



## MTVA DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-12-09\_48-perc

Programme: MTVA-Sendung (M1/Kossuth Rádió) | 2025-12-09 | Analysed: 2026-05-24 20:33  
Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Mércé: Mttv. §83

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) classifies parties on a left-right scale based on a survey of 609 political scientists (0 = far left, 10 = far right). We apply the Pew Research Center (2025) thresholds: <4.5 = Left, 4.5–5.5 = Centre, >5.5 = Right. This enables objective classification of perceived party-political bias.

Party	DK	MSZP	Momentum	LMP	KDNP	Fidesz	Mi Hazánk
CHES	1.69	2.31	3.15	3.46	6.92	7.77	9.31
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right

The overall tendency is displayed on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-leaning, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-leaning). The calculation is based on the difference between the average advantage of left-wing and right-wing parties (grouped according to CHES 2024).

**TENDENCY (L – R)**    **5.8 / 10**    **Balanced**

0    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9    10

← Left

Right →

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

This section provides political context and does not count towards the overall score.



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Government: Fidesz-KDNP has governed without interruption since 2010, currently holding a two-thirds parliamentary majority (135 seats out of 199). Prime Minister Orbán Viktor leads the cabinet.

Main opposition forces: TISZA (Magyar Péter, second strongest force with 29.6% in the 2024 EP elections), DK (Gyurcsány Ferenc), Momentum, LMP, MSZP, Jobbik, Mi Hazánk (6 seats, far right).

Party	CHES left-right	Seats (2022)	Government/Opposition	Base position
MSZP	3,00	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Social democratic, left
MKKP	3,50	0	Outside parliament	Satirical-libertarian, left
LMP	3,79	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Green-progressive, left
Momentum	4,17	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-left, pro-EU, youth-urban
DK	4,28	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-left, strongly pro-EU
TISZA	6,17	— (as a 2024 newcomer)	Opposition (strongest)	Centre-right, anti-corruption, pro-EU
Jobbik	6,47	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-right (moderated)
Fidesz-KDNP	8,61	135	Government (2/3)	Far right, authoritarian-nationalist
Mi Hazánk	9,29	6	Opposition	Far right, EU-sceptic

Hungary's most important political fault line runs between the Fidesz-KDNP government and the opposition — particularly TISZA, which has grown stronger since 2024. Migration policy, the relationship with EU membership, and the rule of law structurally divide the political field. As the 2026 parliamentary elections approach, the debate around the credibility of TISZA's "austerity package" and the Polish parallel have moved to the centre of government communication. The question of ending the war in Ukraine — particularly peace negotiations and European engagement — also generates sharp debate between government and opposition narratives.

MTVA (M1, M2, M4, M5, Duna) operates as a de facto government media outlet: the NMHH Media Council, which oversees public service media, has been staffed exclusively by individuals close to Fidesz since 2010. The KESMA foundation (approximately 500 media companies since 2018) has consolidated the pro-government press. Independent media outlets (Telex.hu, 444.hu, RTL Klub, ATV) operate in an increasingly restricted space; Hungary ranks worst within the EU on the Reporters Without Borders press freedom index (85th place, 2024).



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. party programme position
Fidesz-KDNP	+3	01:09 "Orbán Viktor says in this regard that the government will not implement this migration pact" — Party programme: zero tolerance, sovereignty protection — correct, but exclusively in a positive context, without criticism
TISZA	-5	13:00 "the Tisza package has leaked, the existence of which Magyar Péter denies, denies very vehemently" — Party programme: anti-corruption, transparency, EU-compliant rule of law — actively distorted: the party's programme positions are not presented at all, the austerity package narrative dominates exclusively
DK	0	Not featured in the broadcast.
Momentum	0	Not featured in the broadcast.
Jobbik	0	Not featured in the broadcast.
Mi Hazánk	0	Not featured in the broadcast.
LMP	0	Not featured in the broadcast.
MSZP	0	Not featured in the broadcast.

Score explanation:

- +5 = party programme positions are presented correctly and comprehensively
- 0 = the party/topic does not appear in the broadcast
- -5 = party programme positions are actively distorted or falsely portrayed

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: Fidesz-KDNP (+3) — government positions are consistently and correctly presented, though without critical context.
- Strongest distortion: TISZA (-5) — the party's programme positions (anti-corruption, EU compliance, rule of law) are not presented at all; the broadcast is built exclusively on the narrative surrounding the disputed "austerity package" and identifies Magyar Péter with a series of lies.
- Average deviation from 0: 2.0
- Conclusion: The broadcast one-sidedly reinforces the Fidesz-KDNP government narrative, while completely ignoring TISZA's programme positions and portraying the party exclusively in a negative frame. The remaining opposition parties are entirely absent from the broadcast, representing a systematic truncation of the political spectrum.

### Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -4.2

CLASSIFICATION: Strongly right-leaning

Justification: The broadcast conveys the Fidesz-KDNP government narrative in its entirety: it portrays the migration pact as a sovereignty threat, TISZA as a lying party planning austerity, and the EU's western leaders as a "globalist left-wing elite." No opposition or pro-EU perspective is given any space; the guests in both segments are linked to pro-government institutions. The Polish parallel consistently reinforces the Fidesz narrative, and the Ukraine war segment legitimises Orbán's "pro-peace" position.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DATA AND TOPIC FRAMES

### Broadcast data

- Title: 48 minutes
- Date: (cannot be determined precisely from the filename; inferred from content: spring 2025, based on the Polish presidential election and the Navrocki victory, as well as the leak of the TISZA package, most likely May–June 2025)
- Estimated length: approx. 48 minutes (two segments: 0:00–24:41 and 25:06–48:09)
- Host/Reporter: Töröcsik Zsolt
- Invited guests:

Person	Function	Party/Institutional affiliation	Political spectrum
Szűcs Gábor	Founding member of the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom	Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom (pro-government civil organisation)	Far right / Fidesz sympathiser
Rossonci Kovács Mihály	Foreign affairs director of the Nézőpont Intézet	Nézőpont Intézet (pro-government think tank)	Right / Close to Fidesz
Kis Rajmund	Head of the diplomatic workshop at Matthias Corvinus Collegium	MCC (state-funded, close to Fidesz)	Right / Close to Fidesz

### Main topic

The broadcast consists of two parts: the first part discusses the disputed "austerity package" of the TISZA party and the Polish parallel, while the second part analyses the possibilities for ending the Ukraine–Russia war and the obstacles to European peace efforts — in both cases exclusively from a pro-government perspective.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — countable and scientifically grounded

#### Hardfacts — 9 measurable and scientifically verifiable techniques

##### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 9/10

Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

#### Expert 1: Szűcs Gábor — founding member of the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom

Timestamp: 00:36

Statement: "My guests are Szűcs Gábor, founding member of the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom"

Classification: Pro-government civil activist; the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom is a Fidesz-sympathising organisation that runs campaigns against the opposition (e.g. "One bad choice is enough" campaign, 20:03).

