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Doctoral Thesis

Abstract

The Representations of Germans in American Cinema
During the Cold War: The attitude of American
Administration

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Glossary of terms and abbreviations

BAFTA – Home of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

CIAA – The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

COI – Office of the Coordinator of Information

EDC – European Defense Community

FRG – Federal Republic of Germany

GDR – The German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

HICOG – The High Commission for Occupied Germany (The Allied High Commission)

HUAC – House UN – American Activities Committee

ICD – Information Control Division

JCS – Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067

MGM – Metro Goldwyn Mayer

NSC – National Security Council (of the White House)

OCB – The Operations Coordinating Board

OCD – Office of Civilian Defense (1941-1945)

OEM – Office of Emergency Management

OGR – Office of Government Reports

OMGUS – The Office of Military Government of the United States

OWI – Office of War Information

PCA – Production Code Administration (established by MPPDA in 1934)

PDC – Producers Distributing Corporation

UFA – Universum Film AktienGesellschaft

WAC – War Activities Committee

Keywords: Representations of Germans-(Germans characters: Historical characters, Nazis – Gestapo men, SS officers, German spies, Professional soldiers and officials, Upper and lower class Germans and Germans Women), Hollywood, Films, American Administration, WW1, WW2, McCarthyism period, Cold War.

1. Introduction: Defining the topic and confining it to time and space

The present PhD paper aims to integrate a sub-branch of history, the history of the cinema, to another subdivision, the political history of the US during the period of the Second World War (WWII) and the Cold War between the American and the Russian blocs and till the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

In the course of this study I have analyzed representations of Germans in the American cinema production between the years 1939-1989 and the alterations sustained by them as a result of relationships between the varying objectives of the American foreign policy on one hand, and the position of Hollywood during the Cold War on the other.

My aim has been to determine if Hollywood, the celebrated American metropolis of movie studios and cinema stars, has served the intentions of the American administration, and in the affirmative, to which extent; equally, to ascertain the nature of influences these two powerful institutions have exercised on each other.

The starting point of the investigation has been positioned in time to 1939 rather than any other year, in the attempt to pinpoint the manner in which the American screen depicted German images prior to the Cold War beginnings, and then along its deployment. A proper background has been thus provided to subsequent changes due to affect this imagery later on.

The chronological framework of the study is therefore 1939-1989, covering the WWII and the Cold War eras.

Towards the end of McCarthyism we witness the first attempts of American cinema to seriously deal with the issues of Nazism in general and guilt of the German people in particular. An outstanding example is the movie *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961). In the seventies and the eighties of the former century this tendency was taken further, with Hollywood producing films such as *The Bunker* (1981) and *Schindler's List* (1993).

The geographical framework of the study encompasses the USA, Germany (1939-1945) and West Germany (1946-1989).

Before the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and following the Russian takeover of the Eastern part, two Germanies coexisted side by side: the Western, identified to the free European and American world, and the Eastern, faring under a so-called socialist

political system. Only the West German evidence has been considered in the present study, reasons of significance having directed the decision not to include East German sources:

1a. Very few films were made on Eastern German themes in Hollywood and they constitute a sensitive political subject apart, prone to a separate research. In most cases, East German representations were negative after WWII and remained that way until the fall of the Berlin Wall, while toward West Germany drastic changes took gradually place in the Hollywood cinematographic representation.

1b. For the duration of this war I have referred to Germans as a whole, but after its end, the division of Germany and the establishment of the two political coalitions, my research focused on the representation of West Germany, which meanwhile became a robust US ally. During the term of the Cold War, East Germany was perceived as part of the communist bloc evidently returning characteristics of the opponent, the vicious enemy.

1c. The Eastern evidence might be however used in prospective future research in this area, apt to:

1c.1 Include cinematic representations of communist activists such as Russians and East Germans.

1c.2. Conduct comparative parallels between the cinematographic profiles of these protagonists versus the portrait contours Hollywood gave in the films to Americans and to West Germans. This would imply that historical sources must be accessed for both German sides, a procedure of research not at avail for me at this time.

Hollywood films made on the subject of the Cold War, which lasted for more than 40 years and encompassed at least two continents, is a fertile soil for studies conducted at the interface of art and history owing to the multi-faceted complexity of the relationship between this essentially popular cinema and the political regimes depicted by it in times of crisis. The current study has been structured on these grounds.

2. The motives conductive to this research and its goals

I have followed the development of the topic at hand from the time researchers began to take an interest in screen productions as legitimate evidence for the investigation of modern history, during the fifties of the 20th century. Some ten years later, historians

started to investigate descriptions of German characters in the American cinema. With film-making turning still another tool for historical research, specialty journals were established and a series of books and articles published with reference to this area of expertise.

The association between history and cinema pertains today to a sphere of fascination within the academic realm. I have been myself captivated by it to the point of gradually becoming cognizant and acquiring proficiency in this field.

Eager to conduct research in art as interrelated to the field of history, I came to be absorbed in problems pertaining to typical character imagery such as appeared in movies, and explored with increasing keenness instances of association between the cinematic production and its language, particularly in cases where German characters were involved.

This remarkable theme was brought to my attention as I prepared to write my Master's thesis at the University of Haifa in Israel at the beginning of the year 2000. The dissertation consequently dealt with representations of German types during the WWII and the very first years of the Cold War.¹

Upon obtaining the MA degree, I experienced the impulse to deepen my knowledge in this field of predilection. I therefore enlarged the scope of the study to include the whole Cold War period, and expanded its historical range. My PhD thesis was hence conceived as a thematic continuation in time and space of the MA inquiry. I felt entitled to assume I have been a pioneer in the investigation the German imagery of war as it was mirrored in the American movies at the apex of the Cold War between the two world superpowers, and came to feel responsible for the breakthrough achieved and the introduction of a new line of inquiry into this specific argument.

I currently deliver lectures in the area of historical representations in cinema in high schools and colleges in Israel. This activity reinforced my understanding that referencing to film features as first hand source for the research of history is appropriate to supply additional insight to our conceptions.

¹Hadi Shakeeb Kassem, Reconstructing the Representations of Germany in Hollywood in View of the Goals of American Foreign Policy 1939-1966, University of Haifa, Israel 2006.

