

***Ohm Krüger:* The Genesis of a Nazi Propaganda Film**

The invasion of Poland having been successfully completed in the early autumn of 1939 and the campaigns in Norway, Denmark, and western Europe in the following spring, the Nazi war machine set its sights on Great Britain. In order to galvanize the German public for a military offensive that would undoubtedly meet with much greater resistance than had been encountered heretofore, Joseph Goebbels and the Ministry for Propaganda authorized the production of several films designed to stir up anti-British sentiment among the German people. The more modestly budgeted films dealt with British colonial affairs in Africa and the Irish struggle for independence.¹ But the cornerstone of the anti-British propaganda² effort was clearly *Ohm Krüger*, a 1941 Tobis release concerning Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal from 1883 until 1902, and his struggle against British imperialism before and during the Boer War.

Among noted commentators on Nazi propaganda films, only Richard Taylor, David Welch, and most recently Klaus Kanzog have dealt with *Ohm Krüger* in any detail. Taylor offers a general commentary on the major scenes (207-15), and Welch, in a more substantive discussion, focuses on the film's anti-British theme in the general context of Nazi representations of the enemy (271-80). Kanzog offers a wealth of information about the background of the film and its reception, summarizes the plot, and mentions a few of the differences between the film and the literary material on which it is based (253-65). In this paper I offer a more comprehensive analysis of *Ohm Krüger* as an example of Nazi propaganda with special reference to its major themes and the composition of its screenplay, which sheds light on how propaganda was often presented in the form of a feature film.

Hans Steinhoff assumed the artistic direction of *Ohm Krüger* and was assisted, according to the film's credits, by Herbert Maisch and Karl Anton.³ Emil Jannings, along with playing the title role, was responsible for the general direction or "Gesamtleitung." Other well-known actors include Gustav Gründgens as British colonial minister Joseph Chamberlain, Ferdinand Marian as Cecil Rhodes, Werner Hinz as Jan Kruger (the president's son), and Otto Wernicke as the British commandant.

More money was spent on the production of *Ohm Krüger* (RM 5,477,000) than for any other film of the period except *Kolberg*, the monumental epic about the Napoleonic Wars (RM 8,800,000), and *Münchhausen*, the classic comedy-adventure film (RM 6,602,000) (Albrecht 417-29). The Propaganda Ministry awarded *Ohm Krüger* the following ratings:

- 1) politically and artistically valuable
- 2) culturally valuable
- 3) valuable for the national character
- 4) educational
- 5) valuable for youth⁴

Perhaps most importantly, the film was designated as the very first "Film of the Nation" (Albrecht 553).

The story of *Ohm Krüger* contains both historical and fictional elements. Paul Kruger's conflict with Cecil Rhodes and the British colonial ministry and the Boer War itself are, of course, based on historical fact. But the film also contains a plot line concerning a fictional conflict between Kruger and his son Jan. In the film the latter is an Oxford-educated lawyer who returns to South Africa with a decided predilection for the British way of life, much to the chagrin of his vehemently anti-British father. When the Boer War breaks out, Jan decides to retire to his farm with his wife and children to avoid having to participate in the conflict. But the war unexpectedly comes to him. A British sergeant arrives one evening at Jan's home demanding lodging for his troops. When the impudent intruder begins to molest Jan's wife Petra, he hits the slovenly Englishman on the head with a whiskey bottle and kills him. Then, in one of the film's least convincing moments, the legendary Boer general Christian de Wet

heroically enters the Kruger home, having easily routed the sergeant's men, whereupon Jan spontaneously decides to leave his family and join the Boers' fight for freedom from British domination.

In the course of the war, British troops burn the Kruger farm and take Jan's family to a concentration camp, where the intrepid Boer surreptitiously locates his wife and learns from her that their two children have died of typhus. His presence is soon discovered, however, and he is taken prisoner and summarily hanged in front of the camp's horrified inmates, dying with the heroic shout "England be damned!" on his lips. Petra repeats her husband's curse and is shot on the spot. The other women riot in response and the camp's guards open fire, the scene closing with a child crying alone on a landscape strewn with corpses. The film ends in the Swiss hotel room of the exiled and ailing President Kruger as he prophesies to his nurse that "a day of retribution will come. Great and mighty nations will rise up against British tyranny. They will strike England down. God will be with them. Then the way will be clear for a better world."⁵ (For a fuller summary of the plot see Kanzog 255-60.)

