

Theses of doctoral dissertation (PhD)

International Representations and the National Defense in  
Audiovisual Newsreel Services During the Horthy Era



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## 1. Background, objectives and outline of the dissertation

The most important feature of the doctoral dissertation is that the main source corpus consists of Hungarian and English film newsreels of the Horthy era. The importance of this type of audiovisual source, which has received relatively little attention in Hungarian historiography, lies in the fact that, in addition to written documents, it contributes to a more thorough understanding of the period.

The genre boundaries of the essay are outlined in the history of media, communication and information. The object of its research is not to explore the materially tangible past, but to understand the paradigms of thought according to which content producers who once lived in the present operated their institutions. In this way, audiovisual traces of the past can be seen as intellectual products whose perceptions correspond to the cognitive worldview represented by their makers.

The media itself is an integral part of society, of the medium that brings it into being and makes it work. The interaction between the media institution and the audience is transactional at the micro level, but can be considered interactive at the macro level. The reciprocal relationship arises from the fact that the objects of media content, the techniques of its representation and the tendencies of all these can only be conveyed by producers to their audiences if the content is comprehensible and receptive. Therefore, the study of a media product allows us to draw conclusions not only about the producers but also about the society that produced it.

The thesis was submitted in 2025, preceded by seven years of research and preparation. The MA thesis, submitted in 2020, entitled "The Hungarian World Newsreel in the Second World War", was limited to the World War II period and focused exclusively on the audiovisual products of the Hungarian Film Office (hereinafter: HFO). The doctoral dissertation, however,

covers the entire period of the Horthy era, and has processed all the surviving Hungarian film newsreel documents. It also examines the Hungarian aspects of British newsreel from an international perspective, during the same period.

The research approached audiovisual news from two perspectives. Firstly, it looks at external relations from the perspective of Budapest in relation to the global direction, and then turns the focus back to Hungary from the perspective of London. In order to gain certainty on the methods and tools used, the foreign relations theme is followed by an analysis of the representation of a society preparing for war and at war.

As outlined above, the main commitment of the thesis can be summarised as follows:

The author has set himself the goal of uncovering the documents of Hungarian audiovisual news coverage from a period of just over two decades in the past. In doing so, he pays particular attention to the methodological tools that made the moving news footage interpretable in the course of the research. In order to make the methodology used useful for future researchers, the procedures and challenges of the studies are also included in the core material. This is relevant because many historiographical works 'only' report results, in which they include source references as a starting point. However, the way it got there is missing. In the present case, this methodological approach is also unavoidable because the documents in the audiovisual source group do not have an extensive historiographical literature. Last but not least, since the appearance of the moving images, their number has increased exponentially, and therefore audiovisual sources are of great value for future historians' research on our present.

## 2. Methods used in the dissertation

The main methodological tool used in this thesis is quantitative content analysis, which can be applied to provide scientific and factual support for historical research. A number of diagrams and tables help to illustrate these findings. A number of methodological tools and theories are used to help ask and answer specific questions. The thesis follows a multidisciplinary approach.

The research keeps in mind the constructivist paradigm borrowed from media studies, which does not consider the structure of the whole reality to be knowable. However, the author's understanding is that the partial realities of the network-based structure can be known. It is also the expectation of the members of society that historians should be able to comment on the past, without separating the present or the future from the historian, even though the past is not fully known. In response to this challenge, the historian – or, more correctly, the historian today – must use all available knowledge and approaches to provide as accurate a picture and context as possible of a structure that is unknowable in its entirety.

As a theoretical foundation, we need to understand the role of media, the types of communication, the properties of information and the network arrangement. From our external relations theme, we link to globalisation at several points, to which we add the chronology of change in space. For example, what happened in ancient Rome had no informational value for people living on the South American continent. However, transport technology, the commercial economy and the media have all brought people closer together. While we can experience the world through travel, we can also see the world beyond our own horizons through the media.

