the percentages.

Reaction: "the MP's inability to answer the question" — the presenter assesses the response as inability, not as an alternative line of argument.

Comparison

Zdeněk Hřib, 03:40 — likewise answers indirectly (first criticises army procurement, then confirms the commitment) — presenter's reaction: no evaluative interjection.

Asymmetry: Demonstrated — the same type of indirect response prompted an evaluative comment in the case of ANO, but not in the case of Piráti.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 00:26

Triggering event: The ANO MP talks about tax policy.

Reaction: "your Filip Turek, as it has turned out, doesn't even pay taxes. That means you are not exactly the ones who should be talking about taxes here"

Comparison

Zdeněk Hřib, 03:06 — the ANO MP points to the historical position of Piráti on NATO — the presenter does not intervene with an evaluative comment in favour of ANO.

Asymmetry: Demonstrated — the presenter herself introduces the Turek/ANO association, but leaves the analogous Piráti/NATO association without comment.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The presenter displays a measurable asymmetry in evaluative comments: negative assessments are directed exclusively at the governing party ANO, while comparable situations involving opposition guests do not produce analogous reactions.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSIONS — OVERALL PICTURE

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Finding 1:

Timestamp throughout the programme

Missing perspective/fact: No independent defence or security expert was invited.

Relevance: A debate about the level of defence spending and its efficiency requires an expert view that goes beyond party positions.

Impact The programme is effectively a political debate, not an informative discussion; the viewer cannot assess the factual accuracy of the claims made by individual parties.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 07:23

Missing perspective/fact: SPD as the governing party with a nominee for the Ministry of Defence is not given space to develop its position; it is mentioned only in a negative context.

Relevance: SPD is a key coalition partner with direct responsibility for the defence portfolio.

Impact The viewer does not receive information about SPD's actual plans in the area of defence; the party is depicted only as a problem, not as an actor with a programme.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 11:40

Missing perspective/fact: There is no mention of the fact that the 3.5 % of GDP commitment is a political goal, not a legally binding norm; the legal nature of the Hague commitment is not explained.

Relevance: The viewer should know whether this is a legal obligation or a political goal in order to assess the seriousness of its non-fulfilment.

Impact The debate is conducted as though non-fulfilment of the commitment would automatically constitute a violation of international law, which is not accurate.

Summary: The programme systematically omits expert voices, insufficiently represents the governing coalition parties (SPD, Motoristé) and does not provide the viewer with sufficient legal and substantive context to assess the seriousness of the disputed questions.

End of hard facts — Beginning of soft facts

The Czech Republic is a member of NATO and the EU and, in the context of Russian aggression against Ukraine, faces pressure to increase defence spending. The NATO Hague summit adopted a commitment of 3.5 % of GDP on defence plus 1.5 % on supplementary infrastructure. The new ANO–SPD–Motoristé government does not explicitly state this commitment in its policy statement, which has sparked debate about the Czech Republic's reliability as an ally. At the same time, there is a legitimate discussion about the efficiency of military spending, as also highlighted by the Supreme Audit Office. The topic is politically sensitive because SPD has historically held a more sceptical position on defence spending and NATO.



Share of covered perspectives

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

- [A] ANO government position: efficiency of spending before formal fulfilment of percentages
- [B] Opposition position (Piráti, KDU-ČSL): NATO commitments must be met, the security risk is real
- [C] SPD position: scepticism about the level of spending, priority of social spending
- [D] Military experts' view: the army's real capacity to absorb increased spending
- [E] Economists' view: fiscal impacts of the 3.5 % commitment on the state budget
- [F] SAO / National Budget Council view: assessment of the transparency of spending to date
- [G] International context: the position of the USA/Trump, the example of Spain, pressure on allies
- [H] Security analysts' view: the reality of the Russian threat to the Czech Republic
- [I] Defence industry view: capacities for implementing contracts
- [J] Civil society view: public opinion on defence spending

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:11 — Quote: "we don't just want to eh wave empty percentages around" — Assessment: ANO's position is present, but the presenter repeatedly challenges it as evasive.

[B] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 03:40 — Quote: "We will honour those commitments. After all, we supported the increase in the Chamber of Deputies as well." — Assessment: The opposition position is presented factually and without comparable challenges.

[C] INDICATED

Timestamp: 07:52 — Quote: "the money will not be spent, but invested" — Assessment: The SPD position is mentioned but not developed; the SPD guest does not receive comparable space.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No military expert or army representative was invited.

