



DE DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-11-20 Der Talk 20. November

Programme: Markus Lanz | 2025-11-20 | Analysed on: 2026-03-11 18:42

Version 2.1-detail | Konverter 3.3 (2026-05-14) | Masstab: §26 MStV

OVERALL SCORE

2.0/10

Unremarkable

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly one-sided/manipulative

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to 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	Linke	Greens	SPD	BSW	CDU/CSU	FDP	Freie W.	AfD
CHES	1.23	2.28	3.41	3.78	6.23	6.54	6.77	9.10
Spectrum	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

The overall tendency is displayed on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly favouring left, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly favouring right). The calculation is based on the difference in average favouring of left vs. right parties (grouping according to CHES 2024).

TENDENCY (L – R)

5.1 / 10

Balanced

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 serves political classification and does not feed into the overall score.

PROGRAMME INFO AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Programme data

- Date: 20.11.2025
- Moderator: Markus Lanz
- Guests:



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

Actors	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Henrike Clausen	Historian, co-founder/director of the Museum of the Nuremberg Trials (Courtroom 600)	None discernible	Academic-liberal
Niklas Frank	Author/journalist, son of Hans Frank (NS Governor-General in Poland)	None discernible	Left-liberal, decidedly anti-fascist
Ronen Steinke	Journalist (Süddeutsche Zeitung), jurist, author on international law	None discernible	Liberal-progressive
Kai Ambos	International law scholar, judge at the Kosovo Special Tribunal	None discernible	Academic-conservative to liberal

Main topic

80th anniversary of the beginning of the Nuremberg Trials (20 November 1945) — historical significance, legal classification, personal fates and the relevance of international criminal law for the present.



CHAPTER 1 — DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Expert 1: Kai Ambos — Timestamp: throughout — Statement: differentiated legal classification, introduces criticism of Nuremberg (victors' justice, lack of neutrality, Holocaust not at the centre, Katyn, aerial warfare) — Classification: Highly qualified international law scholar with practical experience (Kosovo Tribunal). As the only guest, he systematically introduces critical perspectives. — Missing countervoice: None needed, as he himself argues in a differentiated manner.

Expert 2: Ronen Steinke — Timestamp: throughout — Statement: "this is perhaps actually the most important verdict in world history" — Classification: Journalist and jurist with personal connection (Jewish upbringing in Nuremberg). Represents a clearly positive assessment of the trials, but also introduces criticism of West German justice. — Missing countervoice: A historian who presents the complexity of post-war German society in a more differentiated way (not everyone was "entrenched").

Expert 3: Henrike Clausen — Timestamp: throughout — Statement: Museum historian with detailed knowledge of the trial proceedings — Classification: Provides valuable historical details (media staging, defence rights, Göring interrogation, Vaillant-Couturier). No discernible political tendency. — Missing countervoice: None needed.

Expert 4: Niklas Frank — Timestamp: throughout — Statement: Contemporary witness and son of a chief defendant — Classification: Unique personal perspective. Not an expert in the academic sense, but indispensable as a contemporary witness. His decidedly anti-fascist stance is well known and is not presented as neutral. — Missing countervoice: A descendant of victims would have complemented the programme.

Missing expert groups: Victim perspective (descendants of Holocaust survivors), Polish historians, active ICC jurists, political scientists for the contemporary relevance.

Summary: The expert selection is competent for the topic and provides various approaches (legal, historical, personal, journalistic). The main gap is the absence of a direct victim perspective. The guests complement each other well and also contradict each other at certain points (Ambos more differentiated than Steinke), which ensures a diversity of opinion. For a commemorative programme, the selection is solid, but not completely balanced.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Timestamp: 28:00 — Source: "Book by Harald Jena on the economic miracle era" (Lanz) —
Classification: Lanz cites a non-fiction book to contextualise the post-war period. Legitimate use of sources. —
Missing counter-source: None needed.

Source 2: Timestamp: 18:00–20:00 — Source: Historical original sources (letters by Hans Frank, trial records) —
Classification: Niklas Frank quotes from original letters and trial records. Primary sources of the highest
authenticity. — Missing counter-source: None needed.