How *Ohm Krüger* Functioned as Propaganda

Both the Propaganda Ministry and those associated with the artistic production of the film made it clear that *Ohm Krüger* was intended to spawn anti-British sentiment. In the forward to a new German edition of the memoirs of Paul Kruger, Emil Jannings wrote that the Boer president was destined "to begin a struggle that will be completed in our own day. Paul Krüger . . . has made the world conscious of the fact that national freedom, prosperity and happiness are being threatened by a pernicious disease: British Imperialism" (Kruger 7).⁶ This statement echoes the words Jannings, as Ohm Krüger, speaks so dramatically at the end of the film.

The film accomplishes its anti-British propaganda mission both in the way it portrays the major British historical figures and through various filmic devices. Cecil Rhodes and his compatriot Dr. Jameson are conniving, ruthless, and greedy apostles of British power politics; sanctimonious British missionaries distribute guns and prayer books to the natives while leading them in singing "God Save the Queen;" Queen Victoria gets drunk on her "medicine;" Colonial Minister Joseph Chamberlain hypocritically declares that the British have an obligation to civilize the world; Field Marshal Kitchener icily announces that homeless Boer women and children will be sent to concentration camps, the portrayal of which allowed the propagandists to show that they were not a German invention (Drewniak 338); the commandant of the camp, who resembles the jowly Winston Churchill, feeds his bulldog meat from his own table while his prisoners starve; the fatuous Flora Shaw, who was supposed to inspect the camps, allows herself to be duped by the commandant and tries to encourage Sannah Kruger, the president's imprisoned wife, to sign a statement declaring that living conditions in the camps are acceptable and that their husbands should lay down their arms. Indeed, the only British person portrayed as something less than an absolute scoundrel is the bumbling doctor at the concentration camp who seems simply overwhelmed and perplexed as to how he should care for the needs of the prisoners.

Special filmic devices powerfully underscore the anti-British theme in a nonverbal manner. As Jan nobly expatiates to his wife concerning British magnanimity ("The English are magnanimous and far-sighted. They have no interest in subjugating another nation. They are interested only in having others join the greater English family of nations as equal partners"), his speech is interrupted by a loud knock on the door from British soldiers who seek to invade the Kruger home. The irony in this juxtaposition clearly reveals the naiveté of Jan's positive impression of the British. Later, in a scene reminiscent of the chiaroscuro technique used in Expressionistic films, Jan surveys the ruins of his burned house. The interplay of shadow, smoke, and a silence broken only by Jan's footsteps creates a most desolate atmosphere. When the film moves toward its climax, we again hear "God Save the Queen," but played now in a minor key as we see bodies being buried in mass graves after the prisoners riot. An artfully crafted musical bridge then modulates from the minor key to the major and a reprise of the Boer national anthem as the film cuts to Ohm Paul's heroic prophecy that the mighty foes of the British nation will one day avenge the injustice done to the Boers.

Not confining itself to negative propaganda, *Ohm Krüger* also develops the positive themes of Führer and Volk. The nickname "Ohm" (meaning "uncle") bespeaks a cordial bond between the president and his people, and the film does an excellent job of portraying Kruger as a man of the people. We see him in a finger pulling test of strength with one of the older commando leaders who wants to prove to Kruger his unflagging physical prowess. He plays silly games with his grandchildren and speaks of rheumatism during his audience with Queen Victoria. In a more noble vein, the film abounds with sententious statements about his role as leader of his people. "I will lead my people in this battle. And every last man of my people will be a hero." "You don't *study* history. You *make* history if you're a real Kruger," he tells Jan when the latter claims his study of British and Boer history gives him special insight into the problems of the day. After his conversion, Jan suggests that his father go to Europe to enlist the help of the major heads of state. The president responds: "I will not abandon my people in their hour of need." But when Jan convinces him it is his duty, he says pensively: "Do you really think it's my duty? Duty . . . My duty. . . ."

The visual dimension also underscores the Führer motif. Early in the film Steinhoff creates an impressive Führer tableau. Several of the president's ministers and generals stand behind him as he sits at his desk over his morning coffee, contemplating his next move against the British. The camera then moves in for a silent close-up of the pondering president.

