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PROPAGANDA and THE NAZI WAR FILM

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PROPAGANDA
and
THE NAZI WAR FILM

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

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PREFACE

This essay is devoted to the analysis and interpretation of totalitarian film propaganda--and more especially of Nazi film propaganda since 1939. Evidently all Nazi films are necessarily propaganda films; even the mere entertainment pictures that seem to be removed from politics. However, in this report only direct propaganda films are examined--those documentaries produced during the war with the express purpose of bolstering Nazi Germany's total war effort.¹

The Nazis carry out this direct film propaganda through two types of films:

- I. The weekly newsreels--including a compilation of newsreels titled BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST
- II. The composed feature films of which two were shown in this country:
 - a) BAPTISM OF FIRE (dealing with the Polish Campaign and issued about April, 1940), and
 - b) VICTORY IN THE WEST (dealing with the French Campaign and issued about February, 1941).²

✓ All these propaganda films consist of three media: commentary, visuals and sound. What is the organization of the three media--how do they bring out the multifold propaganda ideas the Nazis want conveyed by the screen? Appendix I develops a method of discovering the smallest units that, in the course of any film, serve a propagandistic function, and defines the nature of these functions as well. They emerge either from a unit contained in one of the three media or from a significant relation between those units. This structural analysis culminates in the establishment of a scheme designed to be applied to each propaganda film and

1. All film material used in the preparation of this report is listed in appendix II.
2. Since the two elaborate Campaign films reveal, through their content as well as through their structure, a maximum of propagandistic functions, they are given the most attention here. The composition of the weekly newsreel records will be studied in detail separately.

assembling its units and their implied propagandistic functions in synopsis form.

Through this scheme direct access is had to the film devices used in Nazi propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Nazis have developed to a high degree all methods of presenting their propaganda ideas on the screen. These achievements are doubtless bound up with the particular nature of a propaganda which differs from the propaganda of the democracies in that it does not appeal to the individual understanding. Instead of suggestion through information, totalitarian propaganda rather withholds information or degrades it to a further means of propagandistic suggestion. Perforce, this propaganda strives for a psychical regression whereby to manipulate people at will. To attain such ends, the Nazis employ a sumptuous orchestration. With a pronounced feeling for the possibilities of editing they exploit each of the three film media in such a way that the total effect frequently results from the blending of different meanings in different media. This report details how the Nazis handle that polyphony. An intimate knowledge of their devices may prove useful for purposes of effective counter-propaganda.

With all the elements assembled, the interpretation proceeds to x-ray the Swastika world as it presents itself in the two elaborate Campaign films. Through both of them, the Nazis exhibit essential parts of their own world--a world not necessarily as it is, but as they would want it to be conceived. They present the army and certain concepts of warfare and organization; they illustrate the German soldier's conduct and bolster the image of Blitzkrieg by politico-historical records. The report also considers these contents with reference to the frequency of their appearance, and likewise notes the opinions that are expressed about the Nazis and their enemies.

Whatever this screen world presents, is not so much an end in itself as a means to an end. All subjects and actions are instruments. They have a mission to achieve--the mission to convey ideas designed to captivate and capture audiences all over the world. Such effects not only result from the peculiar nature of the pictures, but depend

largely upon their composition. Both Campaign films can be considered propagandistic epics--they use the borrowed epic organization as a stratagem to impart their propaganda more efficiently. It will be shown how Nazi screen dramaturgy manages to exploit all the propagandistic effects that may be produced by the very structure.

The films thus shaped pretend a truth to reality, basing that assumption upon the fact that they contain nothing but newsreel shots. But why do the Nazis cling to these newsreels? It is not merely because of their interest in furthering a confusion of authenticity and truth; they rather want to transfer onto the screen the political techniques of totalitarian propaganda, which utilize all the energies of the people in building up a Swastika world. Guided by this general practice, the Nazi film experts are led to stage the image of that pseudo-reality with the exclusive aid of newsreel clips. It will be seen, however, that frequently reality refuses to submit to the claims of Nazi propaganda. Clashes occur--the propagandistic intentions conflict with the meaning of certain components of reality. Thus these films avoid several subjects that are pertinent to the points presented. And it will become evident, too, that even the inserted pictures occasionally reveal latent collisions between Nazi propaganda and the reality that this propaganda assumes to have annexed.

Siegfried Kracauer

June 9, 1942.

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S. K.

NAZI VIEWS AND METHODS

I

Various German utterances, administrative measures and government actions refer to the native war film production. If these considerations favor the newsreels rather than the full-length documentaries, they allow, nevertheless, certain general inferences on what the Nazis wanted to do in the field of film propaganda. For the sake of interpretation it is of great importance to become thus acquainted with their own views, even though the meaning of a work seldom coincides entirely with the motives behind its creation.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, the German Propaganda Ministry employed every possible means to make of newsreels an effective instrument of war propaganda. It is true that, long before the war began, the Nazis used newsreels for the transmission of their propaganda messages; but the emphasis they put on newsreels after September 1939, goes far beyond their former achievements and cannot easily be overestimated.

[Three principles determine the presentation of German war newsreels.]

First, they must be true to reality; i.e., instead of inserting staged war scenes, they have to confine themselves to shots actually taken at the front. Because of their documentary intention, the feature films BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST both of which consist almost entirely of newsreel material are also subject to this restriction. Official accounts as well as press reviews never cease to hint at their truth to reality. On February 6, 1940, the "LICHT BILD BUEHNE" states that the Polish Campaign film equals the newsreels of the first weeks of the war in that it gives audiences the impression of being an eye-witness to the battle scenes. And official sources become eloquent whenever they ponder the dangerous mission of

the film reporters. Mr. Kurt Hubert, export director of Tobis Films, said in the fall of 1940, on a German short wave broadcast in English, that the regular army cameramen "... are regular soldiers, doing a soldier's full duty, always in the first lines...this explains the realistic pictures which we show..."¹ For the purpose of bolstering this realism, even the losses among front-line reporter formations are readily announced--by people ordinarily reluctant to admit the presence of death in their "realistic" pictures. On April 26, 1940, the Berlin correspondent of the "NEW YORK TIMES" was authorized to report that twenty three war correspondents had met death since the outbreak of the war, and the opening caption of the main part of VICTORY IN THE WEST takes care to increase the thrill of the pictures to follow by hinting at similar facts. Mr. Hubert explains somewhat this attitude when he classifies the Nazi war film as a "perfect document of historical truth and nothing but the truth, therefore answering the German demand for a good substantial report in every way."² Misuse of the popular notion of realism endeavors, indeed, to make each German propaganda film appear as such a "perfect document." But it will be seen that the death of brave cameramen does not prevent a clever cutter from juxtaposing their shots to films which, if necessary, blur reality and set aside historical truth. The success of this manipulation, however, is not always assured, and I have to show, too, that improperly treated reality may take its revenge.

The second principle concerns the length of newsreels. Since the ominous September days they have been considerably enlarged. On May 23, 1940, the "LICHT BILD BUEHNE" announced the coming newsreel as a top event of 40 minutes length. This inflation of the newsreel makes it possible to realize on the screen effects like those obtained through steady repetition in speeches, and belongs on the whole to the series of devices which Nazi propaganda

1. See "SIGHT AND SOUND," 1941, vol. 10, no. 38.

2. ditto.

employs to transform audiences into a chain-gang of souls.

The third principle is speed. Nazi newsreels must not only be true to reality but illustrate it as quickly as possible, so that the war communiques are not forgotten by the time their content appears on the screen. Airplanes fly the negatives from the front. A dynamic procedure apparently designed to parallel and support the radio front reports.

★ Distribution of newsreels, the production of which was unified at the beginning of the war, is most thoroughly organized. More than two years ago, Goebbels said that films must address people of all strata.¹ Following his instructions, the Nazis have managed to impose their propaganda films upon the entire German population--with the result that within Germany proper no one can possibly escape them. Film trucks are sent all over the country; special performances are arranged at reduced prices. Since exact timing of the pictorial suggestions is desirable, the Propaganda Ministry moreover decreed that each official front newsreel be released on the same day everywhere in the Reich. Thus the interior market is completely held under control. #

★ As to export, the effort of the Nazi authorities to flood foreign countries with their official pictures is sufficiently characterized by the fact that the Propaganda Ministry prepares versions in sixteen different languages. The summer edition of "SIGHT AND SOUND," cited previously, completes this information. It states: "The U.F.A. office in New York reports that, despite blockade difficulties, a German film reaches this country on an average of once every two weeks." Of particular interest is the well-known use Hitler diplomats made of the propaganda films to undermine the resistance of foreign peoples and governments. In Bucarest, Oslo, Belgrade, Ankara, Sofia--to mention but a few--official showings of these pictures have served as psychological hold-ups. Even as late as on October 11, 1941, the "NEW YORK TIMES" reported that Herr von Papen

1. See "LICHT BILD BUEHNE," Feb. 3, 1940.

had left Istanbul with a film of the German invasion of Russia, and that he "will have a large party at the German Embassy during which he will show the film to Turkish leaders." Propaganda films as a means of blackmail--the gangster methods of the Nazis could not better be illustrated.

FILM DEVICES

II

The film devices of Nazi propaganda are numerous and often rather subtle. This does not imply that the Nazi propaganda films necessarily surpass similar films produced in other countries; the Russian film *THE MANNERHEIM LINE* may well be a blank, but the British film *TARGET FOR TONIGHT* realizes artistic effects one would vainly seek in any of the Nazi films. Moreover, these films suffer somewhat from the excessive use of newsreel shots and contain occasional sequences which prove to be more tiresome than convincing. Through such sequences certain weak points of Nazi propaganda betray themselves.

But despite these deficiencies which result from the problematic structure of Nazi propaganda rather than from awkwardness of technique, it is true nevertheless that the Nazis have developed to a high degree all methods of presenting efficaciously their propaganda ideas on the screen. There is hardly an editing device they do not employ, and there exist even several means of presentation whose scope they have enlarged to an extent hitherto unknown. Nor could they do otherwise. For Nazi propaganda cannot proceed like the propaganda of the democracies and appeal to the understanding of the audiences; it must attempt, on the contrary, to suppress the faculty of understanding which might easily endanger the basis of the whole system, and then try to lead the thus reduced mind in the desired direction. Instead of suggestion through information, Nazi propaganda withholds information or degrades it to a further means of propagandistic suggestion. Perforce, this propaganda strives for a psychical regression whereby to manipulate people at will. Hence the comparative abundance of tricks and devices. They are needed for obtaining the additional effects upon which the success of Nazi film propaganda depends.

The art of cutting had been cultivated in Germany long before 1933 and Leni Riefenstahl's *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL*, for

example, certainly originates in former achievements. Thanks to these traditions, the Nazis know how to utilize the three film media and their interrelationship. With a pronounced feeling for the possibilities of editing, they exploit each medium to the full, so that the total effect frequently results from the blending of different meanings in different media. Such polyphonic handling is not often found elsewhere. Most documentaries and most democratic propaganda pictures behave more plainly, nor do the Nazis themselves go to great pains when they merely wish to pass on information. But as soon as totalitarian propaganda springs into action, a sumptuous orchestration is employed to influence the masses.

To begin with the commentary of the two feature films, it expresses in words the ideas that cannot be communicated by means of the visuals, such as historical flashbacks, accounts of military activities and explanations of strategy. These explanations, which return at regular intervals, deal with the German and enemy army positions and report, in somewhat general terms, encirclements just achieved or encirclements in the offing. Their whole make-up shows that they are intended to impress people rather than to instruct them; they seem to be advertising the efficiency of some enormous enterprise. Besides these pseudo-enlightenments typical of the two feature films, the linkages between statements are repeatedly entrusted with propagandistic functions. In VICTORY IN THE WEST they are used to build ellipses: the announcement of an action is immediately followed by its result, and long developments are presumed to have been consummated in the tiny period between two verbal units. Thus, a great deal of reality and enemy resistance disappears in the "pockets" of the commentary, allowing the audience a feeling of easiness and augmenting the impression of an indomitable German blitz.¹ Actually the blitz has flashed through an artificial vacuum.

Within the visuals, much use is made of the fact that pictures have a direct appeal to the subconscious and the

1. See p. 32.

Xnervous system. Many devices are employed for the sole purpose of eliciting from audiences certain specific emotions. Such effects may be obtained by means of maps. May I supplement the remarks of Professor Speier's excellent article "MAGIC GEOGRAPHY,"¹ which also refers to the propagandistic value of maps in the Nazi war films. These maps accompany not only the strategic explanations, but appear whenever symbolic presentation is called for and can be considered the backbone of the two feature films! They stress the advertising function of the statements about strategic developments inasmuch as they seem to illustrate, through an array of moving arrows and lines, tests on some new substance. Resembling graphs of physical processes, they show how all known materials are broken up, penetrated, pushed back and eaten away by the new one, thus making evident its absolute superiority in a most striking manner. The demonstration that affects the senses above all is apt to terrorize people who are in the opposite camp--at least so long as the tests have not been invalidated. In addition, the panoramas on which these tests happen to be achieved are not stationary, but appear exactly as areas seen from an airplane--an impression produced by the camera always panning, rising and diving. This continual motion works upon the motor nerves and thus moors in audiences the conviction of the Nazi's dynamic force; movement around and above a field implies the complete control of that field.

Other important devices in this medium are: the exploitation of physiognomical qualities by contrasting, for instance, closeups of brute Negroes with German soldier faces; the incorporation of captured enemy film material and its manipulation in such a way as to make it work against the country of origin; the insertion of "leit-motivs" for the purpose of organizing the composition and stressing certain propagandistic intentions within the visuals. While BAPTISM OF FIRE, which held rather close to the form of an ordinary documentary film, presents these "leit-motivs" only in the bud, VICTORY IN THE WEST shows

1. See "Social Research," Sept. 1941.

* } them flourishing. Here marching infantry columns betoken an advance; here the ideal type of the German soldier emerges from time to time in closeup, a soft face that involuntarily betrays the close relationship of soul and blood, sentimentality and sadism. |

As to the use of the visuals in connection with verbal statements, that is determined by the fact that many propaganda ideas are expressed through pictures alone. The pictures do not confine themselves to illustrating the words, but insist, on the contrary, upon their own independent life which, instead of paralleling that of the commentary, sometimes pursues a course of its own. A most decisive and extensively utilized device. In employing it, totalitarian propaganda can manage to shape, on the one hand, a rather formal commentary which avoids heretical or over-explicit statements, and yet, on the other hand, can give audiences to understand on the screen that Britons are ridiculous and that Nazi Germany is pious and adores peace above all. It is not as if the Nazis were scrupulous to state what they actually show, but allusions may reach deeper than assertions and precisely the contrapuntal relation of image to verbal statement increases the weight of that image and makes it the more potent an emotional stimulus.

X } Where the visuals follow the line of the commentary, much care is taken that the depiction of battle scenes does not go so far as to give the military operations clearly. Except for a few sequences, the pictures of German warfare have no informative character. Instead of illustrating sufficiently the verbally indicated activities, they prefer to content themselves with exemplifications which frequently remain indistinct or prove to be stereotypes universally applicable. Whenever artillery goes into action, a series of firing guns appears in quick succession. Since such patterns are not specific, the impression of a vacuum is reinforced. Whole battles develop in a Never-Never land where the Germans rule over time and space. This practice works in the same way as does a number of other devices: it helps confuse people by a blurred succession of pictures that

makes them more easily susceptible to certain suggestions. Many a pictorial description is actually nothing more than an empty pause between two propagandistic actions.

