



## MTVA DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-02-08\_kommentar-klub

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## 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)**    **5.5 / 10**    **Balanced**



← 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 is not included in the overall score.



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Hungary has been continuously governed by Fidesz-KDNP since 2010, currently holding a two-thirds parliamentary majority (135 seats out of 199). The most important opposition force since 2024 is TISZA (the party led by Magyar Péter), which received 29.6% in the 2024 EP elections. The other opposition parties (DK, Momentum, Jobbik, LMP, MSZP) are fragmented and weakened. The far-right Mi Hazánk is a parliamentary but non-governmental actor with 6 seats.

Party	CHES left-right	Seats	Government/Opposition	Base position
MSZP	3,00	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Social democratic, left-wing
MKKP	3,50	0	Outside parliament	Satirical-libertarian
LMP	3,79	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Green-progressive
Momentum	4,17	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-left, pro-EU
DK	4,28	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-left, strongly pro-EU
TISZA	6,17	— (as 2024 newcomer)	Opposition (strongest)	Centre-right, anti-corruption
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

Hungary's political life is defined by four main fault lines: (1) sovereignty versus EU integration — Fidesz-KDNP rejects EU federalisation, while most of the opposition is pro-EU; (2) rule of law and media system — through the NMHH and the KESMA consolidation, public media has de facto become a governmental propaganda tool; (3) the migration issue — the government proclaims zero tolerance, while the opposition urges a European solution; (4) the 2026 electoral contest — TISZA with Magyar Péter as a new main opposition force has fundamentally rewritten the political dynamics.

MTVA (M1, M2, M4, M5, Duna) operates as public service media but functions de facto as a government mouthpiece. The KESMA foundation has consolidated nearly 500 media companies since 2018, almost all of which represent a pro-government stance. The NMHH media council has consisted entirely of Fidesz delegates since 2010, and the balance requirement prescribed by Mttv. §83 is structurally not enforced. Independent media outlets (Telex.hu, 444.hu, RTL Klub, ATV) operate in an increasingly constrained space; Hungary ranks 85th in the RSF press freedom index, the worst ranking in the EU.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Image presented in the broadcast vs. party programme position
Fidesz-KDNP	+2	01:15 "The repayment of the IMF loan was the first milestone of the sovereignist national policy that has characterised our country since 2010" — Party programme: sovereignty, economic independence, IMF independence — partially correct, but framed exclusively positively, without criticism
TISZA	-4	46:52 "I am watching one of the so-called serious actors, where there appear in succession a former senior Shell employee, a senior employee of GlobSec" — Party programme: anti-corruption, rule of law, pro-EU — strongly distorted: framed as agents of globalist interest groups, programme positions not presented
DK	-3	21:57 "only a few political sightings DK tries to argue with this" [regarding European federalism] — Party programme: strongly pro-EU, Schengen, euro — partially correct identification, but in a pejorative context, presented as self-surrender
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	-2	10:40 "well if we just look at the life trajectory of MSZP, of which we can now essentially only see the last death rattles" — Party programme: social democratic values — not presented, appears exclusively in a decline narrative

### Score explanation:

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

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate presentation: Fidesz-KDNP (+2) — the presentation of governmental measures is largely factual, but framed exclusively positively
- Strongest distortion: TISZA (-4) — the party's programme positions are not presented at all; the party is identified as a tool of globalist interest groups
- Average deviation from 0: 1.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast conveys the Fidesz-KDNP governmental narrative without criticism, while opposition parties — especially TISZA — are either silenced or placed in a negative associative frame. DK and MSZP appear exclusively as counterpoints to the sovereignist narrative, without presentation of their own programme positions.

### Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -4.5

CLASSIFICATION: Strongly right-leaning

Justification: The entire thematic frame, guest composition and terminology of the broadcast reinforce the Fidesz-KDNP sovereignist narrative. Left-wing and liberal positions are discussed exclusively in a negative context



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(globalism, loss of identity, serving foreign interests), while right-wing conservative positions are treated as natural core values. Opposition programme positions are not presented.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DATA AND THEMATIC FRAME

### Broadcast data

- Title: Kommentárklub
- Date: not specified (internal reference: "we are two months away from the election" → probably February 2026)
- Estimated length: approx. 51 minutes (estimate based on transcript)
- Host/Reporter: unnamed (female, leads the studio discussion)
- Invited persons:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Goretti Franciska	Colleague/reporter	Komentár journal	Right-wing conservative
Szalai Piroska	Economist/analyst	Unnamed institution	Right-wing conservative
Petri Bernadett	Political analyst	Unnamed	Right-wing conservative
"Researcher at the 21st Century Institute"	Researcher	21st Century Institute (government-affiliated)	Right-wing conservative
"István"	Former minister of the chancellery (presumably)	Fidesz-affiliated	Right-wing conservative
Anonymous former constitutional judge	Former constitutional judge	Unnamed	Right-wing conservative

### Main topic

The broadcast examines why the sovereignist-globalist fault line has replaced the left-right fault line, and why Hungary can be considered a pioneer of this process.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Factual criteria — countable and scientifically grounded

#### Hard facts — 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?

##### 1st expert: Researcher at the 21st Century Institute (anonymous)

Timestamp: 02:37

Statement: "Every exposure that makes the country dependent in some way, and these dependencies already penetrate domestic politics... must be dealt with if we seek to follow the sovereignist principle."