Summary: The source selection is exemplary for a historical programme. Primary sources (original recordings, letters, trial records), secondary sources (non-fiction books) and personal recollections are used. No one-sided source selection discernible.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Estimated speaking time:

- Niklas Frank: (30%)
- Henrike Clausen: (20%)
- Ronen Steinke: (17%)
- Kai Ambos: (17%)
- Markus Lanz: (16%)

Summary: The time distribution is slightly skewed in favour of Niklas Frank, which is understandable and journalistically justified given his unique role as a contemporary witness and his extensive personal accounts. The three experts receive comparable speaking time. Lanz holds back appropriately as moderator. No problematic asymmetry discernible.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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Omission 1: Context: The Nuremberg successor trials (12 further trials 1946–1949) are only briefly mentioned but not addressed substantively. — Relevant at: 30:00 (Clausen mentions the distinction) — Effect: The viewer might gain the impression that there was only one trial. The successor trials (Doctors' Trial, IG Farben Trial, Einsatzgruppen Trial) are essential for understanding the overall process of coming to terms with the past.

Omission 2: Context: The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as potential Allied war crimes are not mentioned, even though Ambos addresses the aerial war and the submarine war. — Relevant at: 24:00–26:00 — Effect: The double standard of the Allies is alluded to (aerial war, Katyn), but not fully elaborated.

Omission 3: Context: The role of German industry (IG Farben, Krupp, Thyssen) is only mentioned in passing (casting anecdote about Krupp). The systematic economic dimension of NS crimes remains underexposed. — Relevant at: 12:00 — Effect: The viewer does not fully understand how deep the entanglement of German industry was.

Summary: The omissions are understandable for a 60-minute programme — one cannot cover everything. The most important deficits of the Nuremberg Trial are named by Ambos. There is no systematic suppression of relevant information, but rather a thematic focus on the main trial and the personal story.

Missing voices

- Descendant of Holocaust survivors / Jewish victim perspective: Could have authentically conveyed the dimension of suffering and the significance of the trials from the victims' point of view. Steinke introduces this indirectly, but not as the main voice.
- Polish historian: Could have brought in the perspective of the most severely affected country, particularly since Hans Frank was Governor-General in Poland.
- Critic of today's culture of remembrance: Could have raised the question of whether commemoration is becoming ritualised and whether the lessons have actually been internalised.
- Active ICC jurist/prosecutor: Could have made the transfer from Nuremberg to current proceedings (Ukraine, Syria, Israel/Palestine) more concrete.
- Political scientist focusing on current threats to democracy: Could have drawn the arc to current authoritarian tendencies more systematically.
- Military historian: Could have deepened the question of Allied war crimes (aerial war, atomic bombs) and their non-treatment at Nuremberg.



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

Finding 1: Timestamp: 07:30 — Figure: "60 percent of the work in the exhibition was conducted in English" (Clausen) — Missing context: No manipulation. The figure is presented as an empirical value from museum work. — Effect: Illustrates the international character of the museum.

Summary: Hardly any figures are used, and the few mentioned are contextually embedded and not manipulative. No manipulation of figures discernible.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Finding: No guilt-by-association technique discernible. No guest is discredited through association with negative actors or positions.

Summary: This technique is not employed in the programme. The guests are presented for what they are, without manipulative associations.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1: Position: 56:00–60:00 — Content: Steinke: "We unfortunately also have a chancellor here in this country who says, if Mr Netanyahu [...] were to come to Germany, I would not respect that" / Frank: "why aren't 40 million people taking to the streets?" — Timing effect: The most politically sensitive statements of the programme come right at the end, where they have a particular effect as a "closing message" and can no longer be discussed or contextualised. Ambos does get the last word, but the criticism of Scholz and the demand for greater civic engagement remain as an emotional impression.

Summary: The timing of the programme is well structured overall (historical introduction → personal story → legal classification → contemporary relevance). The placement of the political statements at the end is a classic timing element that lends these statements particular weight without them being discussed further. This is a slight but discernible editorial decision.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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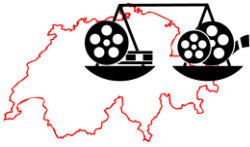
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Outrage = bias. Selective outrage reinforces the finding. Score = degree of outrage (0–5) + selectivity (0–5)

Finding 1: Timestamp: 56:00–58:00 — Steinke's reaction: "That also gives me great concern. This is an erosion of respect for international law" (regarding Scholz's statement on the Netanyahu arrest warrant) — Comparable without outrage: The non-recognition of the ICC by the USA and Russia is mentioned in the same breath, but treated less emotionally. — Asymmetry: Slight asymmetry, as the criticism of Scholz/Germany is formulated more emotionally than that of Trump/Putin, which is also due to the German position being perceived as particularly disappointing ("looks worst of all on the Germans").