/ A conspicuous role is played by the music; particularly in VICTORY IN THE WEST. Accompanying the procession of pictures and statements, it not only deepens the effects produced through these media, but intervenes with its own force to introduce new effects or to change the meaning of synchronized units. Thus music and music alone transforms an English tank into a toy. In other instances musical themes drive away the weariness from soldier faces, or they make several moving tanks symbolize the advancing German army. The gay melody that softly sounds during the parade and decoration scene in Paris, impregnates these pictures of German military life with a souçon of "la vie parisienne." Through this active contribution of the music the visuals affect the senses with intensified strength.

THE SWASTIKA WORLD

III

In their elaborate propaganda films the Nazis picture themselves, of course, exactly as they want to be seen, and when, with the passing of time, some trait or other loses its attraction, the propaganda experts do not hesitate to blot it out. Thus the meeting of Hitler and Il Duce shown in **BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST** was eliminated in the fall of 1941;¹ and it goes without saying that the Russian-German conference pertaining to the division of Poland in **BAPTISM OF FIRE** had to disappear in a second version of this film released in Yorkville in August, 1941. But for interpretation it makes little difference whether or not those self-portraits are true to life; detected distortions prove to be particularly enlightening, and, on the whole, reality cannot be prevented from breaking through its delusive images, so that they vanish like the enemy armies on the maps in Nazi war films.

There is one point that all propaganda pictures not only mirror but expressly emphasize in the structure of the Nazi system: they illustrate the predominance of the Army over the Party. In his "Pattern of Conquest," Joseph C. Harsch dwells upon the fact that, instead of allowing the Party to penetrate the Army, Hitler preferred to satisfy the Army by setting aside Party claims. Recent events seem to indicate that the struggle for power continues and that Hitler may be ready to shift the balance if one of his "intuitions" suggests that he do so. However, for the period in question the propaganda films coincide with actual policy in that they devote to Party activities during the war only a few references and shots. After having mentioned

1. This scene is mentioned in the article: "The strategy of terror: Audience response to **BLITZKRIEG IM WESTEN**" by Jerome S. Bruner and George Fowler ("THE JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY," Volume 36, October 1941, Number 4). The description refers to a performance of the film on April 9, 1941.

the role played by Danzig's SA and SS formations, BAPTISM OF FIRE confines itself to showing Hitler's bodyguard being reviewed by its chief, and that is all. In VICTORY IN THE WEST, the two statements testifying to the presence of armed SS, are synchronized with pictures which pass much too hastily to make their presence evident. What a contrast with the Russian MANNERHEIM LINE, where Party officials address the encamped soldiers and shake hands with a newly enlisted recruit. Such a scene would have been impossible in any of the Nazi films. On the other hand, those films overlook nothing that might glorify the Army. In VICTORY IN THE WEST, which bears the subtitle: "A film of the High Command of the Army," special effects are conjured up to make it the Song of Songs of the German soldier: impressive mass-ornaments of soldiers open the two parts of the film, and it ends with the banner oath scene with which it begins. Here as well as in BAPTISM OF FIRE the Army occupies all the strategically important points of the composition.¹

This could not be done without presenting Hitler as the War Lord. There is, however, an interesting difference between his appearance in BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST--a difference hinting at a development which, as a matter of fact, has been confirmed by reports from Germany. While the commentary of the Polish Campaign film mentions

1. As for the various arms of the service, the frequency of their appearance in the different propaganda films undergoes interesting changes. The ratio of air force pictures to the total footage in BAPTISM OF FIRE is almost double the ratio in VICTORY IN THE WEST. This is all the more surprising as BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST--which supplied VICTORY IN THE WEST with a certain quantity of newsreel shots--presents, relative to the total amount of shots, air force activities to an even larger extent than does BAPTISM OF FIRE; the ratio of the latter comes to merely a half of the same ratio in BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST. It is quite inevitable to draw from these figures the conclusion that in VICTORY IN THE WEST the share of the air force has been consciously reduced. The question remains as to whether this shift results from the High Command's desire to boast tank warfare. For tanks do prevail in VICTORY IN THE WEST, while, compared with the air force, they play but a minor role in BAPTISM OF FIRE and BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST.

Hitler but a few times and then in a laconic manner, the visuals zealously endeavor to show him as the supreme executive being everywhere at once: he presides over a war council, gives soldiers his autograph, augments his popularity by having lunch at a military kitchen and shows pleasure in parades. In VICTORY IN THE WEST the ratio of pictures to statements is somewhat reversed: now the army adores as a strategic genius the man who has launched the attack against the Western powers. The War Lord goes beyond the executive to become a War God--and of a God images must not be made. Thus Hitler disappears almost completely behind clouds that disperse only on the most solemn occasions; but the commentary is enthusiastic about the Fuehrer's ingenious plans and designates him as the one who alone knows when the hour has come for decision. //

The introductory part of VICTORY IN THE WEST contains a shot of Hindenburg and Ludendorff during the last World War, presenting them as persons upon whom the outcome of the war depended. They have weight; they seem to be conscious of a destiny beyond mere technical considerations. As to the generals of the present war, the films reveal that none of them equals in rank or responsibility those two old army-leaders whose functions apparently are assumed by Hitler himself. From time to time the real position of his generals is exposed through pictures showing them all together as his attendance--the staff assembled around its "Fuehrer." And when they appear isolated, bending over maps, pacing through columns of soldiers and issuing orders on the field, they always give the impression of being high functionaries rather than commanders-in-chief. But it is quite natural that increased mechanization fosters the organizer type and tends to elevate technical experts to the top. Moreover, the fact that in all these films warfare itself is described as but a part of a larger historical and political development, somewhat circumscribes the role of the generals.

For the rest, soldiers fill up the propaganda pictures to such an extent that there remains little room for

civilians; even cheering crowds are closely rationed. In VICTORY IN THE WEST, this space is almost entirely given over to the workers. "The best comrade of the German soldier is the ammunition worker," to quote the commentary, and the synchronized shots show several closeups of worker types in the manner of former German leftist films which, for their part, were influenced by the classic Russian pictures. The propagandistic reasons for the insertion of these flattering photographs are plain enough.

Commentary and visuals of the elaborate propaganda films collaborate in advertising the martial virtues of the Germans: their bravery, their technical skill, their indefatigable perseverance.¹ But since such virtues appear in the war films of all belligerent countries, they are given less attention here than certain other traits which actually characterize the behavior of German soldiers. Pictures alone imply this behavior; there is a complete lack of dialogue, discussion or speeches to tighten and bolster the impressions which the silent life on the screen may evoke. While the English aviators in TARGET FOR TONIGHT frankly speak about what they feel and think, the German

1. It should be noted that in the two Campaign films members of the elite alone are mentioned by name; that words of praise are very cautiously distributed and, with a few exceptions, apply mostly to the German soldier in general or to army units as a whole. German army tradition seems to have been decisive in this respect. Single soldiers or small groups of soldiers are nowhere explicitly praised except for four possible instances in VICTORY IN THE WEST, while both films (and the newsreels as well) speak highly of the different branches of the service. The exploits of the air force and the infantry receive special recognition. As to the vilification and ridicule of the enemy, there exists no reluctance whatever. The enemy is rarely mentioned without being criticized; and where his bravery is approved, the praise is designed to stress a subsequent blame. These deprecations are carried out less by verbal statements than implicitly through pictures and synchronizations of pictures with musical themes. Thanks to the polyphonic possibilities of the motion picture, Nazi propaganda has a magnificent opportunity of blending official suggestions with confidential intimations, of knitting the brow and twinkling the eye at one and the same time.

soldiers even refrain from echoing any official propaganda ideas. In former propaganda films, such as HITLERJUNGE QUEX and TRIUMPH OF THE WILL, people were not so discreet in this respect. The present attitude may be due to the influence of the High Command: talking politics here would have offended venerable army traditions.

Numerous pictorial hints build up the propagandistic image of the German soldier; among them the "camping-idylls" of both BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST--rather drawn-out sections or passages that show the troops during their rest period and display what is left to the privates of their private life. Besides the routine work, which consists mainly of cleaning weapons, the soldiers wash their shirts and their bodies, they shave and enjoy eating, they write letters home or doze. For two reasons Nazi film propaganda thus emphasizes general human necessities. In doing so, it utilizes first an old experience practiced also by the primitive film comedies--the experience that the gallery likes nothing more than the presentation of vulgar everyday procedures. Everyone is an expert with regard to variations of these earthy themes. At each of the six times I attended VICTORY IN THE WEST in a Yorkville theatre, people around me were noticeably amused and refreshed when, after a terrific accumulation of tanks, guns, explosions and scenes of destruction, a soldier poured cold water over his naked comrade. Secondly, such scenes have the advantage of appealing specifically to instincts common to all people. Like spearheads, they drive wedges into the defense-lines of the self, and due to the regression they provoke, totalitarian propaganda conquers important unconscious positions.

To fashion the screen character of the German soldier, the Nazi films sometimes have recourse to indirect methods; they single out and criticize, through pictures, the alleged qualities of the various enemy types, and as they always work with contrasting effects, the naive spectator automatically attributes the complementary qualities to the Germans. Thus the elaborate scene in BAPTISM OF FIRE in

which several Poles are charged with having tortured and murdered German prisoners, attempts to impose upon audiences the conviction that Germans themselves are indulgent toward their own victims. Could Nazis possibly be as flippant and degenerate as the French soldiers who are shown mingling with Negroes and dancing in the Maginot Line? The presentation of this behavior invites comparison with the Germans in contrary, hence favorable, terms. And when English soldiers appear as funny, ignorant and arrogant beings, there is no doubt about the conclusions to be drawn from their vices with respect to the catalogue of virtues in the opposite camp. The more Polish, Belgian, French and English prisoners pass over the screen, the more this imaginary catalogue expands.

Its contents are completed by some direct indications to the effect, for instance, that German soldiers ardently love peace. It is not by accident that the beginning of VICTORY IN THE WEST presents a series of pacific German landscapes between soldier masses and inflammatory maps; that each verse of the song of the Lieselotte, which is sung by moving infantry columns or accompanies their advance, concludes with the refrain "Tomorrow the war will be over." That the Nazis also want soldiers to be attached to home and family, is implied by the camping-idyll of the same film, where a soldier, playing the organ in an old French church, seems to dream intensively of his dear ones at home; the organ music dissolves into a folk-song, and on the screen appear the soldier's mother, father and grandmother, whose peaceable life is protected against aggressive enemies by the German army. It is understood that, in actuality, the Nazis follow quite another line with respect to such ideas as home, peace, family; no one who knows their methods can overlook the cynicism with which they have concocted all these sentimental pictures for the purpose of answering popular trends of feeling and, perhaps, the demands of the High Command. To round out the counterfeit, the Nazi use every opportunity to insert churches and cathedrals with soldiers always entering or leaving them

→ during their rest period. Thus the films tacitly intimate that Germany fosters Christianity. They propagate also the cultural aspirations of German soldiers by showing, for instance, the Organization Todt taking care of historical buildings threatened by the progress of war. But these aspirations never include individual values. During the first years of the last World War, the boast was spread through Germany that her soldiers carried Nietzsche's "ZARATHUSTRA" and Goethe's "FAUST" in their knapsack. When, in BAPTISM OF FIRE, soldiers read newspapers while marching, the possibility that they might be reading just because they like to, is implicitly denied by the commentary which states: "The German soldiers are so news-starved that they jump at every paper they can get hold of...enjoying the reports from the front, from the work at home."

On the whole, the "Reichswehr"-soldier prevails over the Nazi creation of the "political soldier". There is, in this respect, a striking difference between the film propaganda and the printed or broadcast propaganda. While the Nazis always speak and write of the revolutionary war that the Axis powers--the have-nots--have undertaken against the rich plutocracies, their films anxiously avoid illustrating such assumptions. Except for a somewhat eased discipline and the suppression of the Prussian lieutenant type, the soldiers on the screen behave in so traditional a manner that nobody could suspect them of being the military vanguard of a revolution. The newsreel shots depicting these soldiers are certainly true to reality in that respect. Why do the Nazis hesitate to change the image further? Perhaps one reason is that the pictorial presentation of a revolutionary army would deprive them of the indubitable advantage of their favorite instrument, conveying through the word "revolution" its opposite meaning. Pictures alone can be misused as much as words alone; but as soon as they begin to work together, they explain themselves, and ambiguity is excluded. Since the Nazis obviously cannot afford to give up the advantage of covering their real aims with such attractive expressions as "Revolution" or "New Order," they

are, indeed, forced to show in their films soldiers of rather neutral behavior against these radio slogans. Hence the extensive use made of the available stock of silent newsreel soldiers to paralyze the attention of audiences and moreover to appeal to certain strata in foreign lands, Nazi propaganda wishes to influence.

The achievements of the German Army are due to outstanding organizational abilities, which in Germany had a particularly favorable opportunity for flourishing, since Germans--as a result of historical necessities--so deeply desire to be shaped that they confuse shape with organization and submit to organization as readily as the wax to the seal. Nazi war films, of course, parade that perfection with which, thanks to such abilities, the Blitz Campaigns have been prepared and executed. The commentary of these films, always eager to speak of planning and all kinds of organizational efforts, states, for instance, during the passage of Hitler's war council in BAPTISM OF FIRE: "Continued information on the course of operations is passed on...The decisive orders and instructions are returned at once,"--words that refer essentially to some soldier-typists and telephonists inserted in this passage. The telephonists belong, like the series of firing guns, to the stereotypes within the visuals--their appearance infallibly indicates that orders are being issued and an attack is in the making. VICTORY IN THE WEST adds to this cliché some innovations: a shot of a "firing-schedule" (Feuerplan) which characterizes the succeeding artillery bombardment as being "according to plan"; similarly a little scene illustrating the last staff conference before the offensive against the Chemin des Dames. As to the large strategic measures, the swiftness of army regroupments as well as the marvellous functioning of the supply-lines are equally emphasized. But, strangely enough, these many hints and descriptions treat organization in a rather perfunctory manner. Compared with the British film TARGET FOR TONIGHT, which really illustrates the preparation and the accomplishment of a bomber-raid over Germany, even the purposefully informative sequence of the air attack in BAPTISM

OF FIRE proves to omit important organizational details. That apparent negligence evidently parallels the intentional superficiality with which military actions are exemplified in the medium of the visuals, and may be laid as well to the fear of totalitarian propaganda of addressing its audiences' intellectual faculties. However, this explanation is too general to be sufficient. Fortunately, VICTORY IN THE WEST itself offers a clue to the problem.