Missing counter-opinion: A TISZA politician, a representative of an independent civil organisation.

Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** The funding of the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom is opaque; the organisation runs pro-Fidesz campaigns, and partial funding from state or pro-government sources cannot be excluded. Structural conflict of interest: the organisation's raison d'être is based on campaigns against the opposition.

**(b) MANDATE:** The organisation's mandate (anti-opposition campaigns) is incompatible with a neutral expert role.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — The organisation's purpose is to discredit the opposition; it has a direct interest in the negative portrayal of TISZA.

D2 Personal risk: -1 — His statements are in line with his organisation's interests; there is no personal risk.

D3 Professional competence: -1 — Political activist, not an economist or migration lawyer; no verified expertise in the topics discussed (migration law, economic policy).

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistently represents the same narrative.

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -2 — Strongly emotional, apocalyptic rhetoric ("we would not be able to recover from that crisis for years", 21:11); based on assumptions rather than data.

D6 Source level: -2 — Does not cite primary sources; statements are tertiary level.

**TOTAL: -7 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Framed as a neutral expert, whereas his organisation is structurally an anti-opposition campaign organisation.

#### Expert 2: Rossonci Kovács Mihály — foreign affairs director of the Nézőpont Intézet

Timestamp: 00:41

Statement: "Rossonci Kovács Mihály, foreign affairs director of the Nézőpont Intézet"

Classification: The Nézőpont Intézet is a pro-government think tank whose opinion polls and analyses are regularly used to support the Fidesz narrative.

Missing counter-opinion: Independent foreign policy analyst, Republikon Intézet, Political Capital.

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Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** The funding of the Nézőpont Intézet is partially opaque; it is known to subsist on state and pro-government commissions. Structural conflict of interest: reinforcing the government narrative is a condition for the institute's survival.

**(b) MANDATE:** Opinion polling and analysis — in principle neutral, but in practice publishes results that reinforce the Fidesz narrative.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Pro-government funding; direct interest in reinforcing the government narrative.

D2 Personal risk: -1 — His statements are in line with his institute's interests.

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Has relevant expertise as foreign affairs director, but applies it exclusively in one direction.

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistently represents a pro-government position.

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — Partially data-based (Polish economic indicators), but selectively.

D6 Source level: 0 — Cites secondary sources.

**TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Framed as a neutral analyst, whereas his institutional affiliation is structurally pro-government.

### Expert 3: Kis Rajmund — Head of the MCC Diplomatic Workshop

Timestamp: 25:28

Statement: "My guest is Kis Rajmund, head of the diplomatic workshop at Matthias Corvinus Collegium"

Classification: MCC is a state-funded institution close to Fidesz; since 2020 it has been managed by the Fidesz-aligned Batthyány Lajos Alapítvány, which received state assets worth approximately 1,500 billion forints in 2021.

Missing counter-opinion: Independent foreign policy researcher, Ukrainian analyst, NATO expert.

Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** MCC is managed by the Batthyány Lajos Alapítvány, one of the largest beneficiaries of state asset transfers in Hungary. Direct state funding; structural conflict of interest in reinforcing the government's foreign policy narrative.

**(b) MANDATE:** Diplomatic training and research — in principle neutral, but the institution operates within a Fidesz-aligned ideological framework.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct state funding; the institution's survival depends on reinforcing the government narrative.

D2 Personal risk: -1 — His statements are in line with his institute's interests.

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Has relevant expertise in the diplomatic field.

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistently represents a pro-government foreign policy position.

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — Partially data-based, but laden with strong value judgements ("pro-war crisis meeting", 25:53).

D6 Source level: 0 — Cites secondary sources.

**TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Framed as a neutral diplomatic expert, whereas his institutional affiliation is structurally pro-government.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Independent economist (to assess the real economic impact of the TISZA package and the full picture of Polish data)
- Independent migration lawyer (to present the legal content of the EU migration pact)
- Independent foreign policy researcher (to assess the Ukrainian peace negotiations)

*Summary (matrix result):*

- Szűcs Gábor: RED (-7) — political activist, structural conflict of interest, emotional rhetoric
- Rossonci Kovács Mihály: YELLOW (-2) — pro-government think tank, selective use of data
- Kis Rajmund: YELLOW (-2) — state-funded institution, pro-government narrative

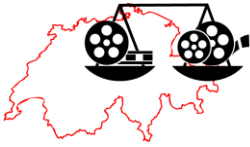


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**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

All three guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions; not a single independent or opposition-representing expert appears in the broadcast.

**Source credibility overview:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
expert: Szűcs Gábor — founding member of the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom	-2	-1	-1	+1	-2	-2	-7	RED
expert: Rossonci Kovács Mihály — foreign affairs director of the Nézópont Intézet	-2	-1	+1	+1	-1	0	-2	YELLOW
expert: Kis Rajmund — Head of the MCC Diplomatic Workshop	-2	-1	+1	+1	-1	0	-2	YELLOW



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Claims without primary sources = penalty points (rumour check)

Overall score: 9/10

Definition: What sources are cited? Are they varied and independent?

### Source 1: McLaughlin & Associates opinion poll

Timestamp: 13:11 — Statement: "a fresh survey by an American research firm, according to which almost two-thirds of Hungarians consider this package to be genuine and credible"

- (a) **Funding and sponsor:** The broadcast does not disclose the client of McLaughlin & Associates. The firm is a known Trump-aligned pollster; the identity of the client who commissioned the Hungarian survey is not revealed.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** If the survey was commissioned by a pro-government client, the result serves a direct political interest.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Results from independent Hungarian pollsters (Závecz Research, Medián, Publicus) are not included.

Rumour check (penalty points): There is no explicit rumour signal, but the concealment of the client's identity is in itself a source integrity problem.

