



MTVA DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-04-11_kommentar-klub

Programme: MTVA-Sendung (M1/Kossuth Rádió) | 2026-04-11 | Analysed: 2026-05-24 21:42

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Mércé: Mttv. §83

TOTAL SCORE

7.6/10

Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

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 favouring the left, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly favouring the right). 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

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

This section provides political context and is not included in the total score.



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

In Hungary, Fidesz-KDNP has governed without interruption since 2010, currently holding a two-thirds parliamentary majority (135 seats out of 199). The strongest opposition force since 2024 is TISZA (the Respect and Freedom party led by Magyar Péter), which received 29.6% in the 2024 EP elections. The other opposition parties (DK, Momentum, Jobbik, LMP, MSZP) ran on a joint list in the 2022 elections, but the alliance has since collapsed. Mi Hazánk is a force within parliament but outside government, with 6 seats.

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

Hungarian political life is defined by four main fault lines. The first is the question of sovereignty versus European integration: Fidesz emphasises nation-state self-determination, while the opposition (especially TISZA and DK) emphasises rule-of-law EU membership. The second fault line is corruption and media freedom: the opposition attacks the KESMA media concentration and NMHH Fidesz control, while the government regards these as legitimate institutional reforms. The third fault line is migration policy, where Fidesz advocates zero tolerance and the opposition urges a European solution. The fourth fault line is the Russia-Ukraine question: Fidesz represents gas dependency and neutrality, while the opposition advocates Western orientation and solidarity with Ukraine.

MTVA (M1, M2, M4, M5, Duna TV) operates as a de facto government media outlet: the board of the public service media asset management foundation is filled by persons close to Fidesz, and the NMHH Media Council has been composed exclusively of Fidesz delegates since 2010. The KESMA foundation (since 2018) brings together nearly 500 media companies in pro-government hands, while independent media outlets (Telex.hu, 444.hu, RTL Klub, ATV) operate under structurally disadvantaged conditions. Hungary ranks 85th on the Reporters Without Borders (RSF) Press Freedom Index — the worst ranking in the EU.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in broadcast vs. party programme position
Fidesz-KDNP	+2	27:43 "Orbán Viktor is an incredibly great obstacle for them" — Party programme: sovereignty protection, nation-state policy — partially correct, but in an uncritically positive frame
TISZA	-4	39:54 "there is an opposition camp that is held together by nothing except being against something" — Party programme: anti-corruption, pro-EU, constructive programme — strongly distorted, programme positions suppressed
DK	0	Not featured in the programme — not discussed
Momentum	0	Not featured in the programme — not discussed
Jobbik	0	Not featured in the programme — not discussed
Mi Hazánk	0	Not featured in the programme — not discussed
LMP	0	Not featured in the programme — not discussed
MSZP	0	Not featured in the programme — not discussed

Party bias summary

- Most accurate representation: Fidesz-KDNP (+2) — the sovereignty protection narrative is present, though without criticism
- Strongest distortion: TISZA (-4) — the opposition is portrayed exclusively as a negative campaign, a contentless "anti-everything-ism"; its programme positions are not presented at all
- Average deviation from 0: 1.5
- Conclusion: The programme conveys exclusively the Fidesz-KDNP narrative about the opposition, without presenting the opposition parties' own programme positions. TISZA and the alliance are discussed exclusively within the frame of "anti-everything-ism" and "emotion-based, contentless campaigning", while not a single guest challenges the Fidesz-KDNP programme and performance.

Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -4.2

CLASSIFICATION: Strongly favouring the right

Justification: All guests in the programme are connected to the ideological circle of Fidesz-KDNP (Kommentár journal, MCC, prime ministerial advisory board). The opposition is discussed exclusively in a negative frame, and the policies of Fidesz-KDNP and the person of Orbán Viktor are treated as a positive reference point. The programme positions of centre-left and centre-right opposition parties do not appear at all, and the "foreign interference" narrative is voiced exclusively in relation to the opposition.



CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME DATA AND TOPIC FRAMES

Programme data

- Title: Kommentárklub
- Date: Evening of the 2026 parliamentary elections (the recording was made on Friday, broadcast on Sunday evening — 45:34 "We are recording this programme on Friday afternoon, and it will be broadcast on Sunday evening")
- Estimated length: approx. 51 minutes (estimate based on transcript)
- Host/Reporter: Unidentified host (name not mentioned); the introductory report was prepared by Németh Hunor
- Invited guests:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Lánci András	Széchenyi Prize-winning philosopher, head of the European Centre for Political Philosophy	Circle of the Kommentár journal	Right-wing conservative
Stumpf István	Professor of constitutional law, member of the prime minister's strategic advisory board	Direct advisory circle of Fidesz-KDNP	Right-wing conservative
Hegedű Zoltán	Historian	Circle of the Kommentár journal	Right-wing conservative
Szalai Zoltán	MCC Director General	Mathias Corvinus Collegium (state-funded, close to Fidesz)	Right-wing conservative
Illik Péter	Historian (in introductory report)	Not identified	Right-wing conservative narrative
Móczár Gábor	Speaker (in introductory report)	Not identified	Right-wing conservative narrative