The present inquiry is not limited to either category of films, but founded on the extensive analysis of all major movie genres. It explores documentaries, drama and comedy, science-fiction and other typologies of relevance to the topic selected.

3. The contribution of the present study to the advancement of specialized research

The proposed research attempted to improve on six central deficiencies detected in the current state of the general research:

3a. To offer a comprehensive examination of the various aspects of German representation in cinema during the Cold War period, as well as of features typical to the American administration and the Hollywood climate.

3b. To show the complex and often contradictory views held by the Nazis in their own country, as well as variances of opinion in the midst of the American administration.

3c. To examine a large number of representational models of film issued in Hollywood on subject-matters related to this study.

3d. Systematically scrutinize sets of international relations in which the Hollywood industry and the American administration were involved, over a period which is historically significant and covering the interval of several decades. The portrayal of Germans is therefore shown in its chronological and developmental dimensions.

3e. Emphasize the role played by Germany in the war in its transience, at times as fierce enemy of the United States, at other times as a favorite and a friend.

3f. A noteworthy feature revealed by this inquiry has been that at the time of the Second War by far more movies were made about Germans than about any other nation. I have subsequently discovered here a solid study-case conducive of insights into the inner grounds common to the US administration and to Hollywood.

An intense qualitative analysis, based on authentic contemporary documents and the application of theories established in the field of history and of cinema, led the way to an extended picture of these relationships.

The rationale of the study resides in the modes and extent of reflections given by the American film industry to German representations, in the light of its own variance of interests and its working concurrences with the American officialdom.

4. The research questions

In the course of my present investigation I have proposed to interrogate two large groups of quandaries:

4a. How did the representations of Germans evolve in the American cinema, did they change in the course of time? And in the affirmative, in which ways?

4b. Were these representations influenced by the relationship between the US government and Hollywood, and if so found, what was the impact of the administration on this film industry? Moreover: did Hollywood act as an agent of the American administrative system? To which extent did its movie production serve the official goals during the severe shift perceived in the American foreign policy toward Germany in the wake of the Cold War? A necessary corollary of this second cluster of queries is to raise the question: in which way did the American movie industry influence the streaks of interaction between the US and Germany at the state strategy level?

5. The Historical grounding of the study

The prevailing tendency throughout North American history, with the notable exception of The First World War, was state separatism; meaning that the Americans kept themselves to themselves, away from the turmoil of Europe and the aggravation of different global conflicts. Since the outbreak of World War Two in 1939 this proclivity underwent important changes.

The rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe – communism in Russia (1917), fascism in Italy (1922), Nazism in Germany (1933) and in Franco's Spain (1937), led to great tension beyond the Atlantic. America had numerous economic and cultural interests in Europe that the winds of war blowing from this continent threatened. Policy makers in the American administration were disturbed by Hitler's aggressiveness and his successful annexation of ever more countries. On the record, the US government perpetuated its passive support of Britain and France; but for the other regions on the globe its position remained for a long time hesitant and irresolute.

When war finally broke on September 1st, 1939, America could no longer remain indifferent. Hollywood promptly turned into a staunch supporter of American involvement in the European affairs of war. One of the explanations is that several film makers had arrived there in the 30's as immigrants or refugees from places having

since come under the influence of the Third Reich; most of them were Jewish. Hollywood's interventionist bias was not however openly expressed in the films contemporarily produced, with rare exceptions. The reasons for this tendency are obvious, and they comprise:

5a. The economic interests of the large studios, for which Europe and especially Germany still constituted flourishing markets they didn't want to lose.

5b. The growing strength of nationalism and anti-Semitism in America arose fears among people in Hollywood, who were alarmed about tensions being further kindled and their relatives in Europe in danger if word spread about the opinions they held with regard to the war. At the same time influent men such as Henry Ford and Charles Lindberg were making showy speeches against interventionism. Lindberg, famous pilot, was one of the leaders of the 'America first' organization. In July 1941 he delivered a talk before a large public in New York, claiming it was too late for the Americans to fight Hitler. In Hollywood itself, men leaning to the extreme right in politics lobbied in order to avert representations of 'evil' Nazis on the screen.² A few among them openly supported German Fascism.³

5c. Pressure on part of the Production Code Administration (the studios' own censorship), which was controlled by Conservative and Catholic elements. These were intransigent about foreign influences infiltrating into the American moving pictures.

5d. Pressure applied by elements in the administration, who had misgivings about active American participation in the conflict and the kindling of tensions in other parts of the world, especially nearby South America where the US was influential.

5e. The diplomatic power of Gyssling, the German consul in Los Angeles, who threatened with sanctions against such studios that should harm the image of Nazi Germany.

5f. And finally, fears in Hollywood that people among the studio executives might be accused as being "war mongers". Jews, British and persons suspected of communist sympathies were often blamed of attempts to influence the Roosevelt administration and shed American blood to serve the interests of others.

² Anthony Slide, "Hollywood's Fascist Follies", Film Comment, 27, 4 (Jul 1991), pp. 67.

³ Ibidem.

In spite of these threats, a number of films did reflect Hollywood's partiality and criticism on what took place in Europe. Famous examples are Chaplin's *Great Dictator* and Frank Borzage's *The Mortal Storm* (1940).

A new phase in the relations of Washington and Europe was set in motion by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th 1941, followed by Hitler's declaration of war against the US. The days of hesitation were over, one intent only directing now the American policy: active involvement in the global armed conflict. As an agent of the American cultural life, Hollywood did not remain unconcerned. Already a partisan of intervention, it started to produce partisan films in a spirit of vengeance. The studios adhered to the overall America war efforts by placing their activity in a line with the goals of the administration.

In the course of the Great War a clearer picture of the new Europe emerged, stressing the noticeable discrepancies between the Soviet bloc led by the USSR and the Western pact between states identified with the leadership of the US.

With the allies' victory, the struggle for control in Europe swept Germany and focused on Berlin. The German capital has been already partitioned by the allied powers into four occupational zones, and was located in the heart of the Soviet sector. Following disagreement on the issue of economic reforms, the Russian commander placed Western Berlin under blockade, closing all overland routes to it. This move triggered the first Berlin crisis of 1948 and with it the so-named 'Cold' war among the world powers, putting down the lid on any prospect of entente for years to come.