Not everything has a global impact, of course. Media content can also tell us how open a society is to the world. And the content can build, or in other cases reshape, the audience's worldview.

The images shown can influence the audience's readiness, whether the subject is economic, financial, technological, cultural or political. Its mechanism of action is that it can reinforce unpreparedness in a similar way.

In addition to the worldview-image, several other concepts are also used in the essay. Among them is W. J. Mitchell's concept of the visual history of the pictorial turn. In the case of audiovisual sources, we can say that the first is the image (pictures), which refers to the virtual, material and symbolic entity that is visible. The second is the image, which derives from the virtual part of the previous concept and signifies what the visuality seen stands for in reality.

Our next method starts from the composition of the visual world of the moving image. The representational subject is taken according to some compositional principle in four-dimensional reality - three spaces and one time - resulting in a two-dimensional flat surface image on the screen in a different time dimension. Since the main content can be made to order, the compositions can also reveal the action that is taking place in the background, which can often reveal more than the main subject itself.

### 3. Summary of new scientific findings in the thesis

The theses highlights the research potential of audiovisual sources. In practice, it presents the methods and interpretative possibilities that can be used for their study, and contributes to the interpretation of the history of Horthy-era Hungary with the information extracted from the main source corpus. The following is a summary of the results of the steps taken so far. Only the results of the steps taken so far, since not all the information from the film newsreels has been uncovered yet. The methodological successes will be mentioned only tangentially here, as they have already been summarised in the previous chapter.

As a theoretical basis, we summarise that the **audiovisual source** decontextualises a media event and then recontextualises it for the audience through a transactive communication channel capable of carrying the moving image. In doing so, it constructs an existent reality that is connected, sometimes to a lesser and sometimes to a greater extent, to the unknowable totality of the primary reality structure. In turn, certain information in the media content constitutes in the subject a certain degree of alternative experience, thereby constructing his cognitive worldview.

Media content is both a creator and a shaper of its own reality structure, which is part of society as a whole. Its content is an intellectual product, so its study contributes to the understanding of the images of the world of thought, the worldview that constitutes cognitive history. Its content is not independent of reality, so the effect of the window in space and time is also linked to the cultural and cognitive knowledge of the audience. This gives a sense of authenticity to what is seen. So the media convey something that is believable, acceptable and knowable. All this is done with templates and pedagogical methods that can be adopted by the members of the masses. Bearing in mind that the media

influence supply, in more extreme situations they also create demand.

From the above, we can clearly infer the worldview portrayed by each medium. In addition, we can also infer the interpretations of certain groups of viewers in the crowd, with similar characteristics, which can be controlled by the ego documents of the individual members of the group.

The dissertation uses and defines several **concepts**. Such concepts of a quantitative nature include representational value, representational tendency and representational dominance.

In addition, several qualitative type concepts have been defined. These include representational theme, representational coherence, representational context, representational orientation, representational focus and representational motif.

Due to space constraints, the explanations of the concepts are given in the thesis.

HFO can be seen as a **complementary media player** in the era. This was due to the fact that it could not keep up with current affairs, as it never had the resources to present film news nationally at the same time or with minimal delay. Many more cinemas played newsreels older than a month than more recent newsreels. In contrast, the print press was able to provide news with a delay of 1-2 days, even to remote rural locations. And radio was "live" within broadcasting distance.

The essay used archival sources to identify the number of copies published during the period and the timing of their distribution.

The archival material also shows that although the proportion of "state" ownership declined proportionately over time, the senior figures who owned the shares were in themselves a guarantee that the film news media would be supporters of government policy.

Despite the above, the leading members (especially Miklós Kozma) considered themselves independent. The comparison with British newsreel showed that the Hungarian news services did not understand the term "independence" in the same way as their British counterparts. Although the HFO's newsreels were popular, they did not dare to attempt to maintain themselves based on the market sector. It was only thanks to strong state intervention that it was able to develop. They were able to maintain this good relationship with the government administration throughout, which shows the loyalty of HFO to the Horthy regime.