### Source 2: Feledi Botond — "TISZA-sympathising expert"

Timestamp: 07:06 — Statement: "here is Feledi Botond, a TISZA-sympathising expert, who said in recent days that it is clear that Magyar Péter's people do not want to commit to tearing down the fence for one million euros"

- (a) **Funding:** It is not disclosed who Feledi Botond is and what institution he is affiliated with.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The label "TISZA-sympathising" pre-frames the source; the statement is used as an argument against TISZA.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** The official position of TISZA is not included.

### Source 3: Dávid Dóra — TISZA MEP

Timestamp: 07:37 — Statement: "I think the attitude should change, let us not exclude anyone, let us welcome everyone"

- (a) **Funding:** MEP, publicly funded.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The statement is used without context, as an "exposé" of TISZA's migration policy; the full statement and context are not known.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** The full text of TISZA's migration programme is not included.

Rumour check:

### Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 07:15

Claim: "they do not want to commit, because they cannot talk about everything, because then they would lose, said Tarzoltán, the deputy leader of the TISZA party"

Verbal signal: "said" — but the original statement's context and full text are not included; the source is cited second-hand.

Primary source: not available — penalty point



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*Summary: The sources in the broadcast are exclusively pro-government or materials reinforcing the government narrative; no independent, opposition, or EU source appears at all. The concealment of the McLaughlin survey's client is a serious source integrity problem.*



### 3. TIME ALLOCATION

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 9/10

*Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different viewpoints.*

Estimated speaking time:

- Töröcsik Zsolt (host): approx. 8 minutes (17%)
- Szűcs Gábor: approx. 10 minutes (21%)
- Rossonci Kovács Mihály: approx. 8 minutes (17%)
- Kis Rajmund: approx. 18 minutes (38%)
- Cited individuals (Magyar Péter, Tusk, Zelenszkij, etc.): approx. 4 minutes (8%) — exclusively in a negative context

*Summary: The entire speaking time of the broadcast is divided among three pro-government guests; no opposition or independent voice is given an independent opportunity to speak. Magyar Péter and other opposition figures appear exclusively in the form of quotations, in a negative frame, without the opportunity to defend themselves.*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 9/10

Definition: What is left out, even though it would be relevant? (with inclusion of step 2)

##### Omission 1:

Context: The TISZA party's own programme positions (anti-corruption, EU compliance, healthcare, education) are entirely absent.

Relevant timestamp: 13:00–22:27 (entire TISZA segment)

Effect: The viewer learns about TISZA exclusively through the "austerity package" narrative; the party's real programme remains invisible.

##### Omission 2:

Context: The identity of the client who commissioned the McLaughlin & Associates survey is not disclosed.

Relevant timestamp: 13:11

Effect: The viewer cannot assess whether the research is independent or politically commissioned.

##### Omission 3:

Context: Poland's positive economic indicators (GDP growth, employment rate, real wage increases) are entirely absent; only the national debt and the budget deficit are mentioned.

Relevant timestamp: 10:53–11:16

Effect: The Polish economic situation appears one-sidedly negative, which reinforces the anti-TISZA narrative.

*Summary: The broadcast systematically omits all information that would nuance or refute the government narrative; the omissions form a consistent pattern.*

#### Missing voices

- Independent economist: Would have analysed the real economic impact of the TISZA package and the full picture of Polish data.
- TISZA politician or spokesperson: Would have presented the party's own position in the austerity package debate.
- EU lawyer: Would have objectively presented the legal content of the migration pact and the room for manoeuvre available to member states.
- Ukrainian diplomatic source or analyst: Would have represented the Ukrainian perspective in the peace negotiations.
- Independent foreign policy researcher: Would have assessed the reality and risks of Trump's peace initiative.
- Polish government source or Polish analyst: Would have refuted or nuanced the picture painted of the Tusk government.
- Media authority or press freedom expert: Would have contextualised the media concentration of MTVA and KESMA.
- Opinion polling methodology expert: Would have assessed the reliability of the McLaughlin & Associates survey and the identity of the client.



## 5. NUMBER MANIPULATION

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Complete numbers include: absolute value, ratio (%) and trend

Overall score: 7/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Triangle check: For every number used in an argumentative function, we check three dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value — the raw number
- (b) Ratio — percentage, per capita, relative
- (c) Trend — development over time

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 11:07

Number: "record-high national debt, which rose from 49% to 60% in two years"

Dimensions: (a) ✓ absolute value given, (b) ✓ GDP ratio given, (c) X trend incomplete — it is not disclosed at what rate the debt grew before the Tusk government, and how the EU average developed during the same period.

Missing context: Polish national debt is below the EU average; the increase is partly a consequence of post-COVID consolidation and the energy crisis.

Effect: The Polish economic situation appears more catastrophic than it actually is.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 13:18

Number: "62-27 percent, so 62 percent consider it credible"

Dimensions: (a) ✓ absolute value, (b) ✓ ratio, (c) X trend missing — it is not disclosed what earlier surveys showed, and whether the sampling methodology is appropriate.

Missing context: The identity of the client is not disclosed; the sample size and sampling method are not mentioned.

Effect: The number appears as a fact, even though the independence of the survey is questionable.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 34:34

Number: "This war has so far cost Hungarian households more than two million forints"

Dimensions: (a) ✓ absolute value, (b) X ratio missing — it is not disclosed how this amount is distributed per household, what period it covers, and what calculation method was applied, (c) X trend missing.

Missing context: The source and calculation methodology of the number are not mentioned; the per-household breakdown may be misleading.

Effect: The number creates an emotional impact but is unverifiable.

*Summary: The numbers in the broadcast consistently reinforce the government narrative; context, trend, and methodology are regularly absent.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

0/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Overall score: 8/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

### Association 1:

Timestamp: 04:27

Quote: "Donald Tusk came to power with the help of the Brussels-based, or rather globalist left-wing elite of the 66"

Technique: The expression "globalist left-wing elite" links Tusk and, implicitly, Magyar Péter to a negatively connoted, conspiracy-theory framework.

Effect: The viewer gets the impression that Magyar Péter is a tool of a secret, anti-Hungarian force.

### Association 2:

Timestamp: 09:55

Quote: "as Manfred Weber quasi anointed or pointed to Magyar Péter, so that this globalist left-wing structure would help him at all costs"

Technique: Magyar Péter is presented as a candidate selected by a "globalist structure," which calls his democratic legitimacy into question.

Effect: Magyar Péter appears not as an independent politician but as a puppet of foreign forces.