Classification: Employee of a government-affiliated think tank, name not disclosed

Missing counter-opinion: An independent political scientist who would present the limitations and contradictions of sovereignism

Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** The 21st Century Institute is funded by the Hungarian state; its founder and president is a Fidesz-affiliated politician. Structural conflict of interest: the institute's raison d'être depends on the scientific legitimisation of the governmental narrative.

**(b) MANDATE:** The institute's mandate is not compatible with neutral assessment; its task is the intellectual underpinning of government policy.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — state funding, pro-government mandate

D2 Personal risk: -2 — opposing the governmental narrative would pose an existential risk

D3 Professional competence: +1 — political science qualifications can be assumed

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — the institute consistently represents the same narrative

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — normative claims, without empirical data

D6 Source level: -1 — secondary interpretation, not primary data

**TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline, with strong conflict of interest)**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The broadcast refers to him as a "researcher", suggesting neutral expert status, while structurally this is a pro-government source. → Technique 2 (source selection)

##### 2nd expert: Szalai Piroska

Timestamp: 03:09

Statement: "What contributes significantly to the sovereignty of the Hungarian national economy is whether the government is able to take measures independently, in a sovereign manner, that also support the competitiveness of the economy"

Classification: Economist, institutional affiliation not disclosed



Missing counter-opinion: An independent economist who would critically assess the competitiveness data

Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** Not disclosed; the broadcast does not reveal the institutional affiliation — this is in itself a methodological problem.

**(b) MANDATE:** Not verifiable.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — unknown affiliation, but the context reinforces a pro-government narrative

D2 Personal risk: 0 — not assessable

D3 Professional competence: +1 — economist

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — not verifiable

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — normative claims, without concrete data

D6 Source level: -1 — secondary interpretation

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

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The broadcast does not disclose the institutional affiliation, which deprives the viewer of the possibility of assessment.

### 3rd expert: Petri Bernadett

Timestamp: 04:17

Statement: "What we did, for example, regarding migration, is that from 2015 onwards to this day we consistently say the same thing... in my view this is the highest level of sovereignty."

Classification: Political analyst, institutional affiliation not disclosed

Missing counter-opinion: A migration researcher who would assess the effects of Hungarian migration policy with factual data

Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** Not disclosed.

**(b) MANDATE:** Not verifiable.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — based on context, reinforces a pro-government narrative

D2 Personal risk: 0 — not assessable

D3 Professional competence: +1 — political analyst

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — not verifiable

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — normative claims

D6 Source level: -1 — secondary interpretation

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

### 4th expert: "István" (former minister of the chancellery)

Timestamp: 31:28

Statement: "as minister of the chancellery we thought very hard about how to create a conglomerate from national companies, companies with national status, from MOL, OTP, MVM"

Classification: Former Fidesz government official; name not disclosed

Missing counter-opinion: An independent economic policy analyst

Source deep analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** Former state official; direct Fidesz affiliation.

**(b) MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral assessment; evaluates his own governmental decisions positively.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — evaluates his own decisions

D2 Personal risk: -2 — opposing the governmental narrative would be political suicide

D3 Professional competence: +1 — governmental experience

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — consistent narrative

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — normative claims

D6 Source level: 0 — direct experience, but biased

**TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (with strong conflict of interest)**



*Missing expert groups:*

- Independent economist (e.g. Kopint-Tárki, MNB-independent analyst)
- EU legal expert for substantive presentation of the rule of law proceedings
- Opposition politician or analyst

*Summary (matrix result):*

- Researcher at the 21st Century Institute: YELLOW (-4), strong conflict of interest
- Szalai Piroska: YELLOW (-2), unknown affiliation
- Petri Bernadett: YELLOW (-2), unknown affiliation
- "István" (former minister of the chancellery): YELLOW (-3), direct conflict of interest

Every speaker reinforces the governmental narrative; not a single independent or opposition voice is heard. The broadcast relies exclusively on government-affiliated and/or pro-government sources, framing them as neutral experts.

**Source credibility overview:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
expert: Researcher at the 21st Century Institute (anonymous)	-2	-2	+1	+1	-1	-1	-4	YELLOW
expert: Szalai Piroska	-1	0	+1	0	-1	-1	-2	YELLOW
expert: Petri Bernadett	-1	0	+1	0	-1	-1	-2	YELLOW
expert: "István" (former minister of the chancellery)	-2	-2	+1	+1	-1	0	-3	YELLOW



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Overall score: 9/10

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

### 1st source: Kommentár journal

Timestamp: 00:10 — Statement: "to which the staff of the Kommentár journal provide the intellectual ammunition"

**(a) Funding and operator:** Kommentár is a conservative right-wing journal belonging to the intellectual orbit of Fidesz-KDNP; its funding comes partly from state and foundation sources.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The journal's staff have an interest in the intellectual legitimisation of the governmental narrative.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** An independent political science journal (e.g. Politikatudományi Szemle) or a foreign academic source.

### 2nd source: 21st Century Institute

Timestamp: 02:37 — Statement: "The researcher of the 21st Century Institute spoke about this"

**(a) Funding:** State-funded, government-affiliated think tank.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Its raison d'être depends on the scientific legitimisation of the governmental narrative.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** An independent research institute (e.g. Political Capital, Transparency International Hungary).

### 3rd source: Book by the current FBI director

Timestamp: 17:44 — Statement: "I was just in America and bought his book, it is about government gangsters, governmental gangsters"

**(a) Funding:** Private publication; the FBI director is a Trump appointee.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Used to support the "deep state" narrative, which is also a core element of Fidesz-KDNP communication.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** The circumstances of the FBI director's appointment, the critical reception of the book.