Main topic

The programme is a roundtable discussion organised around civic education, changes in political culture, and the stakes of the 2026 elections, with the implicit message that opposition politics is "anti-everything-ism" and serving foreign interests, while Fidesz-KDNP is the sole credible representative of national sovereignty.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — countable and scientifically grounded

Hard facts — 9 measurable and scientifically verifiable techniques

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

Total score: 9/10

Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

1st expert: Stumpf István (professor of constitutional law, prime ministerial strategic adviser)

Timestamp: 04:24–04:29

Statement: "Stumpf István, professor of constitutional law, member of the prime minister's strategic advisory board"

Classification: Direct governmental advisory position; structural conflict of interest in reinforcing the governmental narrative

Missing counter-opinion: An independent constitutional lawyer (e.g. Jakab András, Uitz Renáta) would have provided a different assessment

Source deep analysis:

(a) FUNDING: State employee and prime ministerial adviser — direct financial and career dependency on the government; conflict of interest: reinforcing the governmental narrative is a condition for maintaining his career

(b) MANDATE: The role of prime ministerial strategic adviser is incompatible with neutral constitutional law assessment

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct governmental advisory position

D2 Personal risk: -2 — deviating from the governmental narrative poses a career risk

D3 Professional competence: +2 — constitutional law qualification is genuine

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — consistent with previous statements, but consistently pro-government

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — more emotional-political elements, less data

D6 Source level: 0 — secondary

TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Framed as a neutral expert, while being a direct governmental adviser — this is an application of technique 2 (source selection).

2nd expert: Szalai Zoltán (MCC Director General)

Timestamp: 04:30

Statement: "Szalai Zoltán, Director General of MCC"

Classification: MCC (Mathias Corvinus Collegium) has received hundreds of billions of forints in state assets since 2020; a Fidesz-aligned institution

Missing counter-opinion: An independent higher education expert, e.g. a researcher from ELTE or CEU

Source deep analysis:

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(a) **FUNDING:** State asset transfer (assets worth 500 billion forints in 2020) — MCC is a de facto state-governmental institution

(b) **MANDATE:** The mission of MCC is to spread "conservative values" — not compatible with neutral education policy assessment

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — MCC funding depends on governmental decisions

D2 Personal risk: -2 — deviating from the governmental narrative poses an institutional risk

D3 Professional competence: +1 — experience in educational organisation

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — consistently pro-government narrative

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — more political value judgements, less data

D6 Source level: 0 — secondary

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** MCC is treated as a neutral educational institution, while it is a politically committed, state-funded institution.

3rd expert: Lánci András (philosopher, European Centre for Political Philosophy)

Timestamp: 04:17–04:20

Statement: "Lánci András, Széchenyi Prize-winning philosopher, head of the European Centre for Political Philosophy"

Classification: A conservative-national thinker belonging to the circle of the Kommentár journal

Missing counter-opinion: A liberal or left-wing political philosopher

Source deep analysis:

(a) **FUNDING:** The funding of the Kommentár journal and the European Centre for Political Philosophy is partly from state/pro-government sources

(b) **MANDATE:** Conservative political philosophy — not neutral

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — indirect governmental affiliation

D2 Personal risk: -1 — moderate risk

D3 Professional competence: +2 — genuine academic background

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — consistent conservative position

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: 0 — mixed

D6 Source level: 0 — secondary

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

Missing expert groups: Independent education researchers; opposition political analysts; media researchers

Summary (matrix result):

- Stumpf István: YELLOW (-4) — direct governmental advisory conflict of interest
- Szalai Zoltán: RED (-5) — state-funded, politically committed institution
- Lánci András: YELLOW (+1) — indirect affiliation, genuine academic background
- Hegedű Zoltán: cannot be analysed in detail (few independent statements)

Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
expert: Stumpf István (professor of constitutional law, prime ministerial strategic adviser)	-2	-2	+2	-1	-1	0	-4	YELLOW
expert: Szalai Zoltán (MCC Director General)	-2	-2	+1	-1	-1	0	-5	RED
expert: Lánci András (philosopher, European)	-1	-1	+2	+1	0	0	+1	YELLOW



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Centre for Political Philosophy)								
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2. SOURCE SELECTION									9/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Total score: 9/10

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

1st source: J.D. Vance (US Vice President) — MCC visit

Timestamp: 25:00–25:50

Statement: "when J.D. Vance, the Vice President, visited MCC, and he closed the conversation by asking what advice there is for young people"

- (a) **Funding and operator:** American government official; the MCC visit was a political event
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Vance's visit served as a tool for legitimising the Orbán government; the reference reinforces this legitimisation
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Opinions of European Union officials, other Western politicians

2nd source: Neuer Zürcher Zeitung (2018 article)

Timestamp: 38:08–38:21

Statement: "In 2018, the Neuer Zürcher Zeitung wrote about the Hungarian election that Hungary had reached the lowest point of its elections so far"

- (a) **Funding:** Independent Swiss daily newspaper
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The reference aims to evoke criticism of the 2018 campaign — but the context is not clarified
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** The full text of the article, other foreign press opinions

Rumour check (penalty points):

1st rumour:

Timestamp: 26:04–26:12

Claim: "our country has become an operational area... we can see the fingerprints of the secret services on many things. Including on the attempts to shake the foundations of the Hungarian state"

Verbal marker: "we can see" (without evidence), "they are trying to shake"

Primary source: none — penalty point

2nd rumour:

Timestamp: 43:24–43:31

Claim: "it is astounding that, say, a journalist boasts about Hungary that he receives materials about Hungarian politicians from how many foreign secret services"

Verbal marker: "say" — without a specific person, source, or evidence

Primary source: none — penalty point

Summary: Source selection is limited exclusively to persons and institutions reinforcing the governmental narrative; two unsubstantiated claims are made at the level of rumour.