As a sub-result of his research, the author highlights the importance of collecting audiovisual historical sources. At the same time, he outlines a theoretical data sheet for a possible **archive** that could facilitate the work of researchers.

This is important because an increasing number of such sources are being produced, which are no longer feasible for the researcher to process. Therefore, the creation of well-managed databases is necessary. Increasing the collection capacity of the digital archive would also be a priority.

The newsreels of the Horthy era can basically be divided into **three major periods**. However, this is not a universal law, so they can and do vary slightly from country to country. This is the case of the Soviet Union, for example, or Italy. In general, however, the decisive factor is that the boundary between the first and second periods was marked by the switch from the "Magyar Híradó" to the "Magyar Világhíradó". The transition between the second and the third period was changed by the outbreak of the World War II.

The first period was dominated by local news, the second by foreign news. The third by local news and news from HFO war correspondent working abroad and foreign news from restricted exchanges.

The above three major periods can be further broken down into smaller sections according to representational orientations. The eight sections thus formed already have their own characteristic foci and images.

1. First, the political **image of Austrian nostalgia** crossed the newsreel. Also prominent were the Western democracies and the United States of America as a global power across the ocean.
2. The second section was from the "friendly" contract of the Italian to the switchover to world news. The most important motif was the **image of the Italian fascist friend**.
3. The next one will be the first two years after the switchover to the world newsreel. This is when German news became dominant and the **German role** began to be embedded in the cognitive space of the audience.
4. The Negyedi period can be counted from the beginning of German policy, which led to the disintegration of the Paris Peace Accords, until the outbreak of the world war. It focused on the **German-Austrian-Italian axis**. The images depicted were dominated by Italian fascism and sport, as well as German political life, science and sport. By this time, German politics had become firmly embedded in the world view of the receptive public.
5. The next phase began with the outbreak of the World War and the entry of Hungary into the war. At this point, **images of German-Italian engagement** are seen in the newsreels, with the exclusion of the Western powers. The main motif in this period is that the Germans, Italians and to a lesser extent the Finns fought their enemies.
6. The sixth phase lasted from the entry into the war until the image of defeat appeared. In addition to the German-Italian orientation, the **image of the Bolshevik enemy**

appeared as a new element. Alongside the Soviet Union, representations of neutral countries also appeared.

7. The new turn in information policy was brought about by the Axis defeats in the winter of 1942/43, one episode of which was the destruction of the 2nd Hungarian Army on the Don River. In this period, the image of the **Bolshevik enemy** was dominant, and the **images of neutral countries** as war-free and peaceful were the dominant ones.
8. The eighth and final phase began when Hungary became a theatre of operations, and lasted until the last newsreel was completed. This was the time when the image of the **Bolshevik enemy** was most prominent, and the **image of the German ally** was again in the foreground. A typical motif was the depiction of sacrifice and the call for it. The **image of the Anglo-Saxon enemy** appeared exclusively in this phase.

The shifts in the above period can be linked to a **turn in information policy**. Their internal motivation, with the exception of the last one, is to follow the rationality of revision. And in the last, its irrationality, and the cognitive brake and barrier in which no peace could be made with the Soviet Union as the Bolshevik enemy.

The representation of film news did not follow the changes in European (or world) foreign policy. It changed its representational focus only when they were in its own interest. More specifically, it made changes that it believed served the interests of Budapest. In their communication, however, we can observe the peculiar propaganda phenomenon of mixing the idea of independence with political servicing. This was demonstrated by the fact that the content producers systematically avoided European events that could have supported the spread of the extreme right.

The changes in information policy can be observed more in their tendency and their relative proportions than in specific phrases or memoranda used during the period.

The Hungarian newsreel delivered images from almost all over the world to its audience. Given Hungary's geographical position, it is obvious that countries close to it have a greater impact than those further away. But this statement is wrong for the Horthy era! At that time, the countries that had an impact on Hungary were not measured by geographical distance, but by the degree of globalisation. So the country that has a greater impact on the world obviously has a greater impact on Hungary. This **global impact** is not only measured in terms of diplomatic activity, but also in many other areas, such as culture, sport, economy or science. In this way, this impact was also evident in the film news.

