



MTVA DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-03-29_kommentar-klub

Programme: MTVA-Sendung (M1/Kossuth Rádió) | 2026-03-29 | Analysed: 2026-05-24 22:19
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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) **5.8 / 10** **Balanced**



← Left

Right →

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

This section provides political context and 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 strongest 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 Opp.)	Opposition	Social democratic, left-wing
MKKP	3,50	0	Outside parliament	Satirical-libertarian
LMP	3,79	(United Opp.)	Opposition	Green-progressive
Momentum	4,17	(United Opp.)	Opposition	Centre-left, pro-EU
DK	4,28	(United Opp.)	Opposition	Centre-left
TISZA	6,17	— (since 2024)	Opposition (strongest)	Centre-right, anti-corruption
Jobbik	6,47	(United Opp.)	Opposition	Centre-right (moderated)
Fidesz-KDNP	8,61	135	Government (2/3)	Far right, authoritarian-nationalist
Mi Hazánk	9,29	6	Opposition	Far right

The country's most important political fault lines: (1) Fidesz vs. TISZA — ahead of the 2026 elections, Magyar Péter is the only real challenger, which triggers heightened enemy-image construction in pro-government media; (2) EU sovereignty vs. pro-integration — the Orbán government regularly confronts Brussels on rule-of-law, migration and energy policy issues; (3) Pro-Russian energy policy vs. Western sanctions regime — Hungary is the only EU member state that openly opposes decoupling from Russian energy carriers; (4) Media concentration and press freedom — the MTVA and the KESMA system structurally exclude opposition voices from public media.

MTVA (M1, M2, M4, M5, Duna TV) operates as a de facto government mouthpiece: the NMHH Media Council has been staffed exclusively by persons close to Fidesz since 2010, and editorial independence is not even formally guaranteed. The KESMA foundation (approx. 500 media companies since 2018) has monopolised the pro-government press. Section 83 of the Mttv. requires current, objective and balanced information and the reflection of diversity of opinion — this obligation is structurally not enforced in MTVA broadcasts. On the Reporters Without Borders press freedom index, Hungary is the worst-ranked EU member state (85th place).



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Representation of parties' programme positions

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in broadcast vs. programme position
Fidesz-KDNP	+3	26:23 "Hungary caught the fuel at a protected price at zero" — Programme position: utility protection, energy sovereignty — correct, but exclusively in a positive context, without criticism
TISZA	-4	Does not appear at all; the reference to the 2026 elections (47:02) is framed exclusively as the necessity of continuing the Fidesz government — Programme position: anti-corruption, EU rule of law — completely omitted
DK	0	Does not appear in the broadcast
Momentum	0	Does not appear in the broadcast
Jobbik	0	Does not appear in the broadcast
Mi Hazánk	0	Does not appear in the broadcast
LMP	-2	Green politics as a whole is presented in a negative frame (00:44 "misguided strategy"), LMP's green programme is not presented — programme position distorted
MSZP	0	Does not appear in the broadcast

Score explanation:

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

Party bias summary

- Most accurate representation: Fidesz-KDNP (+3) — but exclusively in a positive frame, without criticism
- Strongest distortion: TISZA (-4) — complete omission, while an explicit reference to the 2026 elections is made
- Average deviation from 0: 1.3
- Summary: The broadcast presents Fidesz-KDNP's energy policy exclusively as a success, while all opposition parties — especially TISZA — are completely absent. Green politics as a programme element of LMP and other centre-left parties appears exclusively in a negative frame, without the parties' own arguments. This selective representation violates the obligation of diversity of opinion under Section 83 of the Mttv.

Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -3.8

CLASSIFICATION: Strongly right-leaning

Justification: The entire narrative of the broadcast validates Fidesz-KDNP's energy policy and consistently portrays EU green policy and the sanctions regime — which are part of the programme of centre-left and pro-EU parties — as failures. None of the opposition parties is given a voice, and the reference to the 2026 elections appears exclusively as the necessity of continuing the current right-wing government. All guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DATA AND TOPIC FRAMES

Broadcast data

- Title: Kommentárklub
- Date: (not determinable from the file name; based on internal references: spring 2025, week before Easter)
- Estimated length: approx. 52 minutes (estimate based on transcript)
- Host/Reporter: Not named (identifiable in the transcript by the greeting "Szervusztok!")
- Invited persons:

Person	Function	Party/Institutional affiliation	Political spectrum
Tóth Máté	Energy lawyer, university lecturer	Unnamed institution	Not determinable (but positions are Fidesz-compatible)
Kitta Gergely	Director responsible for institutes at MCC	Matthias Corvinus Collegium (state-funded)	Close to the right
Varga Bálint Tamás	Lawyer, analyst	Unnamed	Not determinable
Koskovics Zoltán	Geopolitical analyst	Alapjogokért Központ (state-funded)	Close to the right

Main topic

The broadcast claims that the EU's green energy policy and the decoupling from Russian energy carriers is a strategic dead end, from which Hungary's energy sovereignty and the pragmatism of the Fidesz government represent the only way out.