The importance of Volk in the ideology promulgated by the Propaganda Ministry is obvious from the rating categories "volksbildend" / "educational" and "volkstümlich wertvoll" / "valuable for the national character," which were conferred upon films that furthered these values (Albrecht 553). As mentioned above, *Ohm Krüger* received both ratings. As the president recounts for his Swiss nurse the Great Trek of 1835 and the founding of the Transvaal, he describes his people as "peaceful and hard working," thus clearly portraying them as undeserving victims of British aggression. And the Boers remained an organic unit down to that day. When British insurrectionist Leander Jameson protests that he was arrested by Boer civilians and not by the police, Kruger retorts: "Among us every citizen is a policeman or a soldier." In one of the film's more impressive scenes, the entire population of Pretoria marches off to war with the army, singing the national anthem as they go. A visibly elated Ohm Paul stands before his advisors and says: "I called up an army, and a whole nation has come." A citizen putting his own interests before that of the nation could not be tolerated. When Kruger learns that a certain farmer has sold his land to the British, he summarily throws him out of his office for being a traitor to the Boer people.

How the Screenplay of *Ohm Krüger* Adapted Source Material to Produce Propaganda

Ohm Krüger provides an interesting case study into the manner in which Nazi propaganda was often introduced into feature films. Along with the well known documentaries and weekly newsreels, Goebbels felt it was necessary to present propaganda in more indirect ways through the use of plot and character. He said in a speech to filmmakers in 1937:

It is in general an essential characteristic of the effectiveness [of propaganda] that it never appear as intended. The moment propaganda becomes known, it becomes ineffective. But when it remains in the background as propaganda, as a bias, as a general characteristic, as a mindset, and appears only through plot, through the course of events, through a series of happenings, through contrasts between individual characters, then it becomes effective in every respect. (Albrecht 456)

The Führer and Volk themes in *Ohm Krüger*, for example, are not expounded through lengthy commentaries but more indirectly through the plot. Being a feature presentation with characters and a story line, rather than a non-fictional political documentary on the life of Paul Kruger, the film does not explicitly attempt to transfer the Führer and Volk themes from South Africa at the turn of the century to contemporary Nazi Germany. This the viewers were to do themselves. Such indirect propaganda, requiring the translocation of a story from another time and place into the viewers' own social context, reflects Goebbels's preference for propaganda that does not appear intentional.

Selecting an historical setting for the film not only made possible a less direct form of

propaganda but also the elimination of unwanted elements from the literary sources and the actual facts of history on which it was based. The opening credits for *Ohm Krüger* indicate the screenplay was written by Harald Bratt and Kurt Heuser and that they "freely adapted motifs from the novel *Mann ohne Volk* [*Man Without a Nation*] by Arnold Krieger."⁷ Unlike the film, Arnold Krieger's novel does not focus on the Boer president but on a fictional character called Hendrik Botha, whom Krieger makes a cousin of Louis Botha, the famous Boer general and first prime minister of the Union of South Africa. When one reads the novel, it becomes immediately apparent that for the plot of *Ohm Krüger*, Bratt and Heuser have recast Arnold Krieger's protagonist Hendrik Botha as Paul Kruger's son Jan. The biographical parallels between Hendrik and Jan are indeed striking. Both are Oxford educated and swore an oath of pacifism in their student days. Therefore they do not join the Boer army when war with England is imminent, as most of the Boer men do, but remain neutral to be able to work as intermediaries between the Boers and the British after the war. Neither Jan nor Hendrik wears a beard, in contrast to the Boer custom. Both kill a British soldier in defense of their families, see their farms burned by British troops and take up arms against the British with General Christian de Wet. In their promise to fight bravely for the Boer cause after their conversions, they use nearly the identical words: "I don't want to stand on the sidelines any longer" and "I will not be your worst soldier" (Krieger 275). Both have a daughter named Pia who dies along with her mother and a brother in a British concentration camp. And both are wounded attempting to steal into the camp to see their families. The parallels extend even to details such as the importance of music and literature in their homes.