3. TIME ALLOCATION							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time among different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Lánci András: approx. 18 minutes (35%)
- Stumpf István: approx. 10 minutes (20%)
- Szalai Zoltán: approx. 9 minutes (18%)
- Hegedű Zoltán: approx. 5 minutes (10%)
- Host: approx. 6 minutes (12%)
- Introductory report (Németh Hunor): approx. 3 minutes (6%)
- Opposition/alternative viewpoint: 0 minutes (0%)

Summary: 100% of total speaking time goes to persons connected to the ideological circle of Fidesz-KDNP; not a single opposition, independent, or critical voice is given the floor. This is structural one-sidedness, not accidental disproportion.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

9/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 9/10

Definition: What does not appear, even though it would be relevant?

1st omission:

Context: The funding and political affiliation of MCC and the Kommentár journal

Relevant: 04:17–04:34 (introduction of guests)

Effect: Viewers believe the guests to be neutral experts, while all of them are affiliated with pro-government institutions

2nd omission:

Context: The KESMA media concentration and NMHH Fidesz control as a factor influencing political socialisation

Relevant: 10:55–11:19 (section on the influence of online media)

Effect: The "anti-everything-ism of left-wing portals" is subjected to criticism, while the pro-government media dominance does not appear at all

3rd omission:

Context: Evidence and legal background for the claim of "foreign interference"

Relevant: 25:56–26:50 (operational area narrative)

Effect: Unsubstantiated claims are presented as facts; counter-evidence and legal context are missing

Summary: The three most important omissions together result in viewers not receiving the tools to critically evaluate what they hear: they cannot learn about the guests' conflicts of interest, the true picture of the media environment, or the evidence base for the political claims.

Missing voices

- Opposition politician (TISZA/DK/Momentum): Would have presented alternative ideas about civic education and political culture
- Independent education researcher/teacher: Would have assessed the content and methodology of history teaching on a professional basis
- Media researcher: Would have analysed the political socialisation effect of public service media and the KESMA system
- Teachers' union representative: Would have presented the real situation and views of teachers
- Ukrainian or EU expert: Would have balanced the criticism of Zelenskij and the EU
- Young voter (non-MCC): Would have authentically represented the diverse political socialisation of the younger generation
- Lawyer/constitutional lawyer (independent): Would have critically assessed the legal and evidentiary questions of "foreign interference"
- Sociologist: Would have provided a data-supported picture of the political culture of Hungarian society



5. NUMBER MANIPULATION

5/10

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

Total score: 5/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 35:47–35:55

Number: "30% of 7-year-old children have these devices in their hands... at age 10 they spend 4–6 hours, at age 14 already 6–8 hours on these platforms"

Dimensions: (a) absolute number — provided; (b) ratio — partial; (c) trend — missing

Missing context: Source not named; comparison with other EU countries missing; the value judgement of "tragedy" is not supported by data

Effect: The numbers appear credible, but without a source and basis for comparison they cannot be verified

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 37:10–37:17

Number: "on average, according to statistics, a person scrolls through 3–400 such videos per day"

Dimensions: (a) absolute number — provided; (b) ratio — missing; (c) trend — missing

Missing context: "according to statistics" — source not named; which country, which age group, which platform?

Effect: A number without a source is presented as fact

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 40:31–40:33

Number: "we pay one million euros per day for X years"

Dimensions: (a) absolute number — provided; (b) ratio — missing; (c) trend — missing

Missing context: What does it refer to? Which EU procedure? Source? The context of the amount (ratio of EU subsidies vs. fines) is missing

Effect: Misleading: the amount of the EU fine/withholding is presented in the form of "we pay", as if Hungary were a victim

Summary: In three instances, numbers without a source or context are presented as facts; the most problematic is the EU "one million euros" claim, which appears in an unsubstantiated and misleading frame.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

8/10

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Total score: 8/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

1st association:

Timestamp: 07:03–07:11

Quote: "these celebrities, such as for example the Ukrainian president, who actually played this out on television, is trying to bring this into politics"

Technique: Zelenskij is placed in the category of "celebrity politician" and "reality show", thereby drawing opposition politicians into the same category

Effect: Opposition politics = Zelenskij-style show = not credible

2nd association:

Timestamp: 18:32–18:54

Quote: "Károlyi comes to power without an election behind him, Kumbéla comes to power without an election behind him, so there were foreign interests, say, who had an interest in them coming to power"

Technique: Linking the 1918 revolutionary governments with foreign interests — implicit parallel with today's opposition

Effect: The opposition = servants of foreign interests = 1918 "traitors to the homeland"

3rd association:

Timestamp: 11:01–11:19

Quote: "several left-wing portals... what they constantly sell is discontent, is the everything-is-bad"

Technique: Independent media outlets (Telex, 444) are branded as the source of "anti-everything-ism"

Effect: The independent press = source of manipulation; pro-government media = neutral

Chain of association: Opposition → "anti-everything-ism" → left-wing portals → foreign interests → 1918 betrayal of the homeland → Zelenskij-style show

Summary: The programme consistently applies the technique of guilt by association: it associates the opposition with foreign interests, the 1918 tragedy, and discredited show-politics, while none of the guests challenges these claims.