Handling of perspectives in the broadcast

[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: 00:39 — Quote: "With these slogans, the European Union embarked on its energy reform." — Assessment: The EU's own justification for its energy policy is not presented, only a caricature-like summary.

[B] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Not a single independent energy economist appears; every guest is affiliated with a pro-government institution.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The Ukrainian perspective is completely absent; Ukraine appears exclusively in the context of "maritime terrorism".

[D] SUGGESTED

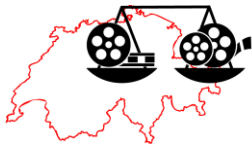
Timestamp: 01:55 — Quote: "nearly 45% of electricity is already produced by renewable energy sources" — Assessment: The data is mentioned, but immediately relativised and framed as evidence of the failure of green policy.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The impact of sanctions on the Russian economy is not mentioned; the broadcast implicitly suggests that sanctions only harm Europe.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Not a single opposition party's position on energy policy is presented.



[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: All guests are pro-government; no independent Hungarian energy market analyst appears.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: A critical analysis of the budgetary burden, sustainability and social effects of utility protection is completely absent.

[I] DISTORTED

Timestamp: 03:50 — Quote: "No credible accountability has taken place on the part of the European Union" — Assessment: The actual state of the investigation into the explosion is not presented; the broadcast implicitly holds the EU responsible.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: 45:07 — Quote: "the construction of the second Paks nuclear power plant is proceeding on schedule and on time" — Assessment: An independent assessment of the delays and risks of the Paks II project is not presented; the claim remains unchecked.

Completeness score: 2/10

Justification: Out of 10 relevant perspectives, the broadcast touches on only one superficially (renewable energy data), and immediately frames that too as evidence of the failure of green policy. The Ukrainian, opposition, independent expert and budgetary perspectives are completely absent. This is not accidental omission, but structural one-sidedness.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — quantifiable and scientifically verifiable

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?

1st expert: Koskovics Zoltán — Alapjogokért Központ, geopolitical analyst

Timestamp: 05:36

Statement: "The threatening point is that we are still going deeper into the crisis, and the noose is tightening around Europe."

Classification: The Alapjogokért Központ is a state-funded, Fidesz-aligned think tank; its geopolitical analyses consistently align with the government narrative.

Missing counter-opinion: An independent geopolitical analyst who would also present the risks of dependence on Russian energy.

Source in-depth analysis:

(a) FUNDING: The Alapjogokért Központ is funded from the state budget; its founders and leaders are persons close to Fidesz. Conflict of interest: the organisation's institutional interest is to reinforce the government narrative.

(b) MANDATE: The organisation's mandate is not compatible with neutral geopolitical analysis, as it has consistently represented the government's position since its founding.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — State-funded, pro-government organisation

D2 Personal risk: -1 — Position incentivises alignment with the government narrative

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Geopolitical analysis is the area of expertise, but limited on detailed energy questions

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — Consistently pro-government position

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — Apocalyptic imagery (Stalingrad, Bronze Age collapse), little data

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary analysis

TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents him as a "geopolitical analyst" without indicating the institutional affiliation and conflict of interest. This is an application of technique 2 (source selection).

2nd expert: Kitta Gergely — MCC, director responsible for institutes

Timestamp: 05:28

Statement: "Hungary has been able to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 45% while multiplying its GDP."

Classification: The Matthias Corvinus Collegium is a state-funded, Fidesz-aligned educational and research institution; its annual budget comes from several hundred billion forints of public money.

Missing counter-opinion: An independent energy statistician who would verify the claim.



Source in-depth analysis:

(a) FUNDING: The MCC is funded by the state; it operates in foundation form, but the board of trustees consists of persons close to Fidesz. Conflict of interest: the organisation's survival depends on government support.

(b) MANDATE: Not compatible with neutral energy policy assessment.

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — State-funded, pro-government
- D2 Personal risk: -2 — Position depends on the government narrative
- D3 Professional competence: 0 — Institutional director, not an energy expert
- D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — Consistently pro-government
- D5 Emotional vs. data-based: 0 — Mixed
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents him as "director"; the institutional funding and conflict of interest are not mentioned.

3rd expert: Tóth Máté — energy lawyer, university lecturer

Timestamp: 05:24

Statement: "Roughly, it will be necessary to immediately restore energy connections."

Classification: His institutional affiliation is not detailed in the broadcast; his positions consistently align with the government narrative.

Source in-depth analysis:

(a) FUNDING: Not determinable from the broadcast; the absence of institutional affiliation is itself a problem.

(b) MANDATE: Energy lawyer — professional competence in the field of energy law, but limited for geopolitical and macroeconomic statements.

- D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Not determinable
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Not determinable
- D3 Professional competence: +1 — Relevant in energy law, limited in geopolitics
- D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — Not verifiable
- D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — Apocalyptic statements without data
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary

TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

4th expert: Varga Bálint Tamás — lawyer, analyst

Timestamp: 05:33

Statement: "The essence I have already stated: without Russian energy there is no European economy."

Classification: His institutional affiliation is not detailed; his positions consistently align with the government narrative.

Source in-depth analysis:

(a) FUNDING: Not determinable from the broadcast.

