



Sovereignty Protection Office against Átlátszó and Transparency International Hungary

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Disclaimer

Advertisements on social networks, funded by political actors and affiliated entities, play a significant role in shaping public debate in Central Europe. These ads often contain disinformation or hate speech targeting specific groups, including journalists. Political Capital partnered with the Slovak-based Ján Kuciak Investigative Centre (ICJK) to uncover and counter political actors spreading disinformation and hostile narratives through paid social media ads. As part of this collaboration, we conducted the case study below on the launch of Hungary's Sovereignty Protection Office.

Sovereignty Protection Office against Átlátszó and Transparency International Hungary

Based on its first year of operation, the Hungarian Sovereignty Protection Office appears to be positioned somewhere between a regulatory authority and a government propaganda tool. While it conducts investigations, requests data, and produces reports, its primary function seems to be amplifying government narratives and discrediting targeted organizations. In June 2024, the SPO set its sights on Transparency International Hungary and Átlátszó. Over time, it expanded its investigations to other civil organizations, but in the following, we will focus only on these two closely related cases.

Background

Government attacks on independent media in Hungary began shortly after Viktor Orbán's two-thirds victory in 2010. The new media law was passed by the end of 2010, resulting in the transformation of the public media into a government propaganda channel within 1-2 years. A media authority was also created, whose members were exclusively appointed by the ruling party (National Media and Infocommunications Authority, NMHH). In 2018, a massive foundation was established (Central European Press and Media Foundation, KESMA), which oversees no fewer than five hundred media outlets (printed and online newspapers, radio stations, TV channels, local newspapers).¹ Over the years, government-controlled media have become increasingly centralized. Government communication has also become more active on social media, spending large sums of money through various proxy organizations to reach voters who would not otherwise seek political content.²

The establishment of the Sovereignty Protection Office (SPO) in February 2024 marked a significant step forward, as it introduced something previously unimaginable. Although it lacks regulatory powers (e.g. it cannot impose fines), it is capable of harassing the independent press and civil organizations, under the pretext that they operate with foreign funding. Following the logic of the Russian "foreign agent" law, the SPO can label almost anyone as serving foreign interests, engaging in intelligence activities, or attempting to influence Hungarian domestic politics unlawfully. In its first year, the SPO fulfilled these expectations, targeting its first subjects with exactly these accusations: the investigative portal Átlátszó and the anti-corruption organization Transparency International Hungary (TI). While these organizations have not yet been fully disabled (for now), a serious smear campaign has been underway against them since June 2024. It is not excluded that if the Office gains more authority, it will be able to attack its perceived enemies more effectively than it has so far.

What is Sovereignty Protection Office?

At the end of 2023, the Hungarian National Assembly adopted the so-called Sovereignty Protection Act, which also established the Sovereignty Protection Office (SPO). The SPO, which began its operations in February 2024, is tasked with analyzing "the implementation of national sovereignty" based on

¹ Mérték Media Monitor: *Media Landscape After a Long Storm – The Hungarian Media Politics Since 2010*, 2021, https://mertek.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/MertekFuzetek25.pdf

² Political Capital, Mérték Media Monitor, Lakmusz: *Fidesz & Co. flooded social media with anti-Western hostile disinformation in Hungary's election campaign, reaching EU spending records,* June, 2024, https://politicalcapital.hu/pc-

admin/source/documents/Uncovering analyzing debunking and researching sponsored disinfo projec t_summary_2024.pdf

investigation. It can request data, write reports, and make recommendations regarding the operations of organizations that, in its view, threaten Hungary's sovereignty.

There is no recourse against the Office's investigation or reports, meaning that the individuals or organizations under investigation cannot do anything if they disagree with the findings of the SPO's report.

However, legally speaking, the fact that the SPO begins an investigation does not imply anything, as it cannot impose penalties.

According to the Hungarian opposition, independent media, civil organizations, and the Council of Europe's human rights commissioner, the SPO poses a severe risk to civil and political rights, democracy, and social dialogue in Hungary. The European Commission has launched an infringement procedure against the Hungarian state due to the Sovereignty Protection Act.

Based on its one-year operation, it is clear that the government's aim with the Sovereignty Protection Act was to elevate its campaign against free press and civil society to a higher level. The office has not taken any steps against Russian or Chinese influence, but it seeks to silence government-critical voices.