Outside Europe, the United States has clearly had the greatest globalisation impact, exporting Americanism abroad. As a result, in the 1920s and 1930s, the average Hungarian viewer no longer needed to be introduced to Hollywood, Chicago, New York or Los Angeles, without knowing where to put it on his cognitive map. All this despite the fact that Budapest and Washington were nowhere near a common foreign policy interest, ideology or economic level.

European countries also had a global impact, especially the UK and France. As such, they featured in the Hungarian newsreel in significant numbers, even though they had quite different interests. In comparison, Germany and Italy also had global influence, but in their case this was coupled with relative proximity, which brought with it a wider range of economic opportunities, but also a similar right-wing mindset. This could have given them a high representational value, which for many years was combined with representational dominance.

The newsreel from the period under study can be grouped into a **number of themes**. Here we will only summarise a few of the

more important groups. In the case of news about culture, in addition to anthropological curiosities, there were also promotions supporting the adoption of cultural customs. In the case of nature, disasters and/or spectacles were in the foreground. Science symbolised modernity, with motifs of technical innovations and records. The development of the economy was highlighted by the motifs of luxury, modernity, prosperity and large investments. Sport was the image of peace in this period.

If we look at the **representations by country**, Germany was characterised by political and armed power, Italy by the fascist friend, France by cultural habits, the United States by modernity, the United Kingdom by the British Empire, Austria by nostalgic politics, and the Soviet Union by the motifs of the Bolshevik enemy. The representation of these is so dense that a correlation between media reality and primary reality can certainly be detected here.

By looking at media products from other countries, we can find out what the public could be seeing about our country during that period. At the same time, we can also find out what might have been included in the audience's cognitive world (space) picture of Hungary. More precisely, what could have been found in the context of the medium under study, since – hopefully – a person does not "build" from one place.

From the perspective of UK moviegoers, Hungary is a country led by an admiral and has a beautiful, modern capital. It can be said that **Hungary had its place in UK representations**. The country is full of an agrarian population who live their daily lives according to their traditions. Its artists and sportsmen and women are world class. Gypsy music and Hungarian-related classical music can be heard in British studios and anywhere else in the world. These sportsmen and artists make up the majority of notable Hungarian personalities, while political leaders, not counting the governor, are few and far between on the silver screen.

Because Horthy was one with Hungary, his visit to Germany in 1938 and the events that followed limited the political situation of the country, which was tantamount to a party election. Hungarian-related events then crossed the supposed threshold that prompted the studio groups to publish more news about Hungarians at this time. Since the country was identified with Horthy, the countries he did and did not visit were significant. There was minimal audiovisual news coverage of Hungary's involvement in the war. This is due to the fact that from London's point of view Hungary did not represent a potential military threat, nor was its involvement in the war directly directed towards the Anglo-Saxon powers.

According to the audiovisual source, during the Horthy era, the **use of communal spaces** was used to host state and national ceremonies and commemorations of a representative nature, in the form of open spaces decorated with statues/statues or flags, which were built - or rebuilt/constructed during the era. The most important of these was Heroes' Square in Budapest. With a few exceptions – these were also wreath-laying ceremonies for foreign delegations – these events were attended by large crowds. Among the most important scenes of the celebrations were the speech, the inauguration, the flag-raising, the wreath-laying and the procession of honour. In case of a state event, the more dignitaries in charge, the higher rank of people giving a speech or the larger military unit presenting the parade, the more imposing it was. There is a correlation between these three factors.

Outside of events, on weekdays members of each organisation wore **uniforms** to show their unity. This was also a way of expressing social status. These individuals appeared in groups per organisation at festive events, where they expressed their unity through their regular and uniform appearance. If the nature of the event so permitted, they would parade in orderly formation before the event's magistrate, to whom they would pay their respects. These tributes were not only paid at public ceremonies, but also

at other social events, such as sporting events or national meetings.

