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David Welch, Roel Vande Winkel. *Cinema and the Swastika: The International Expansion of Third Reich Cinema.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 342 S. $90.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-1-4039-9491-2.

Reviewed by Christelle Le Faucheur (Department of History, University of Texas at Austin)

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Third Wave of Nazi Film Studies

Over the last forty years, scholars of Nazi cinema have produced conceptually and thematically diverse studies. While the earlier, "traditional" school of Nazi film historiography focused on issues of ideology and propaganda, research in the 1990s expanded the corpus of films studied to include popular genres such as melodramas and musicals. Such inclusions improved and differentiated our understanding of film production and consumerism in the Third Reich (p. 2). The present collection, edited by Roel Vande Winkel and David Welch, expands the focus of research outside Germany. Overcoming longstanding linguistic limitations on Third Reich film studies, this collection investigates various attempt to infiltrate–economically, politically, and culturally–the film industries of twenty countries or regions that Germany occupied, befriended, or with which it entertained "neutral" relationships. Twenty-three essays introduce the reader for the first time to a world cinema influenced by Nazi politics.

The essays are extremely informative, raising new issues about cultural imperialism and consumerism during the National Socialist era. Although most of them take a political-economic approach and focus on superstructures (activities of big companies such as Ufa; diplomatic and economic maneuverings of German officials and businessmen; larger historical and political processes against which such processes are to be understood), the authors attempt to investigate the difficult topic of reception. While each country had a specific cinematographic relationship with Germany, common findings emerge from the diverse studies: systematic "restructuring," "Aryanization," and exploitation of the film industries and film markets; international popularity of German films and artists; increase in film attendance during the war and/or occupation; absence of wartime reality in the cinematographic productions; importance of national cinema in times of crisis; beneficial effects of the Nazi's forced restructuring of national film industries; and the experience of the war as preparation for countries under Soviet influence.

After introductory chapters on the German film industry, the International Film Chamber, and the Hispano Film production company, the book's chapters treat Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Croatia, the Czechoslovak re-

gion, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, southeast Europe, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain, and the United States. This odd order, which ranges from friend to enemy, is not otherwise explained and seems random. The book does not offer a transnational study of German global film politics per se. Rather, it explores the dynamics at play between indigenous national film industries and Berlin's ruthless attempts at becoming the European Hollywood.

The editors introduce these "local" studies with a detailed assessment of the German film industry (1933-45). Using legal, institutional, economic, and personal leverage, the National Socialists sought to achieve total control of the media industries. Mandatory membership in the chambers of culture was used to control productions; these organizations excluded "non-Aryans" and massive emigration of talented professionals ensued. Film censorship increased; the critical assessment of art was banned in 1936 in favor of "appropriate" evaluation of films. The Nazis created a new system of symbolic and financial incentives to produce of work that conformed to regime ideology. The regime successfully "nationalized" the film industry by creating the huge monolithic institution Ufa-Film G.m.b.H. (Ufi); it also standardized film screening by imposing a compulsory "cinematic trinity," consisting of newsreels, *Kulturfilm*, and the feature film (p. 15). This model, designed to enhance film's propagandistic potential, was later implemented in occupied territories. By 1939, German cinema had attained an expertise and technical mastery unequaled in Europe. Military expansion guaranteed unlimited distribution, especially since the German government prohibited U.S. films in occupied Europe for financial as well as political reasons.

Benjamin Martin uses publications of the International Film Chamber (IFK) and its coverage in the press to reconstruct "the important role this institution's activities and rhetoric played in the Nazi's bid to establish hegemonic control over an integrated European economic and cultural space" (p. 26). This international organization of national film industry representatives from twenty-two nations was created in the mid-1930s to address the structural crises of European cinema, aggravated by what many perceived as American cultural imperialism. While the IFK was at first a weak structure used by Germans to promote their interests, wartime conditions enabled the Nazis to reconfigure IFK into a central organizational, coercive tool for the diffusion of German cinema in wartime Europe. Presenting themselves as the defenders of Europe's national traditions, the German leaders of the IFK offered an attractive vision of a "European Cinema for Europe," and sometimes they indeed facilitated significant development of the continent's smaller national cinemas. But, as Martin shows, the IFK's actions and ideology served nothing so much as the establishment of absolute German hegemony.