The filmmakers borrowed the figure of Hendrik Botha perhaps to enhance the dramatic tension of *Ohm Krüger* by introducing a father-son conflict and a radical political conversion into the plot, along the lines of Goebbels's injunction to present propaganda "through plot, through the course of events, through a series of happenings, through contrasts between individual characters." But to do this, the screenplay writers had to ignore two aspects of the novel that did not accord well with the propagandistic intentions of the film: the novel's characterization of Hendrik Botha and of the British.

First of all, Hendrik's conversion is not primarily from Anglophile to enemy of the British (as is Jan's in the film), but from pacifist to militant, a conversion that is agonizing, vacillating and never fully undertaken without reservation. This shift of focus in the protagonist's conversion allowed Bratt and Heuser to heighten the anti-British dimension of the screenplay, which is not nearly so prominent in the novel, and all but neglect the novel's moral and psychological dimension in Hendrik's long, personal struggle over abandoning pacifism. Additionally, Bratt and Heuser had to ignore Arnold Krieger's portrayal of Hendrik Botha as a kind of anti-Führer, a man "ohne Volk" / "without a nation," as the title of the novel proclaims. Hendrik, unlike the irrevocably converted Jan Kruger, is always out of step with his people. When they are for war, he works for peace. When they have tired of war, he is ready to take up arms.

The comparatively balanced portrayal of the British in *Mann ohne Volk* also differs from their characterization in *Ohm Krüger*. In contrast to the film, the novel shows several positive British figures. A helpful lieutenant who comes by the Botha farm after Hendrik has left and while his wife is in labor with their third child conducts himself "as an absolute gentleman" (223). Later, one of the British soldiers who burns the farm feels deeply ashamed and curses "that bloodhound Kitchener" (236) who has ordered the action.

Two of the major scenes from the film that were based on episodes from the novel clearly demonstrate these aspects of the characterization of Hendrik/Jan and the British: 1) Jan's killing a British soldier at his farm and his decision to join Christian de Wet, and 2) Jan's capture and summary execution upon attempting to enter the concentration camp where his family is imprisoned.

When British soldiers arrive at the Botha farm, both Jan (in the film) and Hendrik (in the novel, pp. 193-203) assure them there are no Boer troops anywhere in the area. At this point, the two scenes depart radically from one another. The sergeant in the film is a repulsive character who casts lascivious glances at Jan's wife Petra. The sergeant in *Mann ohne Volk* is

polite and asks if he and his men might buy food from the Bothas. In the film, the sergeant readily accepts Jan's offer of wine, quickly downs three glasses, pouring the last one himself, and then asks for whiskey. In the novel, Hendrik invites the soldiers to stay for dinner, and they gratefully accept. Amid copious consumption of food and drink, the guests share stories and laughter with their hosts well into the early morning hours and sing together both "Rule Britannia" and the Transvaal national hymn. Hendrik expatiates on his disdain for war, and the British admit they had been duped into enlisting to fight in South Africa by reading false promises of easy spoils in the British press. The sergeant in the film brutally forces himself on Petra when she spurns his advances, but the sergeant in the novel politely begs for pardon when Hendrik's wife raps him on the knuckles with a spoon after he put his arm around her at the dinner party. After killing the sergeant by a blow to the head with a whiskey bottle, the Anglophile Jan Kruger executes a surprise volte-face, instantly becomes an enemy of the British, and joins General de Wet. Hendrik Botha, on the other hand, does not join the Boer forces after he shoots the abandoned and enraged sergeant the next morning in defense of his family. Instead he decides to retreat to his uncle's farm in the Cape Colony, where he originally intended to stay for the remainder of the war.

The scene in the concentration camp and the subsequent execution of Hendrik/Jan (in the novel, pp. 335-50; 393-413) show similar differences. The commandant of the camp in *Ohm Krüger*, as mentioned above, is a loathsome curmudgeon who feeds himself and his bulldog generously, while the women and children in his camp starve on their meager rations. The administrators of the camp in the novel, on the other hand, are characterless, anonymous figures who appear only in the background. Flora Shaw, portrayed in the film as the emissary of a British welfare organization sent to inspect the camps, is a very shallow woman who gleefully hobnobs with the camp's commandant. But Emily Hobhouse, another historical figure from the Boer War and Shaw's counterpart in the novel, actually sleeps in a tent with the women and boldly makes notes on the camp's conditions in front of the administrators. Reckoning that she herself may be imprisoned for her actions, she is nevertheless confident the truth will eventually be revealed. She brings the women food, clothes, soap, and medicines, and promises to return (348-49). The camp doctor in the film is an ineffectual wimp who describes the women's maggot-infested rations as "unpleasant" when he lodges a timid complaint on their behalf before the commandant. Unable to help children who are dying of typhus, he attempts to appease their frantic mothers by promising to send aspirin for their fevers. But the doctor in *Mann ohne Volk* is a truly sympathetic person who manages to have Hendrik's wife's full rations restored after the commandant cut them in half because Hendrik had taken up arms against the British (360).