[E] INDICATED

Timestamp: 08:40 — Quote: "on the one hand you are shouting that we won't be able to give money to teachers" — Assessment: The economic dimension is mentioned in passing, without expert analysis.

[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 13:50 — Quote: "The National Budget Council questioned 20 billion" — Assessment: The SAO and the National Budget Council are mentioned, but only as an argumentative tool, not as an independent voice.

[G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 09:17 — Quote: "Pedro Sanes, the Prime Minister of Spain, said: 'We won't be paying that'" — Assessment: The international context is present, but selectively; a broader view of allies' positions is absent.

[H] INDICATED

Timestamp: 13:10 — Quote: "there is this Russia that is attacking Ukraine" — Assessment: The security threat is mentioned by Hřib, but without expert commentary.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The defence industry perspective is entirely absent.

[J] OMITTED



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Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Public opinion and surveys are not mentioned.

Completeness score: 5/10

Reasoning: The programme covers the basic political positions of the governing and opposition parties, but entirely lacks expert voices from the fields of military affairs, economics and security analysis. The perspectives of SPD and Motoristé are insufficiently represented given their role in the governing coalition. The international context is present selectively.



Soft Facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Finding 1:

Timestamp	00:54
Quote	<i>"In that policy statement the government commits itself to no specific percentages."</i>
Manipulation	The presenter frames the absence of an explicit figure in the policy statement as a failure or deliberate evasion, rather than as an alternative approach to defence.

Why this is problematic: The viewer is led to the conclusion that the government is refusing NATO commitments, even though the ANO MP repeatedly confirms that the commitments will be fulfilled; the "non-fulfilment" frame is set before the government side can respond.

Finding 2:

Timestamp	02:13
Quote	<i>"the MP's inability to answer the question"</i>
Manipulation	The presenter frames ANO's alternative argumentation (spending efficiency) as "inability to answer", thereby disqualifying a legitimate political position as a personal failure.

Why this is problematic: The frame of "inability" is an evaluative judgement, not a neutral description; the presenter oversteps the role of an impartial questioner.

Finding 3:

Timestamp	13:08
Quote	<i>"there is this Russia that is attacking Ukraine and that at the moment Ukraine falls, that will be our problem, that war"</i>
Manipulation	Hřib's argument is framed as an obvious truth that ought to be explicitly stated in the government's policy statement; the absence of this frame in the government document is presented as a serious error.

Why this is problematic: This is a legitimate political opinion, not an objective fact; the presenter accepts this frame without challenge, while the government's frame (efficiency) is challenged.

Summary: The programme is framed as a confrontation between a responsible opposition (which wants to honour commitments) and an evasive government (which does not honour commitments); this frame is set by the presenter and is not balanced by an alternative view.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

6/10

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

02:13

Quote

"the MP's inability to answer the question"

Manipulation

The word "inability" carries a strong negative connotation of personal failure; a neutral alternative would be "the MP answered indirectly" or "the MP emphasised a different aspect of the question".

Why this is problematic: Neutral alternative: "The MP responded with an emphasis on spending efficiency."

Finding 2:

Timestamp

04:05

Quote

"I would almost say they will be waving percentages around here in a dull-witted manner"

Manipulation

The word "dull-wittedly" is strongly denigrating; it is used by the ANO MP towards the opposition, but the presenter does not intervene; yet an intervention would be expected in the case of an analogous expression from the opposition.

Why this is problematic: Neutral alternative: "formally fulfilling percentage commitments regardless of substance."

Finding 3:

Timestamp

13:08

Quote

"the elephant in the room"

Manipulation

The idiom "elephant in the room" (an obvious reality that is being ignored) implies that the government is deliberately ignoring the Russian threat; this is a strong negative connotation without documented evidence of intent.

Why this is problematic: Neutral alternative: "the policy statement does not explicitly identify Russia as a security threat."

Summary: The choice of words in the programme systematically reinforces the negative image of the governing party ANO through evaluative expressions by the presenter and uncorrected expressions by opposition guests.



12. PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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:

Timestamp 02:13

Triggering event: The ANO MP answers a question about NATO commitments by emphasising spending efficiency rather than directly confirming the percentages.

Quote (presenter) *"the MP's inability to answer the question"*

Comparison Zdeněk Hřib, 03:40 — likewise answers indirectly (first criticises army procurement) — presenter's reaction: no evaluative comment.