Summary: There is a slight selective outrage at the end of the programme, directed more strongly at the German position on the ICC arrest warrant than at comparable positions of other states. However, this is understandable in the context of a German programme about German responsibility and should not be regarded as systematic manipulation.



9. COMPLETENESS									3/10
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The programme addresses a historical commemorative topic that is primarily historical-legal in nature and less day-to-day politically controversial. It is a history programme with personal contemporary witness accounts and expert classification. The political dimension only arises at the end through the transfer to current questions of international law (ICC arrest warrant against Netanyahu, erosion of international law). The topic is largely consensual in the German public — the Nuremberg Trials are regarded as a civilisational advance — although differentiations (victors' justice argument, deficits of the proceedings) can certainly be discussed controversially.

Share of perspectives covered

Inverted: Original value measures coverage (higher = better). Displayed as deviation (higher = greater gaps).

- [A] Historical classification of the Nuremberg Trials as a milestone of international criminal law
- [B] Legal deficits and criticism of the proceedings (victors' justice argument, lack of neutrality of judges)
- [C] Personal perspective of perpetrator families / descendants
- [D] Perspective of victims and survivors (Jewish victims, Polish victims, Soviet victims)
- [E] The role of the individual Allies (USA, UK, France, Soviet Union) and their differing interests
- [F] **German post-war society:** Repression, desire to draw a line under the past, economic miracle as distraction
- [G] **Transfer to the present:** International Criminal Court (ICC), current violations of international law
- [H] Critical reflection on German culture of remembrance today (instrumentalisation, ritualisation)
- [I] Perspective of the defence / rule of law in the proceedings
- [J] Comparison with other tribunals (Tokyo, Yugoslavia, Rwanda, ICC) and their effectiveness

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 04:30–06:00 — Quote Ambos: "individual criminal responsibility [...] the crimes are not committed by abstract entities" — Assessment: Addressed extensively and competently by two international law scholars.

[B] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 22:00–26:00 — Quote Ambos: "one could of course have considered in Nuremberg, when constituting the court, for example appointing a German judge" — Assessment: Kai Ambos introduces differentiated criticism (victors' justice, lack of neutrality, Hitler-Stalin Pact, Katyn, aerial warfare). Addressed substantively.

[C] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 10:00–18:00, 32:00–42:00 — Quote Frank: "Why did you go along with it? I will never understand that for the rest of my life." — Assessment: Niklas Frank provides extensive, very personal accounts. Dominant narrative thread of the programme.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 48:00–52:00 — Quote Clausen on Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier: "I am speaking here also on behalf of those who can no longer speak at all" — Assessment: The victim perspective is introduced through a historical witness, but no survivor or descendant of victims is present in the group. The Jewish victim perspective is only indirectly indicated through Steinke (as a Jewish German) and the historical film.

[E] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 22:00–24:00 — Quote Ambos: "it was not the Allies, but above all the USA [...] Stalin wanted to have all the people executed" — Assessment: The differing interests of the Allies are presented in a differentiated manner, particularly USA vs. Soviet Union.



[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 28:00–32:00 — Quote Lanz: "this work frenzy [...] which was really meant to distract from the horror" — Assessment: Repression and the desire to draw a line under the past are addressed, also through Steinke's elaborations on West German justice.

[G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 56:00–60:00 — Quote Steinke: "We unfortunately also have a chancellor here in this country who says, if Mr Netanyahu [...] were to come to Germany, I would not respect that" — Assessment: The contemporary relevance is established, but only right at the end and relatively briefly.

[H] INDICATED

Timestamp: 07:00–09:00 — Quote Clausen: "By now it is the case that this is a place that local people are also very proud of" — Assessment: The museum perspective indicates a culture of remembrance, but a critical reflection on ritualisation or instrumentalisation does not take place.