The SPO as the fist of power

Just like in Slovakia, it is a well-known phenomenon in Hungary that those in power severely divide media actors, just like other social groups. The government side typically refuses to allow representatives of the independent or opposition media to attend its events and press conferences. The government sees independent voices as enemies, often equating them with opposition parties or various public enemies, such as George Soros. Nowadays, "representing Brussels' interests" is also a frequent accusation leveled against perceived enemies. However, the government maintains cordial relations with media outlets and journalists loyal to it, who do not ask uncomfortable questions.

Public discourse has been increasingly polarized for years, but the establishment of the SPO marked a significant step forward, even in this context. The existence of an office that can investigate an editorial office or a civil organization, even if it does not have particularly strong instruments in its hands, creates a sense of threat, as these official harassments consume many resources and psychologically burden the employees of the targeted organizations.

In an authoritarian system, uncertainty must be constantly maintained; the perceived enemies must feel that the government can always take unexpected actions, and anything that seemed unimaginable a day before could happen. No one could have expected the establishment of the SPO a few years ago, and even after its creation, it was unclear for a long time what steps could be expected from it and how much it should be feared. Based on its one-year activity, it can be stated that it lies somewhere halfway between an authority and a government propaganda channel: it investigates, requests data, writes reports, but more importantly, it content it provides amplifies government messages and discredits organizations that fall into its crosshairs. In June 2024, the SPO began attacking TI and Átlátszó.

Why Átlátszó?

The well-known investigative portal has uncovered numerous corruption cases over the past one and a half decades, many of which led to reports being filed and unfavorable rulings for those in power. It has always been evident that Átlátszó was a thorn in the side of the government, but the SPO stepped on its sore spot within the months following its establishment.

A few additional precedents that may have drawn the SPO's attention to Átlátszó

- On December 1, 2023, more than 100 civil organizations, including Átlátszó, issued a joint statement protesting the submission of the Sovereignty Protection Act and called on the government to cease stigmatizing and intimidating active citizens involved in public affairs.³
- On December 13, 2023, together with several other newspapers, Átlátszó wrote that "although
 the recently adopted Sovereignty Protection Act does not explicitly regulate the operations of
 media companies, it is still capable of severely restricting press freedom, making it more
 difficult, or even impossible, for independent editorial offices, journalists, and media
 companies to carry out their work.".4

In mid-May 2024, it leaked out that the SPO had approached several institutions in order to request data. The Hungarian Bar Association (MÜK) was also contacted: they were asked for their consent to allow lawyers to report to the Office if they observed behavior violating the Sovereignty Protection Act. In other words, the SPO initiated the partial lifting of lawyer-client confidentiality, but the Bar Association refused to comply. Átlátszó attempted to obtain the documents of the agreements and preliminary correspondence through a public interest data request, which the SPO denied. Átlátszó then filed a lawsuit to make the data public. This was likely the action that caused the investigative portal to incur the wrath of the newly established Office.

Moreover, the Budapest Court quickly made a ruling: according to its 16 July decision, the SPO was required to release the documents requested by Átlátszó. These documents revealed that the Hungarian National Bank (MNB), the National Tax and Customs Administration (NAV), the National Authority for Data Protection and Freedom of Information (NAIH), and the NMHH had responded positively to the SPO's data collection request, while the Hungarian Chamber of Auditors and the MÜK had refused, citing confidentiality obligations. In its statement, the MNB wrote that in the spring "the SPO president initiated cooperation with the central bank, but this did not materialize." Later, the NAIH also denied cooperating with the SPO. According to the documents, the SPO sought account statements from private individuals' bank accounts, but did not receive them. This was highly embarrassing for the SPO.

Investigation starts against Átlátszó and TI

On 25 June, 2024 SPO initiated a comprehensive investigation against TI and Átlátszó, focusing on the use of foreign funding, marking them as the first targets of the office.