Asymmetry: Demonstrated.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 02:29

Triggering event: The ANO MP defends himself and points to Piráti's history and NATO.

Quote (presenter) *"Please, MP, say yes, we will honour it, or no, we will not honour it. Try to stop deflecting attention in any way."*

Comparison Hřib, 10:29 — likewise answers with digressions and historical examples — the presenter does not intervene with the instruction "stop deflecting attention".

Asymmetry: Demonstrated — the presenter uses directive language exclusively towards ANO.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 03:00

Triggering event: The ANO MP objects to the presenter's assessment.

Quote (presenter) *"please stop stop making a farce of this"*

Comparison Hřib repeatedly interrupts other guests (02:48 "can you let him finish") — the presenter reacts mildly: "party leader Hřib is not someone I can silence by gagging him here".

Asymmetry: Demonstrated — the presenter protects Hřib's right to speak, while instructing ANO to stop "making a farce".

Summary: The presenter displays a measurable asymmetry in interventions: directive and evaluative language is used exclusively towards the governing party ANO, while opposition guests are protected from interruption and their digressions are not commented upon as "deflecting attention".



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13. ASYMMETRY OF QUESTIONS

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Asymmetry 1:

ANO MP, 02:29: "Please, MP, say yes, we will honour it, or no?" — hard, closed, ultimative

Zdeněk Hřib, 10:10: "the fact that the government fulfilled, or rather is fulfilling, the 2 % in a somewhat haphazard way [...] Is this not ultimately a fairer approach?" — soft, open, suggestive in favour of Hřib's position

Comparison

The ANO MP is pressed for an unambiguous yes/no answer; Hřib receives a question that pre-signals the correct answer.

Asymmetry 2:

ANO MP, 01:57: "So will the government honour 3.5 % on defence and 1.5 % as agreed by states at The Hague?" — repeated closed question with pressure for a specific answer

Boris Šťastný (SPD), 07:52: "will we be able to honour the commitment from The Hague?" — question posed, but without comparable pressure for an unambiguous answer; Šťastný is given space to develop his argument

Comparison

The pressure for an unambiguous answer is significantly higher for ANO than for SPD.

Summary: The presenter poses closed, ultimative questions exclusively to ANO, while opposition guests and SPD receive more open questions with greater space for argumentation; this asymmetry is systematic and measurable.



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

Finding 1:	
Timestamp	00:40 — Construct: The presenter promises to return to Filip Turek "when we discuss personnel", thereby suggesting that the topic will be addressed in a balanced manner.
Analysis	The mention of Turek at the beginning of the programme (00:26) as an argument against ANO in the tax debate is not balanced by an analogous reference to controversial figures from opposition parties; the promise of later treatment does not balance the immediate framing effect.

Summary: False balance is not a dominant technique in this programme; the programme rather openly displays asymmetry instead of masking it with an appearance of balance. A score of 3/10 reflects the presence, not the dominance, of this technique.



15. AGENDA SETTING

7/10

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Finding 1:

Agenda element set: The 3.5 % of GDP defence commitment is presented as a self-evident standard whose non-fulfilment is automatically negative.

Timestamp

00:54 — Evidence: "In that policy statement the government commits itself to no specific percentages."

Alternative agenda: A legitimate debate about whether 3.5 % of GDP is a realistic and effective goal for the Czech Republic, or whether there are alternative ways of ensuring defence capability, does not make it onto the agenda.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Russia is implicitly accepted as an existential threat to the Czech Republic, whose omission from the policy statement is a serious error.

Timestamp

13:08 — Evidence: "the elephant in the room. That is to say, that there is this Russia that is attacking Ukraine"

Alternative agenda: A debate about different approaches to security policy (deterrence, diplomacy, hybrid threats) does not make it onto the agenda; the agenda is narrowed to the question of whether the government named Russia.