(b) MANDATE: Lawyer — limited professional competence for energy and geopolitical statements.

- D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Not determinable
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Not determinable
- D3 Professional competence: -1 — Lawyer, not an energy or geopolitical expert
- D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — Not verifiable
- D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -2 — Apocalyptic statements, minimal data
- D6 Source level: -2 — Tertiary, own opinion

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

Missing expert groups:

- Independent energy economist (e.g. REKK — Regional Centre for Energy Policy Research)
- EU Commission energy policy representative
- Ukrainian energy policy expert



Summary (matrix result):

- Koskovics Zoltán: YELLOW — state-funded, conflict of interest without indication
- Kitta Gergely: RED — state-funded, conflict of interest without indication
- Tóth Máté: YELLOW — institutional affiliation not determinable
- Varga Bálint Tamás: RED — professional competence limited, apocalyptic rhetoric

Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
expert: Koskovics Zoltán — Alapjogokért Központ, geopolitical analyst	-2	-1	+1	-1	-1	0	-4	YELLOW
expert: Kitta Gergely — MCC, director responsible for institutes	-2	-2	0	-1	0	0	-5	RED
expert: Tóth Máté — energy lawyer, university lecturer	0	0	+1	0	-1	0	0	YELLOW
expert: Varga Bálint Tamás — lawyer, analyst	0	0	-1	0	-2	-2	-5	RED



2. SOURCE SELECTION									0/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Statements without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Overall score: 9/10

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

1st source: Statement by Tatár Mihály (in insert)

Timestamp: 05:07 — Statement: "the EU's energy policy is the textbook case of what happens when economic and energy issues are handled on an ideological basis."

- (a) **Funding and operator:** It is not stated who Tatár Mihály is and which institution he is affiliated with.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The claim is unverifiable, as the source's institutional background is unknown.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Not a single EU energy policy document or independent analysis is cited.

2nd source: Statement by Ursula von der Leyen (in insert)

Timestamp: 01:13 — Statement: (statement made at the 2026 Paris summit on nuclear energy)

- (a) **Funding:** President of the EU Commission — legitimate source.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The broadcast interprets the statement as self-criticism of the EU's earlier policy, but the full context is not presented.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Official EU energy policy documents and impact assessments are not cited.

Rumour check (penalty points):

1st rumour:

Timestamp: 40:07 — Claim: "Brussels ordered Croatia to violate European Union law."

Verbal indicator: "ordered" — claim without evidence

Primary source: NONE — penalty point

2nd rumour:

Timestamp: 44:47 — Claim: "Brussels gave the order to Zagreb to do this. The whole idea may have originated from Berlin."

Verbal indicator: "may have originated" — speculative

Primary source: NONE — penalty point

3rd rumour:

Timestamp: 40:11 — Claim: "so let us not think that this was a Ukrainian private action"

Verbal indicator: implicit suggestion

Primary source: NONE — penalty point

Summary: The broadcast does not cite a single independent, verifiable primary source; the guests' own statements and inserts that echo the government narrative constitute the entire source base. Three unsubstantiated claims receive penalty points.



3. TIME ALLOCATION

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 8/10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time among different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Koskovics Zoltán: approx. 14 minutes (27%)
- Varga Bálint Tamás: approx. 12 minutes (23%)
- Tóth Máté: approx. 10 minutes (19%)
- Kitta Gergely: approx. 8 minutes (15%)
- Host: approx. 5 minutes (10%)
- Inserts (Tatár Mihály, Németh Hunor): approx. 3 minutes (6%)

Summary: 100% of all speaking time goes to guests representing a Fidesz-compatible narrative; not a single minute is given to an opposition, independent or EU perspective. This is a serious violation of the balance obligation under Section 83 of the Mttv.



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 connection between Russian energy revenues and war financing

Relevant timestamp: 03:05 — "dependence on Russian gas has fallen from 45% to 12%"

Effect: The broadcast suggests that decoupling from Russian energy only harms Europe; the fact that Russian energy revenues finance the war is never mentioned.

2nd omission:

Context: The real budgetary burden and sustainability of utility protection

Relevant timestamp: 26:23 — "Hungary caught the fuel at a protected price at zero"

Effect: The several-trillion-forint budgetary burden of utility protection, the increase in debt and the question of sustainability are never mentioned.

3rd omission:

Context: The state of the investigation into the Nord Stream explosion

Relevant timestamp: 03:50 — "No credible accountability has taken place on the part of the European Union"

Effect: The Seymour Hersh claims and the subsequently emerging contradictory evidence (e.g. the Ukrainian trail) are not mentioned; the broadcast implicitly holds the USA or the EU responsible.

Summary: The omissions are not random but consistently one-directional: every fact that would present the risks of maintaining Russian energy dependence or the limitations of the Fidesz government's energy policy is absent.