Rumour check (penalty points):

#### 1st rumour:

Timestamp: 37:37

Claim: "as Hollerbeck says, by 2030 France will be a caliphate"

Verbal marker: "as Hollerbeck says" — second-hand, unverified claim

Primary source present: NO — penalty point (+1)

#### 2nd rumour:

Timestamp: 39:24

Claim: "the current American Vice President expressed his opinion regarding the risk they will face from the fact that within five to ten years nuclear weapons will be in the hands of, say, Islamist political leaders in a given body"



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Verbal marker: "expressed his opinion" — reference without context, unverified

Primary source present: NO — penalty point (+1)

*Summary: The broadcast relies exclusively on government-affiliated sources; no independent, opposition or foreign academic source appears at all. Two unverified claims are made without citing a primary source.*



### 3. TIME ALLOCATION

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Overall score: 9/10

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

Estimated speaking time:

- Pro-government/sovereignist viewpoint (guests total): approx. 42 minutes (82%)
- Host (questions, linking text): approx. 7 minutes (14%)
- Opposition/globalist viewpoint: approx. 2 minutes (4%) — exclusively in the form of quotes, in a negative frame

*Summary: Speaking time is allocated almost entirely to voices reinforcing the sovereignist-pro-government narrative; no opposition or critical viewpoint is heard directly for a single minute. This ratio far exceeds the threshold of balance required by Mttv. §83.*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Overall score: 9/10

Definition: What is not presented, even though it would be relevant?

##### 1st omission:

Context: The substantive basis of EU rule of law proceedings

Relevant timestamp: 04:45

Effect: The proceedings are presented exclusively as political pressure, without presenting the substantive objections (judicial independence, press freedom, corruption) — the viewer cannot form a picture of whether the proceedings have any substantive basis.

##### 2nd omission:

Context: Critical indicators of Hungarian economic policy (inflation, real wages, use of EU funds, corruption indices)

Relevant timestamp: 03:09, 33:14

Effect: Economic policy appears exclusively in a success narrative; structural problems (brain drain, shortage of rental housing, state of the healthcare system) are not mentioned.

##### 3rd omission:

Context: Hungary's dependence on Russian energy and the tension between Hungary's position on the war and its NATO obligations

Relevant timestamp: 36:42

Effect: Hungary's position on the war appears exclusively in the narrative of protecting peace and sovereignty; the dependence on Russian gas and the tension with NATO obligations are not mentioned.

*Summary: The omissions are systematic and consistent: every fact, datum and viewpoint that would weaken or nuance the governmental narrative is absent. This is not a random editorial decision, but structural one-sidedness.*

#### Missing voices

- Independent economist: Would have assessed the results and limitations of Hungarian economic policy with factual data (GDP growth, inflation, real wages, use of EU funds)
- TISZA representative: Would have presented the party's interpretation of sovereignty and its EU policy
- EU legal expert: Would have substantively presented the basis of the rule of law proceedings
- Migration researcher: Would have assessed the economic and demographic effects of migration with factual data
- Political scientist: Would have placed the sovereignty-globalism debate in an academic frame
- Civil society representative: Would have presented the state of the media system and the rule of law
- Energy expert: Would have assessed the issue of Hungary's energy dependence and Russian gas
- Demographer: Would have assessed the results and limitations of Hungarian family policy with factual data



## 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: 6/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 02:03

Number: "A significant part of Hungarian national debt is now financed by domestic sources, the population, 20 percent of it is already in the hands of the population."

Dimensions: (b) ratio given — (a) absolute value missing — (c) trend missing

Missing context: What is the total national debt? How has this ratio changed over the past decade? Is this ratio high or low compared to other EU member states?

Effect: The 20% figure is presented as a positive development, while the overall picture (the absolute level of national debt, the remaining 80% of foreign exposure) is not presented.

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 19:25

Number: "it only possessed a small part of the world's GDP, I am not an economist, but if I recall correctly, something like 2-3% at most"

Dimensions: (b) ratio given, but uncertain — (a) and (c) missing

Missing context: The source is not named; the number is uncertain ("if I recall correctly") — yet it is used as an argument.

Effect: Use of an unverified datum as an argument in the historical narrative of globalisation.

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 43:42

Number: "the liquidation of the mandatory private pension fund... withdrew 500 billion forints from the pay-as-you-go system from the operation of the pension system. Per year."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value given — (b) ratio missing — (c) trend missing

Missing context: What was the total annual expenditure of the pension system? By what proportion did this reduce revenues? The long-term effects of the liquidation of private funds are not discussed.

Effect: The number appears large in itself, but cannot be assessed without context; the criticism of the liquidation of private funds (the withdrawal of savings) is not mentioned.

*Summary: The numbers in the broadcast consistently reinforce the governmental narrative; the three-dimensional check (absolute value, ratio, trend) is not complete in a single case. One unverified datum is used as an argument.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Overall score: 8/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

### 1st association:

Timestamp: 46:52

Quote: "I am watching one of the so-called serious actors, where there appear in succession a former senior Shell employee, a senior employee of GlobSec, the leaders of various social media platforms"

Technique: Identifies TISZA (its name is not spoken, but the context is unambiguous: "two months from the election", "so-called serious actor") with agents of multinational corporations and globalist organisations.

Effect: Presents TISZA as a tool of the BlackRock–Vanguard–GlobSec–Shell interest groups, without providing any evidence for this.