[I] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 43:00–46:00 — Quote Clausen: "they were allowed to be NSDAP members [...] They had to have previously held admission to a German court as a basic requirement" — Assessment: The defence rights are presented as evidence of the fairness of the proceedings. Adequately addressed.

[J] INDICATED

Timestamp: 47:00–48:00 — Quote Ambos: "Tokyo alone was over two years [...] our current proceedings, forget it, ten years" — Assessment: Comparisons are briefly touched upon but not systematically carried out. Tokyo, Yugoslavia and ICC are only skimmed.

Completeness score: 7/10

Justification: The programme covers the historical and legal dimension of the topic solidly and offers a unique personal perspective with Niklas Frank. The deficits lie in the absence of a direct victim perspective (no descendant of Holocaust survivors in the group), the only indicated critical reflection on today's culture of remembrance, and the very brief contemporary reference at the end. For a commemorative topic, the completeness is overall appropriate, but not outstanding.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Finding 1: Timestamp: 00:00–04:00 — Quote Lanz: "a gripping history lesson" / "no one is above the law. No baron, no general, no billionaire and not even a god-like dictator" — Manipulation: The framing is positively affirmative from the outset. The Nuremberg Trials are framed as an unequivocally positive event before the discussion has even begun. — Why problematic: This framing is largely appropriate for a commemorative topic and corresponds to the historical consensus. However, it slightly restricts the space for critical perspectives. The formulation "no billionaire" could be read as a current political dig (Elon Musk?), but remains vague.

Finding 2: Timestamp: 02:00–03:00 — Quote Lanz on Niklas Frank: "the wonderful feeling of revenge that this sound triggered in him" — Manipulation: No manipulative framing, but a direct quote from Frank's book. Lanz frames Frank as a tragic but authentic figure. — Why problematic: Not problematic. The introduction is factually correct and prepares for the personal dimension.

Finding 3: Timestamp: 56:00–58:00 — Quote Steinke: "We unfortunately also have a chancellor here in this country who says, if Mr Netanyahu [...] were to come to Germany, I would not respect that" — Manipulation: The contemporary reference is framed at the end as "erosion of international law", with criticism of Scholz/Germany and Netanyahu mentioned in the same breath as Trump and Putin. — Why problematic: This framing is journalistically legitimate, but the equation of various actors (Trump, Putin, Scholz, Netanyahu) in one sentence oversimplifies complex geopolitical contexts. No distinction is made between the non-recognition of the ICC (USA, Russia) and the German position.

Summary: The framing is largely appropriate for a commemorative programme. The positive basic attitude towards the Nuremberg Trials corresponds to the historical and legal consensus. Critical perspectives (victors' justice, deficits) are introduced by Kai Ambos and not suppressed. Slight tendency towards affirmative framing, but no manipulative framing.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

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Finding 1: Timestamp: 05:00 — Quote insert: "The atrocities which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating" — Manipulation: None. This is a historical original quote from Robert H. Jackson. — Why problematic: Not problematic. Historically accurate reproduction.

Finding 2: Timestamp: 01:30 — Quote Lanz: "the Butcher of Poland" — Manipulation: No deliberate manipulation. The term is historically established, although Niklas Frank later corrects: "Incidentally not the Butcher of Kraków, but the Butcher of Poland." — Why problematic: Minor inaccuracy in the introduction (Lanz initially says "Butcher of Poland", in the insert it says "Butcher of Kraków"), which is however corrected in the conversation.

Finding 3: Timestamp: 27:00 — Quote Frank: "I just want to say [...] this term 'Nazis', where one should actually say 'Germans', is for me the first blurring" — Manipulation: No manipulation by Lanz or the editorial team. Niklas Frank raises a justified language-critical objection that is taken up by Steinke. — Why problematic: Not problematic. On the contrary: the programme reflects here on language and its effect.

Summary: The choice of words is consistently factual and appropriate to the topic. There are no manipulative terms or tendentious formulations. The language is respectful towards the victims and differentiated in its historical classification.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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Lanz is known for provocative follow-up questions — please analyse asymmetric challenging.

Finding 1: Timestamp: throughout — Quote (Lanz): various moderation contributions — Analysis: Lanz moderates in this programme in a noticeably restrained and respectful manner. He asks open questions, lets guests finish speaking and rarely intervenes provocatively. This is appropriate to the topic. There is no discernible asymmetric treatment of guests. All four guests are treated with respect and interest.