Missing voices

- Independent energy economist: Would have presented the long-term geopolitical risks of Russian energy dependence and the real benefits of diversification
- Ukrainian energy policy expert: Would have contextualised the connection between Russian energy revenues and war financing
- EU Commission representative or spokesperson: Would have presented the official justification and objectives of energy policy
- Opposition politician (TISZA or DK): Would have presented the alternative energy policy position ahead of the 2026 elections
- Independent Hungarian energy market analyst: Would have verified the real costs and sustainability of utility protection
- Climate researcher: Would have contextualised the long-term risks of fossil energy carriers
- Independent technical expert on Paks II: Would have assessed the real state and risks of the project
- Consumer protection expert: Would have presented the social effects of energy prices on the most vulnerable groups



5. NUMBER MANIPULATION

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

Overall score: 7/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 03:10

Figure: "Dependence on Russian gas has fallen from 45% to 12%, oil dependence is 2%, now only 27% instead."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — given; (b) ratio — partially given; (c) trend — direction given, but context missing

Missing context: It is not mentioned at what economic cost this reduction was achieved, and how much more expensive the alternative sources (LNG, Qatar) are.

Effect: The figures suggest the success of EU energy policy, but the broadcast immediately interprets this as failure — the contradiction between the two narratives remains unresolved.

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 10:04

Figure: "approximately 15 million barrels per day of maritime transport capacity, 70 percent of which has been lost"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — given; (b) ratio — given; (c) trend — not given

Missing context: No source is cited; the data is unverifiable. A 70% loss is an extremely high figure, not supported by any single source.

Effect: Paints an apocalyptic picture that the viewer cannot verify.

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 27:09

Figure: "here it is 2.6 euro cents per kilowatt-hour for natural gas, in Prague it is 10"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — given; (b) ratio — given; (c) trend — not given

Missing context: It is not mentioned that the Hungarian price is artificially subsidised, and under what conditions the source of the subsidy (the windfall tax on Russian oil) is sustainable. The context of the Czech price (e.g. absence of subsidies, different energy mix) is also not mentioned.

Effect: Presents Hungarian utility protection unambiguously as a success story, without sustainability questions.

Summary: The figures in the broadcast consistently reinforce the government narrative; the three-dimensional check (absolute value, ratio, trend) is not complete in any single case, and the absence of source citation excludes the verifiability of the data.



6. DISCREDITING BY ASSOCIATION

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Overall score: 6/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

1st association:

Timestamp: 08:02

Quote: "there is a child with a taped-over glasses who grows up into the door handle, who is evidently going to be the European Union"

Technique: Presents the EU as helpless, clumsy and the losing side through a children's game metaphor.

Effect: Positions the EU as a competence-deficient, ridiculous actor, which also unsettles viewers sympathetic to the EU.

2nd association:

Timestamp: 37:14

Quote: "this Ukrainian maritime terrorism, so to speak, that they are doing"

Technique: Qualifies Ukraine's military actions as "terrorism", which is a politically motivated application of the concept of terrorism.

Effect: Ukraine as a state becomes associated with terrorism, which is a serious stigmatisation in the context of the war.

3rd association:

Timestamp: 45:37

Quote: "we are trying to pull these lunatics in Brussels out of the trap they have driven themselves into"

Technique: Calls EU leaders "lunatics", which is psychiatric stigmatisation for political purposes.

Effect: Any cooperation with the EU appears irrational if the partners are "lunatics".

Association chain: EU green policy → ideological blindness → economic collapse → "lunatics" in Brussels → Hungary as the only rational actor

Summary: The broadcast consistently links the EU and Ukraine with negative associations (helplessness, terrorism, lunacy), while positioning Hungary as the only rational actor. This technique violates the objectivity obligation under Section 83 of the Mttv.



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).

1st finding:

Position: 00:44 (beginning)

Content: "current world political events increasingly show that all this was a misguided strategy"

Timing effect: In the first minute of the broadcast, the basic frame is established: EU energy policy is doomed to failure. This frame determines the entire broadcast, and the viewer interprets all subsequent information through this filter.

2nd finding:

Position: 47:02 (end)

Content: "the current Hungarian elections have a special role among many other things, because we are also deciding whether Hungary continues this work"

Timing effect: In the closing minutes of the broadcast, an explicit electoral message is delivered, directly linking the energy policy narrative with a call to vote for Fidesz. This is the most effective position for influencing the viewer's decision-making.

3rd finding:

Position: 50:07 (end)

Content: "the political side must be chosen that is able to bring in Russian energy even against Brussels"

Timing effect: The last substantive sentence of the broadcast is an open political recommendation, transforming the energy policy analysis into electoral propaganda.

Summary: The structure of the broadcast is consciously built up: at the beginning it establishes the EU-critical frame, in the middle it elaborates the apocalyptic scenarios, and at the end it closes the narrative with an explicit electoral message.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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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: Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be classified as selective if a similar triggering event at another position did not produce an analogous reaction.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 39:18

Triggering event: The closure of the Druzhba oil pipeline (Ukrainian action)

Reaction: "this is the humiliation of a country, you usually have to lose a war for someone to be humiliated so deeply and have the floor wiped with them"

Comparison: The Nord Stream explosion (03:50) — Reaction: "No credible accountability has taken place on the part of the European Union" — neutral, demanding tone, but not outraged

Asymmetry: The Ukrainian action qualifies as "humiliation" and "terrorism"; the Nord Stream explosion (whose perpetrator is disputed) appears only as criticism of EU passivity. The asymmetry is confirmed.