This battle, at first insinuated but in fact active, also prompted a series of international crises and the global arming race going on to this day. Hollywood responded to the situation with a wave of new films produced in the course of the period ranging between the end of WWII in 1946 and the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989.

The policy of the American government dictated a compromise with the Germans. Employing ample indoctrination and de-Nazification, the US aimed to turn the former enemy into a useful partner. Hollywood was instructed to comply with this new line in the American foreign policy, and to assist exonerating of the bulk of the German people while placing the blame on a minority within this nation, the Nazi leadership. It is about movies such as: *Berlin Express* (1948), *The Third Man* (1949), *Stalag 17* (1953) or *Fraulein* (1958).

The issue of cooperation on part of the studios with the governmental imposition raises difficulties. The present research has examined the motion pictures made in Hollywood during the period under discussion and analyzed the representations of German characters, with the aim to detect in which measure was the German image on which the studios have thrown so much blame during the war, whitewashed now and more or less favorably presented to audiences; equally, what could this altered image stand for with regard to the degree of collaboration of Hollywood with the US official line after the end of WWII.

This study established that during the first post-bellum years the description of German personages has been rather versatile on the American screen. It concluded that these images resisted in fact consistency, for the following reasons:

5A. Many of Hollywood's outstanding directors were of Jewish origin, some of them having been victimized by the Nazi regimes in their native countries. It was evidently hard for these professionals to act sympathetically toward the German tyrant who persecuted them and their families. Notwithstanding their feelings, they were often made to comply with directives from high by the studio managements.

5B. The long and terrible combat was fresh in the memory of all Americans, who found it hard to easily absolve the German nation of its crimes of war.

5C. Control over Hollywood has not been tightened and many film makers were still under the influence of leading elements in the American military.

5D. The harassment later applied by the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) has not yet gained intensity.

During the 1950 decade McCarthy's persecutions intensified, reaching a peak with the 'red witches' communist hunt. Hollywood's outstanding creators were under attack and many found themselves removed from the industry by synchronized denunciations thriving in the general climate of paranoid feeling. Black lists containing the names of about 300 directors, writers, and Hollywood performers were compiled. Those marked were banned from work in America. Films made during this period are naturally found to be less critical of the Administration than the precedents.

By 1957, as the Committee set up by McCarthy began to lose power and once again the pluralistic expression won upper hand in the American cinema milieu, the German film representation gradually became diversified again. Part among the war films continued

to mirror the policy of official exoneration, proffering a pronounced dichotomy between Nazis and the totality of Germans. But the majority of film productions reverted to their former messages of criticism, which were perhaps milder than before and affected the form of ambivalent irony toward the German portrayal. Certain celebrated Hollywood directors managed to retain throughout this period of testing a higher degree of autonomy than their colleagues, so that their German portrayals displayed variation and sophistication. But they were few. Billy Wilder and Stanley Kubrick could be named as cases in point.

6. Assumptions and results in recent research

6A. Studies in line with the present investigation

For the purposes of this research I have studied about 100 films made in Hollywood between the years 1939 and 1989 and which exhibited representations of German characters.

I based my study on the intrinsic examination of these depictions, in parallel reviewing a very large portion of the scholarly literature connected to the topic. In relation to the representations of Germans and the ties between Hollywood and the American officialdom I found that:

6A.1 Researchers unanimously claimed that the representations of Germans in movies have been already stereotypically negative during World War I and even earlier, and identified the persistence of this tendency during the period between the two great wars and the course of the WWII.

6A.2. Part among the WWII scholars supported the view that Hollywood did comply with the directives of OWI and those of other governmental agencies during the war (1942-1945) and later on, in the course of the Cold War (at least during the years 1947-1960/61), also taking orders from HUAC. According to these researchers, throughout the greatest part of this period Hollywood had operated under very tight supervision as an instrument of the American foreign policy rather than an independent agent.

6A.3 Other works suggest quite the contrary, i.e. that throughout most times of war Hollywood maintained its independence and did not take dictations from any government agency. Neither did state propaganda influenced it, and should therefore not be regarded as a recruited institution.

6A.4 After the war ended, Hollywood complied with the instructions of the Office of War Information (OWI) and refrained from attacking the German people as a whole, singling out members of the Nazi party to embody the enemy. Several studies show that Hollywood producers knew how to tell apart typologies within the mass of Germans depicted in their films.⁴ This tendency is relegated by the majority of researchers to the period of the Cold War, when a change can be traced in the US foreign policy after the Soviets turned from former allies into potential enemies. Hence, the need to whitewash the Germans of their crimes and acquit the mass of the German people in order to enlist them as partners against the Soviet power. According to this assumption, Hollywood started to concoct the image of a new Germany to match *Pax Americana* that the 'good' American ally was bringing.

6A.5 Two approaches apply to these post-bellum years:

- a. The majority of studies have shown that since the end of WWII Hollywood representations of Germans have undergone a change for the best, these characters bearing less resemblance to the enemy. Some researchers believe that this alteration followed the arrival to the film studios in the United States of directors of German origin while the war was still waged.
- b. A few scholarly works suggest that manners for the presenting of German characters in movies have not changed since 1917, that there has been a continuous negative depiction of the German temperament as a Prussian stereotype, and that this trend is perpetuated to our days.

6B. Inferences of the current study

In my research I am of same mind with part among these scholars, subject to the following remarks:

6B.1. For most fractions of the period in question, exception making the peak years of the war (1942-1944), Hollywood has kept its independence and should not be regarded as an enlisted institution. In its totality it rather supported the policy of intervention on its own accord, acting almost entirely independently in a spirit of patriotism.

⁴ This trend appears unmistakably illustrated, for example in the study of Hendel of 2007 (Images of Germany in American Literature).

6B.2. Representations of Germany and of Germans during the Cold War are highly complex and cannot be considered an attempt to exonerate the German people of crimes against humanity.

6B.3. Distinctions between Nazis and other Germans can be found, but the majority of the Germans appear in the movies as ambivalent characters, not necessarily or entirely in a favorable light.

6B.4. The directors of most films made in Hollywood were preoccupied with the question of the Nazi past and the extent to which the new Germany could be trust. Representations of German women have been analyzed in the movies and often found to appear as metaphors of Germany (see Section 10 below).