Jan Kruger's capture and summary execution by hanging in *Ohm Krüger* lends added emotional impact to the scene in the concentration camp since it immediately ensues upon his reunion with Petra across the camp's barbed wire fence. But in Arnold Krieger's novel, the attempted reunion between Hendrik and his wife never takes place. Hendrik is superficially wounded as he approaches the camp to look for her, but he flees before he can be captured (339-40). When he is later imprisoned as the would-be assassin of Lord Kitchener, he is attended by a Lieutenant Galway, a man whom Hendrik finds to be "a true gentleman" (402). Galway listens patiently as Hendrik muses aloud about the course of his life: "Do you know what it's like to be tottering between two nations, two continents, two directions? Only after painful indecision have I ever been able to make up my mind, and then I just pretended to be resolute because I was so insecure. Whatever I undertook, it always turned out to be the wrong thing" (401).⁸ Compare this to Jan Kruger's resolute proclamation to his wife before he is hanged: "I die for you. For our nation. For our fatherland." And President Kruger's grandiose prophesy at the end of the film lets the viewer know that Jan has indeed not died in vain. In the novel, however, the peace treaty ending the Boer War is signed on the very day of Hendrik Botha's execution, showing the futility of his sacrifice.

Since the forbearing Lieutenant Galway and the defeated and pensive Hendrik in Arnold Krieger's novel stand in sharp contrast to the ruthless British commandant and the resolute Jan Kruger portrayed in Steinhoff's film, a direct filming of *Mann ohne Volk* would not have

served the purposes of Nazi propaganda. This is undoubtedly why the several motifs and scenes borrowed from the novel were "freely adapted."

In order to accomplish its propagandistic mission, *Ohm Krüger* also had to ignore certain historical facts such as substantial opposition to the Boer War on the British home front as well as Paul Kruger's deficiencies as an ideal Führer and the Boers' deficiencies as an ideal Volk from the standpoint of Nazi doctrine.

The film's substitution of Flora Shaw for the crusading Emily Hobhouse⁹ has already been mentioned. But even Shaw's character is grossly misrepresented. She was actually a highly regarded reporter for *The Times* who decided to travel to South Africa during the Boer War to see the situation for herself. From all accounts, she was neither fatuous, shallow, nor gullible as the film portrays her to be. Reports of her habitually dour manner of dress stand in sharp contrast to her character's garish attire in the film.¹⁰ Other examples of British opposition to the war are also given in Arnold Krieger's novel (313, 319 and 348).

Additionally, the memoirs of Paul Kruger, republished in Germany under the title *Ohm Krüger: Lebenserinnerungen des Buren-Präsidenten/Memoirs of the Boer President* and intended perhaps to coincide with the release of the film, reveal a dimension of his character that was suppressed in the film. Steinhoff et. al. took care to eliminate the fact that Kruger saw himself in his role as president as being responsible not only to the parliament but to God as well. This edition of Kruger's memoirs includes his acceptance speech from 1898 for his final term as president of the Transvaal, in which he said:

When I look back and see how the Lord has led this nation, how God has made this nation free, then I know what would happen, now that I am the leader of the nation, if I were to go astray. I must not only report to the members of the parliament but must also give an account to God[. . .]. (233)

In this regard Welch's characterization of Paul Kruger as a "perfect hero figure for a Nazi film" seems somewhat inappropriate (271).

The portrayal of the Boers as an ideal Volk was equally problematic from the standpoint of Nazi ideology since they were not an ethnically pure race. This fact was, of course, not mentioned in the film but was apparently not lost on some of the better informed critics of the period. A report from the SS Security Service, which regularly evaluated the effectiveness of film propaganda based on published reviews and viewer responses, pointed out that the Boers are actually a mixed, impure race: "The character of this mixed race is dubious. In regard to the colonial responsibilities of Greater Germany after the final victory, they cannot be presented as a Germanic ideal" (cited in Drewniak 339). The arrogance of assuming a final victory here is exceeded only by the arrogance of assuming that the Germans themselves, in contrast to the Boers, are a pure race.