The SPO informed Átlátszó that it had begun investigating its operations, as it is suspected of engaging in activities aimed at influencing voters' will through the use of foreign funding. As part of the

³ Joint Statement of Civil Organizations on the Sovereignty Protection Act, 1 December 2023, https://atlatszo.hu/kozugy/2023/12/01/civil-szervezetek-kozos-kozlemenye-a-szuverenitasvedelmitorveny-ugyeben/

⁴ Átlátszó, Magyar Narancs, Magyar Hang, Partizán, Telex, Direkt36, 444, Qubit, Válasz Online, Lakmusz: The "Sovereignty Protection Office" is harmful and anti-rule of law, yet it should not be able to intimidate the independent media, 13 December, 2023, https://atlatszo.hu/kozugy/2023/12/13/a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatal-kartekony-es-jogallamellenes-megsem-felemlitheti-meg-a-fuggetlen-mediat/

⁵ Átlátszó: We are suing for the contracts of the institutions collaborating with the Sovereignty Protection Office, 5 June, 2024, https://atlatszo.hu/kozadat/2024/06/05/perelunk-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatallal-kollaboralo-intezmenyek-szerzodeseiert/

investigation, Átlátszó received 11 questions: some of these were related to publicly available data (such as company contracts, financial reports), others requested accounting information (such as general ledger extracts), and a third group of questions concerned foreign donations received. At the same time, a similar investigation was launched against TI, and they were sent a list of 62 questions. ⁶

According to the government narrative, these organizations, using foreign support, interfere in Hungarian domestic political processes, deceive voters, represent foreign interests, and eventually, Átlátszó was even accused of conducting intelligence activities.

Government-controlled media outlets echoed the SPO's narrative in their reports on the developments and shared related news on their social media platforms.

Reactions to the investigation

TI called the Office's procedure unfounded and even deemed the Sovereignty Protection Act, which established the SPO, unconstitutional. However, as an organization committed to transparency, they indicated that they would respond to the questions within the given time frame, although according to their statement, most of the answers are already available on their website. TI also announced that they would file a constitutional complaint to the Constitutional Court. In the complaint, they argued that there is no judicial or other legal remedy available against the SPO's actions and findings, which violates fundamental rights related to effective legal remedy and fair proceedings.⁷

Átlátszó, however, determined that they had no obligation to respond to the Office. "Activities aimed at influencing voters' will" refer to campaign activities carried out in party-political or local government matters, and Átlátszó does not engage in such activities. Therefore, Átlátszó decided to share only information with the Office that they would provide to any other requestor. ⁸

Both organizations believed that although the SPO was targeting them first, as they had clearly caught the government's eye, other independent media outlets and NGOs would also eventually be targeted. Undoubtedly, later, the SPO's harassment reached other civil organizations, including the Ökotárs Foundation, which supports the civil sector with grants, capacity building, mentoring, and advisory services.

⁶ Átlátszó: *The Sovereignty Protection Office has initiated an investigation against Átlátszó*, 25 June, 2024, https://atlatszo.hu/kozugy/2024/06/25/vizsgalatot-inditott-az-atlatszo-ellen-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatal/

⁷ Magyar Hang: *The Sovereignty Protection Office has initiated proceedings against Transparency International*, 25 June, 2024, https://hang.hu/belfold/alkotmanyossagi-panaszt-tesznek-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatal-ellen-165229

⁸ Átlátszó: We are neither a political party nor a nominating organization, and we do not exercise public authority, which is why we do not cooperate with the Sovereignty Protection Office, 8 July, 2024, https://atlatszo.hu/kozugy/2024/07/08/se-politikai-part-se-jelolo-szervezet-nem-vagyunk-kozhatalmat-sem-gyakorlunk-ezert-nem-mukodunk-egyutt-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatallal/

The reports completed in October confirmed the darkest expectations

On 14 October, 2024, the SPO made its report on Transparency International public⁹, and exactly two weeks later, it did the same for Átlátszó.¹⁰

The documents confirmed the darkest expectations: TI was labeled as a political pressure group, and according to the report, it operates in Hungary as part of a global lobbying network. Átlátszó was similarly accused, with even intelligence activities being attributed to them.

The report itself does not require any further qualification; the quotes speak for themselves.

Quotes from the inquiry reports

TI:

- "The review of the funding, activities and network of connections of the Transparency International Hungary Foundation (hereinafter: TIH; organisation) confirms that the organisation under inquiry pursues its activity to exert political pressure as part of a global lobbying network that has been operating for more than thirty years, and for the interests of the great powers behind the network."
- "the concepts of "transparency" and "anticorruption", which are thematised by the international network behind the organisation, are not ultimately intended to promote fairness in public life and even competition between market participants, but are weapons of the enforcement of US economic and political interests."