6B.5. The German film representations generally reflect complex relationships between the world of cinema and that of politics, rather than stands of submission on the part of Hollywood toward the American administration. This facet is especially obvious during the difficult years of McCarthy's persecutions, but also appears clearly enough along the entire era of the Cold War.

7. Sources and Database

7.1. Primary sources

7.1a. Filmography. A significant selection of American films presenting German characters (Huns, Prussians, Nazis) has been reviewed in the aim of deducing through their intercession the nature of the relations between the administration and Hollywood.

7.1b. International Film Index.

7.1c. The International Film Guide: all movie guides.

7.1d. Documents of the United States State Department (FRUS), Vols. 13-15.

7.2. Archives, Libraries and Documents

7.2a. Historical archives in the United States, such as the archives of various film studios, the Congress library, more.

7.2b. Presidency archives: of presidents Roosevelt, Trumann, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

7.2c. The Israeli film archives belonging to the Jerusalem Cinemateque and the Tel Aviv Cinemateque.

7.2d. The Yad Vashem Institute, Jerusalem.

7.2e. Archive of the kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot.

7.2f. The media department libraries of the University of Haifa and the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

7.2g. Haozen Hashlishit, Tel Aviv.

7.3. Information of relevance in the General Media and Publications

7.3a. Periodicals; 7.3b; Research literature (books); 7.3c. Protocols of meetings and speeches by presidents and various American personalities in public key positions; 7.3d. Newspapers and public opinion polls; 7.3e. Essays and books on models and theories dealing with cinema and communication; 7.3f. Internet sites dedicated to USA presidents, presidential memoirs.

8. Methodology of the study: Data gathering and their assessment

This exploration belongs to the qualitative 'unobtrusive' type of study since it does not interfere with the context and object of the research. This approach does not underestimate any interfering research methods, such as the imparting and use of questionnaires or surveys, but acknowledges the limitations of such methods in historical investigations based on source parameters that are not distinctly measurable. Films belong to this last category of study. For valid results it is necessary to perform a triangulation out of the sources of information at avail, of which at least a part must be obtained through the use of 'unobtrusive' methods.

8A. Establishing the Inquiry Sample (Sampling)

The 100 American movies collected and examined were produced in Hollywood between the years 1939-1989. They all have Germany as main topic in a variety of image combinations representing the features of German men and women.

Between the years 1939-1945, 1169 American war movies reached the screen. Out of these only 27 were properly anti-Nazi films (issued during 1939-1941) and they too dealt solely with Germany, not with other European countries having fallen by then under Nazi influence⁵. This slight proportion of a radical anti-Nazi positioning is due to a number of reasons, among them appearing as prominent:

⁵ Michael S. Shull and David Edward Wilt ,(1996). *Hollywood War Films: 1937-1945*, (Mcfarland, Jefferson , North Carolina and London). p.51.

8A.1. The economic interests of studios' owners, who were afraid of losing revenues in Nazi Europe by emphasizing their opposition to that régime and ideology.

8A.2. The Jewish provenance of many Hollywood professionals in the wake of the Nazi American movement, and which was gaining strength.

8A.3. The fact that the American administration still supported isolationism at this epoch and went on putting pressure on the studio managements not to deal with the issues of interventionism in the contemporary movies produced.

This situation changed dramatically after the US armed forces entered the war, and movie statistics speak for this Cultural Revolution. Between the years of 1942-1945 about 500 war movies have been produced out of a total of 1700, or 30% of all those issued during these three years. About a half of the 1300 movies which have been produced in the US during the years 1941-1944 dealt with the war⁶. 80-90 million spectators were watching these movies every week, numbers which by far could not be reproduced nowadays.

During the Cold War there was a drastic decrease in films that represented Germany in any of its aspects. Between 1947-1989 more than 1500 movies have been produced in the US which dealt with the Cold War and its successive crises. Only a small part, about 150-200, dealt with Germany, and among them less than a half had German representations their central theme.⁷

8B. Periodization

The present research has examined main types and representations of Germans in the cinema, which the movies endeavored to create, intensify, change, shatter or revive during various periods throughout the twentieth century.

I have divided the Cold War duration into several periods and examined for each representations of the German image in the American cinema up to four basic categories:

8B.1. Representations of historical figures.

8B.2. Representations of German women as metaphors of Germany.

⁶ Reinhold Wagnleitner, (1994). *Coca - Colonization and the Cold War* , trans. Diana M. Wolf. (The University of North Carolina press, Chapel Hill, London). p.237.

⁷ Dan, Caspi, (1993). "Cinema, radio and television". *Mass Communication*. Vol. a. Unit 4, the Open University, Tel Aviv, pp. 149-169.

8B.3. Representations of Nazis and people who believed in the Nazi ideology, Germans with distinct Nazi characterization or their equivalents. These cases I divided into two groupings, Nazis and other Germans. The first group was found depicted in a negative light, the second generally shed in positive nuances. These images became blurred and more complicated during the years when America weakened under the impact of McCarthy's persecutions and the burden of the Cold War. In particular connected to this issue were films such as Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg* of 1961, *The Quiller Memorandum* directed by Michael Anderson, of 1966, *The Bunker* by George Schaefer in 1981, *Schindler's List* by Steven Spielberg, of 1993, *The Downfall* by Oliver Hirschbiegel in 2004.

8B.4. Representations of non-Nazi Germans like professional soldiers, officials and others, according to their social class; or Germans displaying an ambivalent identity. These characters looked much more in favor after the end of the war. The genre known as 'heroic war film' started to flourish at the beginning of the sixties, and could be illustrated by Ken Annakin's *Battle of the Bulge* of 1965. This trend thrived and reached a peak of popularity in the '70 and '80 of the 20th century. The complexity of its German characters became more evident, like in the movies: *Patton* by Franklin J. Schaffner, of 1970, *Raid on Rommel* by Henry Hathaway, 1971, *A Bridge Too Far* by Richard Attenborough of 1977, or *The Boys from Brazil* by Franklin J. Schaffner, of 1978.

8C. Analysis results

I have found that the division of character imagery into the two groups featuring Nazis on one hand and Germans less aligned ideologically on the other, has been intended, and was an outcome of the relationships maintained by Hollywood with the US Administration in light of issues current in the American foreign policy at the time.