### 2nd association:

Timestamp: 13:05

Quote: "From this emerged some kind of woke-progressive hybrid, whose goal is, going back to communist roots but filled with different content, to envision a homogeneous humanity"

Technique: Identifies the progressive-liberal side with communist roots and the elimination of human identity.

Effect: Presents left-wing liberal parties as heirs to a totalitarian ideology.

### 3rd association:

Timestamp: 22:30

Quote: "It is no coincidence that the current European Union liberal think tank published an analysis about how the new right... was able to successfully assert its strategy"

Technique: Identifies the EU as a "liberal think tank" working against sovereignist movements.

Effect: Presents the EU as a hostile, ideologically biased organisation.

Association chain: TISZA → GlobSec → Shell → BlackRock → Vanguard → globalist interest groups → communist roots

Check for framing of persons as "conspiracy theorists":

No one in the broadcast is explicitly labelled a "conspiracy theorist"; instead, the broadcast itself applies a conspiracy theory narrative (deep state, globalist background power network, technocratic elite) without naming it as such.

*Summary: The broadcast systematically applies the guilt by association technique: it identifies the opposition and the EU as tools of globalist, communist-rooted, multinational interest groups, without evidence. This is one of the strongest manipulation techniques in the broadcast.*



## 7. TIMING

0/10

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Overall score: 7/10

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

### 1st finding:

Position: 00:37 (beginning)

Content: "Hungary is the black sheep of the European Union, we often hear from international progressive voices. Time has proven, however, that our country is not simply a rebel standing out from the crowd, but a pioneer"

Timing effect: The opening sentences of the broadcast immediately establish the frame narrative: Hungary is a persecuted but vindicated pioneer. This frame defines the entire broadcast and fixes the viewer's interpretive schema in the first minute.

### 2nd finding:

Position: 46:43 (towards the end)

Content: "Now the situation is that we are still in an election year, and not so very far away, we are actually two months away from the election, and I am watching one of the so-called serious actors"

Timing effect: The electoral context and the discrediting of the opposition emerge at the end of the broadcast, when the viewer has already absorbed the sovereignist narrative — this maximises the effectiveness of the political message.

### 3rd finding:

Position: 51:11 (end)

Content: "Dear viewers, next Sunday we will look at how external forces try to interfere in national elections."

Timing effect: The closing sentence of the broadcast foreshadows the topic of the next broadcast, which in the context of the election campaign reinforces the narrative of foreign interference — this is one of the most important campaign messages of Fidesz-KDNP.

*Summary: The timing of the broadcast is deliberate: the frame narrative is fixed at the beginning, the political message (discrediting the opposition, electoral context) emerges at the end, and the closing sentence foreshadows the campaign message of the next broadcast.*



## 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: 7/10

*Definition: Outrage at certain viewpoints, 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 a different viewpoint did not produce an analogous reaction.*

Score calculation:

- Degree of outrage: 3/5 (multiple, emphatic)
- Selectivity: 4/5 (clearly one-sided)

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 38:23

Triggering event: The topic of migration and the spread of Islam

Reaction: "then we would probably not be talking here in such peace today, at this table" — emotional, apocalyptic tone

Comparison: On the topic of the Hungarian government's dependence on Russian energy or corruption indices — reaction: not mentioned

Asymmetry: Confirmed — strong emotional reaction on the topic of migration and Islam, neutrality or complete silence on governmental failures

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 40:20

Triggering event: "The mayor of New York is a communist and a Muslim"

Reaction: "So this is a symbolic..." — the statement is received without criticism, indeed affirmingly

Comparison: A similarly strong claim about Fidesz-KDNP — reaction: not mentioned

Asymmetry: Confirmed — strong negative qualifications are made about representatives of the progressive-liberal side, which the host does not question

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 13:29

Triggering event: The topic of progressive movements (Greta Thunberg, rainbow flag)

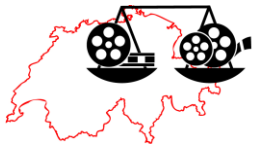
Reaction: "if we think about it from Greta Thunberg to the rainbow flag and similar initiatives... somewhere something like this is at the root" — dismissive, rejecting tone

Comparison: On similarly debatable measures of Fidesz-KDNP (e.g. KESMA consolidation, judicial independence) — reaction: not mentioned

Asymmetry: Confirmed

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5



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*Summary: In the broadcast, outrage and rejection appear exclusively towards the progressive-liberal-globalist side; on the topics of governmental failures, corruption or dependence on Russian energy, neutrality or complete silence is observed. This is clearly asymmetric.*



## 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 thematic picture? Are relevant viewpoints, facts or actors systematically omitted?*

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 04:45

Missing viewpoint/fact: The substantive basis of EU rule of law proceedings (judicial independence, press freedom, corruption)

Relevance: Without substantive presentation of the proceedings, the viewer cannot judge whether they have any substantive basis

Effect: The proceedings appear exclusively as political pressure, which is a one-sided presentation of reality

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 33:14

Missing viewpoint/fact: Critical indicators of Hungarian economic policy (inflation, real wages, brain drain, healthcare system)

Relevance: A complete picture is indispensable for the assessment of economic policy

Effect: Economic policy appears exclusively in a success narrative

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 46:52

Missing viewpoint/fact: TISZA's programme positions and the party's interpretation of sovereignty

Relevance: In the electoral context, presenting the opposition's programme is a fundamental balance requirement