Captured French film materials are used in this film to depict with astonishing care the organization of the Maginot Line. The main sequence devoted to the French defense system consists of a map and a cross-section demonstrating its construction and a series of pictures which dwell extensively upon the technical installations of this subterranean fortress. Toward the end of the film, the Maginot Line appears again: French soldiers serve a gun in one of the mechanical forts, and the synchronized statement announces: "For the last time the clockwork of this complicated defense machinery is in action." By displaying that machinery to the full, the Nazis not only want to increase the significance of the German victory, but also to specify its character and thus intimidate audiences the more. The term "defense," used in the statement, is enlightening in this respect. Nazi propaganda in the film of the French Campaign poses defensive warfare against offensive warfare and manages, moreover, to present these two kinds of warfare as belonging to two different worlds. That of the French defenders is offered as an obsolete stationary world with no moral right to survive. Since the shots of the French soldiers in the Maginot Line were made before the outbreak of the war, it was easy to obtain that effect by contrasting them with shots of German soldiers taken during the actual Campaign. Now it becomes clear, too, why the Nazis, instead of stressing their own organizational techniques, rather preferred to focus upon the French defense organization. They intended to show that the Deus ex Machina can never be the machine itself; that even the most perfect organization proves useless if it be regarded as more than a mere tool, if

it be idolized by a generation-on-the-decline as an autonomous force. The whole presentation aims at implying that the Maginot Line was precisely that to the French, and that, in consequence, the German victory is also a victory of life over death, of the future over the past.¹

In accordance with the high value the propaganda films thus place upon Germany's offensive spirit, they emphasize this spirit rather than organizational artistry. Wherever organization is shown, it appears as a process in pictures that endeavor to illustrate continual movement spread over enormous spaces. The big control-room from which, in TARGET FOR TONIGHT, British air force activities are directed and supervised, would be impossible in any of the Nazi war films; it is too solid a room, it has too much the savour of defense. In these films, on the contrary, no room is more than an improvised shelter--if there exist shelters at all. Railway cars serve as Hitler's headquarters or for conferences with the delegates of capitulating nations; fields and highways are the very home of generals and troops alike. The soldiers eat on the march and sleep in airplanes, on travelling tanks, guns and trucks, and when occasionally they stop, their surroundings consist of ruined houses that only invite the guests to leave. This eternal restlessness is synonymous with impetuous advance, as the Nazi films never fail to point out through moving maps and marching infantry columns--devices already commented upon. As to the infantry columns, it is significant that the frequency of their insertion in the elaborate propaganda pictures seems to go beyond the actual use made of infantry in the Campaigns. Such columns were, certainly, less efficacious than the columns of tanks and air squadrons; but their appearance on the screen is particularly well suited to conveying the idea of advance, and that is obviously the effect

1. This is precisely confirmed by the statement that accompanies the last appearance of the Maginot Line: "Here, too, the heroism of the single soldier and the enthusiasm of the young national-socialist German troops entirely devoted to the Fuehrer and his ideas triumph over technique, machinery and material."

★ strived for. It is obtained, too, by repeated closeups of waving Swastika banners, which, by the way, serve the additional purpose of hypnotizing audiences.

g | To sum up: all Nazi war films insistently glorify Germany as a dynamic power, as dynamite. But, as if the Nazis themselves suspected that their outspoken presentation of blitz-warfare would hardly be sufficient to suggest a war of life against death, of the future against the past, they complete the image by politico-historical records adding to the parades of goose-stepping soldiers a procession of thoroughly manipulated topical events. Whereas BAPTISM OF FIRE modestly contents itself with reviewing contemporaneous world policy, VICTORY IN THE WEST widens its perspective with a retrospective show which goes back to the Westphalian Peace of 1648. Hitler's speeches have trained people to think in terms of centuries. Insofar as these accounts refer to the present epoch, they illustrate "history" through newsreel shots of notables and weighty incidents: Herr von Ribbentrop boards an airplane bound for Moscow to sign there the Non-aggression pact; French, English and Polish troops march in columns that testify to the war preparations of their countries; Professor Burckhard, delegate of the League of Nations for Danzig, leaves his office after Danzig's annexation by the Reich; King Leopold of Belgium negotiates armistice conditions with a German general. By shaping the world situation with the aid of such anecdotal scenes, the Nazis may also intend to flatter audiences, to give them the proud feeling of being introduced to sovereigns, statesmen, diplomats and other celebrities. Thus the content of these screen editorials is the more readily acceptable.

| What is the propagandistic message they convey? They want to make the Western Democracies appear to have been animated from time immemorial by the design to destroy Germany, as basically rotten and, hence, ripe for annihilation; on the other hand, they show a sadly wronged and innocently suffering Germany that, on the point of being overwhelmed by those world powers, is only defending herself by attacking them. The whole story, manufactured by means of

many an obvious falsification, attempts to furnish the impression that Germany's war and triumph are not only accidental events, but the fulfillment of an historical mission and thus metaphysically justified. Thanks to that inclusion of high policy and history, which seems to be a special trait of Nazi film propaganda, both BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST expand beyond the limits of a mere documentary picture to a kind of totalitarian panorama, connecting the march of time with the march of ideas. Such panoramas certainly answer the deep-rooted desire of Germans to be sheltered by a Weltanschauung^{ideology}. In placing them on the screen, the Nazis try to conquer and occupy all important positions in the mind of audiences--for the purpose of subjugating their imaginations and making them work to the interest of Nazi Germany. To treat them like prisoners of war: that is the strategic aim of those Nazi film panoramas. They endeavor to duplicate in the fields of spirit Germany's achievements in Europe.

SCREEN DRAMATURGY

IV

The build-up of the two Nazi feature films is of particular importance; for, unlike the newsreels, they are the outcome of compositional efforts anxious to make of them documents of a permanent value, which will survive the more ephemeral weekly reports. Lieutenant Hesse, Chief of the Press Group attached to the German High Command, asserted in a radio talk on January 20, 1941: "VICTORY IN THE WEST has been consciously planned and produced for the general public." The significance of this statement which might have been formulated almost as well for the Polish Campaign film, is illustrated by the fact that both films originate in a process of intense condensation: the 6560 feet of BAPTISM OF FIRE were drawn from about 230,000 feet of newsreel shots, and VICTORY IN THE WEST--according to Lieutenant Hesse--profited by film material of about one million feet. The Nazi experts would not have made a selection on such a vast scale without a definite idea as to the choice and the arrangement of the comparatively few subjects admitted.¹

Except, perhaps, for the MARCH OF TIME - shorts and certain travelogs which, in the manner of Flaherty's NANOOK and MOANA, employ some kind of story to animate the presentation of facts, most factual documentaries affect audiences not so much through the organization of their contents as through the contents themselves. They are rather loosely composed; they prove to be more interested in the depiction of reality than in the arrangement of this depiction. The two Nazi Campaign films differ from them in that they not only strive for a solid composition of their elements but manage to exploit all the propagandistic effects which may be produced

1. The following considerations are founded upon versions available in this country. Other versions may deviate from them. It can be assumed, however, that these changes do not affect the basic principles of organization discussed here.

by the very structure. | VICTORY IN THE WEST goes so far as to entrust special "leit-motivs" and staged sequences with the function of reinforcing the weight of the interior architecture. This evidently cannot be done unless certain leading ideas are introduced that direct the composition and fill it with their meaning. But before pointing them out, it must be stated that, by the very tightness of their organization, the two Nazi Campaign films outdo those documentary films which, although they have an equal desire to captivate audiences, simply move forward, at random, from one point of information to the next. Such an unobtrusive, contemplative mentality is far less apt to work upon people than a strong-willed determination, of which outspoken organizational methods are an infallible sign. TARGET FOR TONIGHT seems to be one of the first British war films to draw practical conclusions from this rule.

As to their main subject, both Nazi Campaign films approach the classic Russian films rather than pictures of the Western Democracies; at any rate, they are exclusively concerned with the destiny of a collective--of Nazi Germany. While American films usually reflect society or the national life through the biography of some hero representative of his epoch, those German films, on the contrary, show individuals only insofar as they are needed to depict the whole that is more than all the individuals it consists of, and alone has the right to continuance and a biography. Whenever isolated German soldier faces are picked out in the Campaign films, their function is to denote the face of the Third Reich. Hitler himself is not drawn as an individual with a development of his own but as the embodiment of terrific impersonal powers--or better: as their meeting-place; for in spite of many a reverential closeup, these films which want to idolize him cannot adapt his physiognomy to human existence.

| It was Goebbels who praised POTESKIN as a pattern and intimated that the Nazi-"Revolution" should be glorified by films of a similar structure. As a matter of fact, the few representative films of Hitler Germany are as far from

POTEMKIN as the Nazi-"Revolution" is from a revolution. How could they be otherwise? Like the great silent Russian films, they stress, of course, the absolute predominance of the collective over the individual; in POTEMKIN, however, this collective is composed of real people, whereas in TRIUMPH OF THE WILL spectacular ornaments of excited masses and fluttering Swastika banners are called upon to represent that collective which the Nazi rulers have created and run under the name of Germany. Despite such basic differences, Goebbels's reference to the Russian pattern was not at all an aberration; not so much because of their allegedly revolutionary behavior as in consequence of their retrogressive contempt for individual values, the Nazis are, indeed, obliged to rely in their films more on the classic Russian construction than on the western methods, and even if this perverted affinity did not exist, the unquestionable propagandistic success of those early Soviet pictures would have been sufficient to draw them to the attention of the German Propaganda Ministry. The two Nazi Campaign films, in any case, seem to have profited by looking in that direction: as though they were finding their inspiration in such models as THE END OF ST. PETERSBURG or TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD, they set themselves to give their story the form of an epic.

valid? x/ → The natural inclination of Germans for thinking in anti-rational, mythological terms has never been entirely overcome. And it is, of course, an important aim of the Nazis to reinforce this tendency and even to revive the old German mythology; for in doing so, they contribute to the building up of an impregnable intellectual "West Wall" against an eventual invasion of democratic ideas. The opening sequence of TRIUMPH OF THE WILL shows Hitler's airplane flying toward Nuremberg through banks of marvellous clouds: a reincarnation of the All-Father Odin, whom the ancient Aryans heard raging with his hosts over the virgin forests. In accordance with their documentary duties, neither BAPTISM OF FIRE nor VICTORY IN THE WEST goes so far as to evoke such reminiscences; but they conscientiously strive

to organize their materials in an epic way, and the exterior resemblance between the scheme of these films and those of Eisenstein and Pudovkin is undeniable.

It is for propagandistic reasons that both Campaign films are not content merely to follow the course of the battles and to celebrate the German victory. Nazi propaganda seeks a totality of effects; hence it must enlarge its program and offer a multi-faceted composition rather than a simple account of martial events. To achieve this, the Nazis place their hero, i.e. Nazi Germany, on a level with the heroes of the old epic songs. Since those heroes always had to suffer before they could rise like the sun, Germany, too, is shown suffering at the beginning of BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST as well. Weakened and alone, she stands against a conspiracy of powers that have fettered her by the Treaty of Versailles, and who would not sympathize with her attempt to shake off her chains and get rid of her oppressors? As propaganda pictures these films, of course, avoid charging their hero with a mythical guilt; they represent him as an entirely innocent, harmless creature--on the maps in the Polish Campaign film the white of the German territory is in symbolic contrast to the black of Poland, England and France--and they supplant the motive of guilt for that of justification. Their zeal for justifying Germany's attacks is so outspoken that vindications appear everywhere in the films; thus the commentary hints, toward the end of BAPTISM OF FIRE, at posters in occupied Warsaw through which the Polish Government had summoned "the population to fight the German army as irregulars."¹

Now it is clear why these pictures tend to include the totalitarian panoramas that have been mentioned above: the panoramas are nothing more than the mirage of epic structure transmitted in terms of propaganda. Also the Campaign films follow the laws of epics in that they portray the Kampf as the hero's struggle for liberation, for

Battle

1. See page 51.

Lebensraum. After thus having introduced him into the family of old heroes, they endeavor, quite in the line of epic songs, to throw a dazzling white light on all his actions. Germany's infallibility and invincibility are duly streamlined, and a number of smaller apotheoses precede the final one which gives the full taste of triumph. This world of light is opposed by one of darkness with no softening shades. It is not as if the enemies were drawn as immediate foes with whom Germany once maintained and afterwards will resume relations; they are presented rather as the eternal adversaries of the hero, concocting sinister plans to ruin him. Personifications of contrasting moral or natural principles, in these films both Germany and her enemies belong to the everlasting realm of the epics where time does not enter. There are various powers emerging from the democratic inferno: while France is an evil spirit in a state of decomposition, England has all the traits of the devil incarnate, and Poland serves as her wicked helper. A clever device is used to characterize these malignant specters as epic figures--Nazi film propaganda endows them with a mythical lust for destruction. Numerous verbal statements in the Campaign films stigmatize, in fact, the sadistic, demoniacal qualities of the enemy by imputing to him the burnings, havocs, wrecks, that appear in the synchronized pictures; whereas the demolitions obviously caused by the Nazis have the function of revealing the supremacy of German weapons.¹ Germans also are shown

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1. The ratio of destruction to the total footage in the newsreel compilation *BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST* is about 1:5,5; in *BAPTISM OF FIRE* about 1:8; in *VICTORY IN THE WEST* about 1:15. Since newsreels--even German newsreels--are released before final victory is assured, Nazi propaganda, always on the look-out for stimulants, here (more than in the feature films) depends upon the accumulation of catastrophes, provided they endanger the enemy. Catastrophes like the burning of a big oil-tank have the additional advantage of being photogenic. The fact that *VICTORY IN THE WEST* deviates from *BAPTISM OF FIRE* by purposely diminishing the number of destruction scenes is due to the different intentions of the two films: while the picture of the

rebuilding destroyed bridges, protecting endangered architecture and saving the Cathedral of Rouen. Thus the positive nature of the hero is systematically played off against the destructive ego of his antagonists.

| To sum up: the Nazi Campaign films may be considered as propagandistic epics. That means, too, that they are not interested in portraying reality, but entirely subordinate its insertion and the method of its insertion to the actual purposes of propaganda. These purposes are the very reality of the Nazi films. In this respect it proves instructive to compare BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST with the early films of Eisenstein and Pudovkin, the structure of which those Campaign films parallel in that they also proceed from the suffering of their mass-hero to his triumph. That the Russian pictures have no less a propagandistic significance than their descendants, cannot be denied; but unlike the Nazi films which use the borrowed epic organization as a mere stratagem to impart their propaganda more efficiently, they are founded upon the presentation of reality and, hence, preserve the character of true epics. In these films the distress of the people, for instance, is extensively painted, and painted with such

Footnote continued

Polish Campaign, issued during the period of the "phony" war, attempted to spread panic among future enemies, the film of the French Campaign endeavors, not without hilarity, to demonstrate through elliptic constructions an incomparable martial performance; as though the happy ending were just around the corner. It is noteworthy, too, that with regard to the presentation of destruction there appears a basic difference between radio and film propaganda. According to Professor Speier, Nazi broadcasters generally refrain from announcing the destruction of military objectives which, in their belief, would not appeal to the popular imagination; to thrill the average listener, they rather prefer a demolished city hall to heavily damaged fortifications. Propaganda films, of course, do not omit any spectacular disaster; but they also profit by their specific possibilities in depicting perforated steel-plates and other strictly technical effects of German arms--destruction that, if presented through words, would hardly interest people.

attention to detail that the reality in the pictures itself provides the basic impressions. How carefully the Nazi films for their part abstain from mobilizing reality and from revealing anything of importance through its development is demonstrated by the manner in which they deal with the same theme. Contrary to the Russian films, they insert a few superficial, trivial shots to buttress the verbal statements that--in the opening parts of both Campaign films--loudly proclaim Germany's sufferings before Hitler's rise to power. The commentary in VICTORY IN THE WEST speaks about the misery and despair of the German people after the first World War, but the synchronized pictures are so feeble that they do not succeed in quickening these assertions with a semblance of life. They are like the conventionalized pictures that illustrate advertisements for some standard article.¹ It is as though the Nazis were afraid of touching reality, as though they felt that the mere acknowledgement of any independent reality would entail their submission to it and gravely imperil the whole totalitarian system. On the other hand, maps profusely illustrate the territorial consequences of the Westphalian Peace and the Treaty of Versailles. In those films the sufferings of the hero Germany are purely cartographic. By featuring their charts, the Nazi propagandists involuntarily confirm that they recognize no reality other than that of their pattern of conquest. |

This difference between the Russian and German film

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1. True, in such pre-war films as SA-MANN BRAND, HANS WESTMAR, HITLER-JUNGE QUEX and FOR THE SAKE OF THE RIGHT OF MAN (UM DAS MENSCHEN-RECHT), Nazi propaganda illustrates in some detail the suffering of the middle class and the "misled" workers to popularize the volunteer corps (Freikorps), the SA and the "national revolution." But apart from their more exemplifying character, these sequences belong to films that are political screen plays rather than broad documentaries after the manner of the Russian film epics. At any rate, those classic Soviet pictures never would have illustrated verbal hints at the misery of the people through a few stereotyped shots as the two Campaign films undoubtedly do.

epics concerns not so much the contents as the methods of their presentation. It is a formal difference. Since the Nazi Campaign films neglect just that reality through which the Russian revolutionary pictures affect audiences, they must perforce choose other means to advance their story from one point to the next. The complex of propagandistic motives and ideas of which this story consists has been set forth; the question now is, how does Nazi film dramaturgy arrange them to its purposes?