### Association 3:

Timestamp: 42:25

Quote: "with illegal migration in 2015, the European Union let in a culture alien to our European Christian culture"

Technique: Frames migration as a cultural invasion; the expression "alien culture" suggests an ethnic-cultural threat.

Effect: Portrays the migration issue as a civilisational conflict, which implicitly presents opposition parties (which are aligned with EU migration policy) as acceptors of the "alien culture."

*Summary: The broadcast consistently applies the guilt by association technique: it associates Magyar Péter and TISZA with "globalist" and "Brussels" forces, calling their democratic legitimacy into question without providing factual evidence.*



## 7. TIMING

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 7/10

Definition: Strategic placement of information (beginning/middle/end).

### Finding 1:

Position: 00:09 (beginning)

Content: "Almost two-thirds of Hungarians consider the leaked austerity package of the TISZA party to be credible and real"

Timing effect: The result of the McLaughlin survey appears as the first sentence of the broadcast, establishing the credibility of the TISZA package as a fact for the viewer before any context or criticism is heard. This is a technique exploiting the "first impression" effect.

### Finding 2:

Position: 21:02–21:22 (end of the first segment)

Content: "what could be part of this programme, which they themselves know that if it were made public, they would lose. These are the programme points that, if someone were to implement them, we would not be able to recover from that crisis for years"

Timing effect: The first segment closes with an apocalyptic image, which creates anxiety in the viewer and establishes TISZA as an existential threat.

### Finding 3:

Position: 48:03–48:09 (end of the broadcast)

Content: "in the best case we trust in the wisdom of Hungarian voters, and when they honour us next year too, so that we can have a conversation here with Zsolt, then let's say the Prime Minister is called Orbán Viktor, that helps Hungary quite a bit"

Timing effect: The last sentence of the broadcast functions as an open electoral campaign message: maintaining Orbán Viktor's position as Prime Minister is presented as a desirable goal.

Summary: The broadcast consciously applies the timing technique: the first sentence establishes the anti-TISZA narrative as fact, and the last sentence closes with an open campaign message.



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

Overall score: 8/10

*Definition: Outrage at certain positions, but not at similar ones.*

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

Score calculation (penalty points):

Score = Degree of outrage (0–5) + Selectivity (0–5)

- Degree of outrage: 0 = none, 1–2 = occasional/mild, 3–4 = repeated/firm, 5 = continuous/intense
- Selectivity: 0 = evenly distributed or none, 1–2 = mild asymmetry, 3–4 = clear one-sidedness, 5 = exclusively one side

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 14:04

Triggering event: Magyar Péter's earlier statements (about his political career, his parliamentary immunity, the Assad plane)

Reaction: "he has burned himself so many times already, so like the boy who cried wolf [...] as a lawyer, he could not have said such a thing, but obviously he was lying to people again, so this is a matter of fact"

Comparison: Orbán Viktor's earlier statements (e.g. "there will be no reversal of utility cost reductions," then reversal; "there will be no war risk") — reaction: none, 00:00

Asymmetry: Magyar Péter's statements are labelled "lies" and listed in detail; similar cases on the government side are not discussed at all.

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5

*Summary: The broadcast shows intense and detailed outrage towards Magyar Péter's alleged lies, while completely ignoring similar cases on the government side. This represents a clear asymmetry.*



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 9/10

*Definition: How complete is the broadcast's representation of topics? Are relevant perspectives, facts, or actors systematically omitted?*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:09–24:41 (entire first segment)

Missing perspective/fact: The TISZA party's own programme positions, the TISZA-side arguments in the debate around the "austerity package," independent economic analysis.

Relevance: The viewer cannot get a balanced picture of the debate if only one side's arguments are heard.

Effect: TISZA appears exclusively in a negative context; the party's real programme remains invisible.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 25:06–48:09 (entire second segment)

Missing perspective/fact: Ukrainian perspective, detailed presentation of Western European positions on peace negotiations, independent foreign policy analysis.

Relevance: The question of ending the war in Ukraine is extremely complex; one-sided presentation is misleading.

Effect: Trump's peace initiative appears exclusively in a positive frame, and European resistance exclusively in a negative frame.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:36–00:44 (introduction of guests)

Missing perspective/fact: Transparent disclosure of the guests' institutional affiliations and funding.

Relevance: The viewer cannot assess the independence of the guests.

Effect: Pro-government guests appear as neutral experts.

*Summary: The broadcast systematically omits all perspectives that would nuance or refute the government narrative; the omissions are not random but form a consistent pattern.*

End of hard facts — Beginning of soft facts

### Soft facts — debatable, not merely countable

Since TISZA's success in the 2024 EP elections (29.6%), it has become the main challenger to Fidesz-KDNP; ahead of the 2026 parliamentary elections, one of the main elements of government communication is calling TISZA's credibility into question. The debate around the leak of the "austerity package" must be understood in this context: the government side presents the document as authentic and Magyar Péter's denials as lies. On the question of the war in Ukraine, Hungary occupies an isolated position within the EU: Orbán Viktor's "peace" narrative places him in opposition to Western allies, which also has a mobilising effect in domestic politics. The Polish parallel (Donald Tusk's government) serves in the Fidesz narrative to negatively foreshadow the consequences of a potential TISZA victory.

*Proportion of viewpoints covered*

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

**[A] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: TISZA's own position is presented exclusively through Magyar Péter's denials, in a hostile frame; the party's programme positions are not presented at all.

**[B] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No independent economic analyst is featured; the credibility of the document is presented as fact solely by reference to the McLaughlin survey.

**[C] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Timestamp: 10:53 — Quote: "the Polish economy is producing very poor results" — Assessment: Only negative Polish data are presented (national debt, budget deficit); positive indicators (GDP growth, employment) are not mentioned.

**[D] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Timestamp: 01:19 — Quote: "there is the crisis regulation part of this, which was adopted not in the European Council but in the Council of Ministers" — Assessment: The legal framework of the pact is presented one-sidedly, exclusively from the perspective of the Hungarian government's criticism; the EU legal position is absent.

**[E] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Ukrainian or Western European perspectives are given no space at all; Zelenskij and European leaders appear exclusively in a negative context.

**[F] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No independent foreign policy analyst is featured; Trump's peace initiative is discussed exclusively in a positive frame.