Lisa Jarvinen and Franciso Peredo-Castro's history of the Hispano-Film-Produktion Company (HFP) is a concrete example of Germany's global aspirations. A join German-Spanish endeavor dating from the start of the Spanish Civil War, its goal was to produce and distribute fascist films for audiences in Spain and Latin America. In allied or neutral countries, the German effort to gain control over the European film industries took the form of co-productions, massive financial investments, and pressure to withhold raw materials. German attempts to create a star system with international appeal are illustrated with the story of the Spanish actress and diva, Imperio Argentina. The authors also trace the intricacies of German involvement in South America. Conflicting Spanish, German, British, and American interests had a strong influence on the indigenous film industries here. After Pearl Harbor, Hollywood blacklisted any Latin American company that collaborated with Axis countries. Mexico's film industry thrived with U.S. help, while Argentine film production decreased significantly.

"Between Resistance and Collaboration," the title of Robert von Dassanowsky's essay, accurately summarizes the contradictory position of the Austrian film industry. As he explains, "five years of Nazi Germany's systematic infiltration of Austrian film production through investment, racial dictates, and blatant corporate absorption had so prepared the industry for its new form and role that Berlin was in complete control in a matter of days following [the annexation of March 1938]" (p. 58). Now Jewish artists who had fled to Vienna in the wake of the nationalization of the German film industry found themselves ostracized once more. Dassanowsky shows how the Austrian film market and industry had been highly dependent upon Germany for production and distribution, as well as raw materials and financial banking. When Austria disappeared as an independent entity, possibilities for independent Austrian filmmaking vanished. Berlin and Ufa were to focus on drama, historical spectacles, and propaganda documentaries. Wien-Film was to produce romantic fare, operetta films, and musicals as the more entertainment-oriented and more exportable aspects of Reich film (p. 62). While acknowledging the overtly propagandistic quality of films such

as *Homecoming* (*Heimkehr*, Gustav Ucicky, 1941), the author seems mostly eager to demonstrate the dissident quality of Wien-Film productions, arguing for example that many Viennese artists, such as Willi Forst, resorted to escapism and regressed to romanticized notions of Vienna in order to express Austrian cultural identity in the German Reich.

Roel Vande Winkel introduces us to the fate of Belgium, a country often considered an extension of the French film market. During the war, the Nazis "restructured" the already weak Belgian film industry following the German "corporatist" model to secure German control of its production and distribution and purge it of "Jewish influence." Although the Flemish film community hoped to utilize the German occupation to develop its own film industry, it quickly became obvious that Germany considered Belgium simply another export market. German film stars became very popular with a Belgian population that was largely opposed to the German occupation. This paradoxical situation was, as Vande Winkel explains, far from unique to Belgium.

Brazil's relationship with Nazi Germany is at the center of Luiz Nazario's essay. The author shows how in the 1930s, "Brazil became one of the main targets for Nazi propaganda strategies in South America–due to its continental dimensions (a vast "vital space"); its numerous German immigrants established in colonies in the Southern States (800,000 to a million added to 80,000 to 10,000 resident Reich citizens); its large reserve of mineral resources, a desired source of raw material from the Reich economy" (p. 85). The essay details propagandistic fascist efforts and influences in Brazil. Outspoken admirer of the Nazi regime President GetÃºlio Vargas "reorganized" Brazilian cinema along Nazi structures, including the persecution of Jews, communists, and political undesirables. However, opponents of Brazil's cooperation with fascist Italy and Germany, like Oswaldo Aranha, maintained cultural collaboration with the United States. Propagandistic Axis-influenced works became untenable after the "Brazilian Pearl Harbor" in 1942, when Vargas resigned and Brazil (with Franklin Roosevelt's assurance of U.S. financial support) entered the war on the side of the Allies.

Daniel Rafaelic unveils for us the short-lived history of the Independent State of Croatia, created in the wake of the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in April 1941. Croatian film production, virtually nonexistent before the war, was for the first time supported and controlled by the government. Following the German model, Croatia saw its first domestic productions: several documentaries, and in 1944 the first Croatian feature film. The biggest success of Croatian filmmakers was the production of popular independent newsreels, much to the distaste of Germans, who would have preferred to show their own ATW newsreels. German films and documentaries replaced American films on Croatian screens. Rafaelic rightfully draws attention to further means of propaganda: in addition to feature films, *Kulturfilme*, and newsreels, numerous spinoffs such as books and magazines were used to deploy Nazi and Ustasha propaganda.