The **representation of national defence** in Horthy-era newsreels was not limited to the armed forces or the depiction of war. Such thematic representations include military industrial production, national defence labour service, the conscript organisation, air conscription, conscription, representative representations of military service, war newsreels in which military sub-units are engaged in their basic mission and preparations for it. In addition to these, one can also include, as a borderline theme, the contribution to disaster relief, the Red Cross involved in providing medical care in war, but also donations, charity packages or presentations for soldiers. Also indirectly, one can include civic events that were intended to promote the cause of defence or that spoke on such a subject.

During the Horthy era, the domestic public was most familiar with the **armed forces** through their participation in the ceremonies. At least, this was the most common image represented of the armed forces. However, there is no mention of serious war preparation in the newsreel. Which is not surprising, since the basic function of the newsreel was to inform, although it also had a role in conveying a pattern of action. Silence was usually used, but in context it was no longer an attempt to deceive. It may seem to the reader that the film newsreel did not play a sufficiently important role in preparing society for war. This is true, but it should be noted that the country did not have the military potential to use its military might to have a meaningful say in its destiny, however much the HFO staff tried to mobilise.



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### List of publications related to the dissertation

#### Hungarian book chapters (3)

- Kázmér, L.:** A vidék audiovizuális reprezentációja a Horthy-kori filmhíradókban.  
In: Történelem és vizualitás. Szerk.: Kunt Gergely; Tamás Ágnes, Hajnal István Kör Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület ; Vác : Apor Vilmos Katolikus Főiskola ; Eger : Liceum Kiadó, Szeged, 437-450, 2024, (Rendi társadalom - polgári társadalom, ISSN 0239-1990 ; 36) ISBN: 9789634962748
- Kázmér, L.:** A térkép mint forrás.  
In: Bevezetés a történelemtudományba és a történelemkutatás módszereibe. Szerk.: Kerepeszki Róbert; Schrek Katalin, Kronosz Kiadó, Pécs, 96-99, 2023. ISBN: 9786153386604156
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- Kázmér, L.:** Külkapcsolati figyelem változása az Ullein-Reviczky Antal-féle főszerkesztői értekezleteken.  
*Belvedere Meridionale.* 35 (3), 96-105, 2023. ISSN: 1419-0222.  
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- Kázmér, L.:** Hangulatjelentések a Don-kanyarból. Hit, önbizalom és motiváció változása a keleti fronton harcoló 10/1. tüzérsztálynál.  
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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.2.9>





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7. **Kázmér, L.:** "Az oroszok már a spájzban vannak?".  
In: Kérdések és Válaszok. Magyarország a II. világháborúban. Szerk.: Ignác Károly; Paksa Rudolf, Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest, 144-146, 2022, (Kérdések és válaszok, ISSN 2064-3500)  
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12. **Kázmér, L.:** Gyors volt a Gyorshadtest?  
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13. **Kázmér, L.:** Hány magyar harcolt a finn függetlenségért?  
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14. **Kázmér, L.:** Hogyan fogadta a magyar közvélemény a kezdeti német sikereket?  
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15. **Kázmér, L.:** Kiből lett katona?  
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16. **Kázmér, L.:** Kik (nem) bombázták Kassát?  
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19. **Kázmér, L.:** Miért nem a Balkánon szálltak partra a szövetségesek?  
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In: Kérdések és Válaszok. Magyarország a II. világháborúban. Szerk.: Ignác Károly; Paksa Rudolf, Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest, 95-97, 2022, (Kérdések és válaszok, ISSN 2064-3500) ISBN: 9789633384787
22. **Kázmér, L.:** Mi lett volna, ha nem hal meg Horthy István?  
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24. **Kázmér, L.:** Mit tudott a magyar közvélemény a Molotov-Ribbentrop-paktumról?  
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25. **Kázmér, L.:** Mussolini vagy Bádog Leo?  
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