7. TIMING								8/10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total score: 8/10

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

1st finding:

Position: 00:41–00:53 (beginning)

Content: "Every Hungarian is responsible for every Hungarian" — Szabó Dezső quote; "may the next generation also be a community of conscious individuals taking responsibility for their homeland"

Timing effect: The programme opens with the frame of national responsibility and patriotism — this determines the interpretive frame of the entire broadcast before any critical voice can speak

2nd finding:

Position: 27:43–27:51 (middle)

Content: "Orbán Viktor is an incredibly great obstacle for them and that is why every sacrifice in Europe"

Timing effect: The most explicit pro-Orbán message is delivered in the middle of the programme, in the context of election night — achieving maximum impact

3rd finding:

Position: 51:14–51:19 (end)

Content: "and until then let us tell our children the Hungarian folk tales, so that their identity will be strong"

Timing effect: The programme closes with the positive message of strengthening national identity — this is the last impression the viewer takes away

Summary: The programme has a consciously constructed narrative arc: national responsibility (beginning) → Orbán as an obstacle to foreign forces (middle) → strengthening national identity (end). In the context of election night, this structure serves a clear political mobilisation function.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

7/10

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

Total score: 7/10

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 other positions did not elicit an analogous reaction.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 11:54–12:12

Triggering event: The opposition presents a patch of mould in a hospital in campaign material

Reaction: "a patch of mould appears in a hospital, there is certainly a camera there to film it, and it says that the entire Hungarian healthcare system is like this. And meanwhile we can see the whole of Hungarian healthcare, what a European standard it has actually reached"

Comparison: Similar emotional manipulation in Fidesz-KDNP campaign materials (e.g. Soros posters, migrant campaigns) — timestamp: not discussed — Reaction: none

Asymmetry: Opposition campaign tools are branded as manipulation; governmental campaign tools are not examined

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 07:03–10:05

Triggering event: Contradiction between Zelenskij's campaign promise and his presidential activity

Reaction: Detailed, negative analysis; "reality show", "show programme", "opposite of campaign promise"

Comparison: Contradictions between Orbán Viktor's campaign promises and governmental decisions (e.g. reversal of utility cost reduction, freezing of EU funds) — not discussed — Reaction: none

Asymmetry: Zelenskij's promise-reality contradiction receives detailed criticism; similar contradictions of Orbán Viktor are not mentioned

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: Selective outrage is consistently directed at opposition and foreign (Zelenskij) actors; similar campaign techniques and promise-reality contradictions of Fidesz-KDNP do not elicit any critical reaction.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

9/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 9/10

Definition: How complete is the presentation of the topic? Are relevant viewpoints, facts, or actors systematically omitted?

1st finding:

Timestamp: 10:55–11:34

Missing viewpoint/fact: The KESMA media concentration and NMHH Fidesz control

Relevance: In the section on the political socialisation effect of online media, only "left-wing portals" are subjected to criticism; the pro-government media dominance (KESMA ~500 media outlets) does not appear at all

Effect: The viewer receives the impression that media manipulation exists exclusively on the opposition side

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 25:56–27:41

Missing viewpoint/fact: Evidence and legal background for the claim of "foreign interference"

Relevance: The claims of "operational area" and "fingerprints of the secret services" are made without evidence; the legal basis of EU procedures (rule of law conditionality) is not mentioned

Effect: The viewer cannot distinguish proven facts from political narrative

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 39:54–42:07

Missing viewpoint/fact: The actual programme of the opposition parties (especially TISZA)

Relevance: The opposition is described exclusively as a "camp that is against something"; TISZA's anti-corruption, pro-EU, healthcare, and education programme does not appear at all

Effect: The viewer cannot get a picture of what the opposition offers as an alternative

Summary: The programme systematically omits all facts and viewpoints that would call the Fidesz-KDNP narrative into question; the omissions are not random but form a consistent pattern.

End of hard facts — Beginning of soft facts

Soft facts — debatable, not merely countable

The question of civic education and political culture is a genuine subject of public policy debate in Hungary: the educational system, the content of history teaching, the methods of patriotic education, and the influence of social media are all legitimate topics. However, these questions are deeply divisive: the conservative-national side emphasises the strengthening of patriotic sentiment, while the progressive-liberal side emphasises the development of critical thinking. In the context of the 2026 elections, the topic is particularly sensitive, as the question of "who is a good citizen" becomes a direct tool of political mobilisation. The foreign interference narrative is one of the most important campaign messages of Fidesz-KDNP, which the programme conveys without criticism.