Ivan Klimes meticulously traces the history of film industry in the Czechoslovak region. Until 1938 strong cinematic bonds united Germany and the Republic of Czechoslovakia. The 1938 dismemberment and 1939 invasion of the country resulted in an "Aryanisation process," a compulsory film program, changes in the legal conditions for operating cinemas, and control of the production base of the Czech cinema–steps towards a planned liquidation of Czech film production. Although Germany had an unrivaled control over the market and utilized Czech film studio and staff, Czech artists and intellectuals made a conscious decision to preserve the contact between artists and the public. Klimes concludes that "despite the exceptional circumstances and repressive pressure, the Czech film industry demonstrated a marked ability to survive and a clear stability that were the product of its sophistication, its popularity with Czech audience and its low level of economic dependence on exports" (p. 125). The essay also points to two facts that many occupied countries shared: steady increases in cinema attendance and a realization that the role of the state in cinema should be strengthened. In some ways, the war experience and conditions paved the way for the postwar nationalization of cinema industries, a process the newly established fascist Slovakia state initiated in 1940.

"The Attempted Nazification of French Cinema" is the topic of Brett Bowles's essay on twenty years of the Franco-German cinematic relationship. He reminds us that "historiographically speaking, the study of film (both fictional and documentary) as a tool of commerce, cultural influence, and ideology not only provides a basis for evaluating Nazis' success in subjugating a hereditary rival; it also offers fresh insight into the dynamics of French national identity" (p. 130). Plunged in a deep financial crisis, aggravated by congenital handicaps, French cinema foundered in the 1930s while witnessing the rise of the German film industry. Under the Nazis, German filmmaking immediately moved to exploit its weaker neighbor with a mix of draconian

force and more subtle coercion. While Joseph Goebbels's goal was to secure German superiority to the detriment of French cinema, Alfred Greven succeeded in ensuring good-quality French film productions for the benefit of Germans. As Reich appointee for the reorganization of the French, Belgian and Dutch film businesses, Greven was also the director of the film company Continental, which was funded by Germany but operated independently in France. Eager to utilize films, especially newsreels, for its propaganda, the Vichy regime directly subsidized cinema and provided the industry with a much needed coherent organizational structure in the form of the ComitÃ© d'Organisation de l'Industrie CinÃ©matographique (COIC). Although the attempted colonization of French cinema must be regarded as a qualified ideological and economic failure, the occupation forced the government to address financial and organizational problems in the industry, thus having a beneficial, long-lasting impact on French cinema. Another consequence was the resulting view of cinema after 1945 as an *exception culturelle*, a uniquely powerful expression of national identity and international influence that deserves special state funding support and protection from foreign competition (p. 145).

The shorter, weaker contribution of Eirini Sifaki touches upon conditions of spectatorship in occupied Greece. While the country suffered a relatively lenient Italian occupation followed by a brutal German one in 1943, film attendance steadily increased. Many Greek theaters were transformed into *Soldatenkino* and Greeks kept their social practice of open-air film screenings, where the few Greek productions were enthusiastically welcomed. After 1941, only German, Greek, and Italian films were shown; the latter were the most popular, despite German efforts. Only after 1943, in the absence of any competition, could Germans films do well at the box office.

David S. Frey's essay shows the "phoenix-like feature filmmaking revival of the Hungarian film industry from moribund in 1929 to the continent's third rank in 1942, behind only Germany and Italy" (p. 160). After the tension-filled expulsion of Hungarian Jewish filmmakers, German-Hungarian relations warmed up with the implementation of anti-Jewish laws in 1938 and Hungary's participation in the invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. Initial co-productions were followed by renewed tensions as Hungary's desire to maintain a degree of cultural sovereignty clashed with Germany's goal of continental domination. The new geopolitical situation in Europe allowed Hungarian film production to flourish, especially in central Europe. The Nazis intervened in Hungarian filmmaking, exhibition, distribution, and even export through coercive as well as cooperative means. In addition to raw film limits, export quotas, and strong-arming via the IKF, the Germans also acquired theaters and used mobile sound film trucks (*Tonfilmwagen*) with great success. In 1942, tensions were once again at a peak, as Hungary "proved less docile, far more fractious and far more independent than German officials had hoped" (p. 160). The Nazi occupation of the country in March 1944 ended the short-lived revival of the Hungarian cinema.