**[G] OMITTED**

Timestamp: 13:30 — Quote: "this was prepared by a company called McLaughlin & Associates, who also prepare opinion polls for Donald Trump" — Assessment: The client who commissioned the survey (who ordered it?) is not disclosed; the methodology is not presented; the Trump connection is presented as a positive qualification.

**[H] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The state funding and Fidesz affiliation of the Nézőpont Intézet and MCC are not disclosed at all; the guests are presented as neutral experts.

**[I] OMITTED**

Timestamp: 08:42 — Quote: "a one-off fine of 200 million euros and a daily fine of 1 million euros" — Assessment: The background of the ECJ fines (content of the infringement, judgements) is not presented; only the fact of the penalty is communicated, framed as a grievance.

**[J] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Hungarian economic indicators (inflation, national debt, real wages) are not compared with Polish data; the comparison focuses one-sidedly on Polish negatives.

**Completeness score: 2/10**

Justification: Out of ten relevant perspectives, the broadcast covers only two partially (Polish economy, legal framework of the EU migration pact), and even these are discussed one-sidedly, in line with the government narrative. Independent experts, opposition positions, Ukrainian/European perspectives, and transparent disclosure of the guests' institutional affiliations are entirely absent.



## Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAME DEFINITION

0/10

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Overall score: 9/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:09

Quote: "Almost two-thirds of Hungarians consider the leaked austerity package of the TISZA party to be credible and real"

Manipulation: The expression "leaked austerity package" treats the document's authenticity and its connection to TISZA as facts, even though these are disputed.

Why problematic: From the first sentence of the broadcast, the viewer perceives TISZA as a party planning austerity; this frame defines the entire broadcast.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 04:27

Quote: "Donald Tusk came to power with the help of the Brussels-based, or rather globalist left-wing elite of the 66"

Manipulation: The "globalist left-wing elite" frame applies a conspiracy-theory narrative; it presents the democratic election result as the product of external manipulation.

Why problematic: It invalidates the decision of Polish voters; it implicitly portrays TISZA as a force that would similarly come to power "with external help."

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 25:53

Quote: "yesterday there was a pro-war crisis meeting in London"

Manipulation: Frames the London summit as a "pro-war crisis meeting," which presents the participants (Macron, Merz, Zelenskij) as enemies of peace.

Why problematic: Instead of the neutral "security summit," the label "pro-war" contains a value judgement that predetermines the viewer's opinion.

*Summary: The broadcast consistently applies conspiracy-theory and apocalyptic frames; it places the government position in the frame of "peace" and "sovereignty," and the opposition and the EU in the frame of "war" and "globalist elite."*



## 11. LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 8/10

Definition: What language is used? What connotations are created?

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 04:27

Quote: "globalist left-wing elite"

Manipulation: The adjective "globalist" carries conspiracy-theory connotations; "left-wing elite" presents the EU and TISZA as part of a secret power structure.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "European political forces" or "People's Party allies."

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:55

Quote: "and the European Commission can practically decide in its discretionary capacity how many migrants it would like to deport to which EU member state"

Manipulation: The word "deport" presents the distribution of migrants among member states as a violent, unlawful act; in reality, EU law provides for a mandatory distribution mechanism.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "distribute" or "oblige to receive."

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 42:25

Quote: "a culture alien to our European Christian culture"

Manipulation: The expression "alien culture" applies a biological metaphor to migration, which carries dehumanising connotations.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "immigrants with a different cultural background."

*Summary: The broadcast consistently uses negatively connoted, conspiracy-theory, and dehumanising language in relation to the opposition, the EU, and migration; by contrast, the government position is described with neutral or positive terms.*



## 12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 8/10

*Definition: Asymmetries in follow-up questions, interruptions, and expressions of sympathy.*

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

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 12:40

Triggering event: Rossonci Kovács Mihály delivers a long, uninterrupted monologue about the Polish economic situation.

Quote (host): "Excuse me, this is not a coincidence, well Donald Tusk himself said at the end of October that Magyar Péter personally asked him for advice."

Comparison: In the case of a similar statement by Magyar Péter or a TISZA-affiliated figure — no such figure is in the broadcast, so the asymmetry is structural.

Asymmetry: The host intervenes with an addition that reinforces the guest's narrative, not with a critical follow-up question.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 06:49

Triggering event: The host questions Magyar Péter's position on migration.

Quote (host): "What could we expect from TISZA in this regard? Because Szűcs Gábor just quoted Magyar Péter, who also says that they would not let anyone in, they would keep the fence."

Comparison: Does not ask about the fulfilment of Orbán Viktor's migration promises; does not critically examine the government position.

Asymmetry: Asks critically about TISZA, not about Fidesz.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 48:03

Triggering event: End of the broadcast.

Quote (host): "Thank you very much, we assessed the European Union's responses to the American peace efforts"

Comparison: At no point in the broadcast does he challenge the guests' claims; in every case he asks affirming or forwarding questions.

Asymmetry: The host consistently reinforces the guests' narrative and does not fulfil a critical journalistic role.

*Summary: The host consistently reinforces the guests' narrative; critical follow-up questions, factual objections, or questioning of the government position do not occur at all.*



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

0/10

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Overall score: 8/10

Definition: Questions of different hardness/softness posed to different people.

#### Asymmetry 1:

Törőcsik Zsolt → Szűcs Gábor, 01:14: "Why? On the one hand, let us look at the adoption of the migration pact..." — soft, introductory question that gives an opportunity to develop the narrative

Törőcsik Zsolt → (hypothetical TISZA guest): — no such guest; TISZA is discussed exclusively in the form of quotations, in a critical frame

Comparison: The questions posed to the guests are without exception soft and narrative-reinforcing; the questions concerning TISZA are rhetorical and accusatory.

#### Asymmetry 2:

Törőcsik Zsolt → Rossonci Kovács Mihály, 13:26: "So Magyar Péter's denial is in vain?" — rhetorical question that presupposes the denial to be incredible from the outset

Comparison: Does not challenge Orbán Viktor's denials (e.g. denial of dependence on Russian gas) in a similar manner.

Comparison: The asymmetry is clear: Magyar Péter's denials are met with scepticism, government claims are not.

#### Asymmetry 3:

Törőcsik Zsolt → Kis Rajmund, 29:39: "How fed up are the Americans, whether with Zelenskij or with European leaders?" — the question presupposes that the Americans are "fed up"; this is not a neutral question

Comparison: Does not ask about a similar "fed up" perspective from the Russian or Ukrainian side.