In actual political practice Nazi propaganda never contents itself with simply spreading suggestions, but prepares the way for their acceptance by a skilful combination of terrorism and organizational measures which create an atmosphere of panic and hysteria, that breaks the power of individual resistance. In the screen world of the two film epics, the execution of these preparatory measures is the task of the arrangement. Both films contain a number of compositional tricks designed for framing the mind of the spectator. While his instincts and emotions are kept alive, his intellectual faculties seem to be systematically starved to death. However, these devices have already been mentioned, and there is only one point that still demands elucidation: the long sequence of the air attack in BAPTISM OF FIRE. That sequence differs from the non-communicative character of the Campaign films in that it gives rather full information. The reason for this exception may be connected with the fact that BAPTISM OF FIRE was composed during the period of the "phony war"--hence at a time when the R.A.F. had not yet raided Germany, and Germany herself could still be convinced of her absolute air superiority. By detailing the air attack in an unusually instructive way, the Nazis presumably wanted to make England understand, in her own language, the incomparable might of the German air force.¹ In this one case, information is synonymous with threat and panic to be produced by reflection.

1. According to Prof. Speier, the German war communiques broadcast to England in English generally omit all words and phrases of a merely emotional appeal.

The main functions of the arrangement originate, of course, in the fact that the very components of the Campaign films are propaganda ideas rather than true events. These films do not map reality, but maps (which, indeed, are often more thrilling than the subsequent pictures illustrating the activities those maps forecast). That accounts for the lack of substantiality in the Nazi feature films. Whereas in the classic Russian epics all propagandistically valuable sensations and emotions rise from the impact of powerfully shaped situations and events which, like life itself,--and seemingly in the rhythm of life--pass across the screen, the Campaign films disregard the broad flow of facts and developments--so that in them emptiness supersedes reality and an abyss opens in place of essentials. Thus the Campaign films may deny the laws of epic time; on the other hand, however, they have to furnish substitutes for sensations well-bolstered by actuality in the Russian films.

→ This is done by dramatizing the action. The faked Nazi epics must not only be arranged to include the already-mentioned preparatory measures, but, above all, must be told with an outright dramatization of the propagandistic "story" to make one forget the many gaps and, if possible, to produce artificially the excitement that Eisenstein got out of reality. Dramatic techniques allow intermissions, vacant spaces between the power centers of the plot. Making use of its liberty to time the course of the propaganda ideas, Nazi film propaganda endeavors to obtain through mere organization the striking effects of drama.

The introductory parts of both Campaign films are particularly revealing in this respect. They exploit all compositional means to evoke a dramatic atmosphere by shaping the pre-war epoch as a period of intense struggle between the powers of light and darkness. At the beginning of VICTORY IN THE WEST, this struggle is presented in the form of continual ups and downs designed to create a quick succession of tensions. After Versailles, Germany seems annihilated, but Hitler appears and the prospect is changed. Is it really changed? The democracies persist in conspiring

against the young Third Reich, and each new advance of Germany is followed by a new assertion of their diabolic intentions. This steadily accelerating series of vibrations that increases in dramatic weight as it approaches the present time, leads, in an unbroken chain, to the ultimate catastrophe--war. But even the Polish Campaign proves to be only an episode; for Hitler's peace-offer is immediately put in as an obstructive element of the action, preparing the next turn and thus making the drama continue. Nazi propaganda always tends to work with such oscillations. They would be more effective in this case, if they were not given by means of pictorial stereotypes.

As to the narration of the two successful Campaigns themselves, that is split up into a certain number of sequences which, in dramatic structure, follow the form of the introductions. One and the same schema underlies most of these structures. Here, the organizational function of the maps becomes clear. The typical sequence generally opens with a map of pending strategic projects, the actual realization of which will be shown in the sequence itself. Hence the maps in this context perform precisely the function of the expository scenes of a drama: they herald what is to come and canalize the audience's anticipations. Once all is laid out, the action takes shape as a process that piles up dramatic effects to compensate for the omission of substantial documentation.

Either of two typical methods are employed to this end. First, the sequence may attempt to augment the suspense by interpolating difficulties that delay the happy prospect or even feign to frustrate it. Mr. Ilja Ehrenburg recently reported the Russian General Gregory K. Zukhoff to have said about Germany's martial achievements in Poland and France: "For them War was merely manoeuvres."¹ That this contains a gleam of truth is proved by the pictorial existence of several of those obstacles. The shots of French soldiers in the Maginot Line, inserted toward the end of VICTORY IN THE WEST, distinctly betray the propagandistic

1. See "NEW YORK TIMES," Jan. 26, 1942.

intention of postponing again and again a conclusion reached long before. Also in the French Campaign film and inspired by the same design, a rather far-fetched special montage appears directly after the pictures of the Maginot Line; taking up the motives of the introductory part, this interlude blends maps of the world, toy soldiers and real soldiers, French statesmen and their speeches, the Mar-seillaise and a parade over the Champs-Élysées to strengthen, through fabricated testimony of Germany's hopeless situation, the importance of her subsequent victories. All these inserts owe their life merely to the necessities of the dramatic composition.

→ The typical sequence may use, too, a second method--the already-mentioned "ellipse."¹ VICTORY IN THE WEST especially leaps the whole development that leads from the prognosis of an action to its completion. Many a time both proceedings are combined: the expository map is followed by some obstacle that seems to block the way--then a sudden jump and the trumpets of victory sound. This abrupt handling of the arrangement reveals once again a strong indifference to the demands of reality. To cancel the disadvantages of its suppression, no better compositional device could be employed than that of an elliptic narration; it embodies the German blitz efficaciously enough to make credulous spectators overlook all that has been removed by juggler's tricks. The ellipse is often practiced with the aid of that polyphonic technique which is to be discussed below. Joined to the verbal statement that announces the action to come is a series of pictures not commented upon. They exemplify, more or less distinctly, several military operations, the precise meaning of which no one would be able to decipher. Since these visuals, inserted superficially to bridge a gap, take away from the statement and pursue a vague course of their own, their succession obliges the mind of spectators to go astray. † Thus the verbal announcement of the attained success comes

1. See p. 6.

as a shock to distracted audiences, and this is an effect by which Nazi propaganda can profit.

The triumph typical of the end of a sequence is not simply listed but adorned and savored to the full--except for those rare cases in which its mention is passed over to deepen the significance of a subsequent triumph. Frequently the length of this concluding part goes beyond that of the alleged main part devoted to the military actions themselves. In BAPTISM OF FIRE, the battle of Radom is shown only by a moving map and several flimsy pictures, whereas the report on the consequences of the German victory which follows spreads broadly over the screen. The same is true in VICTORY IN THE WEST; here the scene of Holland's capitulation prevails over the few foregoing shots hinting at her invasion, and what remains in one's memory is the parade in Paris rather than the troops' approach to the French capital. Generally that apotheosis imitates the old triumphal processions: first the victorious heroes move in, and thereupon--while the commentary gloats over the amount of the booty and summarizes the strategic outcome--an immense multitude of prisoners and captured munition pass in review. Never do the Nazis tire of assembling, to their own glorification, these masses of human and iron materials. The technique employed to bring them out is the pan-shot. ✓ After having focussed upon a small group of marching or standing prisoners, the camera begins to pan around, with the result that the visual field expands to include infinite columns or a huge camp. A well-known method cleverly exploited. For enormous masses most impress the spectator if they reach their total aspect in a process of movement that starts from complexes of normal size. ←

As a whole, the typical dramatic sequence of the two Campaign films mirrors--consciously or not--the typical proceeding of a system in which propaganda has been invested with such power that no one can decide whether it serves to change reality or reality is to be changed for the purposes of propaganda. What alone counts here is, in fact, the desire of the Nazi rulers for conquest and domination. ←

→ The Nazis utilize totalitarian propaganda in this interest as a tool to destroy the disturbing independence of reality, and wherever they succeed in doing so, their maps and plans are actually projected in a kind of vacuum. Hence their formula "according to plan" acquires a specific meaning, and many a dramatic and surprising effect is obtained by the swift confirmation of this formula. Practice itself thus furnishes the pattern for the stereotyped sequences that help to shape the Campaigns on the screen.

✓ Drama needs moments of rest to reinforce the vehemence of the succeeding storms. Even more do the Campaign films depend upon breaks in the tensions; for they are not so much dramas as dramatized epics, and their epic tendency peremptorily demands expression. Hence the Nazi dramaturgists must not only bring in such apparent "pauses" as the "camping-idylls" but interpolate everywhere brief breathing spaces for the audiences in their upward flight. Here a ✓grave problem arises. As soon as the spectator is permitted to relax, his intellectual faculties may awake and there is great danger lest he become aware of the void and feel like the prince in the Arabian Nights who lived in a marvellous castle that was stolen away by djinni. And would he not be tempted in this frightening situation to approach reality and, approaching it, experience the emotions of that German pilot who, after having bombed Leningrad from a great height, too high to see it, was forced down by a Soviet plane? The "NEW YORK TIMES" (Feb. 26, 1942) reproduced the story of this pilot as told by the Russian writer Tikhonoff:

"He landed on the roof of a high apartment house and was found gazing wonderingly down onto the moonlit city. As he was brought downstairs in the tall building past apartments in which the dwellers were leading busy lives it was apparent from his expression...that he had never thought of Leningrad as a real live place but only as a target on the map. The pilot then said he believed Leningrad could never be taken or bombed into submission."

It is evident that, despite the compositional

necessity of inserting in the Campaign films these resting-places, Nazi propaganda cannot afford to let up on its constant pressure. If, on the screen or in life, the dynamic power of that propaganda happened to stop even for one single moment, the whole system would vanish in a trice. x
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This is the explanation for the extensive use made in the Nazi films of polyphonic techniques. Well knowing that propaganda must work continuously upon the mind of audiences, the Nazis handle it like peasants do the soil. The wise peasant does not always sow the same crop, but contrives to alternate them; thus his soil is saved from exhaustion and yet with each season he reaps his harvest. The Campaign films parallel these rural proceedings. Instead of ever halting the succession of propaganda ideas, they merely X change the medium through which those ideas are transmitted. When the commentary is reticent for a moment, one can be sure that the visuals or the musical part have something to impart, and often two or three independent meanings, assigned to diverse media, run contrapuntally like themes X in a score. Since each of these media affects the spectator's psychical constitution in a different way, their skillful variation continually is relieving other regions of his mind. He is relieved without, however, being released from the steady impact of propaganda. X

The "camping-idyll" in VICTORY IN THE WEST, not synchronized with any verbal statements, either predisposes the audience to suggestions or attacks it with various direct appeals. After the commentary in that film has denounced the alleged invasion of Belgium by French and English troops, the visuals are not content to describe it, but point derisively at the Negroes in the French army and then with the aid of music ridicule the Britons. Propaganda currents arising alternatively or together from the three media thus impose upon the spectator a kind of psychic massage that both eases and strains him at the same time. By means of this method, this "massage," the polyphony achieves its structural function of preventing his escape. Throughout

the whole of the dramatized pseudo-epics that technique attempts to maintain in the spectator those oscillations which, if they really could be maintained, would make him indifferent to truth or untruth and isolate him from reality forever.

CONFLICT WITH REALITY

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The outright use Nazi propaganda films make of newsreel shots seems to be influenced by certain techniques the Communists employed in Germany. At any rate, the "Popular Union of Friends of the Film" (Volkverband der Filmfreunde), a leftist cultural organization in Berlin, proceeded, shortly before Hitler rose to power, in the following way: after having acquired from the U.F.A. a supply of commercial newsreels, the managers of the Union re-arranged these materials for their own purposes, with the result that quite innocent pictures suddenly changed their appearance and took on a rather inciting character. Like the current newsreels in other countries, those of the U.F.A. presented in the years of the German Republic an anaemic mixture of catastrophes, horse races, football games, flower festivals, exotica and official events; and the more the political struggles in Germany grew in violence, the more this stereotyped weekly report endeavored to neutralize itself by omitting everything of importance and excluding any resolute expression. It screened the world instead of projecting the world onto a screen. That the mere regrouping of its components could turn such colorless reels into a series of red-tinged incidents produced a sensation in Berlin great enough to call for the intervention of the censor and the police. Soon after its clamorous beginning the show was prohibited, although the "Friends of the Film" based their protest upon the demonstrable assertion that their picture contained nothing but newsreel shots already shown in all the U.F.A. Theatres without scandalizing anyone.

The Nazi film propagandists practice that leftist technique in a somewhat reverse order; they do not try to elicit reality from a meaningless arrangement of pictures, but rather nip in the bud the real meaning their newsreel materials would convey. Nothing is neglected in camouflaging this procedure and to bolster the impression that,

through unfaked newsreel material, reality itself is moving across the screen. All Nazi war films include here and there indistinct clips which, from the merely photographic standpoint, would be quite undesirable; Nazi propaganda, however, retains these apparent blanks precisely because they testify to the authenticity of the pictures and hence support the usual confusion of authenticity and truth. In the same interest, by the way, the Nazis speed the release of their newsreels, at least in Germany¹, reducing to a minimum the time interval between war events and their appearance on the screen. (The ideal would be the showing of newsreels simultaneously with the activities they record.) Thanks to such an approach audiences involuntarily transfer the impressions they received from reality itself to the newsreels that depict it, and as a consequence these newsreels become impregnated with that reality and less open to the suspicion of being one-sided or containing gaps. Like parasites, they subsist on the direct effects of the events to which they cling.

It is not easy to understand why the Nazi film experts obstinately insist upon forming their elaborate Campaign films almost exclusively from newsreel shots. The average spectator, of course, accepts their loudly proclaimed desire to be true to reality and supposes that they proceed so because of that intention. But contrary to his naiveté stands the fact that the wholly staged bombardment in the British film TARGET FOR TONIGHT proves more realistic--and aesthetically more impressive--than analogous newsreel scenes in the Nazi films. And the Nazis themselves know quite well that life photographed is not necessarily synonymous with the image of life. In the "LICHT BILD BUEHNE" of May 16, 1940, an article on film reports from the front is followed by another one, "Truth to Life--the basic Law of the artistic Shape of Films," the author of which declares: "Truth to life--that does not mean the mere photography of life. It rather means the artistically shaped representation of condensed life." Just by piling up their newsreel shots, the Nazis betray how little they are concerned with reality.

1. See p. 3.

They want to remove it. Since that is so, it would seem theoretically that they are even more free to stage the contents of their films, and one should expect them to take full advantage of this possibility, instead of adhering so fast to the pictorial records of the reporters at the front. Admitted that they dwell upon moving maps and do not hesitate to include in VICTORY IN THE WEST a number of special effects, such charts and cutting devices, however, disappear amidst the overwhelming mass of newsreel clips. Why then this mass? - again that question arises. To pretend to the typical spectator that the filmed war reveals the real Campaigns? This explanation suggested in the first chapter now turns out to be unsatisfactory. For Nazi film propagandists certainly do not depend upon accumulated newsreel shots to make audiences believe that the staged film they are seeing is a documentary.