Effect: TISZA appears exclusively as a tool of globalist interest groups, without presentation of its own programme

*Summary: The thematic gaps in the broadcast are systematic and consistent: every fact, datum and viewpoint that would weaken the governmental narrative is absent. This is not editorial randomness, but structural one-sidedness that fundamentally violates the balance required by Mttv. §83.*

End of factual criteria — Beginning of interpretive criteria

### Interpretive criteria — debatable, not merely countable

The sovereignty versus globalism debate has indeed appeared in political science and public discourse over the past decade, particularly in the wake of Brexit, Trump's first presidency and the migration crisis. The topic has a serious academic literature (Rodrik, Zürn, Hooghe–Marks) that paints a nuanced picture: globalisation does indeed carry democratic deficits, but sovereignist responses are not free of contradictions either. In the case of Hungary, the concept of "sovereignism" has been appropriated by Fidesz-KDNP communication and is used primarily to legitimise confrontation with the EU. Opposition parties — especially TISZA — also emphasise the protection of national interests, but interpret EU membership in a constructive frame.



*Proportion of viewpoints covered*

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

- [A] The academic-political science definition and critique of the concept of sovereignty
- [B] The benefits of EU integration for Hungary (structural funds, single market, rule of law)
- [C] The interpretation of sovereignty and EU policy of opposition parties (TISZA, DK)
- [D] Critical analysis of Fidesz-KDNP economic policy (corruption, oligarchisation, use of EU funds)
- [E] Factual presentation of the economic and demographic effects of migration
- [F] The scientific definition of the concept of "globalist" and the problem of its political appropriation
- [G] Criticism of the Hungarian government's position on the Russian-Ukrainian war (NATO obligations, energy dependence)
- [H] The question of the KESMA media system and MTVA's independence
- [I] Substantive presentation of the rule of law proceedings (not only as "pressure")
- [J] Opinions of independent economists on the results and limitations of Hungarian economic policy

**[A] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The broadcast uses the concept of sovereignty exclusively in the Fidesz-KDNP interpretation, without academic definition or critique.

**[B] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The benefits of EU membership (structural funds, single market) are not mentioned at all; the EU appears exclusively as a threat.

**[C] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The interpretation of sovereignty and EU policy of opposition parties is completely absent.

**[D] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Critical analysis of Fidesz-KDNP economic policy (corruption, oligarchisation) is not included.

**[E] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED**

Timestamp: 36:02 — Quote: "if families who have entered European prosperity do not want to have more children, let us solve this economically through migration" — Assessment: The economic effects of migration are discussed exclusively in a negative frame, without factual data.

**[F] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The scientific definition of the concept of "globalist" and the problem of its political appropriation are not discussed.

**[G] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Hungary's dependence on Russian energy and the tensions regarding its NATO obligations are not included.

**[H] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The question of the KESMA media system and MTVA's independence is of course not discussed.

**[I] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED**

Timestamp: 04:45 — Quote: "It is no coincidence that these rule of law proceedings were immediately launched thereafter, since some kind of pressure had to be exerted on the country" — Assessment: Instead of substantive presentation of the rule of law proceedings, they are presented exclusively as political pressure.

**[J] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Not a single independent economist speaks for even one minute; every economic assessment comes from a government-affiliated source.

### Completeness score: 1/10

Justification: Out of ten relevant viewpoints, the broadcast addresses only two partially, and uses even those exclusively to reinforce the governmental narrative. Independent experts, opposition viewpoints, critical economic analyses and presentation of the benefits of EU membership are entirely absent. This is not a random gap, but structural one-sidedness.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. NARRATIVE FRAME

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Overall score: 9/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

#### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 00:37

Quote: "Hungary is the black sheep of the European Union, we often hear from international progressive voices. Time has proven, however, that our country is not simply a rebel standing out from the crowd, but a pioneer"

Manipulation: The broadcast establishes the "persecuted pioneer" narrative: Hungary is unjustly criticised but ultimately vindicated. This frame pre-emptively invalidates all criticism.

Why it is problematic: From the first sentence of the broadcast, the viewer receives an interpretive schema in which criticism = progressive bias, governmental policy = vindicated pioneering. This prevents critical reception.

#### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 05:59

Quote: "The real stake of this election is which side will prevail when sovereignists clash against globalists"

Manipulation: Political competition is framed exclusively as a sovereignist-globalist fault line, which excludes all other interpretive possibilities (e.g. rule of law, corruption, social issues).

Why it is problematic: It reduces the complex issues of the electoral contest to a single fault line that is favourable to Fidesz-KDNP.

#### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 20:09

Quote: "This globalisation that is now taking shape... wants to create a uniform way of life. In many respects it has come about, but the nation states stand in its way."

Manipulation: Frames globalisation as a unified, deliberate, hostile project whose goal is the elimination of national identity — this is a conspiracy theory narrative.

Why it is problematic: Globalisation is a complex, partly spontaneous, partly institutional process; presenting it as a unified, deliberate project is scientifically unfounded.

*Summary: The framing of the broadcast consistently reinforces the Fidesz-KDNP narrative: Hungary is a persecuted pioneer, political competition is a sovereignist-globalist fault line, globalisation is a deliberate, hostile project. This frame defines the entire broadcast and prevents critical reception.*



## 11. LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS

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Overall score: 8/10

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

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 07:25

Quote: "I tend to call them the aggressivitalist side, the aggressive liberal side"

Manipulation: Using "aggressive liberal" instead of "progressive liberal" creates a negative connotation.

