



***Naeseon Ilche* and Nazi medievalism: making nation, history, and film**

Cha Yongku

To cite this article: Cha Yongku (2024) *Naeseon Ilche* and Nazi medievalism: making nation, history, and film, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 25:2, 215-229, DOI: [10.1080/14649373.2024.2293558](https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2024.2293558)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2024.2293558>



Published online: 08 Jan 2024.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 264



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



***Naeseon Ilche* and Nazi medievalism: making nation, history, and film**

CHA Yongku

Department of History, Chung-Ang University, Seoul, South Korea

ABSTRACT

The present study aims to compare the cinematic propaganda of colonial Korea and Nazi Germany, revealing how the two countries used film to construct narratives of nationalism. Furthermore, this study will aid our recognition and understanding of the similarities and differences between victims and aggressors in spreading nationalist propaganda. Despite the similarities between the colonial Korean and Nazi German film industries in spreading nationalist propaganda, there are significant differences between these two countries' ways of promoting national values: the colonial Koreans adopted transcolonial nationhood (i.e. the strategy of integrating nations), whereas the Nazis excluded minorities, such as Jews. Therefore, dichotomous evaluations of the victim and the aggressor are inconsistent with existing standard interpretations. Colonial Korea, generally known as having experienced the trauma of colonization, also engaged in cinematic fabrication and the weaponization of history, as Nazi Germany did. Propaganda films in both colonial Korea and Nazi Germany played a significant role in reconstructing their national identities. Regarding the cinematic reinvention of these national identities, we should eschew the artificial dichotomy between victims and aggressors.

KEYWORDS

Film propaganda; colonial Korea; Nazi Germany; collective memory; *Naeseon Ilche*; medievalism

Introduction: film and politics, a ghostly return

In the 2010s, films based on specific historical events smashed box office records in South Korea. *The Admiral: Roaring Currents* (Myōngryang, dir. Kim Han-min [Kim Hanmin], 2014), *Ode to My Father* (Gukje Sijang, dir. Youn Je-kyoon [Youn Chaekyun], 2014), and *Operation Chromite* (Incheon Sangnyuk Jakjeon, dir. Lee Jae-han [I Chaehan] 2016) all depict historical events, namely the victory against the Japanese fleet in 1597, South Korea's modernization era, and the successful amphibious landing during the conflict with communist North Korea, respectively. *The Admiral* became the most-watched film in Korean history with 17.6 million admissions, while 14.2 million local viewers watched *Ode to My Father* (Kim 2019a, 2019b). It is worth noting that these films appealed to the audiences' sense of patriotism and were released when the conservative President Park Geun-hye was in power. The president has seen all three films and is reportedly deeply touched by *Ode to My Father*, even shedding tears.

In its obsession with representing history, South Korean popular cinema has built an emotional attachment to the past. Former President Park emphasized the importance of history education and, in many of her official speeches, made it clear that correcting and rewriting biased and distorted historical facts are essential to national pride in South Korea's historical achievements. To

rectify a distorted national history, Park's government utilized political power to exercise control over Korean cinema, and the Korean film industry was pressured into making a series of patriotic movies by the Park administration (2013–2017).

However, the cozy relationship between cinema and politics is a complex phenomenon with a long history, and lessons from the political use of film can be learned from the past. For example, in this regard, films of colonial Korea and Nazi Germany engaged in cinematic fabrication and the weaponization of history. The filmmakers of Nazi Germany and colonial Korea each used film as a tool for reconstructing collective memory. Despite their different political systems—with the Nazi regime as a totalitarian government and colonial Korea as a colonized one—the pro-government propaganda films of both sides played a significant role in creating their national identities.

Although scholars have examined the use of cinema in spreading nationalist propaganda, most studies have focused exclusively on one nation, ignoring direct comparisons of propaganda films between different countries. The present study compares the cinematic propaganda of colonial Korea and Nazi Germany, revealing how the two countries used film to construct narratives of nationalism. Furthermore, this study will aid our recognition and understanding of the similarities and differences between victims and aggressors in spreading nationalist propaganda.