Proportion of viewpoints covered

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

- [A] Position of opposition parties (TISZA, DK, Momentum) on civic education and political culture
- [B] Opinion of independent education researchers and teachers on the content of history teaching
- [C] Position of media researchers on the role of public service media in political socialisation
- [D] Viewpoint of civil organisations (e.g. teachers' unions, student organisations)
- [E] Critical analysis of the foreign interference narrative: what is evidence, what is propaganda?
- [F] Presentation of the funding and political affiliation of MCC and the Kommentár journal
- [G] Effect of Fidesz-KDNP media policy (KESMA, NMHH) on political socialisation
- [H] Balanced presentation of the assessment of Zelenskij (not only in a negative frame)
- [I] Critical examination of the concept of "anti-everything-ism": is there genuine substance to the opposition's criticism?
- [J] Objective presentation of the relationship between the European Union and Hungary (not only the "interference" narrative)

[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Not a single opposition representative or sympathiser spoke; opposition positions are known to us exclusively through the guests' interpretation.

[B] OMITTED

Timestamp: 01:20–03:55 — Quote: "Illik Péter sees it as a mistaken assumption that value-neutral history teaching exists." — Assessment: Only historians representing the national-conservative narrative speak; independent education researchers are absent.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The role of public service media in political socialisation is not discussed at all, even though MTVA itself is a socialisation agent.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Teachers' unions, student organisations, and parents' organisations do not feature at all.

[E] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 25:56–26:12 — Quote: "our country has become an operational area... we can see the fingerprints of the secret services on many things" — Assessment: The foreign interference narrative is presented without criticism and without evidence; no counter-perspective appears.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The state funding of MCC (hundreds of billions of forints of public money) and the affiliation of the Kommentár journal are not mentioned at all.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The KESMA media concentration and NMHH Fidesz control as a factor influencing political socialisation do not appear at all.

[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 07:03–10:05 — Quote: "an actor comes along, coming from a virtual television show programme" — Assessment: Zelenskij appears exclusively in a negative light, as a symbol of "reality show politics"; other aspects of the assessment of the Ukrainian president are absent.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: 11:01–11:19 — Quote: "several left-wing portals... what they constantly sell is discontent" — Assessment: The concept of "anti-everything-ism" is defined and applied by the guests; a substantive examination of the opposition's criticism is absent.

[J] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 22:44–24:11 — Quote: "the European Union represents a kind of technocratic leadership that is insensitive to what is happening in Europe" — Assessment: The EU appears exclusively in a negative frame; a pro-EU viewpoint is not voiced.

Completeness score: 2/10

Justification: Of the ten relevant viewpoints, only two appear partially (foreign interference and EU criticism), but even these appear exclusively within the frame corresponding to the Fidesz-KDNP narrative. The opposition parties,



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independent experts, civil organisations, and the media-critical perspective are entirely absent. The programme makes no effort to present the topic from multiple angles.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. DEFINITION OF INTERPRETIVE FRAME

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

1st finding:

Timestamp: 26:04–26:12

Quote: "our country has become an operational area, it is very unpleasant to say this, but we can see the fingerprints of the secret services on many things"

Manipulation: Framing the electoral competition as a "foreign secret service operational area"

Why problematic: This frame automatically qualifies opposition votes as serving foreign interests; it calls into question the legitimacy of democratic competition

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 27:43–27:51

Quote: "Orbán Viktor is an incredibly great obstacle for them and that is why every sacrifice in Europe"

Manipulation: Orbán Viktor is framed as the sole obstacle against foreign forces

Why problematic: This frame presents the election not as political competition but as a struggle of Hungary against foreign forces; the opposition voter automatically becomes a "servant of foreign interests"

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 13:27–13:54

Quote: "this anti-everything-ism, I did not misspeak, is a certain intellectual attitude... which was one of the most intrinsic essences of Hungarian liberal politics"

Manipulation: Critical thinking and opposition politics are framed as "liberal intellectual attitude", with a negative connotation

Why problematic: Criticism as such becomes suspect; the concept of "anti-everything-ism" becomes a frame that discredits the entirety of opposition expression

Summary: The programme applies three mutually reinforcing frames: (1) Hungary is the target of foreign forces, (2) Orbán Viktor is the sole protector, (3) opposition criticism is "anti-everything-ism". Together these form a closed narrative that is immune to criticism.



11. LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS								8/10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total score: 8/10

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

1st finding:

Timestamp: 09:02–09:09

Quote: "this grievance politics, this was the essence of Hungarian political culture, onto this was grafted this scandal politics, the anger-based politics"

Manipulation: The adjectives "grievance", "scandal", "anger-based" refer exclusively to opposition politics

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "critical politics", "protest politics" — the chosen words carry pejorative connotations

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 11:15

Quote: "the anti-everything-ism that the media sold"

Manipulation: The neologism "anti-everything-ism" condenses the entirety of opposition criticism into a single pejorative concept

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "critical media content", "opposition press" — the purpose of the neologism is discrediting

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 25:03–25:10

Quote: "head-held-high patriotism has become a wearable and followable form of conduct in Hungary as well"

Manipulation: "Head-held-high patriotism" is a positively connoted concept identified exclusively with the Fidesz-KDNP narrative

Why problematic: Implicit message: whoever does not share Fidesz-KDNP policy has their head bowed or is not patriotic

Summary: The language use is consistently asymmetric: opposition politics is described with pejorative neologisms (anti-everything-ism, grievance politics, anger-based politics), while the governmental narrative is framed with positively connoted concepts (head-held-high patriotism, national sovereignty, mission).