At a first stage these two German types were examined for significance in the context of a given movie. At a subsequent stage they were further analyzed with regard to the cinematic language, which is a form of communication having its own rules, grammar and syntax, and represented in film production by the use of shots, camera movements, sound and film editing. The historical setting has also been accounted for, and constitutes a third, additional juncture in the analyzing of the films. The cinematic

themes found came into being under pressure of the Cold War and its consequences, at two levels:

8C.1. Multiple forces and interests operated within the American administration *vis-à-vis* Hollywood at a 'macro' level.

8C.2. Within this film industry activated in teams professional persons involved in the making of cinema: producers, directors, actors, technicians – they too were motivated by moods, ideas and interests connected to the problems of the world in which they evolved, and had a say on the larger context within which they formed a kind of micro-cosmos.

9. The Limitations of the study

9a. Models of choice cannot possibly encompass the whole variety of German images as they appear in the totality of the cinematography of Hollywood at the period selected.

9b. A considerable number of films relevant to the period and the topic have been lost or are hard to trace and only brief, occasional reference is made of them in different texts.

9c. The cinematic medium uses a wide range of means for conveying its messages. The films were selected here on behalf of their community of theme. They present a variety of styles and belong to different epochs and genres. It is therefore difficult to analyze these productions by utilizing the same tools while aiming at uniformity of results.

9d. The film makers, directors, producers, writers, actors and photographers, were either born in the US or arrived from a score of European countries. Each brought to Hollywood his own techniques, cinematic approaches and ideologies; these concepts influenced in turn and exacerbated the structuring of the German representation on the screen. The present research can only work for now with the average, in inclusive ways.

9e. The date of production bears great significance for the understanding of a movie within its epoch at an eventful time. Thus. *Five Graves on the Road to Cairo* was produced a short time after the Germans were defeated at Al-Alamein, three months before Rommel's final crush in North Africa. These momentous military affairs prevailed at the time in the news as in the spirit of the film production.

9f. The costs of production were very high even by Hollywood standards, and had to be confirmed by a council consisting of the studio management, producers and directors. It

is understandable that resolutions connected to the German representation in movies have been also structured by considerations of a more concrete nature than ideology.

9g. A special category is the treatment of the Holocaust. In the present research the Holocaust has not been examined as a category apart⁸ on two main counts:

9g.1. The multiplicity of specialized films having dealt in exclusivity with this topic: documentaries, fiction, news reels, TV serials.

9g.2. The amplitude and depth of the subject, requiring large and focused erudition, makes it better adapted to specialized treatment.

10. Main thematic findings

The last five chapters (out of eight) of my thesis stand for the research-proper and leads to the thematic conclusions of the study.

10A. The **fourth chapter** deals with the German representation in films during the years 1939 to 1941, from the outbreak of WWII and prior to the American entry in the war. The general tendency prevailing in US during these years was still separatism. Hollywood films where German characters figured were found to offer a wide spectrum of representations:

10A.1 Depiction of historical figures. The illustration of well-known living personages was done indirectly, like in Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*. Persons in the Nazi regime were hinted at by employing metonymic appellations. High-placed officials were often caricatured.

10A.2 Representation of Nazis. These were essentially unfavorable renderings, bearing the ideological mark of the Nazional party and enhancing barbaric stereotypes like those of Huns, uncivilized German tribesmen, or examples of harsh Prussian personality types.

10A.3 Images of professional soldiers and other non-Nazi Germans. The films cast them in a favorable light, or at least not hostile.

10A.4 German women. Very few are presented on the screen during this period.

10A.5 Representations bearing on the division of German nationals into social classes. The German nobility was shown as opposing the regime, whereas lower

⁸ Several Holocaust productions have been however reviewed on account of their crucial relevance to the themes here treated, celebrated films such as *The Diary of Ann Frank* or *Schindler's List*.

classes within the common mass of people were represented as supporting Nazism.

10B. In **chapter Five** I examine representations of Germans during the war since 1942 and till its end in 1946. The findings show a steady orientation:

10B.1 Representation of historical figures. A slight caricaturist vein is preserved at this stage of the war. Again we remark a division is made between Nazis reportedly ideological, not compromising, like Heidrich in Fritz Lang's film *Hangmen also die*, of 1943; on the other hand we see professional fighters who would eventually settle for a compromise, like the personage of Rommel in Billy Wilder's *Five Graves to Cairo*, equally of 1943.

10B.2 The aggravated representation of Nazis with stern ideological profiles. The figure of the Nazi, which has preserved from earlier times a certain sense of humor, becomes not only grotesque, but highly threatening. The representation turns negative in the extreme. Since Nazism has been proved to be so dangerous, it is not an entertaining theme any more.

10B.3 Professional German soldiers and other non-Nazis. These representations are at times neutral, at other moments openly sympathetic.

10C. Towards the end of the war the vein of the German representation is altered to the point of approval on the part of the producer, or director. An example is Fred Zinnemann's film *The seventh cross*, 1944, which describes underground German formations as they endeavor to resist the Nazi regime. Some portrayals describe categories it is possible to define:

10C.1 Representations of German women. A new tendency makes now its debut, and expands as the war comes to an end: these feminine characters display an ambivalent sexuality. A case in point is Elsa in *The house in the 92 street*, of 1946. The personage of Elsa is found to represent a metaphor of Germany, country of uncertainties. More such characters were to appear on the screen during the Cold War representations.

10C.2 Representations of different German social classes. Unlike the previous years, the regime opponents come now from the working class, while members of the nobility act in the films as clerks. The Nazis were sometimes shown as people of the lower class and criminals. Such an example is Inspector Gruber in *Hangmen*

also die. This marks a reverting to the representational system of the first years of the war, the isolationism period of 1939-1941, when the upper classes were those represented as opponents of the régime and the lower classes as Nazi supporters.