/ The very reason for the extreme importance attached by those propagandists to newsreel reality is not to be looked for in the aesthetics of film, but is found rather in the structure of the totalitarian system as a whole. Hence the difficulty of detecting that reason. By steadily referring to film materials taken on the spot, the Nazis are indeed adopting in the field of propaganda film production the same course that determines their actual political practice. Their conduct in this respect serves to keep the entire system in motion and can be considered as one of the essential arcana of Nazi propaganda. /

In the interest of the Nazi dictatorship, totalitarian propaganda endeavors to supplant the traditional conditions of life, based upon the acknowledgment of individual values. Since the Nazis aim at totality, they cannot content themselves with simply superseding that reality--the only reality deserving the name--by institutions of their own. If they did so, the image of reality would not be destroyed but merely banished, and could continue to work in the subconscious mind, thus imperiling time and again the principle of absolute leadership. To obtain the desired total effect, the Nazi elite must go far beyond the obsolete despotism that suppressed freedom without annihilating its memory. These

modern rulers have learned--during the years of their struggle for power, perhaps--that it is not sufficient to impose upon the people a "new order" and let the old thoughts escape. Instead of allowing them to find some obscure refuge, they persistently trace each independent opinion and drag it out from even the most remote hiding place--with the obvious intention of blocking all individual views. They try to sterilize the mind. And at the same time they press it into their service, mobilizing its abilities and emotions to such an extent that there remains no place and no will for intellectual heresy. The whole procedure not only manages to prevent reality from growing again, but actually seizes components of that reality to stage the pseudo-reality of the totalitarian system. Old folk songs survive but with Nazi verses, republican institutions are given a contrary significance, and always the people are compelled to expend their psychic reserve in activities designed by the propaganda for the express purpose of adjusting people's mentality, until nothing is left behind.

This precisely is the meaning of the following sentences uttered by Goebbels:

"May the shining flame of our enthusiasm never be extinguished. This flame alone gives light and warmth to the creative art of modern political propaganda. Rising from the depth of the people this art must always descend back to it and find its power there. Power based on guns may be a good thing; it is, however, better and more gratifying to win the heart of a people and to keep it."

Goebbels, an expert at combining journalistic rhetoric and smart cynicism, defines modern political propaganda as a creative art--a statement which implies that he regards propaganda as an autonomous power rather than a subordinate instrument. Can this heightened propaganda possibly meet the real wants of the people? As a creative art it excels in instigating or silencing popular wants. And instead of humbly furthering some valuable idea, it exploits in an opportunistic manner all ideas attractive to its own interests. Goebbels, of course, is too great an artist to mention that

these interests coincide with the lust for domination. Nevertheless, the sincerity of his definition goes far enough to admit the conclusion that a world shaped by the art of propaganda becomes as modelling clay and, hence, deprived of independent reality. What Goebbels then says about the necessity for an intimate relation between propaganda and people, reveals how artistically his propaganda proceeds to fill in this emptied world. He declines mere "power based on guns," for a power that neglects to invade and conquer the soul would always be faced with potential revolution. Here Goebbels' genius springs into action. According to him, such half measures must be carried through by totalitarian ones; propaganda, as he declares himself, has "to win the heart of a people and to keep it." In plain language, Goebbels' propaganda, not content with forcing the Nazi system upon the people, considers that its task is to force the heart of the people into this system--and to keep it there. Goebbels thus confirms that Nazi propaganda draws upon all the capacities of the people, using them to cover the void it has created. Reality is put to work faking itself, and minds exhausted are no longer permitted even to dream. And why are they exhausted? Because they continually have to produce the "shining flame of...enthusiasm" to which alone Goebbels attributes the faculty of keeping Nazi propaganda alive. In other words, his propaganda would shrink and vanish if people, while building up the phony Swastika reality of the Nazi world, continued to behave rationally; its existence and might depend rather upon the presupposition that people are held in a state of permanent excitement. Bismarck once said: "Enthusiasm cannot be pickled like herrings"; but he did not foresee the art of continuously creating it anew. Goebbels is, indeed, obliged to feed the "shining flame" that gives "light and warmth" to his propaganda with more propaganda. Cynic as he is, he himself concedes that it must always return to the "depth of the people" and "find its power there." Evidently it finds its power there by stirring up enthusiasm. This is an important point. For the fact that Goebbels' artistic endeavors are founded on abnormal conditions of life testifies once again to the hollowness of

the Nazi system: air whizzes when it streams into a vacuum, and the more untenable a social structure is in itself, the more "enthusiasm" must be evoked lest it collapse. Enthusiasm? Whenever the Nazi propaganda films show in detail their cheering crowds--and they love to do so--they pick out closeups of faces possessed of a fanaticism bordering on hysteria. In christening this phenomenon enthusiasm, Goebbels was for once being too modest; in reality, it is the "shining flame" of mass-hysteria that he fans so assiduously.

Goebbels spoke those words at the Nuremberg Party Congress in 1934; and TRIUMPH OF THE WILL, the film of that Congress, is a reliable illustration of them. For it represents, through a very impressive composition of mere newsreel shots, the complete transformation of reality, its complete absorption into the artificial structure of the Party Congress. The Nazis, of course, painstakingly prepared the ground for this metamorphosis: grandiose architectural arrangements were made to encompass the mass-movements, and, under the personal supervision of Hitler, precise plans of the marches and parades had been drawn up long before the event. Thus the Congress could take place almost literally in a space and a time of its own; thanks to perfect manipulation, it became not so much a spontaneous demonstration as a gigantic extravaganza with nothing left to improvisation. This staged show, channelling the psychic energies of hundreds of thousands of people, differed from the average monster spectacle only in that it made itself appear to be an expression of the people's real existence. When, in 1787, Catherine II travelled southward to inspect her new provinces, General Potemkin, the Governor of the Ukraine, filled the lonely Russian steppes with pasteboard models of villages to give the impression of flourishing life to the fast-driving sovereign--an anecdote that ends with the highly satisfied Catherine bestowing on her former favorite the title of Prince of Tauris. The Nazis also counterfeit life after the manner of Potemkin; instead of pasteboard, however, they use life itself to construct their imaginary villages...

For this purpose people as the incarnation of life must

be transported in both the literal and metaphoric significance of the word. As to the means of transportation, TRIUMPH OF THE WILL distinctly reveals that the Congress speeches played rather a minor role in that respect. Speeches stir up emotions through the mind they address; but the Nazis prefer to reduce the mind by working primarily upon the emotions. At Nuremberg therefore steps were taken to influence the physical and psychic condition of all partisans. Throughout the whole Congress the mass already open to suggestion was swept along by a continuous, well-organized movement that could not but dominate it. Significantly, Hitler reviewed the entire five-hour parade from his standing car instead of from a fixed dais. Symbols chosen for their stimulative power helped in the total mobilization: the city was a sea of waving Swastika banners; the flames of bonfires and torches illuminated the nights. And constantly the streets and squares echoed with the exciting rhythm of march-music. Not satisfied with having conjured up a state of ecstasy, the Congress leaders strove to stabilize it by means of certain pre-tested techniques that utilize the magic of aesthetic forms to impart consistency to volatile crowds. The front ranks of the Labor Service men were trained to speak in chorus--an outright imitation of communistic propaganda methods; the innumerable rows of the various Party formations composed tableaux vivants across the huge festival grounds. Not only did these living ornaments perpetuate the metamorphosis of the moment, they symbolically presented the mass as an instrumental super-unit.

It was Hitler himself who commissioned Leni Riefenstahl to produce an artistically shaped film of the Party Congress. She tells of those preliminaries in her book: "Behind the Scenes of the Reich's Party Congress film"¹ and incidentally remarks: "The preparations for the Party Congress were made in concert with the preparations for the camera work." This illuminating statement reveals that in its very conception

1. "Hinter den Kulissen des Reichsparteitag-Films," Franz Eher, Muenchen, 1935.

the Congress was planned not only as a spectacular meeting, but also as a spectacular show for the screen. Leni Riefenstahl hints at how readily the managers of the Congress facilitated her task. Aspects open here as confusing as the series of reflected images one finds in a mirror-maze: from the real life of the people was built up a faked reality that was passed off as the true one; but this bastard reality, instead of being an end in itself, functioned as simply the set dressing for a film which was then to assume the character of an authentic documentary. TRIUMPH OF THE WILL is, indeed, the film of the Reich's Party Congress; however one can say, too, that the Congress had been staged to produce TRIUMPH OF THE WILL with the ultimate intention of resurrecting and evoking again through its pictures the ecstasy of the people. ||

With the 30 cameras at her disposal and a staff of about 120 members, Leni Riefenstahl assembled a film that not only illustrates the Congress to the full, but succeeds in disclosing its whole significance. One senses that she knew what was at stake, and wanted to emphasize it through pictorial means. Thus TRIUMPH OF THE WILL employs many closeups which demonstrate how all elements of reality are drawn into the process of transformation. The cameras incessantly scan faces, uniforms, arms and again faces, and each of these samples furnishes evidence of the thoroughness with which the metamorphosis was achieved. It is a metamorphosis so radical as to include even Nuremberg's ancient stone buildings. Steeples, sculptures, gables and venerable facades are glimpsed between fluttering banners and presented in such a way that they too seem to be caught up in the excitement. Far from forming an unchangeable background, they themselves take wing. Indeed, like faces and objects, isolated parts of architecture are shot against the sky. These particular close shots, typical not only of TRIUMPH OF THE WILL, may imply the function of removing things and events from their own spheres into strange and unknown space. The dimensions of that space, however, remain entirely undefined. * And it is not without symbolic meaning that the features of Hitler often appear before clouds.

To substantiate that transfiguration of reality, TRIUMPH OF THE WILL excels in shaping endless movement. The nervous life of the flames is played upon, the overwhelming effects of a multitude of advancing banners or standards are systematically exploited. Movement produced by the techniques of the film sustains that of the subjects. There is a constant panning, travelling, tilting up and down--so that spectators not only see passing a feverish world, but feel themselves uprooted in it. The ubiquitous camera obliges them to go by way of the most fantastic routes, and cutting helps drive them on. In the films of the Russian director Dovshenko, motion is sometimes arrested for a picture that, like a still, presents some fragment of motionless reality: it is as if, by bringing all life to a standstill, the core of reality, its very being, were disclosed. This would be impossible in TRIUMPH OF THE WILL. On the contrary, here total movement seems to have devoured the substance, and life exists only in a state of transition.

The film carries, too, pictures of the mass-ornaments into which that transported life was directed at the Congress. Mass-ornaments they appeared to Hitler and his staff, who must have appreciated them as configurations symbolizing the readiness of the masses to be shaped and used at will by their leaders. The popularization of these pseudo still-lives can be laid to the intention of captivating the spectator with their aesthetic qualities and leading him to believe in the solidity of the Swastika world. Where content is lacking or cannot be revealed, the attempt is often made to substitute formal artistic structures for it: not for nothing did Goebbels call propaganda a creative art. Hence TRIUMPH OF THE WILL, not satisfied with presenting the officially fabricated mass-ornaments, eagerly inserts new ones discovered by the wandering cameras: among them such impressive tableaux vivants as the two rows of raised arms that converge upon Hitler's car while it slowly passes between them; the bird's-eye view of the innumerable tents of the Hitler Youth; the ornamental pattern composed by torch-lights sparkling through a huge cloth banner in the foreground. These shots approach, in part, the abstract

✓ pictures of the avant-garde; they involuntarily betray the propagandistic functions that pure forms here serve. ||

Now one understands the deep feeling of uneasiness that TRIUMPH OF THE WILL arouses in unbiased minds. It originates in the fact that before our eyes palpable life becomes an apparition--a fact the more disquieting as this procedure is affecting the vital existence of a people. Passionate efforts are made to authenticate that version of their existence through multifold pictures illustrating Germany's youth and manhood and the architectural achievements of their ancestors as well. Nazi Germany herself, prodigally embodied, passes across the screen--but to what end? To be immediately carried away; to serve as raw material for the construction of delusive villages à la Potemkin. This film represents an inextricable mixture of a show simulating German reality and of German reality manoeuvred into a show. Only a nihilistic-minded power that disregards all traditional human values can so unhesitatingly manipulate the bodies and the souls of a whole people to conceal its own nihilism. The Nazi leaders pretend to act in the name of Germany. But the Reich's eagle, frequently detailed in the film, always appears against the sky like Hitler himself-- a symbol of a superior might used as the means of manipulation. TRIUMPH OF THE WILL is the triumph of a nihilistic will. And it is a frightening spectacle to see many an honest, unsuspecting youngster enthusiastically submit to his corruption, and long columns of exalted men march toward the barren realm of that will as though they themselves wanted to pass away.

This excursion may explain why the Nazis cling so desperately to newsreel shots to build their elaborate war films. The maintenance of the whole totalitarian system depends upon the condition that they succeed in annexing to it all real life. And since, in the medium of the film, the authentic representation of that life is reserved to newsreel shots, the Nazis not only cannot afford to set them aside, but are forced to compose their fictitious war pictures exclusively from those clips.

Unlike the themes of TRIUMPH OF THE WILL, the events in BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST constitute an independent reality. Whereas the cameramen at Nuremberg worked on a well-prepared ground, the army film reporters can only shoot whatever they happen to find on their expeditions. Or overlook it. Of this latter possibility the Nazis make persistent use, even though they must certainly be aware that the average spectator knows enough of present warfare to sense their incompleteness. Indeed, the two Campaign films and the newsreels as well avoid several subjects which are an inseparable part of the reality of the war they pretend to cover. Such omissions are the more astonishing as they obviously conflict with the basic design of Nazi propaganda. If they do not necessarily testify to any actual failures of this propaganda, they betray at least that the Nazis do refrain from advertising on the screen certain of their methods and achievements. Reality thus proves its might in the dimension of the pictures. X

One German newsreel issued after the French Campaign vividly illustrates the hearty reception given to the troops returning home. Little boys climb up on a standing tank, girls in white strew flowers, and the town's whole population is afoot to welcome back the regiment to its old garrison. This sequence, however, seems to be an exception within the newsreels. At any rate, neither Campaign film exhibits people in their natural state, but only--and then rarely--in the form of cheering crowds. They differ in this respect from the Russian MANNERHEIM LINE that concludes with the Leningrad people happily applauding the return of their victorious army. Theoretically, the end of VICTORY IN THE WEST could have been composed in the same way; for, according to Shirer¹, all Berlin turned out on July 18, 1940, to attend the victory parade through the Brandenburg Gate. "I mingled among the crowds in the Pariserplatz," he notes, "A holiday spirit ruled completely. Nothing martial about the mass of the people here. They were just out for a good time." The rejection of such scenes and of people in ←

1. See "Berlin Diary," pp. 451-452.

general may be connected with the particular character of the Campaign films. As descriptions of blitz wars and conquests they can pretend to be uninterested in the civil life within their national boundaries. In addition, both of them are films of the German High Command, and as such are engaged in glorifying the soldier rather than the citizen. Hence they end in parades--military apotheoses which presumably indicate, too, that the war is to be continued. But despite this reasoning, the almost complete exclusion of people in such representative films remains a puzzling fact. Involuntarily it is a positive confirmation of the indifference with which the Nazi leaders view the people they officially praise as the source of their power.