12. MODERATOR CONDUCT							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total 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 elicit an analogous intervention.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 07:50

Triggering event: Lánci András speaks about the "failure" of mass democracy

Quote (host): "But this, as you are saying it now, is this the failure of mass democracy?"

Comparison: Stumpf István at 27:43 claims that Orbán Viktor is an "incredibly great obstacle" to foreign forces —

Reaction: no follow-up question, no critical question

Asymmetry: The democracy critique is clarified with a follow-up question, but the unsubstantiated "foreign obstacle" claim is not challenged

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 26:23–26:42

Triggering event: Stumpf István speaks about the "fingerprints of the secret services" and "shaking the foundations of the Hungarian state"

Quote (host): "What do you think about this, that you were just talking about foreign interference in connection with 1918, that led to tragedy"

Comparison: The host does not ask for evidence, but reinforces the narrative by raising the historical parallel

Asymmetry: An unsubstantiated claim is not challenged but further reinforced

3rd finding:

Timestamp: 38:08–38:27

Triggering event: Recalling the 2018 NZZ article about the "lowest point" of the campaign

Quote (host): "We are in 2026. How do you assess it now?"

Comparison: The question is open and neutral — this is the only point where the host does not pre-confirm the guests' position

Asymmetry: Moderate — this question is relatively balanced

Summary: The host consistently reinforces the guests' narrative: does not challenge unsubstantiated claims, and instead of asking follow-up questions, further reinforces the "foreign interference" and "Orbán as obstacle" narrative. The only exception is the open question asked in connection with the 2018 NZZ article.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

6/10

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Total score: 6/10

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

1st asymmetry:

To Lánci András, 07:50: "But this, as you are saying it now, is this the failure of mass democracy?" — neutral/clarifying

To Stumpf István, 26:23: "What do you think about this, that you were just talking about foreign interference in connection with 1918, that led to tragedy" — confirmatory/leading

Comparison: A clarifying question is put to Lánci András; to Stumpf István, the host himself confirms the claim before posing the question

2nd asymmetry:

To Szalai Zoltán, 46:00: "What do you think about how we can lay good foundations for this after such a campaign?" — constructive/positive frame

To an opposition representative: receives no question — 0 questions

Comparison: Constructive, future-oriented questions are put to the guests; the opposition viewpoint receives no question at all, because there is no opposition guest

Summary: The question asymmetry is structural: since there are only pro-government guests, the questions cannot be symmetric by definition. The host tends to confirm rather than challenge the guests' claims.



14. FALSE BALANCE

5/10

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Total score: 5/10

Definition: Artificial balance despite actual inequality.

1st finding:

Timestamp: 05:02–06:42

Construction: The programme begins the discussion of political culture with parliamentary scandals from 1918, as if the current situation "has always been like this" — thereby relativising current problems

Analysis: The false balance here consists in the historical parallel suggesting "everyone has always been equally rough" — thereby making today's opposition protests (e.g. smoke grenades in parliament) and governmental measures (e.g. media concentration) appear equivalent

2nd finding:

Timestamp: 38:08–38:27

Construction: "In 2018, the Neuer Züricher Zeitung wrote... that Hungary had reached the lowest point of its elections so far... We are in 2026. How do you assess it now?"

Analysis: The question appears open and balanced, but the respondents are exclusively pro-government persons — the combination of "balanced question + one-sided respondents" creates false balance

Summary: False balance appears in two forms: (1) historical relativisation ("it has always been like this"), (2) apparently open questions to one-sided respondents. Together these create the impression that the programme is balanced, while it is structurally one-sided.



15. AGENDA SETTING

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

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

1st finding:

Agenda item: Foreign interference as a defining factor of Hungarian politics

Timestamp: 25:56 — Evidence: "our country has become an operational area"

Alternative agenda: The internal democratic deficit (KESMA, NMHH, judicial independence) as a factor in the deterioration of political culture

2nd finding:

Agenda item: The opposition = "anti-everything-ism" + foreign interests

Timestamp: 11:01–11:34 — Evidence: "several left-wing portals... what they constantly sell is discontent"

Alternative agenda: The actual programmes of the opposition parties and a critical assessment of governmental performance

3rd finding:

Agenda item: Orbán Viktor = the sole credible representative of national sovereignty

Timestamp: 33:28–33:50 — Evidence: "there is an alternative that Orbán Viktor also represents decisively... and it really seems that with his last strength he always talks about this"

Alternative agenda: A critical assessment of Fidesz-KDNP governmental performance (corruption, healthcare, education, brain drain)