Átlátszó:

- "An overview of Átlátszó's funding, activities and network of connections confirms that the
 organisation under inquiry is a member of an international network built in accordance with
 the new US doctrine of national security and foreign influence acquisition formulated in the
 1980s, which represents US interests against those of the target country (in this case Hungary)
 all over the world."
- "Átlátszó operates in line with foreign interest and with foreign state funding. The description of the background and operation of the network also provides an answer as to why the "fight against corruption" has become the main tool of economic and political intervention of the United States of America. It also shows the role of the organisation under inquiry in the network."
- "Átlátszó works to influence public and social decision-making processes."
- "As a member of the foreign influence network maintained by the United States of America, Átlátszó not only uses the documents obtained in the course of its thousands of requests for public interest data and investigative journalistic activities to write its articles, but also uploads

⁹ Sovereignty Protection Office: The impact of Transparency International Hungary's activities on Hungarian sovereignty – Inquiry report, 14 October, 2024,

https://szuverenitasvedelmihivatal.hu/dokumentumok/The-impact-of-Transparency-International-Hungarys-activities-on-Hungarian-sovereignty.pdf

¹⁰ Sovereignty Protection Office: *The impact of Átlátszó's activities on Hungarian sovereignty – Inquiry report*, 28 October, 2024, https://szuverenitasvedelmihivatal.hu/dokumentumok/the-impact-of-atlatszos-activities-on-hungarian-sovereignty.pdf

more than 9,000 documents to the server of the network's US central organisation, providing the foreign party with ammunition for its intelligence and influence activities."

Átlátszó sues SPO

Átlátszó quickly responded to the accusations made by the SPO. Tamás Bodoky, the editor-in-chief of the portal, rejected the claims that they were engaging in intelligence activities. He did not deny that part of their revenue comes from international donors, as this has always been available on Átlátszó's website.

A few days later, on 4 November, 2024, Átlátszó filed a personal rights lawsuit against the SPO, rejecting the claims made in the Office's report as unfounded and largely false.

Átlátszó also rejected the accusations by the SPO, which claimed that the portal's activities posed a threat to Hungary's sovereignty, deeming the findings of the report groundless and false.¹¹

On 22 January, 2025, Átlátszó published a detailed statement outlining the points in the SPO report that they believe do not align with the truth. This publication also forms the basis of their legal claim.¹²

Constitutional Court rejects TI's complaint

On 15 November, 2024, the Constitutional Court rejected TI's constitutional complaint. ¹³ The Court determined that since the SPO does not have authoritative powers, its activities do not restrict freedom of expression.

Although the complaint was dismissed, the decision offered some help to the challenged organizations: the Constitutional Court stated that the SPO does not qualify as an authority, meaning that cooperation with them can essentially be refused without consequences.

TI also announced that, following the decision, they would turn to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

Supportive reactions from third parties

 The Hungarian Journalists' Association (MÚOSZ) issued a statement criticizing the SPO's proceedings against Átlátszó and called for their suspension. The SPO responded by stating that they do not intend to influence the work of editorial offices.

¹¹ Átlátszó: We are suing the Sovereignty Protection Office, 4 November, 2024, https://atlatszo.hu/impakt/2024/11/04/bepereljuk-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatalt/

¹² Átlátszó: Here is the lawsuit; we have filed it against the Sovereignty Protection Office for these reasons, 22 January, 2024, https://atlatszo.hu/impakt/2025/01/22/itt-a-birosagi-kereset-ezekert-inditottunk-pert-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatal-ellen/

¹³ The Constitutional Court of Hungary: *20/2024. (XI. 28.) CC ruling,* 15 November, 2024, https://alkotmanybirosag.hu/ugyadatlap/?id=57838AD2B57B9BF0C1258B5500449DB1

- The U.S. Embassy released a press statement expressing concern over the SPO's activities.¹⁴
 Ambassador David Pressman repeatedly spoke out on the issue, strongly condemning the harassment of the free press. Later, the U.S. State Department also issued a similar statement.¹⁵
- A statement was issued by the nine non-governmental representatives of the Anti-Corruption Working Group (KEMCS), which operates alongside the Integrity Authority, expressing their solidarity.
- Márton Tompos, president of the Momentum party, unfurled a banner in front of the SPO's headquarters. The politician was responding to the office's continuous harassment of independent media. The party organized the action because they believe that "few institutions in Orbán's Hungary symbolize the return of Soviet-era policies more than the Sovereignty Protection Office led by Tamás Lánczi." 16
- Seven independent media outlets (Direkt36, Forbes, 444, Lakmusz, Magyar Hang, Magyar Narancs, and Partizán) jointly stood up for Átlátszó, which had been targeted by the SPO, as well as for journalists carrying out genuine public service work. "The Sovereignty Protection Office's statements about Átlátszó and the media in general reject the fundamental values of democratic public discourse," read the editorial statement. 17

Ads on Meta

Government-controlled media has a very strong reach in Hungary, which would not be possible without a powerful presence on social media. The government's communication spends huge amounts of money on Meta advertisements, carefully selecting which content to boost with ads. It may be surprising, but the SPO's activities attacking civil society and independent media were not supported by paid Meta advertisements for a long time.