Comparison: The question reinforces a pro-Trump, anti-Zelenskij frame.

Summary: The host poses exclusively soft, narrative-reinforcing questions to the guests; questions concerning the opposition and the EU are rhetorical and accusatory. Critical follow-up questions do not occur at all.



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

#### 14. FALSE BALANCE

0/10

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Overall score: 3/10

Definition: Artificial balance despite actual inequality.

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 07:03 — Construction: "he also says that they would not let anyone in, they would keep the fence. At the same time, here is Feledi Botond, a TISZA-sympathising expert..."

Analysis: The host apparently presents "both sides" (Magyar Péter's statement + Feledi Botond), but in reality both sources are used against TISZA; no genuine TISZA-supporting voice speaks.

Summary: The false balance technique appears to a limited extent in the broadcast; the broadcast is rather openly one-sided than apparently balanced. The score of 3 reflects that false balance is not a dominant technique, but does occur occasionally.



## 15. AGENDA SETTING

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 9/10

Definition: What counts as normal/self-evident? What does not make it onto the agenda?

### Finding 1:

Agenda item: TISZA's "austerity package" is real and attributable to TISZA — this is the starting point of the entire first segment of the broadcast.

Timestamp: 00:09 — Evidence: "Almost two-thirds of Hungarians consider the leaked austerity package of the TISZA party to be credible and real"

Alternative agenda: Independent verification of the document's authenticity; presentation of TISZA's own programme positions.

### Finding 2:

Agenda item: The EU migration pact is a sovereignty threat and an unlawful act — this is the self-evident starting point of the broadcast's migration segment.

Timestamp: 01:19 — Evidence: "there were also illegalities here, for example there is the crisis regulation part of this, which was adopted not in the European Council but in the Council of Ministers"

Alternative agenda: Objective presentation of the legal content of the EU migration pact; presentation of the room for manoeuvre available to member states and the solidarity mechanism.

### Finding 3:

Agenda item: Orbán Viktor's "peace efforts" are to be assessed as an outstanding diplomatic success.

Timestamp: 45:32 — Evidence: "this is a huge success for Hungary relative to our size and our economy, this is an extraordinary political validation that we are on the right track"

Alternative agenda: The EU and NATO assessment of Orbán's "peace efforts"; the diplomatic consequences of the Moscow trip.

*Summary: The broadcast's agenda setting consistently reinforces the Fidesz-KDNP government narrative; alternative agendas (TISZA's programme, EU legal position, independent diplomatic assessment) are entirely absent.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	9	All three guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions; no independent voice appears at all.
2	Source selection	H	9	The client of the McLaughlin survey is not disclosed; every source reinforces the government narrative.
3	Time allocation	H	9	All speaking time is divided among pro-government guests; no opposition voice is given space.
4	Omission	H	9	TISZA's programme positions, Poland's positive economic indicators, and the EU legal position are entirely absent.
5	Number manipulation	H	7	The numbers relating to Poland and TISZA consistently appear without context or trend.
6	Guilt by association	H	8	Magyar Péter and TISZA are presented as tools of the "globalist left-wing elite."
7	Timing	H	7	The first sentence of the broadcast establishes the anti-TISZA narrative as fact; the last sentence is an open campaign message.
8	Selective outrage	H	8	Magyar Péter's "lies" are listed in detail; similar cases on the government side are not discussed.
9	Completeness	H	9	The broadcast systematically omits all perspectives that would nuance the government narrative.
10	Framing	S	9	Conspiracy-theory and apocalyptic frames dominate; the government position is placed in the frame of "peace" and "sovereignty."
11	Language	S	8	"Globalist left-wing elite," "alien culture," "deport" — consistently negatively connoted language.
12	Host behaviour	S	8	The host consistently reinforces the guests' narrative; critical follow-up questions do not occur at all.
13	Question asymmetry	S	8	Questions posed to guests are without exception soft; questions concerning TISZA are rhetorical and accusatory.
14	False balance	S	3	Appears to a limited extent; the broadcast is rather openly one-sided.
15	Agenda setting	S	9	The broadcast's agenda consistently reinforces the Fidesz-KDNP government narrative.

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 8.3 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 7.5 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 8.0 / 10



## Dominant techniques

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The three strongest techniques in the broadcast:

- 1. Expert selection (score 9):** In both segments of the broadcast, only guests affiliated with pro-government institutions appear (Nézőpont Intézet, MCC, Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom); no independent, opposition, or EU perspective is given any space at all. This structurally makes balanced reporting impossible and exposes the viewer exclusively to the government narrative.
- 2. Agenda setting (score 9):** The broadcast treats the credibility of the TISZA package, the illegality of the EU migration pact, and Orbán Viktor's diplomatic successes as self-evident; these presuppositions are not questioned at all. Alternative agendas (TISZA's programme, EU legal position, independent diplomatic assessment) are entirely absent.
- 3. Framing (score 9):** The broadcast consistently applies conspiracy-theory and apocalyptic frames: it presents TISZA as a tool of the "globalist left-wing elite," the EU as a sovereignty threat, and European peace efforts as "pro-war" obstacles. These frames determine the viewer's opinion from the very first sentence.

## The broadcast's messages

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "The TISZA party is planning a secret austerity package, which it conceals with lies, and the implementation of which would cause economic and migration catastrophe in Hungary."

Technique: Agenda setting, framing, guilt by association — Evidence: 00:09, 13:00, 21:02

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Magyar Péter does not deserve trust because of his repeated lies; the Polish Tusk example shows what awaits Hungary if TISZA comes to power."

Technique: Selective outrage, timing, question asymmetry — Evidence: 14:04, 04:27, 22:18

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** "Orbán Viktor's peace efforts and anti-migration policy are Hungary's only protection against the globalist elite, the EU, and pro-war Western leaders; the 2026 election is about maintaining this."

Technique: Framing, agenda setting, timing — Evidence: 09:06, 45:32, 48:03

## Manipulation level classification

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Justification: The broadcast's overall score is 8.0/10, which is on the boundary between "systematic imbalance" and "extreme imbalance." The information obligation prescribed by Section 83 of the Mttv. — timeliness, objectivity, balance, diversity of opinion — is systematically violated in the broadcast: not a single opposition or independent voice speaks; the guests' institutional affiliations are not disclosed; TISZA's programme positions are not presented at all; and the last sentence of the broadcast functions as an open electoral campaign message. The consistent and systematic application of manipulation techniques (framing, agenda setting, guilt by association, selective outrage) makes a serious violation of Section 83(1) of the Mttv. probable.