Why it is problematic: Neutral alternative: "progressive" or "liberal". The adjective "aggressive" contains a value judgement that is not a factual qualification.

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 46:07

Quote: "The ghost of Bajnai Gordon haunts"

Manipulation: The metaphor "ghost haunts" creates a negative, threatening connotation; it links the name of Bajnai Gordon with the narrative of globalist interest groups.

Why it is problematic: Neutral alternative: "Bajnai Gordon's economic policy approach". The expression "ghost haunts" is a tool of political discrediting.

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 45:58

Quote: "this so-called Vajna list"

Manipulation: The expression "Vajna list" (presumably referring to Magyar Péter's list) carries a pejorative connotation; the adjective "Vajna" is a tool of personal discrediting.

Why it is problematic: Neutral alternative: "Magyar Péter's candidate list" or "TISZA's candidate list". The adjective "Vajna" introduces a negative association from personal life into political discourse.

*Summary: The language of the broadcast consistently creates negative connotations towards the opposition and the progressive-liberal side, while describing governmental policy with positive, neutral or scientifically sounding terms. This linguistic asymmetry is one of the most characteristic manipulation techniques of the broadcast.*



## 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, 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 a different guest did not produce an analogous intervention.

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 34:11

Triggering event: Guest claims that Hungary "dances in shackles" in terms of sovereignty

Host quote: "But we are dancing."

Comparison: A similarly strong claim about the opposition (e.g. 46:52 — tool of globalist interest groups) — reaction: affirmation, not a follow-up question

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the host affirms claims that reinforce the governmental narrative; does not question claims that discredit the opposition

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 40:20

Triggering event: Guest claims: "The mayor of New York is a communist and a Muslim"

Host quote: "So this is a symbolic..." — receives the statement without criticism

Comparison: A similarly strong claim about Fidesz-KDNP — reaction: not mentioned

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the host does not question an unverified, strong claim

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 16:15

Triggering event: Guest elaborates the "deep state" and "background power" narrative

Host quote: "Well then, let me bring a quote here" — continues with a quote that reinforces the narrative

Comparison: A critical claim about governmental policy — reaction: not mentioned

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the host actively reinforces the guests' narrative, does not question it

Summary: The host consistently affirms the guests' pro-government narrative and does not question a single unverified claim or strong qualification. This asymmetry fundamentally violates the balance required by Mttv. §83.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Overall score: 8/10

Definition: Different degrees of hardness/softness of questions posed to different persons.

#### 1st asymmetry:

To the guests, 07:03: "But what do you think about the fact that the left-right fault line has essentially lost its validity? What is the situation with this?" — soft, open, affirming question

To an opposition representative (not featured in the broadcast): — no such question is posed

Comparison: Not a single hard, follow-up or critical question is asked in the broadcast; every question reinforces or further develops the guests' narrative.

#### 2nd asymmetry:

To the guests, 30:30: "István, you write in one of your articles that a new conception of the state is needed... This is fundamentally different from what this liberal world view dictated" — an affirming question that pre-accepts the guest's viewpoint

To an opposition representative (not featured in the broadcast): — no such question is posed

Comparison: The question does not ask, but asserts; it pre-accepts and affirms the guest's viewpoint.

Summary: Not a single hard, follow-up or critical question is asked in the broadcast; every question reinforces the guests' narrative. No opposition representative appears in the broadcast, so the question asymmetry is structural: one side receives no questions at all, because it receives no airtime.



## 14. FALSE BALANCE

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Overall score: 3/10

Definition: Artificial balance despite actual inequality.

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 08:00 — Construction: "Has it been replaced, or has it been filled with new content?"

Analysis: The question seemingly offers two options, but both options remain within the frame of the sovereigntist narrative; the real alternative (the left-right fault line remains valid) is not mentioned.

Summary: The technique of false balance is less prominent in the broadcast than the other manipulation techniques; the broadcast does not try to appear balanced, but openly conveys a one-sided narrative.



## 15. AGENDA SETTING

0/10

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Overall score: 9/10

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

### 1st finding:

Item placed on agenda: The sovereigntism-globalism fault line as the only relevant political fault line

Timestamp: 05:59 — Evidence: "The real stake of this election is which side will prevail when sovereigntists clash against globalists"

Alternative agenda: Rule of law, corruption, social issues, healthcare, education as electoral fault lines

### 2nd finding:

Item placed on agenda: Hungary as a pioneer and vindicated model

Timestamp: 00:42 — Evidence: "our country is not simply a rebel standing out from the crowd, but a pioneer, since more and more countries are choosing independence over globalist integration"

Alternative agenda: Hungary's EU rule of law problems, press freedom ranking, corruption indices

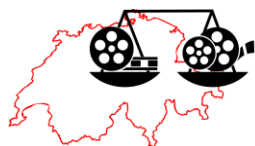
### 3rd finding:

Item placed on agenda: Globalisation as a deliberate, hostile project for the elimination of national identity

Timestamp: 20:09 — Evidence: "This globalisation... wants to create a uniform way of life"

Alternative agenda: Interpretation of globalisation as a complex, partly spontaneous process; the benefits of globalisation (technological development, rise in living standards)