Colonial Korean film

In 1910, Korea was officially annexed by the Japanese Empire. During the Japanese occupation from 1910 to 1945, the film industry in colonial Korea was ironically a vibrant business. Korean filmmakers looked forward to collaborating with their Japanese counterparts and Japan's major studios. Whether for commercial or political purposes, they desperately grappled with problems in the colonial frontier. To borrow Mary Louise Pratt's phrasing (1991, 34), who used the term "contact zone" to describe those spaces where "cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism," colonial Korea functioned as a contact zone. *Arirang*, a Korean silent film directed by Na Un Kyu in 1926, was regarded as a national film that evoked the strong nationalistic sentiment of *han* (resentment). However, within the system of cooperation between colonial Korea and mainland Japan, the Korean Colonial Government encouraged and promoted the production of pro-Japanese propaganda films (Yecies 2005; Yecies and Howson 2014).

From 1937 onward, Japan started a war with China, and local screens underwent fundamental changes. The Korean Colonial Government formalized the assimilation policies of *Naeseon ilche*, which translates to "Japan and Korea as one body." With the doctrine of common ancestors (*Ilson tongjoron*), the slogan of *Naeseon ilche* sought to legitimize the annexation of Korea by Japan. Films made during this wartime regime were developed to shore up the faltering campaign of this ideology. By August 1940, film production, distribution, and exhibitions in colonial Korea had come under the strict control of Korean film law, which was designed to censor, edit, and potentially ban any films that might damage the Japanese Empire and challenge its colonial authority. This complete film censorship controlled all aspects of the filmmaking process, forcing every filmmaker to follow the film censorship ordinance (Lee 2008).

In a state of total war, film industries in colonial Korea were created to present Japan and Korea as one nation, coproducing films that fostered a strong feeling of unity between the two nations with the intent of transforming Koreans into loyal subjects of the Japanese Empire. The colonial Korean film industry was used as a propaganda tool to promote the ideology of *Naeseon ilche* and attempt to assist the establishment of the Japanese total war system. Nearly all 51 films

made in colonial Korea between 1937 and 1945 were designed to imbue Koreans with the doctrine of Japan and Korea as a single body (Yecies and Howson 2014, 5).

Transcolonial film coproductions

The transcolonial cinematic network between Korea and Japan produced numerous *Joseon* films—colonial Korean films made during Japanese imperialism—within the Japanese Empire. This paper focuses on films by director Choi In Gyu, who actively embraced the assimilationist policy of *Nae-seon ilche* and made pro-Japanese propaganda films. This research aims to show how films imagine, invent, and reconstruct national identity. The research also seeks to reveal how films play a formative role in the nation-building process. While the two films that will be analyzed below have been the subject of many research efforts (see, for example, Lee 2009; Chung 2015; Kim 2017; Baek 2018), there is a lack of studies that examine how colonial nations had been created through these two films.¹ Furthermore, as *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels* were made by a private film company operation in colonial Korea, the plan, production, and distribution of the two films show how the filmmakers of colonial Korea voluntarily tended to respond at Japan's request of the *Naeseon ilche* ideology.

Tuition (Suõmnyo, 1940)

The original scenario for *Tuition* was written in Japanese by Yoo Soo Young, a fourth-grade Korean elementary school student and prizewinner of a writing contest. Nishiki Motosada, an advisory board member of the colonial government's Book Department, asked Yi Chang Yong, the president of Goryeo Film Company, to make the essay into a film. The producer, Yi, who had tried to seize lucrative opportunities to screen Korean films outside Korea, fostered collaboration between Japanese and Korean filmmakers.

For the exchange of ideas and informations between Korea and Japan, Yi hired Yagi Yasutarō, one of Japan's most acclaimed scenario writers. He also selected amateur child actors and invited Susukida Kenji from Japan for the role of the protagonist's teacher. In June 1940, director Choi In Gyu began filming. Choi In Gyu was one of the most active movie directors at the end of Japanese colonial rule. His film career began with *Tuition*; commercially, *Tuition* was a box office hit in colonial Korea.