Summary: The programme sets the agenda such that the governing coalition is assessed exclusively according to the criteria of the previous government and opposition; alternative approaches to defence and security are not admitted as a legitimate part of the debate.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Selection of experts	H	7	No genuine defence expert was invited; guests are exclusively party politicians.
2	Selection of sources	H	6	The SAO and National Budget Council are cited selectively as arguments for the opposition.
3	Time allocation	H	5	Formally relatively balanced, but the presenter's evaluative contributions effectively reinforce the opposition narrative.
4	Omissions	H	7	Motoristé are entirely absent; the ANO efficiency argument is not substantively scrutinised.
5	Manipulation of figures	H	5	Figures are used without context of shares and trends as argumentative tools.
6	Guilt by association	H	6	Discrediting ANO through Turek (00:26) is substantively irrelevant to the defence debate.
7	Timing	H	5	Negative framing of ANO at the beginning, strong emotional argument of the opposition at the end.
8	Selective outrage	H	6	The presenter assesses ANO's responses as "inability", comparable situations with the opposition pass without comment.
9	Completeness	H	6	Systematic omission of expert voices and insufficient representation of governing coalition parties.
10	Framing	S	7	The programme is framed as a confrontation between a responsible opposition and an evasive government.
11	Choice of words	S	6	Evaluative expressions ("inability", "elephant in the room") reinforce the negative image of ANO.
12	Presenter behaviour	S	7	Directive and evaluative language exclusively towards ANO; opposition guests are protected.
13	Asymmetry of questions	S	7	Closed, ultimative questions exclusively towards ANO; the opposition receives more open questions.
14	False balance	S	3	Not a dominant technique; the programme rather openly displays asymmetry.
15	Agenda setting	S	7	The governing coalition is assessed exclusively according to the criteria of the previous government.

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 6.3 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 6.2 / 10



Dominant techniques

- 1. Asymmetry of questions (score 7):** The presenter poses closed, ultimative questions exclusively to ANO, while opposition guests receive more open questions with greater space for argumentation. This asymmetry is systematic and recurs throughout the programme.
- 2. Framing (score 7):** From the outset the programme is framed as a confrontation between a responsible opposition (which wants to honour NATO commitments) and an evasive government (which does not honour commitments); this frame is set by the presenter and is not balanced by an alternative view.
- 3. Presenter behaviour (score 7):** The presenter uses directive and evaluative language exclusively towards the governing party ANO; opposition guests are protected from interruption and their digressions are not commented upon as "deflecting attention".

Key messages of the programme

****MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** ** "The new ANO–SPD–Motoristé government is unable or unwilling to clearly confirm NATO commitments in the area of defence."

Technique: Framing + asymmetry of questions — Evidence: 00:54, 02:13

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "The ANO MP is unable to answer direct questions and deflects attention."

Technique: Presenter's evaluative comments + guilt by association — Evidence: 02:13, 00:26

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** ** "The Czech Republic is under a security threat under the new government because the government ignores the Russian threat."

Technique: Agenda setting + timing — Evidence: 13:08, 13:20

Reasoning: The programme displays clear one-sidedness in presenter behaviour, selection of experts and agenda setting, which systematically disadvantages the governing party ANO. Under §2 of the Czech Television Act, Czech Television is obliged to provide balanced information enabling the free formation of opinions; the presenter's evaluative comments and asymmetry of questions violate this obligation. Under §31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll., the broadcaster is obliged to separate evaluative commentary from news reporting; the presenter's statement "the MP's inability to answer the question" crosses this boundary. An overall score of 6.2/10 corresponds to the category of clear one-sidedness.

CONCLUSION

The analysed Czech Television programme displays a measurable and systematic asymmetry in presenter behaviour, selection of experts, agenda setting and framing, which consistently disadvantages the ANO–SPD–Motoristé governing coalition in favour of the opposition parties Piráti and KDU–ČSL. The presenter's evaluative comments (in particular "inability to answer the question", 02:13) cross the boundary between neutral moderation and evaluative commentary within the meaning of §31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. The absence of any independent defence or security expert and the systematic omission of the third governing party (Motoristé) violates the requirement of comprehensiveness of information under §2(2)(a) of the Czech Television Act. The programme does not meet the statutory requirement of balanced representation of opposing views on a politically controversial topic within the meaning of §31(3) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll., since the government's position is systematically framed as evasive and irresponsible without a comparable critical approach to opposition positions. An overall score of 6.2/10 and classification in the category of "clear one-sidedness" establishes reasonable grounds for suspicion of a violation of Czech Television's statutory obligations in the area of objectivity and balance.



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	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
3	TIME ALLOCATION	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
4	SELECTIVE OMISSIONS	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	6/10	<i>Significant 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	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
11	CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
12	PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
13	ASYMMETRY OF QUESTIONS	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
14	FALSE BALANCE	3/10	<i>Slight imbalance</i>
15	AGENDA SETTING	7/10	<i>Pronounced 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)

6.2/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation

OVERALL SCORE

6.2/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation

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 Czech Television Act / §31 Act No. 231/2001)

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

Violation 1:

Standard: §31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. — obligation to separate evaluative commentary from news reporting

Facts: Throughout the live discussion the presenter repeatedly inserts evaluative comments about the governing party ANO that overstep the role of an impartial questioner.