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 45:37

Triggering event: EU energy policy

Reaction: "we are trying to pull these lunatics in Brussels"

Comparison: Russian energy policy (e.g. the redirection of LNG eastward, 07:17) — Reaction: neutral, descriptive tone

Asymmetry: EU decision-makers are "lunatics", Russian energy policy appears as a strategic move. The asymmetry is confirmed.

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: The broadcast consistently applies an outraged tone towards EU and Ukrainian decisions, while presenting Russian energy policy in a neutral or positive frame. This asymmetry violates the objectivity obligation under Section 83 of the Mttv.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

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Overall score: 9/10

Definition: How complete is the broadcast's representation of the topic?

1st finding:

Timestamp: 51:30

Missing perspective/fact: The connection between Russian energy revenues and war financing

Relevance: The broadcast presents decoupling from Russian energy exclusively as European economic damage; the fact that Russian energy revenues finance the war would be fundamental context.

Effect: The viewer receives the impression that decoupling from Russian energy is pointless self-harm, while the geopolitical context is completely absent.

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 44:10

Missing perspective/fact: The real state and risks of the Paks II project

Relevance: The broadcast claims it is "proceeding on schedule and on time" — this is a disputed claim not supported by any independent source.

Effect: The viewer receives unfounded optimism regarding Paks II.

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 47:02

Missing perspective/fact: The stakes of the 2026 elections from the opposition perspective

Relevance: The broadcast presents the elections exclusively as the necessity of continuing the Fidesz government; the opposition's energy policy alternative is never mentioned.

Effect: The viewer receives the impression that energy security can only be guaranteed by continuing the current government.

Summary: The completeness deficit of the broadcast is not random: consistently those facts and perspectives are absent that would present the risks of maintaining Russian energy dependence or the limitations of the Fidesz government's energy policy.

Soft facts — interpretation-dependent, not purely quantifiable

Energy policy has become one of the EU's sharpest internal debates since the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war: the question of the sanctions regime and decoupling from Russian energy carriers divides member states. The Iranian-American tension around the Strait of Hormuz in spring 2025 does indeed represent an energy market risk. At the same time, the transformation of the EU's energy mix, the growing share of renewables and the question of energy security is a complex, scientifically debated field in which numerous legitimate positions exist. The Hungarian government's pro-Russian energy policy is an isolated position within the EU, which the broadcast presents as the only correct path.



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

Proportion of perspectives covered

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



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. NARRATIVE FRAME

0/10

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Overall score: 9/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

1st finding:

Timestamp: 00:44

Quote: "current world political events increasingly show that all this was a misguided strategy"

Manipulation: In the first minute of the broadcast, EU green energy policy is established as a failure, before any evidence is presented.

Why problematic: The viewer interprets the entire broadcast through this pre-established frame; the possibility of an alternative interpretation is excluded.

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 31:51

Quote: "relations with Russia must be restored immediately. For normal commercial relations with Russia in the energy sector to be restored, the entire West European system must collapse."

Manipulation: Presents the restoration of Russian energy connections as the only possible solution, while the "collapse of the West European system" appears as a precondition — this is an apocalyptic frame that excludes compromise solutions.

Why problematic: The viewer receives the impression that there is no middle ground between Russian energy dependence and total economic collapse.

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 45:37

Quote: "Hungary is, the right-wing government of Hungary is, the one that functions as some kind of brake. But they want to break this brake at all costs."

Manipulation: Positions the Fidesz government as the only rational actor, and the EU and the opposition as destructive forces.

Why problematic: This frame presents the 2026 elections as an existential stake, where the only correct decision is to vote for Fidesz.

Summary: The framing of the broadcast is consistently binary: EU green policy = failure, Russian energy = solution, Fidesz = only rational actor. This frame fundamentally violates the objectivity obligation under Section 83 of the Mttv.



11. LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS

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Overall score: 8/10

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

1st finding:

Timestamp: 37:14

Quote: "this Ukrainian maritime terrorism, so to speak, that they are doing"

Manipulation: Qualifies Ukraine's military actions as "terrorism", which is legal and moral stigmatisation.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "Ukrainian military actions against Russian energy infrastructure" — this is descriptive, not qualifying. The word "terrorism" is a legal concept whose application would require substantiation.

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 45:37

Quote: "we are trying to pull these lunatics in Brussels"

Manipulation: Qualifies EU decision-makers with psychiatric terminology.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "we disagree with EU energy policy" — this expresses a difference of opinion, not personal incapacity.

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 04:07

Quote: "there was always a victory report, look, Russian gas is not needed"

Manipulation: Places EU communication in mocking quotation marks ("victory report"), which undermines its credibility without refuting the content of the claims.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "the EU stated that supply can be secured without Russian gas" — this is descriptive, not mocking.

Summary: The language of the broadcast consistently assigns negative connotations to the EU and Ukraine, while Hungary and Russian energy policy appear with neutral or positive terminology.



12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall score: 7/10

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

Methodological principle: Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. An intervention can only be classified as asymmetric if a similar triggering event with another guest did not produce an analogous intervention.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 06:02

Triggering event: The host asks whether the EU "has knocked on the door of reality"

Quote (host): "It has knocked, but the consequences have not yet been drawn sufficiently."