Aristotle A. Kallis depicts the struggle between fascist Germany and Italy in their quest for cultural hegemony in Europe. Italy's universalist perception of cinema as a device of indirect cultural hegemony diverged crucially from Goebbels's far more interventionist handling of film production. Italy refused to ban foreign (primarily American) films completely and tolerated Jewish workers. The Spanish Civil War unveiled the distinct political-ideological propaganda dimension of National Socialism. Berlin never met Italy's demands and expectations in terms of co-production and cooperation of actors and directors; the Germans also never responded to Italian efforts to divide the European film distribution between the two fascist countries. Kallis convincingly argues that "the ambiguities surrounding Italo-German relations in the domain of film and propaganda were a mixed pattern of cooperation and competition that reflected the wider state of affairs between the two Axis partners" (p. 180).

Janine Hansen uncovers the film exchanges between Germany and Japan. While the Japanese film market was never regarded by German film companies as a field of expansion worth pursuing, the efforts of Japanese film entrepreneurs such as Nagamasa Kawakita assured a very small, steady export of films to Japan. Although few Japanese films premiered in Germany, numerous German films were shown on Japanese screens. Next to war films, which exalted bravery, heroic Death, and self-sacrifice for the nation, German musicals were popular in Japan. Hansen traces the influence of the small body of German films in a country with an indigenous annual production of 500 films (which exceeded even Hollywood). By 1942, the geopolitical situation had made film import impossible in Japan.

Paul Lesch traces failed Germanization and nazification through film in Luxemburg. Although French and Hollywood films had always been more successful among polyglot Luxemburgers, German entertainment

pictures were very popular, thanks to the highly ingenious promotion strategy (p. 199). Late 1930s aggressive Nazi rhetoric resulted in "anti-German" sentiment and boycotts. After May 1940, the Nazis attempted to Germanize the country, using cinema as propaganda, especially among the young. Lesch concludes that these efforts failed as Luxemburg audiences enjoyed entertainment pictures but rejected overt propaganda.

Due to linguistic ties between the two countries, German films fared well in the Netherlands in the 1930s, when domestic production was low. Like Belgium, the Netherlands were considered part of the Third Reich. Reich Commissioner Arthur Seyss-Inquart initially strived for "self-nazification." His promotion of Dutch newsreels and a heavy use of propaganda films, especially in schools, failed to convert the majority of the Dutch. The Nazis "reorganized" the film industry to acquire assets, obtain production facilities, and strengthen market position. Their work in the Netherlands provided Dutch workers with work and experience. Despite criticism from the Dutch resistance, attendance reached record heights, especially with big-budget movies such as *The Golden City* (Veit Harlan, 1942). Ingo Schiweck uses the case of the actor Johan(nes) Hessters to touch upon issue of collaborationism and discusses the "cleansing of the industry" after the war (pp. 213, 217).

BjÃŗn SÃŗenssen outlines the German influence in Norway, a country characterized by the absence of an indigenous film industry and the presence of a municipal cinema system. While, under Reich Commissioner Josef Terboven, the Germans "reorganized" the film industry and secured their share of film imports, the Nasjonal Samling (the Norwegian Nazi Party) actively pursued an ambitious plan to reform the film industry. By 1942, Norway had for the first time a national film policy and the organizational and economic ability to enforce it. Notwithstanding the poor quality of wartime production, SÃŗenssen points to the beneficial legacy of Norwegian wartime cinema politics. Despite the re-establishment of the "old order" of Norwegian cinema at liberation, the Nasjonal Samling had raised the issue of the role of film and cinema in society, "as opposed to the total indifference of pre-war democratic and social-democratic system to the plight of Norwegian film" (p. 229).

Keyan Tomaselli and Michael Eckardt detail Afrikaners' attempts to establish an Afrikaans cinema, the main goal of which was "to restore the nation's pastoral cultural integrity and to protect the *volk* (people) from the insidious influence of the 'city,' dominated as it was by British imperialism" (p. 232). Interestingly, Hollywood was uncompromisingly rejected, while the state-controlled German film industry was the blueprint for organizing Afrikaner film administration, production and distribution; Eisensteinian *mis-en-scene*, Weimar-style and documentary realism comprised its aesthetic. However, burdened by economic and ideological problems, the project of a valuable Afrikaans cinema failed.