Summary: The programme's agenda entirely mirrors the Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral narrative: foreign threat, Orbán as protector, opposition as a discredited force serving foreign interests. These agenda items appear as self-evident, without critical examination.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	9	Every guest is affiliated with a pro-government institution; no independent voice
2	Source selection	H	9	Exclusively sources reinforcing the governmental narrative; two unsubstantiated claims at the level of rumour
3	Time allocation	H	7	The opposition/alternative viewpoint receives 0% of speaking time
4	Omission	H	9	MCC funding, KESMA concentration, lack of evidence are systematically omitted
5	Number manipulation	H	5	In three instances, numbers without a source are presented as facts
6	Guilt by association	H	8	Opposition → foreign interests → 1918 betrayal of the homeland chain of association
7	Timing	H	8	Conscious narrative arc: national responsibility → Orbán as obstacle → identity strengthening
8	Selective outrage	H	7	Opposition campaign techniques receive criticism; similar Fidesz-KDNP techniques do not
9	Completeness	H	9	Opposition programmes, media criticism, and evidence are systematically absent
10	Framing	S	9	Three-layered closed narrative: foreign threat + Orbán as protector + opposition discredited
11	Language use	S	8	Asymmetric language use: opposition = pejorative neologisms; government = positive concepts
12	Moderator conduct	S	7	Confirmation of unsubstantiated claims; absence of critical follow-up questions
13	Question asymmetry	S	6	Structural asymmetry: symmetry is impossible in the absence of an opposition guest
14	False balance	S	5	Historical relativisation and apparently open questions to one-sided respondents
15	Agenda setting	S	9	The Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral narrative appears as self-evident

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 7.9 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 7.3 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 7.6 / 10

Dominant techniques



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- 1. Agenda setting (9/10):** The programme treats the Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral narrative (foreign interference, Orbán as obstacle, opposition as discredited force) as self-evident fact; none of the guests challenges these claims, and the host does not ask for evidence to support them.
- 2. Expert selection (9/10):** All four guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions (prime ministerial advisory board, MCC, Kommentár journal); the source deep analysis shows two RED and two YELLOW traffic lights; not a single independent, opposition, or critical voice speaks.
- 3. Framing (9/10):** The three-layered closed narrative (Hungary = target of foreign forces; Orbán = sole protector; opposition = anti-everything-ism + foreign interests) runs throughout the entire programme and serves a clear political mobilisation function in the context of election night.

The programme's messages

1. MESSAGE (SUBSTANTIVE): "The stakes of the 2026 election are not a simple change of government, but the preservation of Hungary's sovereignty against foreign forces."

Technique: Framing + agenda setting — Evidence: 26:04, 27:43, 29:36

2. MESSAGE (PERSONAL): "Orbán Viktor is the only politician who decisively represents national sovereignty and constitutes an obstacle to foreign forces."

Technique: Guilt by association + timing — Evidence: 27:43, 33:28, 36:39

3. MESSAGE (SOCIAL): "Opposition politics is a contentless, emotion-based, foreign-interest-serving 'anti-everything-ism' that has no positive programme."

Technique: Language use + selective omission — Evidence: 11:01, 39:54, 40:31

Manipulation level classification

Justification: The total score of 7.6/10 indicates systematic one-sidedness. The programme does not make random errors but applies a consistent pattern: exclusively pro-government guests, complete suppression of opposition programmes, treatment of unsubstantiated political claims as facts, and uncritical transmission of the Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral narrative. The obligation of information as prescribed by Section 83 of the Mttv. (current, objective, balanced) and the obligation to reflect diversity of opinion are seriously violated: the viewpoints of opposition parties do not appear at all, the guests' conflicts of interest are not disclosed, and the programme serves a clear political mobilisation function in the context of election night.

SUMMARY

The election night broadcast of Kommentárklub systematically violates the balance and objectivity requirements set out in Section 83 of the Mttv. All four guests are affiliated with the ideological circle of Fidesz-KDNP (prime ministerial advisory board, MCC, Kommentár journal), their conflicts of interest are not disclosed, and not a single opposition, independent, or critical voice speaks throughout the entire broadcast. The programme conveys the Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral narrative (foreign interference, Orbán as sovereignty protector, opposition as a discredited force serving foreign interests) as self-evident fact, while systematically suppressing the actual programmes of the opposition parties, the true picture of the media environment, and the evidence base for the political claims. In the context of election night, this content violates both the diversity of opinion requirement under Section 83(1)(c) of the Mttv. and the objectivity requirement under Section 83(2), and is capable of influencing voters in a one-sided manner.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

8.0/10

Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

7.3/10

Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation

TOTAL SCORE

7.7/10

Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation

Average of hard facts and soft facts



LEGEND — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

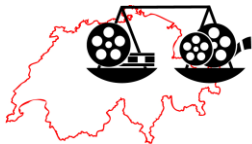
0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detectable.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor anomaly without significant effect on balance.
3–4	Mild-moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; low-moderate impact relevance.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the audience's opinion-forming potential.
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.

Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Imperceptible	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 threshold.
4.1 – 6.0	Significant imbalance	Multiple significant findings; relevant violation of viewpoint diversity.
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 underrepresented 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 overrepresented in framing, speaking time, or presentation.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL ASSESSMENT (Mttv. Section 83)

Assessment under Section 83 of the Mttv.