Evidence: Timestamp 02:13 — Quote: "the MP's inability to answer the question"

Assessment: The word "inability" is an evaluative judgement about a person and a party, not a neutral description of the situation; the presenter thereby crosses the boundary between moderation and commentary in a live political debate, thus violating the obligation to separate evaluative commentary from news reporting.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: The governing coalition party ANO is subjected to systematically more intense presenter pressure than opposition parties; the third governing party (Motoristé) is entirely absent from the programme.

Evidence: Timestamp 02:29 — Quote: "Try to stop deflecting attention in any way." — comparison with the absence of an analogous instruction to Hřib in comparable behaviour (03:40).

Assessment: The asymmetry of presenter interventions and the absence of the third governing party establish a violation of the requirement of balanced representation of opposing views on a politically controversial topic (defence spending, NATO commitments).

Violation 3:

Standard: §2(2)(a) of Act No. 483/1991 Coll. (Czech Television Act) — obligation to provide objective, verified, balanced and comprehensive information

Facts: The programme does not contain any independent expert voice (military analyst, economist, SAO representative); all claims are presented exclusively by party politicians without expert verification.

Evidence: Throughout the programme — absence of expert voices in a debate on a technically and economically complex topic (level of defence spending, efficiency of military contracts).

Assessment: The absence of expert voices in a debate on a complex topic violates the requirement of comprehensiveness of information; the viewer cannot freely form an informed opinion on the basis of the programme because the expert context is missing.

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

The analysed programme displays three measurable violations of Czech Television's statutory obligations: (1) non-compliance with the obligation to separate evaluative commentary from news reporting (§31(2) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll.) through the presenter's evaluative interjections towards the governing party ANO; (2) violation of the requirement of balanced representation of opposing views (§31(3) of Act No. 231/2001 Coll.) through the asymmetry of presenter interventions and the absence of the third governing party; (3) violation of the requirement of comprehensiveness of information (§2(2)(a) of the Czech Television Act) through the absence of any independent expert voices. These violations are documentable by specific timestamps and direct quotations from the transcript and establish reasonable grounds for suspicion of a violation of the public broadcaster's statutory obligations, which could be the subject of a complaint to the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting or the Czech Television Council.

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



Supreme Audit Office (SAO)

- 1. FUNDING:** State institution funded from the state budget; established by the Constitution of the Czech Republic (Art. 97); independent of the government.
- 2. MANDATE:** Supervision of the management of state property and fulfilment of the state budget; the mandate is compatible with a neutral assessment of military contracts.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** No direct institutional interest in a specific outcome of the assessment; the SAO's conclusions are relevant and credible.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — Independent supervisory institution
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Institutional risk in the case of incorrect conclusions
 - D3 Expert competence: +2 — Direct competence in the area of state contracts
 - D4 Consistency: +2 — Consistent audit methodology
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Exclusively data-based conclusions
 - D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (direct audit)
 - TOTAL: +11 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN**
- 5. COUNTERPOINT:** The Ministry of Defence has the right to respond to the SAO's conclusions; this response is absent from the programme.

Note: The SAO is a credible source (GREEN), but is cited in the programme selectively as an argument for the opposition without the context of the entire audit and without the audited party's response.

National Budget Council

- 1. FUNDING:** An independent advisory institution established by Act No. 23/2017 Coll.; funded from the state budget, but functionally independent.
- 2. MANDATE:** Independent assessment of fiscal policy; the mandate is compatible with a neutral assessment of defence spending.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None direct; institutional interest in maintaining fiscal discipline.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — Independent institution
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Institutional
 - D3 Expert competence: +2 — Direct competence in the area of fiscal policy
 - D4 Consistency: +2 — Consistent methodology
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Exclusively data-based conclusions
 - D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source
 - TOTAL: +11 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN**
- 5. COUNTERPOINT:** The Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Defence have the right to respond; this response is absent from the programme.

Note: The National Budget Council is a credible source (GREEN), but in the programme it is cited in an intermediated manner by the ANO MP as an argument for his own position; a direct statement from the institution is absent.

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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