10D. **Chapter six** describes similar German images in the Cold War films, from 1947 to 1970. Three categories have been retained, with the representations of women their larger part:

10D.1 Representations of German Women. In the majority of the films the representation of women displays sophistication and ambivalence. They are a metaphor of Germany, while the men involved with them on the screen symbolize the American forces. The power balance in the script expresses the 'feminine' attributes of Germany as advantages, and sets them against the less profitable position of decent manly characters, 'the Americans', who are shown in their innocence. The German heroines are crafty and do not hesitate to exploit their sexuality to their benefit. These personages aim at survival, at making the most of their situation at the detriment of the American soldiers. These traits stand as symbols for the opportunism the Americans were attributing to Germans, who could not be trust. The love affair between a woman and a soldier on the screen became a code standing for the actual American-German alliance after the war. It implied that the US owed loyalty to the new German partner at costs of dangers of revival of the Nazi régime and its ideology. Such ambivalence is clearly seen at the end of the film *The Quiller Memorandum*, of 1966.

10D2. Representations of Nazi characters on an ideological basis. During the Cold War Nazis again received in the films unfavorable features – in part comical and for the other part threatening.

10D3. Representation of professional soldiers and Germans other than Nazis. During the Cold War an alteration surged within this category. At first, the cinematic imagery tended to acquit these characters of crimes imposed to the Nazi régime, render them fit to become American allies. Unpleasant faces of simple Germans could still be observed in movies during this process of exoneration. In the years of McCarthyian persecution the representations of such Germans tended to become favorable because they were whitewashed by the studios purposively. This tendency persisted later on and is seen reiterated in most war films, for

example in the *Battle of the Bulge*, 1965. Toward the end of the 50's and during the 60's there was a renewal of the tendency to criticize the common German, for instance in Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1961.

10E. **Chapter Seven** is an examination of these representations during the period of Revision, and deals with the events of the *Détente*: the Soviet invasion to Afghanistan and the beginning of the Second Cold War, the Star War, fall of the USSR, fall of the Berlin Wall and the formal termination of both Cold Wars in 1991. This sequence of important historical occurrences triggered complex Hollywood representations, mainly during their drastic changes of 1971-1989. I have reduced this imagery to four categories:

10E.1. Representation of historical figures. The gallery of images describing in the movies the Nazi leadership appears as an ensemble of caricatures. Hitler's ecstatic speeches and Goebbels' screams presented these enemy leaders as crazed, hysterical. Likewise, the hedonism and greed of the Minister of German Air Forces, Herman Goering, accompanied his fat physical self to represent sheer bestiality. This typology was expanded to the Nazi leadership as a whole by repetitive motives of personal representation in films produced between 1939 -1989. Illustrations are *The Great Dictator*, or *Hitler – The Beast from Berlin*, *Hitler's Children*, *The Bunker* and many more.

10E.2. German Women imagery. Hollywood still used the metaphor of Germany as a wanton woman who threatens to corrupt America personified as the conquering man who was sometimes naive.

10E.3. Representation of Nazis and their ideology. During this period of the Cold War downbeat images continued to be attributed to Nazi personages in the films, either in a comic or a threatening form.

10E.4. German soldiery and other non-Nazis. During this period there was clear dichotomy between the representations of Nazis and other Germans. Differences between them grow sharper. In previous epochs pertaining to the Cold War even hated characters such as Amon Göth or Rommel were presented in caricatured ways, but now we observe again a split in the 'ideological' Nazi screen portrait: on one side appear characters like Amon Göth in Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* of 1993, who cannot accommodate to reality, and on the other professional fighters

willing to reach a compromise, like Rommel's character in Henry Hathaway's film *Raid On Rommel* (1971), and which recalls Billy Wilder's movie *Five Graves to Cairo* (1943).

In the cinematic production of the relatively recent period, movies such as *The Bunker* (1981), *Schindler's List* (1993), or *The Downfall* (2004), pose pertinent questions about the German characters described, intending to discern who is the 'good guy' and who the 'bad'. They even ask whether a good German could exist, if are all these personages evil, or only victims of the Nazi system.

Similar cases of confusion were to be found in films of the sixties such as *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), *The Quiller Memorandum* (1966).

The multiple-angled view that *The Downfall* gave the German society of the mid-forties let the viewer find his moral way in the Berliner jungle. The answers could be obvious, even if not necessarily pleasant: when the régime is corrupt and the leadership ill, the public is called to make an immense effort on its own, with great suffering and a much self-sacrifice, in order to make the situation revert to its former condition.

10F. The **eighth and last chapter** brings the present research to its conclusion, and displays the German image in the American motion pictures prior to the Cold War as opposed to the alterations it has undergone through later years.

The representations of Germans in the films examined express the relationship between Hollywood and the American administration of their time, and in parallel the connection between the US and West Germany. The images compose varied blueprints for each of the four periods under observation, yet in all of them we can perceive representations that differ for the case of Nazis and that of other Germans.

11. Theoretical and applicable conclusions

11A. Hollywood and the US Administration

From the overall findings of the investigation performed it can be seen, through the mediation of the films produced, that Hollywood maintained complex rapports with the American government:

11A.1 The studios occasionally acted as agents for the administration propaganda, still retaining in large degrees their cultural and financial autonomy.

11A.2 This relative independence left room for pluralism, permitting creators to deploy their talents quite freely in the ambiance of Hollywood. Certain film makers did

occasionally assume the attitudes indicated by the American officialdom, but others, or at other times, dared to criticize the administration, occasionally in poignant ways.

11A.3 Hollywood did not act as a monolithic body, but as a cultural and relatively tolerant, multi-structured organization. Part among the artists held solid outlooks not necessarily coinciding with the ideas of the central power. The artistic expression of great directors such as Billy Wilder or Stanley Kramer corresponded to their large repertoire of critical narrative in varied subject matters of their liking. Yet even these outstanding creator figures did come for moments close to frontal collision with elements of affluence in the administration. The dialogue between the two American institutions, the political and the cultural, is observed at all times of activity.

11A.4 A normal degree of persuasion did not always suffice to the governmental establishment to temper Hollywood. The very need of the administration to establish and operate the House of un-American Activities Committee testifies to its possible failures to discipline the studios and their managements.

11A.5 Upon close examination of the efforts made at Hollywood in order to partake in the political discourse, nuances were found that suggest the coexistence of a variety of approaches held by the various pressure groups. They also testify of influence being exercised by the high political circles of US decision-making on the American public at large. The Hollywood personnel only naturally reacted to the trends and interests of both sides, the popular and the governmental. They were men and women of their time, fully living and breathing the American reality, sharing its values and in need putting for them a good fight.