Comparison: Not once does the host ask what risks Hungary's energy policy entails.

Asymmetry: Critical follow-up questioning towards the EU, not a single critical question towards Hungary. Confirmed.

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 49:56

Triggering event: Varga Bálint Tamás makes an open electoral recommendation

Quote (host): "Thank you very much for the conversation."

Comparison: The host does not qualify, relativise or request a counter-opinion on the open political recommendation.

Asymmetry: The host tacitly approves the electoral propaganda. Confirmed.

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 38:13

Triggering event: The host steers the conversation with the phrase "let us turn to Hungary"

Quote (host): "Let us find out how each country is handling these things, and let us gradually turn to Hungary then, to what the situation is in our case."

Comparison: After presenting the situation of EU member states, the host singles out Hungary in a separate, positive frame.

Asymmetry: The topic shift structurally serves the positive highlighting of Hungary. Confirmed.

Summary: The host consistently reinforces the EU-critical and Fidesz-friendly narrative; not a single critical question is posed to the guests about the risks of the government's energy policy.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Overall score: 7/10

Definition: Questions of different hardness/softness to different persons.

1st asymmetry:

Host's question (05:42): "Well, you all obviously know that the complete ban on importing Russian oil has disappeared from the EU's agenda... we suspect that perhaps the EU leader's door has been knocked on by reality?" — soft, suggestive, critical of the EU

Comparison: Not a single question is posed to the guests about what risks the Fidesz government's energy policy entails, or what geopolitical risk maintaining Russian energy dependence represents for Hungary. — missing hard question

Comparison: Suggestive, critical questions towards the EU; not a single critical question towards the Fidesz government. Serious asymmetry.

2nd asymmetry:

Host's question (49:56): "Right, so energy sovereignty and political independence, there will be elections, so how do these two connect?" — gives open space to electoral propaganda

Comparison: Not a single question is posed about what energy policy the opposition parties represent. — missing balancing question

Summary: The questions consistently reinforce the EU-critical narrative and give space to electoral propaganda; not a single critical question is posed about the Fidesz government's energy policy.



14. FALSE BALANCE

0/10

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Overall score: 5/10

Definition: Artificial balance despite actual inequality.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 01:55 — Construction: "although nearly 45% of electricity in the European Union is already produced by renewable energy sources, nevertheless the goals that were previously achievable by 2030 and 2050 — here too the European Union is gently adjusting its policy"

Analysis: The broadcast acknowledges the 45% share of renewables (which is real data), but immediately interprets it as evidence of the failure of green policy. This is false balance: acknowledging the positive data creates an appearance of objectivity, while the conclusion is one-sided.

Summary: The broadcast rarely applies classic false balance; instead, complete omission and one-sided framing are the dominant techniques. The only identified case is the acknowledgement of renewable energy data and its immediate negative interpretation.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

0/10

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Overall score: 9/10

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

1st finding:

Agenda item: Decoupling from Russian energy as self-harm

Timestamp: 03:19 — Evidence: "Not even a spark of doubt ever arose in the West European political elite as to whether this is actually good for Europe? Obviously it is not."

Alternative agenda: The geopolitical risks of Russian energy dependence, strengthening energy security through diversification — these never get onto the agenda.

2nd finding:

Agenda item: The Fidesz government's energy policy as the only correct path

Timestamp: 47:02 — Evidence: "the current Hungarian elections have a special role among many other things, because we are also deciding whether Hungary continues this work"

Alternative agenda: Opposition energy policy alternatives, the sustainability of utility protection — these never get onto the agenda.

3rd finding:

Agenda item: The EU as the cause of the energy crisis

Timestamp: 05:04 — Evidence: "as if these were not the same leaders who launched this energy policy five and ten years ago"

Alternative agenda: Russian energy dependence as one cause of the EU's energy crisis, the political responsibility for building up dependence on Russian gas — these never get onto the agenda.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda consistently establishes that EU energy policy is the cause of the crisis, Russian energy is the solution, and the Fidesz government is the only rational actor. This agenda excludes all alternative interpretive frameworks.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	9	All four guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions, without indicating conflicts of interest
2	Source selection	H	9	Not a single independent, verifiable primary source appears; three unsubstantiated claims
3	Time allocation	H	8	100% of all speaking time represents a Fidesz-compatible narrative
4	Omission	H	9	The war financing from Russian energy revenues and the sustainability of utility protection are completely absent
5	Number manipulation	H	7	Figures consistently reinforce the government narrative, without source citation and context
6	Guilt by association	H	6	The EU appears as "lunatics", Ukraine as "terrorists"
7	Timing	H	7	EU-critical frame at the beginning of the broadcast, open electoral propaganda at the end
8	Selective outrage	H	8	Ukrainian actions are "terrorism", Russian energy policy is a neutral strategic move
9	Completeness	H	9	8 out of 10 relevant perspectives are completely absent
10	Framing	S	9	Binary frame: EU green policy = failure, Russian energy = solution, Fidesz = only rational actor
11	Language	S	8	"Terrorism", "lunatics", "victory report" — consistently negative connotations towards the EU and Ukraine
12	Moderator behaviour	S	7	Not a single critical question is posed about the Fidesz government's energy policy
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	EU-critical suggestive questions vs. Fidesz-friendly space-giving questions
14	False balance	S	5	Acknowledgement of renewable energy data and its immediate negative interpretation
15	Agenda-setting	S	9	The geopolitical risks of Russian energy dependence never get onto the agenda