Finding 2: Timestamp: 47:00 — Quote (Lanz): "That is a historical document." (in response to Ambos's criticism of the Göring excerpt) — Analysis: Lanz here factually defends the editorial decision to show the Göring excerpt against Ambos's objection that it should not be shown. This is a legitimate journalistic position. Lanz lets Ambos's criticism stand and does not contradict aggressively.

Finding 3: Timestamp: 56:00–58:00 — Analysis: At the end of the programme, Lanz lets Steinke's and Frank's political statements (criticism of Scholz, criticism of insufficient civic engagement) stand without comment. He does not follow up, does not differentiate and gives Ambos the "closing word". This is a deliberate moderation decision that corresponds to the commemorative character of the programme.

Summary: The moderation behaviour is exemplary for this programme. Lanz acts as a conversation leader, not as a provocateur. He asks intelligent questions, provides context and gives guests space. There is no discernible asymmetric treatment. The only slight criticism would be that he does not more strongly contextualise or question the political statements at the end.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Asymmetry 1: All guests are asked open, respectful questions. There are no discernibly hard questions to one guest and soft ones to another. — Example: To Frank: "How do you feel when you see that?" [empathetic] — To Ambos: "Is that the central idea of Nuremberg?" [factual] — To Steinke: "What kind of narrative is that?" [open] — To Clausen: "Who comes to the museum?" [open]

Summary: There is no discernible question asymmetry. All guests are questioned with comparable openness and respect. The questions are adapted to the respective area of competence (personal to Frank, legal to Ambos/Steinke, historical to Clausen), which is journalistically sensible.



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14. FALSE BALANCE

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Finding: No false balance discernible. The programme gives no space to NS apologetics or Holocaust denial. The victors' justice argument is presented as a historical position of the post-war period, not as an equally valid counter-position. Ambos introduces differentiated criticism without calling into question the fundamental significance of the trials.

Summary: The programme consistently avoids false balance. It would also not be journalistically appropriate to present NS crimes or the legitimacy of the Nuremberg Trials as "two equally valid sides". Differentiation takes place within the historical consensus.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Finding 1: Agenda element set: 80th anniversary of the Nuremberg Trials as occasion for a history programme — Timestamp: entire programme — Evidence: Date 20.11.2025 = exactly 80 years after the start of the trial — Alternative: None needed. The anniversary is a legitimate and obvious occasion.

Finding 2: Agenda element set: Erosion of international law in the present — Timestamp: 56:00–60:00 — Evidence: Steinke: "This is an erosion of respect for international law" — Alternative: One could also have emphasised positive developments more strongly (e.g. universal jurisdiction proceedings in Germany against Syrian torturers, progress of the ICC).

Summary: The agenda-setting is appropriate for a commemorative programme and journalistically justified. The anniversary is a natural occasion. The contemporary reference at the end sets a slight political agenda (criticism of the erosion of international law), which is however understandable in the context of the topic.



CHAPTER 2 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

Dominant techniques

- 1. Expert selection (score 3):** The absence of a direct victim perspective is the biggest gap in the programme. All four guests are competent, but the absence of a descendant of Holocaust survivors or a Polish historian leaves a noticeable void.
- 2. Omission (score 3):** Some relevant aspects (successor trials, atomic bombs, industrial entanglement) are not addressed or only touched upon. This is understandable for a 60-minute programme, but nonetheless noteworthy given such a complex topic.
- 3. Timing (score 3):** The placement of the most politically sensitive statements (criticism of Scholz, erosion of international law) at the end of the programme lends these particular weight without them being discussed or contextualised further.

Justification: The programme fulfils the requirements of §26 MStV regarding balance and diversity of opinion to a high degree. The topic — 80th anniversary of the Nuremberg Trials — is a historical commemorative topic on which there is broad social consensus. Within this consensus, the programme offers various perspectives (legally differentiated through Ambos, positively affirmative through Steinke, personally emotional through Frank, historically detailed through Clausen). Criticism of the trials (victors' justice, lack of neutrality, Holocaust not at the centre) is introduced substantively by Ambos. The contemporary reference at the end is journalistically legitimate, but could have been addressed more extensively and in a more differentiated manner.