11B. Hollywood and the German Representations

The main contribution of this research lies in its almost comprehensive analysis of German representations detected in Hollywood-signed movies, and its wide perspective of the attitudes respectively held by the US administration and Hollywood; and on the other hand, of mind-sets and policies initiated by the American victor toward Germany. It is a two-facet enquiry, on the national and the international level, which covers the greater part of the 20th century second half, a large and important era in modern history.

Another contribution lays in the identification of dichotomous images of Germany and Germans during the periods of WWII, McCarthyism and the Cold War up to 1989. These

features help recognize and interpret the changes that took place in the realm of German representation in the American movies along several epochs. Thus, the atmosphere of persecution that prevailed in Hollywood during the so-perceived 'red' peril has undoubtedly contributed to the rehabilitation of Germany in the eyes of large American audiences and film publics all over the globe, by means of alterations of the German stereotype in movies made in Hollywood. At the same time, the public learned how to discern 'evil' Nazi characters from the rest of the German people which was put in the clear and excused. In its turn, Hollywood underwent the influence of American policy makers, who were occasionally conveying dictates to the masses through the films. At other times Hollywood has on the contrary served as a kind of mechanism for the evading of identification with the purely political interests of the US administration. Due to the interplay of forces between Hollywood and the State, American audiences acquired a choice and could deliberate at liberty and all seriousness upon the grim legacies of Nazism.

The leading movie industry in the United States provided a versatile and alert medium for the transformation of mentalities. This perception could provide valuable grounds for the conduct of more prospective studies. The present inquiry has exemplified how research centering on cultural questions in the category of cinema is able to touch and elucidate the historical perspective.

History-related research in art divisions and subdivisions is called for nowadays, more than twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the international order established after the WWII and the Cold War. The role of such scholarly enterprise would be to ascertain novel directions in an age of global confusion. Valuable conclusions could be reached by investigating movies, TV or even internet productions, apart or taken in concurrence, in the historical perspective.

In times of crisis such as we seem to experience on a global scale now, this task is more imperative than ever.

12. Filmography and Bibliography

Types of sources and data

A. Primary sources – filmography

Selected Filmography

Germans in films

1. Selection of films from World War II (1939-1944)

1. *Hitler – Beast of Berlin* (1939). (AKA Beasts of Berlin, Goose Step, Hell's Devils and Hitler, Beast of Berlin). Director: Sherman Scott (Sam Newfield). Produced by Producers Distributing Corporation/Superior Talking Pictures. 87 min. B/W.USA (from the story Goose Step).
2. *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939). Director: Anatole Litvak. Produced by Warner Bros. 102min B/W. USA.
3. *The Mortal Storm* (1940). Director/producer: Frank Borzage. Produced by MGM, 100 min. B/W. USA.
4. *The Great Dictator* (1940). Director:/producer/screenwriter: Charles Chaplin. Produced by United Artists. 126 min. B/W. USA.
5. *All Through the Night* (1941). Director: Vincent Sherman. Produced by Warner Bros. 107 min. B/W. USA.
6. *Casablanca* (1942). Director: Michael Curtiz. Produced by Turner Entertainment/Warner Bros. 102 min. B/W. Available in colorized version. USA.
7. *Nazi Agent* (1942). Director: Jules Dassin. Producer: Produced by MGM. 84 min. B/W. USA.
8. *Hitler's Children* (1942). Director: Edward Dmytryk and Irving G. Reis. Produced by RKO Radio Pictures. 83 min. B/W. USA.
9. *To Be or Not to Be* (1942). Director/producer/screen story: Ernst Lubitsch. Produced by United Artists. 90 min. B/W, Color, USA.
10. *Hangmen Also Die* (1943). Director/Producer: Fritz Lang. Produced by United Artists. 131 min. B/W. USA.
11. *This Land is Mine* (1943). Director/producer: Jean Renoir. Produced by Films Jean Renoir/Franco London Films/RKO Radio Pictures. 103 min. B/W. USA.
12. *Hitler's Madman* (1943). (AKA – Hitler's Hangman). Director: Douglas Sirk. Produced by MGM/Producers Releasing Corporation. 84 min. B/W. USA.
13. *Five Graves to Cairo* (1943). Director/screenwriter: Billy Wilder. Produced by Paramount. 96 min. B/W. USA.

14. *The Hitler Gang* (1944). Director: John Farrow. Produced by Paramount. 101 min. B/W. USA.
15. *The Seventh Cross* (1944). (AKA – The Seven Crosses). Director: Fred Zinnemann. Produced by MGM/ Pandro S. Berman. 110 min. B/W. Available in colorized version. USA.

2. Selection of films from World War II (1944-1945)
films of collective accusation

16. *Here is Germany* (1944). (Documentary). Director: Ernst Lubitsch. Produced by Columbia Tri-Star. 52 min. B/W. USA.
17. *Know Your Enemy – Germany* (1944). (Documentary). Director: Ernst Lubitsch. B/W. USA. (on behalf of Frank Capra's team).
18. *You're Job in Germany* (1945). (Documentary). Director: Frank Capra. Producer: Theodor Geisel. Screenwriter: Theodor Geisel. 15 min. B/W. USA.(was completed by Frank Capra's team).
19. *Death Mills* (1945/1988). (Documentary). Director: Hanus Burger. 47 min. Color. USA. (Was distributed in 25/07/1946).
20. *The House on 92nd Street* (1945). Director: Henry Hathaway. Produced by 20th Century Fox. 88 min. B/W. USA.
21. *Hotel Berlin* (1945). Director: John Gage and Peter Godfrey. Produced by Warner Bros. 98 min. B/W. USA.

3. Post-War Germany: Nazism has not passed away (1946-1946)

22. *Notorious* (1946). Director/producer: Alfred Hitchcock. Produced by RKO Radio Pictures. 101 min. B/W. USA.
23. *The Stranger* (1946). Director/screenwriter: Orson Wells. Produced by International Pictures. 95 min. B/W. Available in colorized version. USA.

4. German representations from the beginning of the Cold War and till the construction of Berlin Wall (1961) (1947-1970)

24. *Crossfire* (1947). Director: Edward Dmytryk. Produced by RKO Pictures. 86 min. B/W. Available in colorized version. USA.
25. *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947). Director: Elia Kazan. Produced by 20th Century Fox/Darryl F. Zanuck Productions. 118 min. B/W. USA.
26. *Germany, Year Zero* (1947). [AKA – Germania Anno Zero]. Director/ producer/ screenwriter: Roberto Rossellini. Produced by Teve Film. 75 min. B/W West Germany, USA.