The film is set in Suwon, Korea, in the 1930s. At the film's start, audiences are introduced to fourth-grade student Yeong Dal, who is learning geography. On the blackboard in Yeong Dal's classroom, a map of "our state" is drawn with chalk, depicting the Japanese islands and the Korean peninsula as one state. The teacher and students speak Japanese, and all classroom notices are in the Japanese language. Yeong Dal loudly reads from his textbook at home after school, "Our land includes Japanese islands, the Korean peninsula, Manchuria, and Kwantung." *Tuition*, the first children's film made in colonial Korea, was designed to act as a vehicle of propaganda for the racial and imperial unity of Korea and Japan.

Homeless Angels (Jibeopneun Cheonsa, 1941)

Homeless Angels was produced by Goryeo Film Company, featured an all-Korean cast, including domestic star Kim Shin Jae and was directed by Choi In Gyu. It was inspired by the true story of a Korean Christian pastor who rescued homeless children (mostly young boys) and resettled

them in an orphanage in the countryside. Similar to the film *Tuition*, *Homeless Angels* was a trans-colonial film coproduction with the Japanese Empire. The original script was written in Japanese by the Japanese writer Nishigame Motosada, and was later translated into Korean by the colonial writer Im Hwa.

The film demonstrates how thoroughly Korean filmmakers had become assimilated into imperial Japanese doctrine due to the *Naeseon ilche* ideology. The film's final sequence shows a mixed group of orphaned children and adults chanting the "Pledge of the Imperial Subjects" in Japanese. This scene emphasizes the assimilation of Koreans into the Japanese Empire.

Korean filmmakers had begun using the Japanese national language and adopting Japanese names. On the surface, they also began to express the nationalistic ideals expected of them by the colonial administration. *Homeless Angels* was designed to inculcate educational messages intended to transform the Korean people into loyal subjects of Japan. Colonial Korean film producers were undoubtedly aware that the film's ending, emphasizing unity between the Japanese and Koreans, would meet with the approval of the Japanese authorities and censorship offices in Korea and Japan.

The failed cinematic dream of one nation

Goryeo Film Company's close connection with Japan's distributors, which included Towa Company, helped it export *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels* to Japan. In fact, unlike their releases in colonial Korea, the two films faced complex barriers in mainland Japan. *Tuition* passed the censors and enjoyed box office success in colonial Korea. However, its Japanese release, promoted by Towa Company, was delayed for over a year before its release was finally denied.

The Ministry of Education recommended and praised the film *Homeless Angels*. This thrilling masterpiece, which ran over two hours, was approved by the censorship board in Korea in mid-July 1941 and was given a special screening in Japan in September 1941 (Yecies and Howson 2014, 4). However, despite its overwhelmingly positive reception, the Japanese Home Ministry strictly censored the film and recommended redacting scenes they considered inappropriate, claiming that the film violated the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The movie was modified from its original release, resulting in 218 meters (or about eight minutes) of cut film, but it was considered a box office flop in Japan. Although colonial Korean films such as *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels* made every effort to promote "Naeji Hua" (integration of Japan and Korea), Japanese audiences and critics underrated them because they were made not in Japan's homeland but in colonial Korea. Moreover, the cinematic realism of these two films exposed the dark sides of glorious imperial Japan: *Tuition* presents low-income families who could not afford to pay school fees for their children, and *Homeless Angels* presents homeless children who were forced into a life of begging and stealing before entering a private orphanage. *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels* failed, struggling to gain recognition as imperial Japanese films, and were "ultimately categorized as *Joseon films*" (Chung 2019, 33).

Although director Choi In Gyu's plans did not come to fruition, he continued to direct a series of propaganda films advocating for and promoting Japanese imperialism. In September 1942, the Japanese colonial government closed all existing film companies in colonial Korea and, in the end, established the Joseon Film Production Company (JFPC), which was directly administered by the colonial authorities. Choi In Gyu joined the JFPC and fulfilled his long-held ambition to become a director of propaganda films. His story illustrates the dilemmas and tragedies of colonial Koreans who wanted but could not become Japanese.