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 8.0 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 7.5 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 7.8 / 10

Dominant techniques



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- 1. Agenda-setting (9/10):** The broadcast consistently establishes that EU energy policy is the cause of the crisis, Russian energy is the solution, and the Fidesz government is the only rational actor — excluding all alternative interpretive frameworks. This technique is the structural foundation of the entire broadcast.
- 2. Framing (9/10):** From the first to the last minute, the broadcast applies a binary frame: EU green policy = ideological blindness and economic collapse, Russian energy dependence = pragmatism and prosperity. This frame excludes compromise interpretations and nuanced analysis.
- 3. Expert selection (9/10):** All four guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions (MCC, Alapjogokért Központ), without indicating conflicts of interest; not a single expert representing an independent, opposition or EU perspective appears. This technique transforms the ostensibly professional debate into a one-sided echo chamber.

Messages of the broadcast

1. MESSAGE (CONTENT): "The EU's green energy policy is ideological blindness that is leading Europe into economic collapse, and the only solution is the restoration of Russian energy connections."

Technique: Framing, agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:44, 31:51

2. MESSAGE (PERSONAL): "The Fidesz government is the only rational actor that protects Hungary's energy sovereignty and the welfare of its citizens."

Technique: Selective omission, expert selection — Evidence: 26:23, 44:29, 47:02

3. MESSAGE (SOCIAL): "In the 2026 elections, the stake of energy security and welfare is the continuation of the Fidesz government — a victory for the opposition would bring an energy crisis and social collapse."

Technique: Timing, agenda-setting — Evidence: 47:02, 50:07

Manipulation level classification

Justification: The broadcast's overall score is 7.8/10, indicating systematic one-sidedness. The one-sidedness is not manifest in individual statements, but in the entire structure of the broadcast: in the choice of guests, the direction of questions, the omitted perspectives and the closing electoral message. The balance and diversity of opinion required by Section 83 of the Mttv. is not fulfilled in any single dimension: opposition parties, independent experts and the EU perspective are completely absent, while the broadcast closes with open electoral propaganda.

SUMMARY

The examined broadcast of Kommentárklub systematically violates the requirement of current, objective and balanced information prescribed by Section 83 of the Mttv. The broadcast is not an energy policy analysis, but media support for the Fidesz government's 2026 electoral campaign: it consistently presents EU green policy and decoupling from Russian energy as failures, while positioning the Fidesz government's energy policy as the only rational path. All four guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions, without indicating conflicts of interest; opposition parties, independent experts and the Ukrainian perspective are completely absent. The broadcast closes with open electoral propaganda (50:07: "the political side must be chosen that is able to bring in Russian energy even against Brussels"), which substitutes the information obligation under Section 83 of the Mttv. with electoral campaign support. This constitutes a factual basis suitable for establishing a violation of Section 83 of the Mttv. and could serve as the basis for proceedings before the NMHH Media Council — with the structural caveat that the NMHH Media Council has consisted exclusively of persons close to Fidesz since 2010, which reduces the probability of actual proceedings being conducted to a minimum.



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	DISCREDITING 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	MODERATOR 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)

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

Overall deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

Party-political bias (from –5 to +5)

–5 to –3	Strongly disadvantaged	The party is significantly under-represented in framing, speaking time or presentation.
–2 to –1	Mildly disadvantaged	Recognisable but mild disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No preference or disadvantage detectable.
+1 to +2	Mildly advantaged	Recognisable but mild preference.
+3 to +5	Strongly advantaged	The party is significantly over-represented in framing, speaking time or presentation.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Mttv. §83)

Assessment under Mttv. §83

Section 83 of the Mttv. requires that news programmes and information programmes of public service media providers be current, objective and balanced, and reflect diversity of opinion.

1st violation:

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

Facts: Not a single opposition party, independent expert or EU perspective appears in the broadcast; all four guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions.

Evidence: Timestamp 05:24–05:39 — presentation of the four guests: Tóth Máté (energy lawyer), Kitta Gergely (MCC), Varga Bálint Tamás (analyst), Koskovics Zoltán (Alapjogokért Központ) — all represent Fidesz-compatible positions.

Assessment: The requirement of diversity of opinion is not fulfilled; the broadcast represents a single political-ideological direction.

2nd violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 — objectivity

Facts: The broadcast consistently presents EU energy policy as a "misguided strategy" and EU decision-makers as "lunatics", while depicting Russian energy policy in a neutral or positive frame.

Evidence: Timestamp 45:37 — "we are trying to pull these lunatics in Brussels" — this is not objective information, but a political qualification.

Assessment: The requirement of objectivity is not fulfilled; the broadcast conveys political propaganda instead of information.