27. *The Iron Curtain* (1948). (AKA – Behind the Iron Curtain). Director: William Wellman. Produced by 20th Century Fox/Darryl F. Zanuck Productions/Sol C. Blockadel. 87 min. B/W. USA.
28. *Berlin Express* (1948). Director: Jacques Tourneur. Produced by RKO Radio Pictures. 86 min. B/W. USA.
29. *A Foreign Affaire* (1948). Director/screenwriter: Billy Wilder. Produced by Paramount. 116 min. B/W. USA.
30. *The Third Man* (1949). Director/producer: Carol Reed. Produced by General Film Distributors/London Films. 104 min. B/W. UK, USA.
31. *The Big Lift* (1950). Director/screenwriter: George Seaton. Produced by 20th Century Fox/William Perlberg Productions. 119 min. B/W. USA.
32. *The Desert Fox* (1951). [AKA – Rommel – The desert Fox]. Director: Henry Hathaway. Produced by 20th Century Fox. 87 min. B/W. USA.
33. *The Devil Makes Three* (1952). Director: Andrew Marton. Produced by MGM. 96 min. B/W. USA.
34. *Stalag 17* (1953). Director/producer/screenwriter: Billy Wilder. Produced by Paramount. 120 min. B/W. USA.
35. *Witness for the Prosecution* (1957). Director/screenwriter: Billy Wilder. Produced by United Artists. 116 min. B/W. USA.
36. *Fraulein* (1958). Director: Henry Koster. Produced by 20th Century Fox. 98 min. Color. USA.
37. *The Young Lions* (1958). Director: Edward Dmytryk. Produced by 20th Century Fox. 167 min. B/W. USA.
38. *One, Two, Three* (1961). Director/producer/screenwriter: Billy Wilder. Produced by United Artists. 110 min. B/W. USA.
39. *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961). Director/producer: Stanley Kramer. Produced by Stanley Kramer Productions/United Artists. 178 min. B/W. USA.
40. *Town Without Pity* (1961). Director/producer: Gottfried Reinhardt. Produced by United Artists. 105 min. B/W. West Germany/ Switzerland/USA.
41. *The Longest Day* (1962). Director: Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton, Gerd Oswald, Bernhard Wicki and Darryl F. Zanuck. Produced by 20th Century /Darryl F. Zanuck Productions/Franco London Films. 179 min. B/W. Available in colorized version. USA.
42. *Escape from East Berlin* (1962). Director: Robert Siodmak. Produced by MGM. 94 min. B/W. West Germany/USA.

43. *The Great Escape* (1963). Director/producer: John Sturges. Produced by United Artists. 170 min. Color. USA.
44. *Dr. Strangelove or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964). Director/ producer/screenwriter: Stanley Kubrick. Produced by Stanley Kubrick Productions. 93 min. B/W. UK/USA.
45. *Battle of the Bulge* (1965). Director: Ken Annakin. Produced by Cinerama/Warner Bros. 141 min. Color. USA.
46. *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1965). Director/producer: Martin Ritt. Produced by Paramount/Salem Films. 110 min. B/W. UK/USA.
47. *The Quiller Memorandum* (1966). Director: Michael Anderson. Produced by J. Arthur Rank Productions/Paramount. 103 min. Color. UK/USA.
48. *Funeral in Berlin* (1966). Director: Guy Hamilton. Produced by Paramount. 102 min. B/W/color. UK/USA.
49. *Torn Curtain* (1966). Director/producer: Alfred Hitchcock. Produced by Universal. 125 min. Color. USA.
50. *The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany* (1968). [Documentary]. [AKA – The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich]. Director: Mel Stuart. Produced by David Wolper L. Productions. 120 min. Color. USA.
51. *The Secret Life of Adolf Hitler* (1969). Westbrook van Voorhis – participant. 52 min. B/W. USA.
52. *Patton*. (1970). Director: Franklin J. Schaffner. Produced by 20th Century Fox. 171 min. Color. USA.

5. German representations in the revision period – a sequence of complex representations or drastic change (1971-1980)

53. *Raid on Rommel* (1971). Director: Henry Hathaway. Produced by Universal. 99 min. Color. USA.
54. *Hitler: The Last Ten Days* (1973). Director/screenwriter: Ennio de Concini. Produced by Paramount/ Tomorrow Entertainment/West Film/Wolfgang Reinhard Productions. 108 min. color. UK/Italy/USA.
55. *A Bridge Too Far* (1977). Director: Richard Attenborough. Produced by United Artists. 175 min. Color. USA/UK.
56. *The Boys from Brazil* (1978). Director: Franklin J. Schaffner. Produced by 20th Century Fox/CBS/Fox Video/ Producer's Circle. 130 min. Color. USA.

6. Second Cold War: representation of Germans during the renewed escalation period upon the invasion to Afghanistan (1981-1989)

57. *The Bunker* (1981). Director/Producer: George Schaefer. Produced by Antenne 2/Societe de Francis Production/Time-Life. 180 min. Made for TV. Color. USA/France.
58. *Victory [AKA Escape to Victory]* (1981). Director: John Huston. Produced by Lorimar Productions/Paramount. 117 min. Color. USA.
59. *Partisans of Vilna* [Documentary].(1985). Director: Josh Waletzky. Screenwriter/ Producer: Aviva Kempner. Produced by Ciesla Foundation/Euro-American Films. 130 min. Color and B/W. USA.
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61. *Weapons of the Spirit* [Documentary] (1986). Director/producer/screenwriter: Pierre Sauvage. Cinematographer: Yves Dahan. Editor: Matthew Harrison. Cast: Pierre Sauvage – Narrator. Produced by Franco London Films/Friends of Le Chambon... 91 min. Color. France/USA.
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65. *Triumph of the Spirit* (1989). Director/Screenwriter: Robert M. Young. Produced by Nova International Films/Triumph. 115 min. Color. USA.
66. *Schindler's List* (1993). Director/producer: Steven Spielberg. Produced by Universal. 200min.B/W and color.USA.

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