CONCLUSION

The programme of 20 November 2025 is a journalistically solid, substantively well-founded and emotionally moving history programme that appropriately commemorates the 80th anniversary of the Nuremberg Trials. The guest selection is competent and offers various approaches to the topic. Kai Ambos is the only one to systematically introduce critical perspectives (victors' justice argument, deficits of the proceedings, Allied war crimes), which is essential for the diversity of opinion in the sense of §26 MStV. The main deficits lie in the absence of a direct victim perspective and the very brief, insufficiently differentiated contemporary reference at the end. Overall, the programme corresponds to the public service mandate of ZDF and the requirements for balance and diversity of opinion. No violation of §26 MStV or the ZDF State Treaty is discernible.



CHAPTER 3 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Concrete evidence
CDU/CSU	0	No mention or assessment.
SPD	-1	57:00 Steinke: "a chancellor who says, if Mr Netanyahu [...] were to come to Germany, I would not respect that" — indirect criticism of Scholz (SPD).
Greens	0	No mention or assessment.
FDP	0	No mention or assessment.
AfD	0	No mention or assessment.
BSW	0	No mention or assessment.
Linke	0	No mention or assessment.
Freie Wähler	0	No mention or assessment.

Party bias summary

- Most favoured: No party discernibly favoured (score 0).
- Most disadvantaged: SPD (score -1) — through indirect criticism of Federal Chancellor Scholz's position on the ICC arrest warrant against Netanyahu.
- Conclusion: The programme is almost entirely free of party-political bias. The topic is historical and not party-politically charged. The only party-politically attributable statement is Steinke's criticism of Scholz's position on the ICC arrest warrant, which is however formulated as a criticism under international law, not as a party-political criticism. Ambos's closing words emphasise that support for international criminal law is "cross-party". A party-political bias is not discernible.



CHAPTER 4 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (§26 MStV / ZDF State Treaty)

Assessment according to §26 MStV

No violation discernible.

The programme fulfils the requirements of §26 MStV in the following respects:

- Diversity of opinion (§26 para. 1 MStV): The programme offers various perspectives on the topic (legally differentiated, historically detailed, personally emotional, journalistically contextualising). Critical positions (victors' justice argument, deficits of the proceedings) are introduced substantively by Kai Ambos.
- Objectivity and truthfulness: The historical facts are presented correctly. Original sources are used. Errors are corrected in the conversation (e.g. "Butcher of Kraków" vs. "Butcher of Poland").
- Respect for human dignity: The programme treats the victims of NS crimes with respect and dignity. The testimony of Vaillant-Couturier is presented as an example of dignity and resistance.

Overall assessment §26 MStV

The programme of 20 November 2025 meets the requirements of §26 MStV regarding balance, diversity of opinion and objectivity. The ZDF State Treaty obliges ZDF to provide basic public service broadcasting, which also includes conveying historical contexts and promoting democratic awareness. This programme does exactly that: it conveys the historical significance of the Nuremberg Trials, classifies them legally, makes them tangible through personal stories and establishes a contemporary relevance. The absence of a direct victim perspective is an editorial deficit, but not a legal violation. The ZDF Television Council would have no grounds for objection. The programme is an example of successful public service journalism in the field of historical education.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	3	••
2	SOURCE SELECTION	2	•
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	2	•
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	3	••
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	1	•
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	1	•
7	TIMING	3	••
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	2	•
9	COMPLETENESS	3	••
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame)	2	•
11	CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS	2	•
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	2	•
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	1	•
14	FALSE BALANCE	1	•
15	AGENDA-SETTING	2	•

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

2.2/10

Unremarkable

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

1.7/10

Unremarkable

OVERALL SCORE

2.0/10

Unremarkable

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant irregularity identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight irregularity without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Discernible tendency; impact relevance low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact relevance	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "significant findings".
7	Significant finding	Clear, well-evidenced imbalance with marked impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple evidenced individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum manifestation	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unremarkable	No material patterns discernible; programme meets the requirement of factual accuracy.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated irregularities; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Significant imbalance	Multiple significant findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the requirement of balance. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, programme-wide patterns; high impact relevance.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum manifestation across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is clearly treated worse in presentation, speaking time or framing.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Discernible but weak disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No discernible favouring or disadvantaging.
+1 to +2	Slightly favoured	Discernible but weak favouring.
+3 to +5	Strongly favoured	Party is clearly favoured in presentation, speaking time or framing.