3rd violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 — current and objective information

Facts: The broadcast closes with open electoral propaganda, presenting the 2026 elections as an energy policy stake and calling for the continuation of the Fidesz government.

Evidence: Timestamp 50:07 — "the political side must be chosen that is able to bring in Russian energy even against Brussels" — this is not information, but an electoral campaign message.

Assessment: An open electoral recommendation made in an information programme of a public service media provider is a fundamental violation of Section 83 of the Mttv.

Overall assessment under Mttv. §83

The examined Kommentárklub broadcast violates the requirement of current, objective and balanced information prescribed by Section 83 of the Mttv. in three separate factual situations: (1) the complete absence of diversity of opinion (exclusively pro-government guests), (2) the presentation of the EU and Ukraine in a manner lacking objectivity and using political qualifications, and (3) the transmission of an open electoral campaign message within the framework of an information programme. The broadcast is not an energy policy analysis, but media support for the Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral campaign, which MTVA broadcasts in public service airtime. This constitutes a factual basis suitable for establishing a violation of Section 83 of the Mttv. and could serve as the basis for proceedings before the NMHH Media Council — with the structural caveat that the NMHH Media Council has consisted exclusively of persons close to Fidesz since 2010, which reduces the probability of actual proceedings being conducted to a minimum.

SOURCE IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS (Mandatory for every cited organisation)

1. Alapjogokért Központ



1. **FUNDING:** Funded from the state budget; its founders and leaders are persons close to Fidesz. Conflict of interest: its institutional survival depends on government support.
2. **MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral geopolitical or energy policy analysis; has consistently represented the government's position since its founding.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Its institutional interest is to reinforce the government narrative; a position contrary to the government would represent a funding risk.
 - D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2
 - D2 Persönliches Risiko: -1
 - D3 Fachkompetenz: +1
 - D4 Meinungskonsistenz: -1
 - D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: -1
 - D6 Quellenstufe: 0
 - TOTAL: -4 → QUELLENAMPEL: S**
5. **COUNTER-OPINION:** Not cited; the broadcast presents it as a neutral expert.

2. Matthias Corvinus Collegium (MCC)

1. **FUNDING:** Operates in state foundation form; its annual budget comes from several hundred billion forints of public money; its board of trustees consists of persons close to Fidesz.
2. **MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral energy policy assessment; the MCC consistently reinforces the government narrative.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Its institutional survival and funding depend on government support; a position contrary to the government would represent an existential risk.
 - D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2
 - D2 Persönliches Risiko: -2
 - D3 Fachkompetenz: 0
 - D4 Meinungskonsistenz: -1
 - D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: 0
 - D6 Quellenstufe: 0
 - TOTAL: -5 → QUELLENAMPEL: PIROS**
5. **COUNTER-OPINION:** Not cited; the broadcast presents him as "director", without indicating the institutional affiliation and conflict of interest.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The qualifiers "recognised" or "renowned" are not professional qualifications. These are social attributions that are themselves subject to scrutiny — especially when the source of "recognition" is the governmental system whose narrative the source reinforces.

Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Alapjogokért Központ	-2	-1	+1	-1	-1	0	-4	S
Matthias Corvinus Collegium (MCC)	-2	-2	0	-1	0	0	-5	RED

Legal and methodological classification

Not a finding of fact	The results presented do not constitute a finding of fact regarding individual persons, editorial offices or programmes. They are the results of standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.
Not a legal judgement	The overall deviation index does not replace the legal assessment under Section 83 of the Mttv. The determination of whether a given programme violates the statutory requirements is exclusively the task of the competent authorities (in particular the Media Council).



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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 controversy 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 established — not that the editorial office did this intentionally. 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

Laws

- 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)

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

Smtv. (Press Freedom Act 2010)

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

Fundamental Law

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

European reference framework

- 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

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

- NMHH (National Media and Infocommunications Authority): National media and communications authority. Structurally pro-government composition since 2010.

Complaints procedure

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



ANNEX 2: ACADEMIC REFERENCES

Literature

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The following books are available from SVFAB:

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Unbalanced reporting as a response to the Swiss halving initiative: This book describes the manipulation techniques in detail, starting with the selection of staff and sources. It then outlines 15 principles: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, removal of context and many more, illustrated with numerous examples. It also reveals where we ourselves apply these techniques — fostering not only understanding but also empathy.

Optionally, playing cards are also available to accompany the book.

Also available as an audiobook.



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

Anyone who does not understand this is handing out material. Good quotes that were poorly edited. Correct statements placed in the wrong context. Honest answers framed as confessions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit — for everyone who has a microphone in front of their face and wants to know what they can do about it. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview actually is. The 7 most common pitfalls. The three principles of control — anchoring, framing and setting boundaries. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what counts after the interview.

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In A5 format. Easy to use. For preparation, as a reference, for follow-up and when things get difficult.



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

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. They hear the news differently. They conduct conversations with greater confidence. And they are no longer so easily influenced by frames chosen by someone else.

With numerous exercises and concrete examples from politics, the media and everyday life — and a few chuckles along the way.

Stylish framing. Because the frame changes everything.