Also the American versions of BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST suppress even the slightest allusion to the anti-Jewish activities of the Nazis in wartime. Other versions may be less reticent: the German edition of the Polish Campaign film is said to contain a scene with caricature-like Polish Jews sniping at German soldiers from behind doors and trees. Here, as in other cases, the newsreels prove more communicative than the full-length compositions. One of them bestows on George VI the title "King of Judaea" and calls Mr. Mandel "the Jew Mandel," further characterizing him as the "hangman of France." A second reel, likewise released after the French débâcle, represents deserted cars on the highway as those of the "Jewish warmongers and Parisian plutocrats" who intended to flee in them, their luggage filled with "ingots of gold and jewellery." Except for the mentioned Polish war episode, however, these attacks are confined to a few hints which, unseconded by visuals, disappear in the mass of verbal statements. While the Nazis keep on practicing, printing and broadcasting their racial antisemitism, they reduce its role in the war films, apparently hesitant to spread it through pictures. The anti-Jewish campaign has been placed on almost the same level as the concentration camps and the sterilizations, measures entirely ignored on the screen. All this can be done and justified and furthered by words; but it stubbornly resists pictorial representation. The image seems

to be the last refuge of violated human dignity. And even though the Nazi system has succeeded in actually overthrowing the fragile laws of civilization, totalitarian propaganda is still expelled from the sphere of the image and, hence, unable to complete its triumph over a reality acquired through the struggles of hundreds of years. Only one scene, the identification of alleged Polish murderers in BAPTISM OF FIRE, points to the unseen backgrounds of the system--an isolated relic serving the design of this film to terrorize audiences. /

The omission of death in the German war films has struck many observers. As a matter of fact, the two Campaign pictures do insert two dead horses of enemy nationality, two graves of soldiers and several wounded soldiers who pass by too quickly to make an impression; and this is all they offer of the dark consequences of war. (The newsreels practice a similar abstention.) In one of them badly-injured soldiers appear in a hospital; but since they are receiving a visit from their Fuehrer, they are the elect rather than victims. This cautious line seems never to have been abandoned. Thus the "NEW YORK TIMES" OF June 14, 1941, mentions a Nazi newsreel dealing with the blitzkrieg in the Balkans and the German entry into the war in North Africa, "which did not show any German dead or wounded." And in the "NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE" of March 1, 1942, Mr. George Axelsson notes among other impressions of present-day Berlin: "The newsreels show the German Army sweeping forward against the usually invisible enemy without the loss of a single man or vehicle."¹

A side-glance at Russian war pictures proves the pictorial abolition of death to be a peculiarity of Nazi propaganda. The Campaign film MANNERHEIM LINE not only includes pan-shots over dead Russian soldiers, but goes so far as to evoke through relentless closeups still-lives composed of the fragments of corpses. Ardentely devoted to material phenomena, these Russian cameramen and film editors

1. George Axelsson: "Picture of Berlin, not by Goebbels."

do not repudiate the most terrifying details. Their new documentary, **THE ROUT OF THE GERMAN ARMIES BEFORE MOSCOW**, reportedly contains a scene with a Red Army General "addressing his men against a background of eight dangling figures of civilians of Volokalamsk who had been hanged by the Nazis."¹

Shirer's "Berlin Diary" makes it evident that the Nazis proceed "according to plan" in withholding from general audiences the calamities of war. On May 16, 1940, Shirer wrote: "I just saw two uncensored newsreels at our press conference in the Propaganda Ministry. Pictures of the German army smashing through Belgium and Holland. Some of the more destructive work of German bombs and shells was shown. Towns laid waste, dead soldiers and horses lying around, and the earth and mortar flying when a shell or bomb hit." This record is followed on June 10, 1940, by some remarks on another newsreel likewise presented at a press conference: "Again the ruined towns, the dead humans, the putrefying horses' carcasses. One shot showed the charred remains of a British pilot amid the wreckage of his burnt plane." Shirer's notes prove the existence of pictures of death in the original German newsreels and the occasional interest of the Propaganda Ministry in pressing their horrors upon the mind of a selected group of foreign correspondents. Presumably the Nazi authorities wanted them to write or broadcast reports that would spread panic abroad; but obviously they did not want to use those pictures themselves for this purpose."

Since pictorial documents provoke the most immediate and striking reactions in audiences, it is understandable that the Nazis once allowed a radio broadcast from the front to include the cries of a dying soldier,² while, on the other hand, in their films they force death into complete invisibility. Although their existence depends upon the

1. See the report cabled from Moscow: "Film of the Defense of Moscow depicts Army's and People's fight," in the "NEW YORK TIMES" of Feb. 17, 1942.

2. I owe this information to the Research Project on Totalitarian Communication.

ability of transfiguring all reality, they do not dare to take the image of death with them. FOR US, a short Nazi film released in 1937 and presenting the grandiose Munich commemoration for fallen partisans of the movement, has the following scene: a speaker calls the roll of the dead, and at each name he shouts, the mass of the living partisans respond in unison "Here." Of course, that ceremony was staged in exactly the same manner as the Party Congress of TRIUMPH OF THE WILL. Now the reactions of film audiences are far less controllable than those of people acting in such a show. What will the German public answer when pictures of dead German soldiers appear on the screen? The lack of corpses in the Nazi war films betrays the leader's secret fear that possibly no "Here" would be audible then. Their fear is certainly well-founded. For the sight of death, this most definitive of all real facts, might shock the spectator deeply enough to restore his independence of mind, and thus destroy the spell of Nazi propaganda. The power of that propaganda over the life of a people may well end when it confronts people with the end of their lives.

As for those sectors of reality that come into view on the screen, they undergo the different treatments indicated in the foregoing chapters. But despite all the efforts of Nazi propaganda, there are still scenes that refuse to submit to the demands imposed upon them. The reason is that they convey unstaged reality--contents with a meaning of their own. And it happens that this meaning, rising to the surface, undermines their propagandistic intentions. Clashes occur. Each one reveals some latent conflict between Nazi propaganda and the reality that this propaganda pretends to have incorporated.

Even the carefully polished commentary of the two Campaign films fails to conceal all collisions; it contains a superabundance of self-justifications that arouses the suspicions of unprejudiced spectators. BAPTISM OF FIRE furnishes, apart from the already-mentioned vindication at its end¹, such a mass of arguments in favor of Germany that the

1. See p. 25.

→ alleged legitimacy of her war against Poland is not only made clear but too clear. After Danzig's return to the Reich the commentator introduces the subsequent war episodes with the words: "Poland...is threateningly taking up the arms against the just cause of the German nation," and the bombardment of Warsaw is obviously the work of its defenders. The verbal statements of VICTORY IN THE WEST similarly exaggerate in their attempt to transform Germany's blitz attacks into measures of self-defense--exaggerate so much as to have recourse to patently dubious assumptions. ✓ It is precisely by detailing the proofs of their innocence, however, that the Nazi leaders expose themselves as the attackers. Experienced criminals are rich in alibis. |

No less do the pictures on the screen turn the tables, disclosing the very nature of that propaganda which tries to absorb their significance. Thus the continuous presentation of infinite columns of prisoners creates a monotony that counteracts their function of materializing glowing German triumphs. Instead of feeling overwhelmed, audiences soon tire, the more so as all columns, including those of the German soldiers, are as like as two peas. Thus the confused descriptions of military operations may not only produce the intended effects, but also lead spectators to realize that the Nazis, far from giving information are → merely seeking to impress them. × The Nazi ruler's contempt of the individual comes out clearly. Thus the quite incoherent shots that frequently fill the interlude between the verbal forecast of a victory and the pictures of its completion betray something of the true relation of Nazi propaganda to reality. In all these cases--they could easily be augmented--the genuine images of reality indict totalitarian propaganda for their manipulation. And does not the void behind the scenes appear amid the colored arrangements of that propaganda? It presents itself thus in a German newsreel sequence showing Nazi Germany at the summit of her triumphs:

Hitler, accompanied by his architect, Prof. Speer, and several other members of his staff, pays a visit to

Paris early in the morning. The columns of the Madeleine sternly watch as he paces up the steps. Then the Nazi cars pass before the Opéra. They cross La Concorde, drive along the Champs-Élysées and slow down in front of the Arc de Triomphe, a close shot of which shows Rude's "Marseillaise" emerging from its cover of sand bags. On they drive. At last Hitler and his retinue stand on the terrace of the Trocadéro, steadfastly gazing at the Eiffel tower in the rear. The Fuehrer is visiting the conquered European capital--but is he really the guest of that capital? Paris is as quiet as a grave. Except for a few policemen, a worker and a solitary priest hastening out of sight, not a soul is to be seen at the Trocadéro, the Etoile, the huge Concorde, the Opéra and the Madeleine, not a soul to hail the dictator so accustomed to cheering crowds. While he inspects Paris, Paris itself shuts its eyes and withdraws. The touching sight of this deserted ghost city that once pulsed with feverish life mirrors the vacuum at the core of the Nazi system. Nazi propaganda builds up a pseudo-reality iridescent with many colors, but at the same time it empties Paris, the sanctuary of civilization. Those colors scarcely veil its own emptiness.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

A. Definition of Concepts

A film is usually divided into sequences, scenes and shots. This division, however, seems inapplicable to the study of the propaganda films under discussion; for it would complicate the task of seizing all the propagandistic appeals that emerge at any time in such films.

Since the analysis of a whole presupposes the analysis of its elements, we have to find the smallest units which--either isolated or in relation to other units--may imply intended propagandistic functions. They may be called basic units.

Complexes of these basic units compose what we call sections, passages and parts.

Let us first speak of the basic units. They appear in the three media of which each propaganda film is composed. These media are:

- the commentary - including both verbal statements and the occasional captions;
- the visuals - including camera reality and the numerous maps;
- the sound - composed of sound effects and music, including songs (words spoken by characters on the screen are so rare that they can be ignored).

In the medium of the commentary, the basic unit may be called a verbal unit or, more specifically, a

statement. Each statement consists of one or more sentences. The whole commentary of a propaganda film is a succession of such explicit verbal statements, each separated from the other by an interval during which visuals appear or continue to appear.

Example 1: BAPTISM OF FIRE opens with the statement

STATEMENT: "As far back as the time of the Templars, the city of Danzig used to be a German stronghold against the East. The Hanseatic League, a merchant guild of Free German towns formed to protect their trade in the Baltic Region, developed the city into an important and beautiful trade center. Beautiful old houses and gates still bear witness to a proud past, and today as ever demonstrate the Germanic character of the place."

FUNCTION: The intended propagandistic function of this statement is to display Germany's historical right to Danzig.

In the medium of the visuals, we call the basic unit a picture unit. The picture unit consists of one or more shots. Shots form a picture unit if they represent a unity of subject, of place, of time, of action, a symbolic unity or any combination of several of these components.

Example 2: Maps are sometimes represented through one and the same travelling shot. Each of these shots forms a picture unit.

PICTURE UNIT: constituting a symbolic unity.

Example 2a: The statement of example 1 is synchronized with a picture unit

PICTURE UNIT: that consists of a number of shots showing old Danzig houses from different angles. These shots represent a unity of subject and place. The intended propagandistic function

FUNCTION: of this picture unit is a romantic-aesthetic appeal.

In the medium of the sound the basic unit may be called

sound unit. The sound unit has a uniform noise or musical character--a sad tune, a gay song or a terrific bombardment.

These three kinds of basic units contain whatever is communicated within the three media; their propagandistic function derives from the content of the commentary, the visuals and the sound. Hence they may be called content units.

In addition to the content units we must take into account other basic units the function of which does not originate in their content but in the relations between content units. These units may be called relation units. But before defining them, we have to return to the content units just examined.

Each explicit statement (verbal unit) is usually synchronized with one or more picture units and/or sound units. Such a complex we call a section. Each section normally extends over all three media.

Example 3: The statement about the Germanic character of Danzig--example 1--and the picture unit representing old Danzig houses--example 2b--are accompanied by a sound unit. These three synchronized content units form a section.

For practical purposes we base the sections on the commentary. Since the commentary differs from the other media in that it is composed of explicit verbal statements, its presumed propagandistic functions are less ambiguous. This methodological preference naturally does not assume the propagandistic appeal of the commentary to be more important than that of the visuals or the sound. The contrary will frequently prove true.

To sum up: each statement determines a section. A section is composed of one statement, one or more picture units and possibly one or more sound units.

We now return to the relation units, where we distinguish between a linkage, a synchronization and a cross-linkage.

A linkage is the relation between successive content units within one medium. Such linkages may also occur between already linked content units.

Example 4: taken from the medium of the visuals of BAPTISM OF FIRE.--We consider two successive sections of this film.

SECTION I

STATEMENT: "Hundreds of thousands of Polish prisoners are assembling for transportation into the camps."--Synchronized picture unit:

PICTURE UNIT: About 8 shots representing moving Polish prisoner columns. The last shot shows a prisoner column retreating toward the rear.

SECTION II

STATEMENT: "The German troops are still following the retreating enemy on all fronts, advancing steadily eastward."

PICTURE UNIT: Several shots representing a moving German infantry column. The first two shots show the column advancing.)

FUNCTION: The intended propagandistic function of this linkage between two picture units is to emphasize symbolically the contrast of German advance with Polish retreat.

A synchronization is the relation between simultaneous content units or linkages of different media within one section.

Example 5: taken from the historical part of VICTORY IN THE WEST, and that of the following section:

STATEMENT: (dealing with the events in Germany after the first World War)
"The tributes extorted by the enemy, inflation

and unemployment dragged the German people into the deepest kind of want. Exhausted, disrupted and in need of a leader, they drifted toward extinction."--This statement is synchronized with one picture unit

PICTURE UNIT: consisting of about three shots:

1. shot: Demonstrating worker processions with banners and signs: "Revolution forever"
2. shot: Same, with signs claiming "General strike"
3. shot: Crowd with signs: "Dictatorship of the proletariat." A (Jewish-looking) speaker instigating the crowd.

FUNCTION: The intended propagandistic function of this synchronization of a picture unit with a simultaneous statement is obviously to identify the moral collapse, of which the commentary speaks, with the "Marxist Revolution" in Germany and thus to deprecate this revolution.

A cross-linkage is the relation between a content unit in one of the three media of a section and a content unit in another medium of a neighbouring section.

Example 6: taken from the media of the commentary and the visuals of VICTORY IN THE WEST. Toward the end of this film the following two successive sections are to be found:

SECTION I

STATEMENT: "Up to the last moment the heavy forts of the Maginot Line are fighting."
(This statement is followed by another one that can be neglected in this context.)

PICTURE UNIT a: A shot showing a French gun crew in a Fort of the Maginot Line.

PICTURE UNIT b: Several shots exemplifying the German attack against the Fort and its surrender.

SECTION II

STATEMENT: It sums up the balance of the Campaign: almost two million prisoners have been taken, and there is no end of captured material.

PICTURE UNIT: It consists of four shots:

1. shot: Two captured French officers
2. shot: Pan ← over a multitude of prisoners
3. shot: Encamping Negroes. Close shot
4. shot: A group of Negroes, picked out in medium closeup

DESCRIPTION: There is a distinct relation between the statement of section I praising French bravery, and the picture unit of section II stressing implicitly the number of Negroes in the French army.

FUNCTION: The intended propagandistic function of this cross-linkage between the statement of section I and the picture unit of the subsequent section II is presumably to invalidate the praise of French bravery by the pictorial hint at the fact that the same Frenchmen are so degenerate as to have recourse to Negroes. A mixture of functions adding the moral triumph to the martial one and thus increasing the appeal of triumph.

We have yet to define the concepts of passage and part.