Legal and methodological classification

No finding of fact	The results presented do not constitute findings of fact regarding individual persons, editorial teams or programmes. They are to be understood as the result of a standardised operationalisation, not as a determination of individual responsibility.
No legal ruling	The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment in the sense of §26 MStV. The determination of whether a specific programme violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular media regulators).
No proof of causality	Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, news situation, political controversiality or format logic.
No judgement of intent	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of programmes. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison instrument	The index serves the comparative pattern recognition across thousands of programmes, not the precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve heuristic orientation, not sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX: CANTONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Germany — ARD, ZDF

Law

Interstate Media Treaty (MStV, 2020)

Relevant articles

- §26 para. 1 MStV: Public broadcasting institutions shall provide in their offerings a comprehensive overview of international, European, national and regional events in all essential areas of life. In doing so, they shall promote international understanding, European integration and social cohesion in the Federation and the Länder. Their offerings shall serve education, information, advice and entertainment. They shall offer contributions in particular to culture. Entertainment shall correspond to a public service offering profile.
- §5 para. 1 ZDF State Treaty: Obligation to objectivity and impartiality of reporting, consideration of diversity of opinion.
- ARD State Treaty: Basic public service mandate with objectivity and impartiality.

Core obligations

- 1. Diversity of opinion (internal pluralism):** All relevant perspectives must be represented in the overall programme
- 2. Objectivity and balance:** Moderators must treat guests to the same standards
- 3. Contribution to opinion formation:** Audience must receive sufficient information for independent opinion formation

Supervisory authority

- Broadcasting councils of the state broadcasting institutions: Supervision of ARD institutions (BR, WDR, NDR, etc.)
- ZDF Television Council (§19 ZDF State Treaty): Supervision of ZDF programme
- Legal supervision: Respective federal state (ZDF: Rhineland-Palatinate)

Complaints procedure

1. Programme complaint to the responsible broadcasting council or ZDF Television Council
2. Administrative court action



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

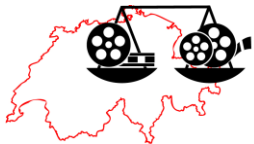
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Unbalanced reporting is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: here the manipulation techniques are explained in detail, starting with the selection of staff and source selection. Subsequently, 15 principles are explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, context removal and many more, illustrated with many examples. In addition, it becomes apparent where we ourselves apply these techniques — this promotes not only insight but also empathy.

Optionally the book comes with **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



The interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else has written the script.

Those who do not know this provide material. Good quotes that are cut incorrectly. Correct statements that end up in the wrong context. Honest answers that are framed as confessions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolbox — for all those who have a microphone in front of their face and want to know what they can do about it. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview really is. The 7 most common traps. The three basic principles of sovereignty — anchoring, reframing, delimiting. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what counts after the interview.

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for all those who are exposed and want to understand how the game works. So that they stop playing along — and start shaping it.

In A5. Direct. For preparation, for reference, for follow-up and in case of difficulties



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You think you see the world. In reality you see the frame that someone has placed around it. Framing is the oldest and most elegant manipulation technique in the world. It does not change the facts — it changes what we make of the facts. How we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate. Daily. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry textbook. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of examples from real life. You learn not only how others frame you. You learn how you yourself frame — and how you can use it consciously and fairly.

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Listen to news differently. Conduct conversations more confidently. And can no longer so easily have a frame imposed on them that someone else has chosen.

With many exercises and concrete examples from politics, media and everyday life — and the occasional smile.

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



The SRG collects 1.56 billion francs per year — compulsorily, from every household. Those who feel unfairly treated can complain. There is even an authority for this: the IGAC, the Independent Grievance Authority for Radio and Television.

Only: it is not independent. It has no sanctioning powers. And in 99.6% of all cases it decides: nothing.

This analysis exposes the system — factually, precisely, without polemic. Proceedings, personnel, powers, costs, statistics, legal recourse. And the constitutional law review that shows: the IGAC system meets none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not subject to separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens protects above all the system it was supposed to control.

Essential reading for all those considering a complaint — and for all those who want to understand why genuine media regulation in Switzerland is still outstanding.