The Propaganda Ministry must have hoped this film would stimulate the public's interest in Paul Kruger as a crusader against British imperialism. The release of at least four books about his life around the same time as the film is perhaps a measure of this anticipated popularity. These books include an historical novel by Joachim Barckhausen, a biography by Friedrich Freksa, Hanns Froembgen's portraits of colonial heroes *Wissmann, Peters, Krüger*, and the German edition of the memoirs of Paul Kruger already mentioned.¹¹

But the makers of *Ohm Krüger* chose to avoid Barckhausen's and Freksa's single focus on the Boer president and added a fictional father-son conflict and the son's radical political conversion to their screenplay in order to encapsulate propaganda in a dramatic form, according to Goebbels's recommendation to keep the political message behind the plot. In this way, the propagandists could best realize their goal as molders of public opinion and prepare the German people for a military campaign against the British that was destined to last until the collapse of the Wehrmacht four years hence.

Christian W. Hallstein
Carnegie Mellon University

Notes

¹ Anti-British propaganda films about colonial Africa included *Carl Peters* (1941) and *Germanin* (1943); those dealing with Irish independence included *The Fox of Glenarvon* (1940) and *My Life for Ireland* (1941).

² In this paper I will use Laswell's definition of propaganda, also used by Jacques Ellul in his well-known book on the subject: "Propaganda is the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations" (Ellul xi-xii).

³ The version of *Ohm Krüger* used for this paper is available from International Historic Films. Chicago, 1985. 124 min.

⁴ In the original German, the ratings are: 1) staatspolitisch und künstlerisch besonders wertvoll; 2) kulturell wertvoll; 3) volkstümlich wertvoll; 4) volksbildend; 5) jugendwert.

⁵ All translations from *Ohm Krüger* are my own and are based on my personal transcriptions from the version of the film cited above.

⁶ All translations from German language sources are my own.

⁷ This popular historical novel about the Boer War was originally published in 1934 in Berlin by Rowohlt and was released again in 1939 by the Wilhelm Heyne Verlag of Dresden. In 1940, the year before the premiere of *Ohm Krüger*, another edition was published by the Verlag Franz Eher under the title *Hendrik und Samnah*, which ironically highlights the romantic story line of the book over the political one. The same title was used for a postwar edition by Non-Stop-Bücherei. The novel has also been translated into Afrikaans. Like *Mann ohne Volk*, Arnold Krieger's most famous novel, *Geliebt, gejagt und unvergessen* (Herbig 1955; Fischer 1978, among many others), is set in Africa.

⁸ Hendrik's execution itself visually reflects his vacillations. Originally resolved to stand rather than to sit in front of the firing squad, he collapses into the chair when his executioners take aim. Yet the instant before they fire, he stands up again, causing their shots to penetrate his midsection rather than his heart (413).

⁹ For an account of Emily Hobhouse's efforts in opposition to the Boer War, see Brian Roberts, *Those Bloody Women: Three Heroines of the Boer War*, London: Murray, 1991, 122-228.

¹⁰ For a summary of Shaw's activities in South Africa and her work at *The Times*, see E. Moberly Bell, *Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard D.B.E.)*, London: Constable, 1947, pp. 224-41; Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1992, pp. 79-94; and Oliver Woods and James Bishop, *The Story of The Times*, London: Michael Joseph, 1983, 158-83.

¹¹ Joachim Barckhausen, *Ohm Krüger. Roman eines Kämpfers* (Berlin: Buchwarte-Verlag L. Blanvalet, 1941); Hanns Froemberg, *Wissmann, Peters, Krüger* (Stuttgart: Franck'sche Verlagshandlung, 1941); Friedrich Freksa, *Ohm Krüger. Sein Leben - ein Kampf gegen England* (Berlin: Brunnen-Verlag, 1941); and Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, *Ohm Krüger: Die Lebenserinnerungen des Buren-Präsidenten* (Berlin: Im Deutschen Verlag, 1939?).

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