The passage is composed of two or several successive sections the number of which depends upon the length of the linkages and cross-linkages connecting these sections. If a cross-linkage covers two sections and a simultaneous visual linkage three sections, the passage is determined by the linkage comprising three sections. (It must be noted, however, that only linkages within the media of the commentary and the visuals influence the length of a passage; linkages in the medium of sound serve also as linkages of passages.)

Example 7: Both example 4 and example 6 contain two successive sections which form passages. In the first

case the passage is determined by a linkage, in the second case by a cross-linkage.

A part is a succession of passages.

Example 8: The introduction of VICTORY IN THE WEST developing Germany's history from the Nazi viewpoint, must be considered a part of this film.

T A B L E

illustrating concepts

ABBREVIATIONS: S = Synchronization (indicated only in No. 1)

L = Linkage

CL = Cross-Linkage

PROPAGANDA FILM

Nos.	PASSAGES	SECTIONS	COMMENTARY	VISUALS	SOUND
1		Section	Statement (one or several sentences)	Picture unit (one or several shots)	Sound unit (noise or music-- pure or blended)
2		Section	Statement	Picture unit Picture unit Picture unit	Sound unit Sound unit Sound unit
3	Passage	Section a ----- Section b ----- Section c	Statement Statement Statement	Picture unit Picture unit Picture unit Picture unit Picture unit	Sound unit Sound unit Sound unit
4	Passage	Section a ----- Section b	Statement Statement	Picture unit Picture unit Picture unit	Sound unit Sound unit

The length of passage 3 is determined by linkage (L)

The length of passage 4 is determined by cross-linkage (CL)

B. Scheme of Analysis

A scheme has to be established through which all basic units of Nazi propaganda films can be analyzed. It is understood, however, that such an analysis by no means anticipates the analysis of entire "parts" or of the film as a whole--larger units are not merely the sum of their components. On the other hand, this scheme allows us to discover all film devices within the basic dimension.

The scheme is designed to be drawn through each propaganda film from beginning to end, so as to comb out all the basic units the film contains. Starting from the opening shot, this scheme has to record the whole succession of sections and passages.

Provided that some passage of a propaganda film is to be analyzed, the scheme first considers the units within each medium, i.e., the content units (statements, picture units and sound units) and the linkages (relations between content units within each of the three media). After that the scheme takes account of the basic units which connect media, i.e., of the synchronizations and cross-linkages.

UNITS WITHIN EACH MEDIUM

The commentary being the starting-point for the analysis of a section, the media will have to be checked in the following order: commentary--visuals--sound.

COMMENTARY

The commentary includes the statements
and the linkages of statements

S t a t e m e n t s :

Each statement has to be listed. Sometimes a statement is followed by one or several others that exemplify the first statement. These exemplifying statements will be put in brackets to denote their subordinate character.

Example 9: taken from BAPTISM OF FIRE

STATEMENT: "Reconnaissance flights are producing valuable information, and snapshots are taken of the movements and positions of the enemy." This statement is followed by

STATEMENT: ("The snapshots are developed immediately, and form the basis for decisive operations initiated on account of information received.")

For the purpose of analysis it is necessary to point out, by means of generalization, the propagandistic content of most of the statements. This will be done under the heading

CONTENT.

The intended propagandistic function of the statement is set forth in the next column

FUNCTIONS.

This column appears, of course, in each division of the scheme. It must never contain anything but the presumed function of the basic unit under consideration.

Like Nazi propaganda in general, Nazi film propaganda attempts to reduce the intellectual capacities of audiences and thus to facilitate the acceptance of certain appeals and suggestions. Many basic units--particularly linkages--imply

such preparatory functions. Others aim at enlisting sympathies for Nazi Germany or at terrifying audiences through a demonstration of the German army's striking power. Whenever necessary, we characterize the type of the function.

REMARKS.

In this column, also joined to the divisions of visuals and sound, we note all such remarks as may prove valuable afterwards.

Example 10: taken from the historical part of VICTORY IN THE WEST.

STATEMENT: "Willingly the Belgian custom guards open the frontier barriers to the troops of the Western Powers."

CONTENT: Belgium actually violating neutrality

FUNCTIONS: Statement serves as moral justification of Germany's attack against Belgium. (Vindication motive.)

REMARKS: Falsification of the facts.

Linkages :

They have to be considered under the headings

DESCRIPTION and

FUNCTIONS.

VISUALS

The visuals include the picture units and the linkages of picture units

P i c t u r e u n i t s :

The shot or the shots of which each picture unit consists, have to be listed and/or described. (See examples 4, 5 and 6.)

What has been said of the statement, also applies to the picture unit: its propagandistically effective content must be noted. This will be done in the column

CONTENT.

Note on "additional" picture units: Suppose a number of picture units be synchronized with a statement, then it frequently occurs that one or several of these picture units are not covered by that statement. They may elaborate the statement, and even go beyond it; it is as though they were synchronized with other statements which, however, are missing. In this case, the content of these "additional" picture units, listed in the column "content," takes the place of the non-existing statement and may be considered as an implicit statement to which the picture units refer. Contents thus functioning as implicit statements are put down in quotation marks.

Example 11: taken from VICTORY IN THE WEST

STATEMENT: "In the gray light of dawn the German armies advance along a wide front." The following picture units are synchronized with this statement:

PICTURE UNIT a: About eight shots showing several running soldiers and moving tanks which, like the soldiers, clear away obstacles that would halt the advance.

CONTENT: Actions asked for by the advance of the armies.

PICTURE UNIT b: Several shots: soldiers running across a field swept by enemy fire, seeking cover and machine-gunning.

CONTENT: "Soldiers crossing a field under enemy fire."
(Implicit statement.)

PICTURE UNIT c: Several shots showing an empty village street with soldiers running and machine-gunning.

CONTENT: "Soldiers taking possession of a village." (Implicit statement.)

Linkages :

Like linkages of statements, the linkages in the medium of the visuals have to be taken into account under the headings

DESCRIPTION and
FUNCTIONS.

SOUND

The sound includes the sound units
and the linkages of sound units

Sound units :

They have to be examined in the column

CHARACTERIZATION.

There exist sound units which are inseparably associated with certain images or ideas. Marching music, for instance, conveys the idea of military life, dance music that of festive occasions. Associations of this kind may be produced in the course of a film. If a musical unit is synchronized once or twice with picture units representing scenes of advance, it will later serve as a "leit-motiv," and this "leit-motiv" will automatically give rise to the notion of advance. We note such associations in the column "characterization."

Example 12: taken from VICTORY IN THE WEST and completing example 10.--The statement

STATEMENT: of example 10; "Willingly the Belgian custom guards open the frontier barriers to the troops of the Western Powers," determines a section composed of two picture units not to be listed here. With the second picture unit two sound units are synchronized:

SOUND UNIT a: Music imitating the chatter in a chicken-yard.

CHARACTERIZATION: Funny.

SOUND UNIT b: English song of the "Siegfried Line," thinly instrumented and sung by a chorus.

CHARACTERIZATION: Satirical variation of the popular British soldier's song.--Here we have an exception: the music alone carries out the function of ridiculing English soldiers.

Since sound alone does not usually imply functions, the column "functions" is left out here.

Linkages :

Linkages of sound are not considered in this scheme.

UNITS CONNECTING MEDIA

SYNCHRONIZATIONS

There are three kinds of synchronizations (i.e., of relations between simultaneous content units or linkages of different media within one section):

Relation of the visuals to the commentary
 Relation of the sound to the commentary
 Relation of the sound to the visuals.

We consider first the

Relation of visuals to commentary :

Picture units or linkages in the medium of the visuals represent the statements they refer to in different ways. And since the way in which a statement is embodied through pictures may imply certain propagandistic functions, we characterize the various relations of the visuals to the commentary separately under the heading

CHARACTERIZATION.

With regard to the statement determining the section, picture units (or linkages) may be symbolic, exemplificative, illustrative or explicative. The exemplification is either clear or indistinct. All kinds of representation can be elaborative.

As to the "additional" picture units, we refer to the note, page 66. The relations of these "additional" picture units to their "implicit" statements can be characterized, of course, exactly in the same manner as the relations to explicit statements.

Relation of sound to commentary and visuals:

These relations need only be examined with respect to their intended

FUNCTIONS.

CROSS-LINKAGES

They must be checked in the columns

DESCRIPTION and

FUNCTIONS.

The scheme will be completed by the division

COMPOSITION OF THE SECTIONS
AND PASSAGES

Within this division we group the basic units and functions of each section or passage for the purpose of determining the part each medium plays in producing the total effect of the section or passage under discussion.

C. Five elaborate examples

Preliminary remark:

In cases where several basic units and their functions are superimposed, it is only the most important of these functions that counts.

EXAMPLE I

taken from VICTORY IN THE WEST

STATEMENTS

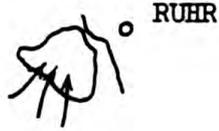
1) "The German Command has received information that a strong enemy force in the vicinity of Lille, consisting of a large number of French and English divisions, has been ordered to advance against the lower Rhine and on into the Ruhr District, in violation of Belgian and Dutch neutrality."

2) ("Willingly the Belgian custom guards open the frontier barriers to the troops of the Western Powers.")

This statement does not start at the same time as picture unit 2a but a little afterwards; it is synchronized with the shot showing the Belgian custom guards.

PICTURE UNITS

1) One shot of a map representing this intention.



Arrows symbolizing enemy groups, cross Belgium's boundaries and begin to advance toward the point RUHR

2a) About 19 shots representing the advance of various French army units: motorcyclists, cyclists, artillery, moving tanks, soldiers in a freight-train.--One of the first shots shows Belgian custom guards opening the barriers. The final shots represent marching French infantry from different angles--columns that consist mainly of Negroes.

2b) British troops:
Shot 1: Medium shot of two English officers standing together.
Shot 2: Closeup of an English tank moving toward the left.
Shot 3: English infantry column advancing toward the left.
Shot 4: Same from another angle.
Shot 5: English infantry slowly moving in Indian file toward the rear.
Shot 6: Moving tank in close shot.

SOUND UNITS

2b)* Sound unit synchronized with shots 1 and 2: music imitating the chatter in a chicken-yard.

2b)** Sound unit synchronized with shots 3-6: variation of the English soldier's song of the "Siegfried Line", thinly instrumented and sung by a chorus.

Analysis of EXAMPLE I

COMMENTARY

Statements

- 1) **CONTENT:** Enemy's intention to violate Belgium's neutrality and to invade the Ruhr on the point of being realized.
FUNCTIONS: Enemy stigmatized as intending aggression.
REMARKS: Statement a falsification.
- 2) **CONTENT:** Belgium actually violating neutrality.
FUNCTIONS: Hint at Belgium's guilt involves moral justification of German attack against Belgium.
REMARKS: Statement a falsification.

Linkages

none

VISUALS

Picture units

- 1) **CONTENT:** See description of picture unit.
FUNCTIONS: Threat to Ruhr symbolically stressed.
REMARKS: Moving map.
- 2a)
and
- 2b) **CONTENT:** Through linkage with map (see "linkages") and relation of map to statement 1) (see "synchronizations") content is determined as "Enemy enters Belgium" (implicit statement).
FUNCTIONS: a) Aggression is a fact.
b) Shots of Negro troops intend anti-race appeal and deprecation of French racial behaviour.
REMARKS: Arrangement of captured French and English film material.

Linkages

DESCRIPTION: Following immediately the map, picture unit 2)

seems to realize the symbolic advance of the arrows. Both picture units linked.

FUNCTIONS: See function a) of picture unit 2).

SOUND

2b)* **CHARACTERIZATION:** Funny.

2b)****CHARACTERIZATION:** Satirical variation. Here is an exception: the music alone carries out the function of ridiculing English soldiers.

REMARKS: Use of the popular English song of the "Siegfried Line."

SYNCHRONIZATIONS

Relation of visuals to commentary

1) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Map symbolizes statement.

FUNCTIONS: Symbolic representation gives the effect as though enemies were already up to carry out intentions denounced by statement.

2) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Illustrative with reference to implicit statement "Enemy enters Belgium."

FUNCTIONS: See function a) of picture unit 2).

Relation of sound to visuals

2b)* **FUNCTIONS:** Ridiculing big English tank.

2b)****FUNCTIONS:** Ridiculing English soldiers.

COMPOSITION OF PASSAGE

COMMENTARY: Enemy intending aggression. Moral justification of German attack.

VISUALS: Aggression a fact, and anti-race appeal (through relation of map to commentary, linkage and picture units).

SOUND: Ridiculing of English arms and troops (through sound alone and relation of sound to visuals).

EXAMPLE II

taken from VICTORY IN THE WEST

<u>STATEMENTS</u>	<u>PICTURE UNITS</u>	<u>SOUND UNITS</u>
<p>1) "Up to the last moment the heavy forts of the Maginot Line are fighting."</p> <p>(This statement is followed by another one that can be neglected in this context.)</p>	<p>1)</p> <p>Shot 1: Long shot of a Fort.</p> <p>Shot 2: In the Fort of the Maginot Line : French soldiers serving a gun.</p> <p>Shot 3: Battle field: German soldiers cutting a barbed wire.</p> <p>Shot 4: Flashes of fire shooting over the Fort.</p> <p>Shot 5: Clouds of smoke rising from the Fort.</p> <p>Shot 6: Barbed wire before clouds of smoke.</p> <p>Shot 7: Fort in medium shot.</p> <p>Shot 8: German soldiers entering the Fort.</p> <p>Shot 9: French commander surrendering the Fort to the German officer.</p> <p>Shot 10: The destroyed Fort with Swastika banner hoisted.</p>	
<p>2) "Almost two million prisoners...and the total material of more than 130 divisions... fall into German hands."</p>	<p>2)</p> <p>Shot 1: Two French officers (prisoners) with and orderly.</p> <p>Shot 2: Camera pans ← over a multitude of prisoners.</p> <p>Shot 3: Encamping Negroes in close shot.</p> <p>Shot 4: A group of Negroes picked out in medium closeup.</p>	<p>2) Negro music reminiscent of jazz tunes.</p>

Analysis of EXAMPLE II

COMMENTARY

Statements

- 1) **CONTENT:** Praise of French bravery.
FUNCTIONS: Appreciation of French bravery honours Germany and emphasizes German strength.
REMARKS: Praise of enemy.
- 2) **CONTENT:** Overwhelming proof of German victory.
FUNCTIONS: Triumph appeal.
REMARKS: Statistic indications.

VISUALS

Picture units

- 1) **CONTENT:** French soldiers fighting and Germans conquering Fort.
FUNCTIONS: Pictures show German bravery.
REMARKS: Shot 2 taken from captured film material--a faked insert. Shot 10 shows a Swastika banner.
- 2) **CONTENT:** Prisoners with emphasis on Negroes.
FUNCTIONS: See functions of cross-linkage.

SOUND

- 2) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Music makes audiences think of jazz-bands.

SYNCHRONIZATIONS

Relation of visuals to commentary

- 1) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Shot 2 vaguely exemplificative. Other shots illustrative.

Relation of sound to visuals

- 2) **FUNCTIONS:** Coloring pictures of French prisoners, the music hints at French flippancy.

CROSS-LINKAGE

DESCRIPTION: Cross-linkage between statement 1) and picture unit 2) synchronized with sound unit 2).

FUNCTIONS: Cross-linkage suggests the following connection of thoughts: French soldiers may be brave-- but French people are degenerate. They deserve to be defeated. German victory proves moral superiority.

COMPOSITION OF PASSAGE

COMMENTARY: Emphasis on German efficiency. Triumph appeal.

VISUALS: German bravery (through picture unit).