Despite the similarities between the colonial Korean and Nazi German film industries in spreading nationalist propaganda, there are significant differences between these two countries' ways of promoting national values: the colonial Koreans adopted transcolonial nationhood (i.e. the strategy of integrating nations), whereas the Nazis excluded minorities, such as Jews. Therefore, dichotomous evaluations of the victim and the aggressor are inconsistent with existing standard interpretations. Colonial Korea, generally known as having experienced the trauma of colonization, also engaged in cinematic fabrication and the weaponization of history, as Nazi Germany did. Propaganda films in both colonial Korea and Nazi Germany played a significant role in reconstructing their national identities. Regarding the cinematic reinvention of these national identities, we should eschew the artificial dichotomy between victims and aggressors.

Nazi nationalism

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, patriotic elites living in European nations increasingly relied on medieval tropes in ethnonationalist rhetoric. They summoned their own national history, and the dead medieval heroic figures, into being. In the words of Jacques Lacan (1991, 12), they were “historicised in the present—historicised in the present because it was lived in the past.” Therefore, he says, the past has a claim on the present. In this context, the film played an important role: it was used to capture the hearts and minds of the people and convey a sense of national soul to a broad audience. Documentary and feature films introduced a broad audience to masterpieces and heroes of national culture, providing historical figures with dramatic visual language.

Nationalism has encouraged an understanding of history in which history offers a narrative for what the future might become. National memory culture has represented history by producing novels, monuments, and films. The early 20th century saw a resurgence in the popularity of medieval heroic figures and various forms of popular media, such as narrative fiction, photography, and film, that featured an ahistorical reenactment of the medieval past. Through the use of medieval history, cinemas became a political weapon of Nazi nationalism that promoted national values. The very term “Medievalism” refers to how the Middle Ages has been, since the fifteenth century, perceived and conceptualized by later times. Medievalism studies is therefore not related to the Middle Ages per se, but rather the ways in which the medieval period has been understood and portrayed in the centuries after. In nationalist thinking, medievalism was a consequence of searching the idea of the nation in wishful fantasies of (lost) medieval unity and glory (for more detail, see Berns and Johnston 2011; Pugh and Weisl 2013; Bildhauer 2016; Elliott 2017). The politics of memory served to shape the collective memory of a nation, and it haunted medievalism. The Nazi view of history aestheticized everyday life and politics through the use of the film apparatus; the dramatization of a medieval object could create the illusion of a spatial experience.

In the 1920s, historians helped reinvent and rewrite the Middle Ages as an ideal period of German hegemony and expansion in Europe. Right-wing medievalists, such as Percy Ernst Schramm and Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, detested the degenerate Weimar Republic. Norman F. Cantor (1991, 79) refers to them as “the Nazi twins.” Their groundbreaking biographies of great German rulers, written in the 1920s Heidelberg, reflected the anxieties of an unstable Weimar Republic and the wish for a charismatic modern leader. They longed for a heroic leader who would restore German hegemony. For many, who saw the present as a time of social and spiritual destabilization, medieval society seemed stable and orderly, characterized by territorial expansion and a European empire united under German hegemony. Unsurprisingly, Nazi leaders, including Hermann Goering, Heinrich Himmler, and Hitler himself, were enthusiastic about Kantorowicz's biography of

Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250), which glorified the totalitarian state and imperial power. As Walter Benjamin reminds us, Nazi rulers took a “tiger’s leap into the past:” both conservatives and Nazis considered the Middle Ages to be a golden age of political unity under German emperors, and they sponsored cinematic productions related to a reinvented Middle Ages, as we will see later on.

In *Inventing the Middle Ages*, Norman F. Cantor (1991, 79-160), the premier historian of the Middle Ages, traces the Nazis’ strong interest in and profound impact upon medieval studies, particularly the ways in which they promoted the use of history, linguistics, and folklore as tools for shaping the ideology of the Aryan master race. To reinterpret history and propagate their ideology, the Nazis used new and emerging technologies of the twentieth century, including film. Bettina Bildhauer, a medieval specialist, argues that “film since its invention has always been interested in medieval settings” (Swenson 2016, 647). She continues that:

the Middle Ages used to bolster politicians’ claims of nationhood by providing origin myths for modern nations in the distant past in ways that could be seen as deliberate [...] they are currently being claimed back from nationalist appropriations in particular during the Third Reich (Swenson 2016, 655).