One reason for this could be that most of the resources were spent on attacks against a new opposition figure who appeared in 2024, Péter Magyar. The new politician who broke away from the government's inner circle was difficult to accuse of representing foreign interests in Hungary, so for a long time, the government used very different narratives against him. However, by the fall, one of the most frequently repeated accusations against him was that he represented Brussels' interests and that he was Manfred Weber's puppet.

Whether there is a connection or not, but the SPO only started advertising on Meta in the second half of December 2024. Most of the 15 advertisements were specifically targeting Átlátszó and the NGOs labeled as part of the "Soros network" (e.g. TI, Ökotárs). By 24 January, 2025, they had spent HUF 3,030,000 (EUR 7,400) on these ads.

¹⁴ US Embassy In Hungary: *The implementation of the "Law on the Protection of National Sovereignty" in Hungary*, 27 June, 2024, https://hu.usembassy.gov/hu/news-hungarys-implementation-of-the-defense-of-national-sovereignty-act/

¹⁵ Political Capital: *Keynote Speech by Ambassador David Pressman,* 26 September, 2024, https://politicalcapital.hu/kereses.php?article_read=1&article_id=3434

¹⁶ Átlátszó: "The government doesn't want you to read this article!" – Momentum's protest at the Sovereignty Protection Office, 24 September, 2024, https://atlatszo.hu/impakt/2024/09/24/a-kormany-nem-akarja-hogy-elolvasd-ezt-a-cikket-akciozott-a-momentum-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatalnal/

¹⁷ Magyar Narancs, Forbes, Partizán, Magyar Hang, Direkt36, 444, Lakmusz: *We stand for independent journalism*, 21 November, 2024, https://www.direkt36.hu/kiallunk-a-fuggetlen-ujsagirasert/

At the same time, advertisements also started appearing on the Facebook page of Tamás Lánczi, the head of the SPO, and these ads were also financed by the Office. By 24 January, 2025, 12 ads had run, with a total value of HUF 2,510,000 (EUR 6,140). All paid content reinforces the same well-known narrative: the targeted NGOs and media outlets, by representing foreign interests, are attacking Hungary's sovereignty.¹⁸

3+1 ads that specifically target Átlátszó

 Tamás Lánczi, the president of the SPO, spoke in a television program about the need to draw a clear line between genuine civil organizations and political pressure groups such as Ökotárs, TI, and Átlátszó. The 50-second video was advertised between 19 and 31 December, 2024.



Link:

https://www.facebook.com/ads/library/?active_status=active&ad_type=all&country=HU&id=10_12382030650619&is_targeted_country=false&media_type=all&search_type=page&view_all_page_id=110679391464060_

Amount spent: HUF 90 - 100K

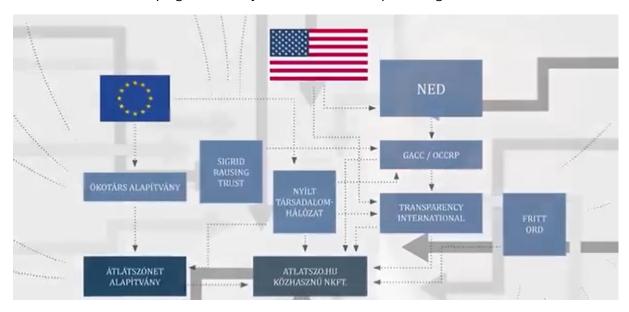
Impressions: 200 - 250K

2. "Átlátszó systematically misuses data of public interest, and its intelligence and disinformation activities seriously violate Hungary's sovereignty." – states the SPO's one-and-a-half-minute video, in which Átlátszó is classified as a national security risk. The

¹⁸ The two Facebook pages were displaying advertisements at the time of writing the current analysis, so the amounts spent on these ads have since increased. The aggregated data for the past 90 days can be viewed in the Meta Ad Library:

https://www.facebook.com/ads/library/report/?country=HU&source=spend-tracker_link&campaign_tracker_page_ids%5b0%5d=184248158113301&campaign_tracker_page_ids%5b1%5d=110679391464060&campaign_tracker_time_preset=last_90_days

Facebook post highlights the main message in both Hungarian and English, signaling that the smear campaign is not only aimed at domestic political gain.