*Summary: The agenda setting of the broadcast consistently reflects the Fidesz-KDNP communication strategy: the sovereigntism-globalism fault line as the only relevant political issue, Hungary as a vindicated model, globalisation as a hostile project. Every other agenda item — rule of law, corruption, social issues — is structurally excluded.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	F	9	Guest panel consisting exclusively of government-affiliated sources, without a single independent voice
2	Source selection	F	9	Exclusively government-affiliated and unverified sources; two rumours without primary source
3	Time allocation	F	9	The sovereignist narrative receives 82% of speaking time; no opposition voice is heard at all
4	Omission	F	9	Systematic omission: content of rule of law proceedings, economic criticisms, opposition programmes
5	Number manipulation	F	6	Numbers consistently presented without context, reinforcing the governmental narrative
6	Guilt by association	F	8	TISZA identified as a tool of globalist interest groups, progressive side identified as having communist roots
7	Timing	F	7	Frame narrative fixed at the beginning; political message and discrediting of opposition emerge at the end
8	Selective outrage	F	7	Strong emotional reaction on migration and the progressive side; neutrality on governmental failures
9	Completeness	F	9	Two out of ten relevant viewpoints are partially addressed; structural one-sidedness
10	Framing	I	9	"Persecuted pioneer" narrative; globalisation as a deliberate hostile project
11	Language	I	8	"Aggressive liberal", "ghost haunts", "Vajna list" — consistent negative connotations
12	Host behaviour	I	8	Affirms every guest claim; not a single critical follow-up question is asked
13	Question asymmetry	I	8	Exclusively affirming questions; opposition voice receives no airtime
14	False balance	I	3	The broadcast does not try to appear balanced; openly one-sided
15	Agenda setting	I	9	Sovereignism-globalism as the only relevant fault line; rule of law, corruption excluded

### Results

- **FACTUAL SCORE** (average of criteria 1–9): 8.1 / 10
- **INTERPRETIVE SCORE** (average of criteria 10–15): 7.5 / 10
- **OVERALL SCORE** (average of all 15 criteria): 7.9 / 10



## Dominant techniques

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The three strongest techniques of the broadcast:

- 1. Agenda setting (score of 9):** The broadcast presents the sovereignism-globalism fault line as the only relevant political issue, excluding the agenda role of rule of law, corruption and social issues. This technique defines the entire thematic frame of the broadcast and aligns the viewer's interpretive schema with the Fidesz-KDNP communication strategy.
- 2. Expert selection and source selection (score of 9):** The broadcast relies exclusively on government-affiliated sources, framing them as neutral experts. Not a single independent, opposition or critical voice is heard, which structurally makes the balance required by Mttv. §83 impossible.
- 3. Guilt by association (score of 8):** Identifies the opposition (especially TISZA) as a tool of globalist interest groups, and the progressive-liberal side as a movement with communist roots, without evidence. This technique discredits the opposition without presenting its programme positions.

## Messages of the broadcast

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- 1. MESSAGE (SUBSTANTIVE):** "Hungary's sovereignist policy is vindicated and pioneering; globalism is a deliberate, hostile project for the elimination of national identity."

Technique: Framing, agenda setting — Evidence: 00:37, 05:59, 20:09

- 2. MESSAGE (PERSONAL):** "The opposition (especially TISZA) is a tool of globalist interest groups and does not represent the interests of the Hungarian people."

Technique: Guilt by association, language — Evidence: 46:52, 47:22, 48:50

- 3. MESSAGE (SOCIAL):** "The stake of the election is the preservation or loss of Hungarian identity and sovereignty; one can make the wrong decision only once."

Technique: Timing, framing — Evidence: 35:26, 37:18, 50:59

## Manipulation level classification

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Justification: The overall score of the broadcast is 7.9/10, which is on the boundary between "systematic one-sidedness" and "extreme one-sidedness". The broadcast does not give voice to a single opposition voice, relies exclusively on government-affiliated sources, and systematically omits every fact and viewpoint that would weaken the governmental narrative. In the electoral context (the broadcast airs two months before the election), this one-sidedness is particularly serious, since the balance required by Mttv. §83 applies with heightened force during the election campaign. The broadcast is not an informational programme, but an integral part of Fidesz-KDNP campaign communication.

## SUMMARY

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The examined episode of Kommentárklub seriously and systematically violates the requirements of balance and impartiality prescribed by Mttv. §83. The broadcast relies exclusively on government-affiliated sources, does not give voice to a single opposition voice, and systematically omits every fact, datum and viewpoint that would nuance or weaken the governmental narrative. In the context of the election campaign (the broadcast airs two months before the 2026 election), this one-sidedness is particularly serious: the broadcast is not an informational programme, but an integral part of Fidesz-KDNP campaign communication, broadcast on a publicly funded public service media channel. The manipulation techniques of the broadcast — framing, guilt by association, agenda setting, selective omission — are consistent and systematic, indicating deliberate editorial decisions.



## 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	NARRATIVE FRAME	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

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

**9.0/10**

*Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias*



## 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>	Minor anomaly without significant 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 — Interpretive ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Unobtrusive</b>	No significant 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 threshold.
<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 underrepresented in framing, speaking time or presentation.
<b>–2 to –1</b>	<b>Mildly disadvantaged</b>	Recognisable but mild disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No preference or disadvantage detectable.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Mildly advantaged</b>	Recognisable but mild preference.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly advantaged</b>	The party is significantly overrepresented in framing, speaking time or presentation.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL ASSESSMENT (Mttv. §83)

### Assessment under Mttv. §83

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Mttv. §83 requires that news programmes and informational programmes provide current, impartial and balanced information, and reflect the diversity of opinions.