Tim Kirk gives us a broad overview of German cultural imperialism in southeastern Europe. Kirk describes briefly the film industries of Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia, Yugoslavia, and Romania, and touches upon Albania, Turkey, and Greece. He shows how the Germans were eager to underpin the Third Reich's strong political presence in the region with a dense network of German-sponsored cultural activities, while monitoring local responses (p. 244). Having secured their cultural hegemony, Germans promoted in a few cases the development of a "national" cinema, providing technical support and encouraging bilateral contracts with the Reich. This triggered the development of film production, which was seen as an important dimension of nation-building for new nations such as Slovakia and Croatia.

Maria A. Paz and Julia Montero unveil Germans' effort to distribute feature films and, more importantly, newsreels in Spain. The Germans sacrificed some economic aspirations in order to guarantee their propagandistic objectives. From September 1939, ATW newsreels were Spanish-dubbed instead of subtitled. Despite the absence of a domestic film production and the foothold they achieved during the Civil War, German films never managed to conquer the Spanish market due to the popularity of American films and the Franco-regime censorship, which banned many German productions.

Rochelle Wright discusses the healthy Swedish film industry, whose productions enjoyed a large market share and were extremely popular among Swedish audiences. Trying to preserve its neutrality yet dependent on Germany for film stock, Sweden engaged in an "opportunistic collaboration" with the IFK, remaining a semi-official member of the IFK without complying with the ban on American film (p. 267). The two countries maintained a friendly relationship as the Sweden's Censorship Board guidelines called for the prohibition of film that might have a negative effect on Sweden's foreign affairs. Sweden also supplied Nazi Germany with two of its biggest stars, Zarah Leander and Kristina Soderbaum. Although wartime film productions featured comedies tainted with antisemitism, Sweden also produced some

politically provocative materials and, in 1944, openly anti-German films.

Gianni Haver sketches a general picture of the distribution of German films in Switzerland, the only non-occupied country with a German-speaking majority; the Third Reich entertained close financial exchanges with it. Few German films were banned there, as the majority of these works depicted a world vision already shared by the majority of the Swiss and European middle class. As in other countries, German films praising the values of motherhood, family, sacrifice, patriotism, and dedication to work were well received by both critics and the general public. German *Kulturfilme* were also popular, and German newsreels acquired a quasi-monopoly.

Jo Fox shows how the filmic relationship between Britain and Germany mirrored wider social, political, and cultural developments. Starting with the controversial distribution of *Dawn* (*Morgenrot*, Gustav Uciky, 1933) these relations were characterized by "frequent clashes of interest, a fundamental dislike of each other's cinematic outputs, politically, culturally and ideologically motivated disagreements and few moments of cooperation, such as the congress of the International Film Chamber in Berlin in April 1935" (p. 297). German film imports declined after the arrival of the talkie, but also due to the British film industry's objections to the Nazi regime and its racial policies, and the overtly propagandistic content of many films. During the war, British authorities organized various screenings of captured Nazi newsreels footages as propaganda tools. Captured features were also shown from 1943 on to selected government and military personnel. British filmmakers were eager to attend screenings–a testament to continued interest in German film techniques.

David Culbert's essay on German film in America closes the book. A combination of newsreels and anti-Nazi feature films such as *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) propagated a negative image of Nazi Germany. The Anti-Nazi League, which protested the distribution of German films in America, was also instrumental in such films. While American films enjoyed strong popularity in Germany (much to the distaste of some Nazi leaders), German films in the United States never reached more than a small minority among German-speakers. An unintended effect of Nazi racial policy was the emigration of talented "exiles" to Hollywood. While American films were banned from Germany and subsequently occupied Europe in 1940, films such as Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1935) or *Victory in the West* (1941) were recycled to show American viewers the brutality of the Nazi regime.

Small problems such as inattentive copyediting aside, the collection of essays fulfills its promise of "being the first publication to bring together *comparative* research on the international expansion of the Third Reich" (back cover). Slightly misleading, however, is the use of the term "comparative." Each essay is a precise, informative piece about the chosen country or region, introducing, indeed for the first time, film industries usually left out of Third Reich cinema studies. However, an additional essay summarizing and connecting the findings and giving an international perspective would have better fulfilled the comparative function. Additionally, the essays are not structured around the same model, which, although it prevents certain monotony, makes it harder to compare and contrast the experiences of each country. These minor weaknesses notwithstanding, this innovative collection on the Third Reich should trigger new research.

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