Link:

https://www.facebook.com/ads/library/?active_status=active&ad_type=all&country=HU&id=11 46098196931406&is_targeted_country=false&media_type=all&search_type=page&view_all_pag e_id=184248158113301

Amount spent: HUF125 - 150K

Impressions: 300 - 350K

3. A new promoted video, which details in 2 minutes and 40 seconds the damage that, according to the SPO, Átlátszó's intelligence activities are causing to Hungary. The highlighted text in the Facebook post is again bilingual.



Link:

https://www.facebook.com/ads/library/?active_status=active&ad_type=all&country=HU&id=62 2254476899243&is_targeted_country=false&media_type=all&search_type=page&view_all_page_id=184248158113301

Amount spent: HUF 125 - 150K

Impressions: 250 - 300K

+1: On 26 January, 2025, Gábor Kubatov, the party director of Fidesz, wrote in a paid advertisement that the outgoing American ambassador had, for the last time, donated a larger sum to the "Soros media," including Átlátszó. The government side often, as in this post, sarcastically refers to any platform independent of them as "independent-objective" press. With this, they imply that independence or objectivity are mere false labels and that, in their view, even the independent press is controlled. This single paid advertisement alone proves that SPO is just a channel of attacks against the independent press and civil society. In reality, it is a phenomenon directed from the party headquarters.

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Link:

https://www.facebook.com/ads/library/?active_status=active&ad_type=all&country=HU&id=12 99366501183821&is_targeted_country=false&media_type=all&search_type=page&view_all_pag e_id=267882727864

Amount spent: HUF 20 - 25K

Impressions: 15K - 20K

Obscure prospects

The establishment and operation of the SPO is just one stage in Hungary's process of democratic backsliding. Of course, the country is far from Russia, but it is clear that developments in Hungary are following the pattern known from there. In 2016, civil organizations were first required to label themselves as "foreign-funded organizations"; today, we have reached the point where any civil organization that has ever accepted foreign funding can expect harassment and smear campaigns from the SPO.

As discussed, the nature of the regime necessitates continuous escalation of pressure. There are always new ideas: 1. In the summer of 2024, Tamás Lánczi spoke about the emergence of a "sovereignty gray zone" in which organizations that are neither states nor EU bodies operate freely, calling themselves media or civil organizations but actually functioning as political pressure groups. According to the SPO president, a new category should be created under the name "political pressure group." 2. Another proposal that has been raised would regulate independent media by banning the dissemination of "war propaganda." It is unclear what exactly would qualify as war propaganda, but any media outlet accused of spreading it could face legal consequences.

It is more likely that neither of these specific ideas will come to fruition than that they will. However, what is evident is that the system is incapable of self-correction; further radicalization is inevitable, though its pace remains uncertain.

Historian Krisztián Ungváry also warns against underestimating the dangers posed by the SPO. In a recent interview with Átlátszó, he stated: "The threat posed by the Sovereignty Protection Office – both to Hungary's sovereignty and to fundamental human rights – is immeasurably great; it is a matter of life and death. At present, it is a toothless lion, but the moment it is granted law enforcement powers, it will no longer be. The moment an office gains the authority to determine which public figures' political opinions constitute a counterintelligence issue, we will have arrived in Putin's Russia." ²⁰

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¹⁹ 444: Tamás Lánczi believes that a new category should be created under the name "political pressure organization", 26 July, 2024, https://444.hu/2024/07/26/lanczi-tamas-szerint-jo-letre-kell-hozni-egy-uj-kategoriat-politikai-nyomasgyakorlo-szerv-neven?utm_source=Facebook&utm_medium=444

²⁰ Átlátszó: The operation of the Sovereignty Protection Office follows the Russian model and serves the interests of the regime, 6 January, 2025, https://atlatszo.hu/kozugy/2025/01/06/orosz-mintat-kovet-rezsimerdeket-szolgal-a-szuverenitasvedelmi-hivatal-mukodese/