#### 1st violation:

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

Facts: The broadcast does not give voice to a single opposition voice; the guest panel consists exclusively of government-affiliated sources; TISZA as the strongest opposition party appears exclusively in a negative associative frame, without presentation of its programme positions.

Evidence: 46:52 — "I am watching one of the so-called serious actors, where there appear in succession a former senior Shell employee, a senior employee of GlobSec" — the opposition identified as a tool of globalist interest groups, without presentation of its own programme

Assessment: Complete absence of the diversity of opinion required by Mttv. §83; in the context of the election campaign, the broadcast conducts one-sided campaign communication on a publicly funded channel.

#### 2nd violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — impartiality

Facts: The broadcast conveys unverified claims (e.g. "by 2030 France will be a caliphate", nuclear weapons in the hands of Islamist politicians) without criticism, indeed affirmingly; the host does not question a single unverified claim.

Evidence: 37:37 — "as Hollerbeck says, by 2030 France will be a caliphate" — conveyed without primary source, without criticism

Assessment: The requirement of impartiality demands the flagging of unverified claims and critical follow-up questioning; the complete absence of these constitutes a violation of Mttv. §83.

#### 3rd violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — currency and completeness obligation

Facts: In the context of the election campaign (two months before the election), the broadcast systematically omits the substantive basis of EU rule of law proceedings, the critical indicators of Hungarian economic policy and the programme positions of opposition parties.

Evidence: 04:45 — "It is no coincidence that these rule of law proceedings were immediately launched thereafter, since some kind of pressure had to be exerted on the country" — without presentation of the substantive basis of the proceedings

Assessment: The completeness obligation requires that the viewer can form a picture from the broadcast of the totality of relevant facts and viewpoints; systematic omission makes this impossible.

### Overall assessment under Mttv. §83

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The examined episode of Kommentárklub violates three independent elements of Mttv. §83 (1): the requirement of balance and diversity of opinion (not a single opposition voice is heard), the requirement of impartiality (unverified claims conveyed without criticism) and the completeness obligation (systematic omission). The violations are particularly serious in the context of the election campaign, since the broadcast airs two months before the 2026 parliamentary election and openly fulfils a campaign communication function. The broadcast is not an informational programme, but an integral part of the Fidesz-KDNP campaign strategy, broadcast on a publicly funded public service media channel — this is fundamentally contrary to the purpose and spirit of Mttv. §83.

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

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## 1. 21st Century Institute

- 1. FUNDING:** State-funded think tank; its founder and president is a Fidesz-affiliated politician. Its funding comes directly from the state budget and through government-affiliated foundations.
- 2. MANDATE:** The institute's mandate is the intellectual underpinning and communication support of government policy — this is not compatible with neutral assessment.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The institute's raison d'être and funding depend on the scientific legitimisation of the governmental narrative; criticism of government policy would pose an existential risk.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct state funding, pro-government mandate
  - D2 Personal risk: -2 — opposing the governmental narrative is an existential risk
  - D3 Professional competence: +1 — political science qualifications can be assumed
  - D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — consistent narrative
  - D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — normative claims, without empirical data
  - D6 Source level: -1 — secondary interpretation
  - TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline, with strong conflict of interest)**
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Independent political science institutes (e.g. Political Capital, CEU Democracy Institute) consistently give different assessments of the Hungarian political situation — these are not mentioned in the broadcast.

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

## 2. Kommentár journal

- 1. FUNDING:** Conservative right-wing journal; its funding comes partly from state and foundation sources, partly from organisations belonging to the intellectual orbit of Fidesz-KDNP.
- 2. MANDATE:** The journal's mandate is the development and dissemination of conservative right-wing thought — this is not compatible with neutral assessment on political issues.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The journal's staff have an interest in the intellectual legitimisation of the governmental narrative; a critical stance would be contrary to the journal's positioning.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — government-affiliated funding and mandate
  - D2 Personal risk: -1 — opposing the governmental narrative poses a professional risk
  - D3 Professional competence: +1 — academic qualifications can be assumed
  - D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — consistent narrative
  - D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — normative claims
  - D6 Source level: -1 — secondary interpretation
  - TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Independent political science journals (e.g. Politikatudományi Szemle) give different assessments — these are not mentioned in the broadcast.

### Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
21st Century Institute	-2	-2	+1	+1	-1	-1	-4	YELLOW
Kommentár journal	-2	-1	+1	+1	-1	-1	-3	YELLOW

### Legal and methodological classification

#### Not a finding of facts

The results presented do not constitute a finding of facts about individual persons, editorial offices or programmes. They are the results of standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.



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

**Not a legal judgement**

The overall deviation index does not replace the legal assessment under Mttv. §83. Determining whether a given programme violates the statutory requirements is exclusively the task of the competent authorities (in particular the Media Council).

**Not evidence of causality**

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 contestedness or format logic.

**Not an assessment of intent**

The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of programmes. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been found — not that the editorial office did this deliberately. The methodology makes no statements about motives.

**Heuristic comparative tool**

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 qualification.



## 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 press freedom (Smtv.)
- Fundamental Law of Hungary (2011)

#### Relevant articles

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

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

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

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- §4: Freedom of the press and freedom of expression.
- §10: Separation of news and opinion.
- §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 government-affiliated NMHH. MTVA is a broadcaster under de facto state-affiliated management.

#### Supervisory authority

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- NMHH (Nemzeti Média- és Hírközlési Hatóság): National media and communications authority. Structurally government-affiliated 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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