## SUMMARY

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The 48-minute broadcast examined systematically violates the balance and objectivity requirements set out in Section 83 of the Mttv. In both segments of the broadcast, only guests affiliated with pro-government institutions appear (Nézőpont Intézet, MCC, Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom), whose institutional affiliations and funding are not disclosed; no opposition, independent, or EU perspective is given any space. The broadcast completely ignores the TISZA party's programme positions and presents the party exclusively through the narrative of the disputed "austerity package" and Magyar Péter's alleged lies. The last sentence of the broadcast — "let's say the Prime Minister is called Orbán Viktor, that helps Hungary quite a bit" — functions as an open electoral campaign message, which is a clear violation of Section 83(1) of the Mttv. and the impartiality obligation applicable to public service media. The broadcast's overall manipulation score (8.0/10) falls into the category of systematic imbalance and makes legally documentable violations probable.



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	0/10	Unobtrusive
2	SOURCE SELECTION	0/10	Unobtrusive
3	TIME ALLOCATION	0/10	Unobtrusive
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	0/10	Unobtrusive
5	NUMBER MANIPULATION	0/10	Unobtrusive
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	0/10	Unobtrusive
7	TIMING	0/10	Unobtrusive
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	0/10	Unobtrusive
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	0/10	Unobtrusive
10	FRAME DEFINITION	0/10	Unobtrusive
11	LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS	0/10	Unobtrusive
12	HOST BEHAVIOUR	0/10	Unobtrusive
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	0/10	Unobtrusive
14	FALSE BALANCE	0/10	Unobtrusive
15	AGENDA SETTING	0/10	Unobtrusive

**HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)**

**8.0/10**

*Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

### Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant anomaly detectable.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Mild anomaly without material effect on balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Mild-moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; low-moderate impact relevance.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance that influences the audience's opinion-forming potential.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores of 6 or higher qualify as "significant findings."
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear, well-documented imbalance with obvious impact relevance.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented for this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic and pervasive imbalance for this criterion.

### Overall deviation index — Interpretation ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Unobtrusive</b>	No material patterns detectable; the programme meets the balance requirement.
<b>2.6 – 4.0</b>	<b>Mild imbalance</b>	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Significant imbalance</b>	Multiple significant findings; relevant impairment of viewpoint diversity.
<b>6.1 – 8.0</b>	<b>Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation</b>	Pronounced, cross-programme patterns; high impact relevance.
<b>8.1 – 10</b>	<b>Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias</b>	Maximum expressiveness in almost every criterion; systematically one-sided reporting.

### Party-political bias (from –5 to +5)

<b>–5 to –3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	The party is significantly under-represented in framing, speaking time, or portrayal.
<b>–2 to –1</b>	<b>Mildly disadvantaged</b>	Recognisable but mild disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No preferential treatment or disadvantage detectable.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Mildly advantaged</b>	Recognisable but mild preferential treatment.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly advantaged</b>	The party is significantly over-represented in framing, speaking time, or portrayal.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Mttv. Section 83)

### Assessment under Section 83 of the Mttv.

Section 83 of the Mttv. requires that in news and information programmes, reporting must be timely, objective, and balanced, and must reflect the diversity of opinions.

#### Violation 1:

Norm: Mttv. Section 83(1) — balance and diversity of opinion

Facts: In both segments of the broadcast, only guests affiliated with pro-government institutions appear; no opposition, independent, or EU perspective is given any space.

Evidence: 00:36–00:44 — "My guests are Szűcs Gábor, founding member of the Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom, and Rossonci Kovács Mihály, foreign affairs director of the Nézőpont Intézet"; 25:28 — "My guest is Kis Rajmund, head of the diplomatic workshop at Matthias Corvinus Collegium"

Assessment: The requirement of diversity of opinion prescribed by Section 83(1) of the Mttv. is violated, since the broadcast does not give voice to a single opposition or independent speaker; every guest is affiliated with a pro-government institution.

#### Violation 2:

Norm: Mttv. Section 83(1) — objectivity

Facts: The broadcast does not present the TISZA party's programme positions at all; it presents the party exclusively through the narrative of the disputed "austerity package" and Magyar Péter's alleged lies.

Evidence: 14:04–14:25 — "he has burned himself so many times already, so like the boy who cried wolf [...] as a lawyer, he could not have said such a thing, but obviously he was lying to people again, so this is a matter of fact"

Assessment: The statement "he was lying to people, so this is a matter of fact" frames Magyar Péter's alleged lies as a factual claim, even though this is a disputed political value judgement; this violates the objectivity requirement of Section 83(1) of the Mttv.

#### Violation 3:

Norm: Mttv. Section 83(1) — objectivity and balance

Facts: The last sentence of the broadcast functions as an open electoral campaign message.

Evidence: 48:03–48:09 — "in the best case we trust in the wisdom of Hungarian voters, and when they honour us next year too, so that we can have a conversation here with Zsolt, then let's say the Prime Minister is called Orbán Viktor, that helps Hungary quite a bit"

Assessment: The closing sentence, spoken by a guest in an information programme broadcast on public service media, expressing the wish that Orbán Viktor maintain his position as Prime Minister, clearly violates the objectivity and balance requirements of Section 83(1) of the Mttv. and the impartiality obligation applicable to public service media.

#### Violation 4:

Norm: Mttv. Section 83(1) — objectivity

Facts: The client of the McLaughlin & Associates opinion poll is not disclosed; the survey is treated as fact.

Evidence: 13:11–13:18 — "a fresh survey by an American research firm, according to which almost two-thirds of Hungarians consider this package to be genuine and credible"

Assessment: The concealment of the client's identity and the treatment of the survey as fact violates the objectivity requirement of Section 83(1) of the Mttv.; the viewer cannot assess the independence of the source.

### Overall assessment under Section 83 of the Mttv.



The broadcast examined systematically and seriously violates the balance, objectivity, and diversity of opinion requirements set out in Section 83(1) of the Mttv. The violations are not random but form a consistent pattern: in every segment of the broadcast, only the pro-government perspective prevails, opposition and independent voices are entirely absent, TISZA's programme positions are not presented, and the broadcast closes with an open electoral campaign message. The violations are documentable with specific timestamps and direct quotations, which can be used as evidence in proceedings before the NMHH. It should be noted that the NMHH Media Council has been composed exclusively of individuals close to Fidesz since 2010, which represents a structural obstacle to effective enforcement; nevertheless, documenting the violations remains important for public accountability and potential judicial proceedings.