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

1st violation:

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

Facts: Throughout the entire duration of the programme, only guests affiliated with the ideological circle of Fidesz-KDNP speak; the viewpoints of the opposition parties (TISZA, DK, Momentum, Jobbik, LMP, MSZP) do not appear at all

Evidence: 04:17–04:34 — "My guests this evening are Láncki András... Stumpf István... Hegedű Zoltán... Szalai Zoltán, Director General of MCC" — all guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions

Assessment: The requirement of diversity of opinion is violated in its entirety; in the context of election night this is particularly serious, as the programme has a direct political mobilisation effect

2nd violation:

Norm: Mttv. Section 83(2) — objectivity

Facts: Unsubstantiated political claims (foreign secret service interference, "operational area", journalists boasting about receiving materials from foreign secret services) are presented as facts, without citing a source or evidence

Evidence: 26:04–26:12 — "our country has become an operational area... we can see the fingerprints of the secret services on many things"; 43:24–43:31 — "it is astounding that, say, a journalist boasts about Hungary that he receives materials about Hungarian politicians from how many foreign secret services"

Assessment: The objectivity requirement is violated: the transmission of unsubstantiated claims as facts, numbers without sources, and the suppression of the guests' conflicts of interest together are capable of misleading viewers

3rd violation:

Norm: Mttv. Section 83(1) — current and comprehensive information

Facts: In the discussion of civic education and political culture, the KESMA media concentration, NMHH Fidesz control, and MCC state funding as factors influencing political socialisation are systematically omitted

Evidence: 10:55–11:34 — "several left-wing portals... what they constantly sell is discontent" — the pro-government media dominance is not mentioned at all

Assessment: The requirement of comprehensive information is violated: the one-sided presentation of the media environment is capable of giving viewers a distorted picture of the real factors of political socialisation

Overall assessment under Section 83 of the Mttv.

The examined broadcast of Kommentárklub systematically violates the three basic requirements set out in Section 83 of the Mttv. — current, objective, and balanced information, and reflection of diversity of opinion. The violations are not isolated errors but form a consistent pattern: the choice of guests, source handling, language use, and agenda setting together convey the Fidesz-KDNP 2026 electoral narrative without criticism, while the viewpoints of the opposition parties, the guests' conflicts of interest, and the evidence base for the political claims are systematically absent. In the context of election night — when the programme is broadcast on polling day — the violations are particularly serious, as the content has a direct political mobilisation effect and is capable of influencing voters in a one-sided manner, in violation of the diversity of opinion requirement under Section 83(1)(c) of the Mttv. and the objectivity requirement under Section 83(2). Initiating proceedings within the competence of the NMHH Media Council may be warranted.

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



1. Mathias Corvinus Collegium (MCC)

1. FUNDING: In 2020, the National Assembly transferred by law the shares of Corvinus University and other state assets to the MCC foundation — with a total value of hundreds of billions of forints. The funding of MCC is entirely based on state/governmental decisions.

2. MANDATE: According to MCC's founding charter, its purpose is to spread "conservative values" and "national commitment" — this is not compatible with neutral education policy or political culture analysis.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The funding and institutional survival of MCC depend on governmental decisions of Fidesz-KDNP; MCC has a structural interest in reinforcing the governmental narrative.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct state funding dependency

D2 Personal risk: -2 — institutional risk in case of deviation from the governmental narrative

D3 Professional competence: +1 — experience in educational organisation

D4 Consistency: -1 — consistently pro-government narrative

D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 — more political value judgements, less data

D6 Source level: 0 — secondary

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

5. COUNTER-OPINION: MCC's education policy positions are disputed by numerous independent education researchers (e.g. Polónyi István, Hrubos Ildikó); these voices do not appear in the programme.

2. Kommentár journal (as the intellectual background of the programme)

1. FUNDING: The Kommentár journal is a conservative-national intellectual workshop affiliated with the Századvég Foundation; its funding is partly from state/pro-government sources.

2. MANDATE: An explicitly conservative-national political philosophy journal — not a neutral analytical platform.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The editors and authors of the journal (including the programme's guests) belong to the ideological circle of Fidesz-KDNP; they have a structural interest in reinforcing the governmental narrative.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — direct ideological affiliation

D2 Personal risk: -1 — moderate

D3 Professional competence: +1 — academic background in some authors

D4 Consistency: -1 — consistently pro-government

D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 — mixed

D6 Source level: 0 — secondary

TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-OPINION: The political-ideological position of the Kommentár journal is disputed by numerous independent political scientists and media scholars; these voices do not appear in the programme.

IMPORTANT: The labels "recognised" or "Széchenyi Prize-winning" are not professional qualifications. These are social recognitions, which are themselves subject to scrutiny — especially when the recognition came from politically motivated decision-makers.

Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Mathias Corvinus Collegium (MCC)	-2	-2	+1	-1	-1	0	-5	RED
Kommentár journal (as the intellectual background of the programme)	-2	-1	+1	-1	-1	0	-4	YELLOW

Legal and methodological classification



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

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 significant imbalance has been established — not that the editorial team 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)

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

Smtv. (Press Freedom Act 2010)

- Section 4: Freedom of the press and freedom of expression.
- Section 10: Separation of news and opinion.
- Section 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 operating under de facto state-aligned management.

Supervisory authority

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

Complaint procedure

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



ANNEX 2: ACADEMIC REFERENCES

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Schweizerischer Verein für ausgewogene Berichterstattung
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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 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 — promoting 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.

Those who do not understand this distribute 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.

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for everyone who is in the public eye and wants to understand how the game works. So they stop being talked into things — and start shaping them.

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 that 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.