SOUND: Hint at French flippancy (through relation of sound to visuals).

COMBINATION OF COMMENTARY AND VISUALS: Germany's moral superiority (through cross-linkage).

EXAMPLE III

Opening of BAPTISM OF FIRE

STATEMENTS

- 1) "As far back as the time of the Templars, the city of Danzig used to be a German stronghold against the East. The Hanseatic League, a merchant guild of Free German towns formed to protect their trade in the Baltic Region, developed the city into an important and beautiful trade center. Beautiful old houses and gates still bear witness to a proud past, and today as ever demonstrate the Germanic character of the place."
- 2) "This memorable German town was cut off from the mother country by the Treaty of Versailles and was formed into a so-called "FREE STATE" under the control of the League of Nations. Various restrictions and obligations were imposed upon this new political structure such as exportation customs, postal and railway sovereignty allotted to Poland within the Green Line. A district especially needed for the Territory of the Free State, the Westernplatte, guarding the entrance to Danzig's harbour, was equipped with extensive munition dumps, and the little fisher village of Gdynia, in a direct contradiction to agreement underlying the constitution of the Danzig Free State; was enlarged into a harbour admitting sea-going ships, thus aiming at gradually averting and battling the trade connections of Danzig property."

PICTURE UNITS

- 1) A series of shots showing Danzig architecture:
 Facades behind the river--among them a granary;
 Closeup of the upper part of this granary
 Parts of an old fountain in closeup
 Travelling around the fountain and its fence toward a steeple
 Another steeple
 Upper parts of several patrician houses
 Tilting up to the upper part of an old house
 Tilting down facade to the portal
- 2) * Map representing the Danzig territory. Camera travels up from the map. At the left appears the territory of Poland colored entirely black and thus contrasting with the little white Danzig region. The word POLEN appears white on the black ground. Now appear the boundaries of the Free State Region and the words: FREISTAAT DANZIG. WESTERNPLATTE. GDINGEN.
- 2)** Map representing Eastern Europe. At the right of the Free State region the black-colored Polish territory with the word POLEN in white letters. Camera travels up from the map so that almost all Europe with England and France can be seen. The words ENGLAND and FRANKREICH appear against black background.

3 "The German fraction among the conglomerate of nationalities was ruthlessly persecuted. German schools were closed, industrials and landowners expropriated and large parts of the German populace were driven from the country. In numbers steadily growing, they tried to escape from Polish terror and seek protection on Reich territory. Hundreds of thousands of worn-out, distressed and panic-stricken people poured daily into German refugee camps.

3 Picture unit representing German refugee procession:

German refugees with bag and baggage moving through wood ↓

They advance (about 20 to 30) ↓

A big column of refugees moving on road toward the rear

↖ A At point "A" a sign with inscription "LAGER RUMMELSBURG"

Medium shot of a refugee group advancing ↓

Medium closeup: Refugees get out of busses

Two or three shots of a go-cart handed down from the deck to the ground

Medium shot: group of refugees standing, a crying woman with child in their midst. Then a similar group

Another group with a man having a child in his arms; at his left a crying girl.

Analysis of EXAMPLE III

COMMENTARY

Statements

- 1) **CONTENT:** Statement puts emphasis on Germanic character of Danzig and on beauty of its architecture.
FUNCTIONS: Germany a civilized nation (Culture appeal). Her historical right to Danzig.
- 2) **CONTENT:** Germany wronged by Versailles and Polish behaviour.
FUNCTIONS: To gain sympathy for Germany's sufferings.
- 3) **CONTENT:** Germans victims of Polish terror.
FUNCTIONS: Same as above, with emphasis on Poland's guilt.
REMARKS: Statistic indications.

Linkages

- A) **DESCRIPTION:** Statements 1) and 2).
FUNCTIONS: Contrast of Germany's economic and cultural achievements in Danzig (statement 1) with Germany's sufferings (statement 2) implies the preparatory function of stirring up the audience's emotions. Thus the intellectual faculties of spectators are supposed to be reduced to some extent. This kind of manipulation, found also in the opening of VICTORY IN THE WEST, is needed here the more as the subsequent statement 3) may invite sober audiences to think of the multitude of refugees produced by Nazi Germany herself.
- B) **DESCRIPTION:** Statements 2) and 3).
FUNCTIONS: Intensification of the propagandistic effect of each statement.

VISUALS

Picture units

- 1) **CONTENT:** See description of picture unit.

FUNCTIONS: Romantic-aesthetic appeal.

REMARKS: Two steeples.

- 2) **CONTENT:** Representation of Danzig's unhappy situation and of the dependence of Poland upon England and France.

FUNCTIONS: Black and enormous, Poland is intended to impress one as an uncanny threat to the tiny Free State region which, through its white color, is marked as the innocent victim. The later appearance of black England and France symbolizes these powers as pulling the strings from behind.

REMARKS: Moving maps.

- 3) **CONTENT:** See description of picture unit.

FUNCTIONS: To crave pity for German refugees.

Linkages

Same as verbal linkages, with same functions.

SYNCHRONIZATIONS

Relation of visuals to commentary

- 1) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Illustrative with reference to mention of Danzig's beauty.

FUNCTIONS: Collaboration with statement above.

- 2) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Symbolic and elaborative.

FUNCTIONS: Collaboration with statement.

- 3) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Clearly exemplificative with reference to mention of German refugees.

FUNCTIONS: Collaboration with statement above.

COMPOSITION OF PASSAGE

COMMENTARY: Culture appeal. Historical right to Danzig. Demanding understanding for Germany's sufferings (through statements).--Stirring emotions and reducing intellectual faculties. Intensification

of propagandistic effects (through linkages).

VISUALS: Picture units and linkages supporting statements and linkages of statements.

Moreover: Romantic-aesthetic appeal. Poland an uncanny threat. England and France pulling the strings (through picture units).

EXAMPLE IV

taken from BAPTISM OF FIRE. The section deals with the attack against the WESTERNPLATTE.

REMARK: The sound consists of noise without particular significance.

STATEMENTS

"After the fortifications have been covered by steady fire, a debarcation corps is sent ahead to attack. The men spread out in a hand-to-hand fight."

PICTURE UNITS

Shot 1: Soldiers looking through show holes in a wall at the right.
 Shot 2: Close shot of several soldiers passing →. The harbour of Gdynia in the background, with a battleship.
 Shot 3: Soldiers running around a ruined building. ↘
 Shot 4: Soldiers moving through wood toward the rear. ↘
 Shot 5: Infantry with hand grenades moving toward the rear, through smoking wood. ↑
 Shot 6: Same from another angle.
 Shot 7: Long shot of same, with much smoke around.
 Shot 8: Woods. White smoke rising. Explosion in distance, in a glade.
 Shot 9: Same, with river in the foreground.

Analysis of EXAMPLE IVStatement

CONTENT: Description of a military operation.

FUNCTIONS: -

Picture unit

CONTENT: Soldiers--action indistinct.

FUNCTIONS: -

SYNCHRONIZATIONS

Relation of picture unit to statement

CHARACTERIZATION: Indistinctly exemplifying.

FUNCTIONS: It happens frequently that battle scenes and military actions are represented in such an obscure way. This kind of representation, typical of BAPTISM OF FIRE and VICTORY IN THE WEST as well, may be partly a consequence of the well-known emptiness of modern battlefields. Actual battles consist of a multitude of widespread actions covering enormous spaces, and there is no longer a general's hill from which these operations can be surveyed and directed. In addition, the increasing mechanization of arms and of warfare has contributed much toward changing battlefields into a vacuum. Despite these facts, however, it is certainly possible to produce films which may inform audiences in a clear, understandable way not only of modern war strategy in general but also of the course and the meaning of the various actions that compose a battle. The supposition that the frequently quoted invisibility of actual warfare cannot prevent its being represented through maps, a solid composition of pictures and verbal explanations, is fully confirmed by the British film TARGET FOR TONIGHT. And the

Nazis themselves prove in BAPTISM OF FIRE that they are quite able to inform people sufficiently of their military operations whenever they want to do so: the sequence of a German air raid in this film succeeds in enlightening spectators. But this part is an exception; Nazi film propaganda usually avoids giving more than obscure visual exemplifications of military actions. Example IV is typical in this respect. Such a suppression of pictorial information is obviously designed to confuse audiences. Thus the Nazi films try to create favorable psychical conditions for the acceptance of their propagandistic suggestions.

COMPOSITION OF SECTION

SYNCHRONIZATION OF PICTURE UNIT WITH STATEMENT: Preparatory function of reducing intellectual faculties.

taken from VICTORY IN THE WEST

STATEMENTS

PICTURE UNITS

SOUND UNITS

1) "Just as on the Somme, the battle of June 9 on the Aisne begins with attacks against the fortified villages of the Weygand Line. As soon as they are overcome, the road to the Marne is clear."

1a) A series of shots that show particularly German tank units moving:
 Soldiers passing a village ←
 Tank moving ↘
 Same
 Advancing tank ↓ with a soldier on it. Shot taken from below (in Russian manner); thus the soldier makes a noble impression-- like an allegory of "the German soldier."
 Guns and trucks moving →
 Closeup of a moving tank ← with soldiers on it
 House at the road, with name-plate "REIMS 41 km"
 Moving tanks ←
 Same from another angle
 Closeup of tank wheels ↘

1) The frequently repeated "leit-motiv" of a marching theme

1b) Infantry column moving ←
 Same →
 Same ↓
 Close shot of same, picking out soldier faces, with horses in the rear ↘
 Close shot of same showing marching legs, wheels and wounded soldiers in the background ←
 Infantry column moving in Indian file ↗

Marching music stops

2) "German troops reach the MARNE--the river of destiny of the World War."

2) A number of cars parking; between the cars a soldier.
 Stone bridge; on its balustrade the word MARNE

Analysis of EXAMPLE V

COMMENTARY

Statements

- 1) CONTENT: Forecast of German advance to the Marne.
FUNCTIONS: -
- 2) CONTENT: The Marne reached.
FUNCTIONS: -

Linkages

DESCRIPTION: Statements 1) and 2) form an ellipse; i.e., the intimation of German advance is immediately followed by the announcement of its success.

FUNCTIONS: To produce the impression of irresistible lightning advance and thus to overwhelm audiences.

VISUALS

Picture units

- 1a) CONTENT: Troops moving, particularly tanks.
FUNCTIONS: The shot of the advancing tank with the noble soldier on it presumably intends to allegorize through this model soldier the idea of German advance. (Proof: the same shot returns in the important final passage of the film.) By means of this shot the picture unit, which is rather insignificant so far, tends to represent advance.
- 1b) CONTENT: Marching infantry column.
FUNCTIONS: Since such columns appear almost every time the commentary speaks of advance, they obviously serve as an allegory of the advancing German army.
REMARKS: Marching infantry column.
- 2) CONTENT: Germans at the Marne.
FUNCTIONS: -

SOUND

CHARACTERIZATION: Encouraging musical "leit-motiv" impregnated with the meaning "advance."

FUNCTIONS: -

SYNCHRONIZATIONS

Relation of visuals to commentary

- 1) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Elaboration of statement in an exemplificative way.
FUNCTIONS: To impress through a mere pictorial hint at the realization of the forecast in the commentary.
- 2) **CHARACTERIZATION:** Sufficiently exemplificative
FUNCTIONS: Collaboration with statement.

Relation of sound to visuals

- 1) **FUNCTIONS:** The musical "leit-motiv" usually synchronized with marching infantry columns stresses the impression that the picture units really represent advance. Also this "leit-motiv" strives to make audiences forget the wounded soldiers and several tired faces that might diminish the sensation of advance.

COMPOSITION OF PASSAGE

COMMENTARY: Irresistible lightning advance (through elliptic linkage).

VISUALS: Representation of advance (through picture units, strained by allegoric German soldier and "leit-motiv" of marching infantry column).

SOUND: Bolstering impression of advance (through musical "leit-motiv" alone and its relation to visuals).

APPENDIX II

FILM MATERIAL

Nazi Films¹

a) issued during the war

- 1) BAPTISM OF FIRE (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)
(FEUERTAUF)

This film seems to be a version of a film unknown in this country, THE CAMPAIGN IN POLAND (FELDZUG IN POLEN), released in Berlin on February 8, 1940. BAPTISM OF FIRE itself was released in Berlin at the beginning of April, 1940. (See "NEW YORK TIMES" of April 5, 1940, and Shirer: "Berlin Diary.")

- 2) VICTORY IN THE WEST (96th Street Theatre, New York)
(SIEG IM WESTEN)

This film was shown for the first time to the German and foreign press in Berlin on January 29, 1941.

- 3) BLITZKRIEG IN THE WEST (96th Street Theatre)
(BLITZKRIEG IM WESTEN)

The film is a compilation of newsreels taken at

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1. The analysis of films cannot be based upon recollection alone. Even the expert, accustomed to examining films closely and well-aware of their various technical details, is, of course, unable to memorize each item that may later have to be dealt with in the analysis. For these reasons I have found it necessary to prepare my research in working out a synopsis of many of the films listed above--a synopsis which attempts to give a satisfactory account of their important details. Fortunately BAPTISM OF FIRE and the sixteen newsreels have been available on the moviola. VICTORY IN THE WEST I have seen six times and have thus been able to check and re-check my description of it.--As to the publications referring to these films, the German film magazines "LICHT BILD BUEHNE" and "DER DEUTSCHE FILM" are of particular interest. Like the German newspapers, these magazines are not available in New York after summer 1940.

the western front. Date of original release unknown. Shown for the first time in New York on November 30, 1940.

- 4) Sixteen GERMAN NEWSREELS (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)

They cover all campaigns except the Russian and also the life in the occupied countries.

- b) issued before the war.

- 5) HITLERJUNGE QUEX (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)

- 6) TRIUMPH OF THE WILL (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)
(TRIUMPH DES WILLENS)

This film represents the Nuremberg Party Congress in 1934.

- 7) FLYERS--RADIO-OPERATORS--GUNNERS (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)

(FLIEGER--FUNKER--KANONIERE!)

An informative documentary of the German air force, produced in collaboration with the German Air Ministry. One of its aims: to interest German youth in the air force.

- 8) PICTORIAL DOCUMENTS (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)
(BILDDOKUMENTE)

A compilation of old newsreels (from 1912 to 1918), edited and issued by the "Reichsfilmarchiv." The film gives an interesting account of fighting scenes during the first World War.

- 9) WE CONQUER LAND (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)
(WIR EROBERN LAND)

A short film about the Labor Service

- 10) FOR US (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)
(FUER UNS)

A one-reel film about the Munich solemnity in

commemoration of the fallen partisans of the movement.

- 11) **THE CAMERA GOES ALONG...** (Museum of Modern Art Film Library)
 (DIE KAMERA FAHRT MIT...)
 A one-reel film dealing with the production of German newsreels.

R u s s i a n F i l m s

- 12) **SOVIET FRONTIERS ON THE DANUBE**
- 13) **THE MANNERHEIM LINE**
 A full-length documentary about the war against Finland.
- 14) **Several NEWSREELS of the GERMAN-RUSSIAN WAR**
- 15) **ONE DAY IN SOVIET RUSSIA**
- 16) **GENERAL SUVAROV**
- 17) **ALEXANDER NEVSKY**
- 18) **WINGS OF VICTORY**

B r i t i s h F i l m s

- 19) **A series of British Defense Films (shown at the Museum of Modern Art)**
- 20) **Several NEWSREELS**
- 21) **TARGET FOR TONIGHT**

A m e r i c a n F i l m s

- 22) **KU KAN**
 An impressive pictorial record of a Japanese air attack in China.