## **SOURCE DEEP ANALYSIS (Mandatory for every cited specialist institution / NGO / advisory organisation)**

### **1. Nézőpont Intézet**

- 1. FUNDING:** The funding of the Nézőpont Intézet is partially opaque; it is known to subsist on state and pro-government commissions. Its opinion polls and analyses are regularly used to support the Fidesz narrative.
- 2. MANDATE:** Opinion polling and political analysis — in principle neutral, but in practice publishes results that reinforce the Fidesz narrative.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The institute's survival depends on government commissions; it has a direct interest in reinforcing the government narrative.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 / D2 Personal risk: -1 / D3 Professional competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 / D6 Source level: 0 → TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Results from independent polling institutes (Závecz Research, Medián, Publicus) do not appear in the broadcast.

*IMPORTANT: The label "recognised" or "reliable" is not an objective professional qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be examined.*

### **2. Matthias Corvinus Collegium (MCC)**

- 1. FUNDING:** MCC is managed by the Batthyány Lajos Alapítvány, which received state assets worth approximately 1,500 billion forints in 2021. Direct state funding; the institution's survival depends on government support.
- 2. MANDATE:** Diplomatic training and research — in principle neutral, but the institution operates within a Fidesz-aligned ideological framework.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The institution's survival depends on government funding; it has a direct interest in reinforcing the government's foreign policy narrative.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 / D2 Personal risk: -1 / D3 Professional competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 / D6 Source level: 0 → TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** The positions of independent foreign policy research institutes (Political Capital, CEPS, ECFR) do not appear in the broadcast.

### **3. Nemzeti Ellenállás Mozgalom**

- 1. FUNDING:** The organisation's funding is opaque; it runs pro-Fidesz campaigns, and partial funding from state or pro-government sources cannot be excluded.
- 2. MANDATE:** Organising anti-opposition campaigns — incompatible with a neutral expert role.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The organisation's raison d'être is based on campaigns against the opposition; it has a direct interest in the negative portrayal of TISZA.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 / D2 Personal risk: -1 / D3 Professional competence: -1 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: -2 / D6 Source level: -2 → TOTAL: -7 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** The positions of independent civil organisations (Transparency International Magyarország, Helsinki Bizottság) do not appear in the broadcast.



#### 4. McLaughlin & Associates

- 1. FUNDING:** The broadcast does not disclose the client who commissioned the Hungarian survey. The firm is a known Trump-aligned pollster; the concealment of the client's identity is a serious source integrity problem.
- 2. MANDATE:** Opinion polling — in principle neutral, but without knowing the client's identity, independence cannot be assessed.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** If the survey was commissioned by a pro-government client, the result serves a direct political interest; this is not examined in the broadcast.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 (client unknown) / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Professional competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: 0 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (cannot be green due to unknown client)
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Results from independent Hungarian polling institutes (Závecz Research, Medián) do not appear in the broadcast.

*IMPORTANT: "Very precise company" (13:48) — this is not an objective professional qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be examined; particularly when the client's identity is not disclosed.*

#### Legal and methodological classification

<b>Not a finding of fact</b>	The results presented do not constitute a finding of fact regarding individual persons, editorial teams, or programmes. They are the results of standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.
<b>Not a legal judgement</b>	The overall deviation index does not replace the legal assessment under Section 83 of the Mttv. The determination of whether a given programme violates statutory requirements is exclusively the task of the competent authorities (in particular the Media Council).
<b>Not evidence of causality</b>	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as evidence of causal relationships or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, the news situation, political controversy, or format logic.
<b>Not an assessment of intent</b>	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of programmes. A score of 7 means that significant imbalance has been established — not that the editorial team did this intentionally. The methodology makes no statements about motives.
<b>Heuristic comparative tool</b>	The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of programmes, not for precise metric measurement of individual contributions. The threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as precise legal classification.



## ANNEX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Hungary — MTVA

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#### Laws

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- Act CLXXXV of 2010 on Media Services and Mass Communication (Mttv.)
- Act CIV of 2010 on the Freedom of the Press (Smtv.)
- Fundamental Law of Hungary (2011)

#### Relevant articles

##### Mttv. (Media Act 2010)

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- Section 83(1): Public service obligation — timely, objective, and balanced reporting in news and information programmes.
- Section 83(2): Reporting must reflect the diversity of opinions.
- Section 12: Protection of pluralism of opinion as a fundamental principle.
- Section 13: Prohibition of one-sided reporting in news programmes.

##### Smtv. (Press Freedom Act 2010)

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- Section 4: Freedom of the press and freedom of expression.
- Section 10: Separation of news and opinion.
- Section 13: Right of correction.

#### Fundamental Law

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- Article IX: Freedom of opinion and the press, media pluralism as a state obligation of protection.

#### European reference framework

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- ECHR Article 10: Right to freedom of expression (European Convention on Human Rights)
- EU Rule of Law Report: Annual assessment, documenting systematic media freedom deficiencies since 2018
- RSF Press Freedom Index: Reporters Without Borders, annual ranking
- EMFA (European Media Freedom Act, 2024): EU-level minimum standards for media freedom

#### Special case — Structural non-enforcement

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IMPORTANT: The Mttv. formally contains correct balance obligations. The criticism is not directed against the text of the law, but against the structural non-enforcement by the pro-government NMHH. MTVA is a broadcaster under de facto state-aligned management.

#### Supervisory authority

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- NMHH (Nemzeti Média- és Hírközlési Hatóság): National media and communications authority. Structurally pro-government in composition since 2010.

#### Complaint procedure

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1. NMHH (formally, but structurally not independent)
2. Kúria (Supreme Court, in theory)



## ANNEX 2: ACADEMIC REFERENCES

### Literature

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### SVFAB Working Papers

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- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Systematic AI-Assisted Analysis of Public Broadcaster Impartiality: A Scalable Methodological Framework for Measuring Structural Bias in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6688478](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Source Traffic Light: A Six-Dimensional Credibility Framework for Systematic Source Assessment in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6733880](#)

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Those who do not understand this hand out material. Good quotes that were poorly edited. Correct statements placed in the wrong context. Honest answers framed as confessions.

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