Troubled times

World War I left behind destruction on an unprecedented scale, and the trauma of the war has been seen in popular discourse ever since. Throughout the world, the legacy of the war threatened domestic and international spheres, but it hit Germany like nowhere else. In the aftermath of World War I, Germany was burdened by the twin shocks of defeat and revolution. Imperialist nostalgia for the glory days of the medieval Empire was evident in Germans living in the dismal Weimar years. At the very heart of such nostalgia lay the concepts of an imperial German monarchy and the epoch of imperial glory, which commenced with the accession of the Ottonian dynasty in the 10th century and ended with the demise of the Hohenstaufen in the 13th century.

This highly politicized view of German history used medieval studies as a tool for achieving its own purposes, and the idea of German nationhood was moved back into the Middle Ages. German people were reminded of their ancestors’ glorious political and military accomplishments. The present was portrayed as degenerate and lacking the heroism, cultural accomplishments, or moral seriousness of medieval times. The process of creating new states in Eastern and Central Europe, German territorial losses imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, and the resurgence of German racism all affected myths of medieval national origins, blood purity, and ethnic enmity.

As David Wallace (2020, 11), a scholar of medieval literature, rightly mentions, these are troubled times in which “we are seeing politics strongly intrude upon medieval studies.” Prominent scholars were on the frontline of the nationalist political movements, which aimed to find a historical basis for national identity and purity and project ethnic nationalism onto the past. Scholars in the Weimar Republic looked back at the splendor of medieval times, praising eastward settlement and cultivation: the ancestors of modern Germany had conquered and colonized, once and for all, their sacred, immutable, and irrevocable homelands, which Germany had now been forced to cede to its neighbors. History was weaponized for political gain, and the Middle Ages returned with a vengeance.

Nazi medievalism in propaganda films

As mentioned previously, key elements of Nazi ideology appeared in film and real-life prior to Hitler’s rise to power, and they only became stronger after 1933. Just as left-wing and communist

films had been produced in Weimar Germany, right-wing and revanchist films, as well as nationalistic and fascist ones, were now being made. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Nazis used the myth of the Middle Ages as a historical role model in German history. The revival of the medieval past was weaponized by nationalists: medieval emperors were now educators of the Germanic people in terms of their Germanness and leaders who could guide the nation's destiny. The National Socialist government was obsessed with fulfilling the same historic role as the medieval Empire. The Middle Ages was at the heart of right-wing Germany, and people believed their Third Reich was the rebirth of the first German Empire. They wanted to reestablish historical continuities through the use of a golden medieval past.

From the beginning, the reimagined Middle Ages, or medievalism, was a central trope in Nazi propaganda films. Goebbels notes in his 1934 diary that “film is one of the most modern and far-reaching ways of influencing the masses” (Leiser 1968, 40-41). In his speech on “Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben” (German culture in the face of new tasks), Goebbels argues that culture is the highest exponent of the creative forces of the nation. He also declares that Nazism would be a good patron of German culture and art. According to Goebbels, however, the artists of the Weimar Republic had broken away from the nation. In his eyes, the culture of the Weimar Republic exemplified cosmopolitan chaos and its inconsistencies with the German tradition. For the Nazis, the Middle Ages was the true source of Aryan culture, while contemporary Germany was in the dark ages. The past could, therefore, be politicized and used to step in the right direction and restore political order, which had been endangered and disrupted by the weaknesses of Weimar democracy.

In the campaign against the contemporary and un-German *Entartete Kunst* (degenerate art), the Nazis aimed to resurrect a tradition-bound German culture in a higher spiritual form involving “human dignity, strength of will, noble-mindedness, strength of character, and physical comeliness” (Hermand 2014, 29). By emphasizing the great achievements of earlier German art, they vehemently tried to oppose the commercialized mass media of the Weimar Republic. Degenerate art—demonstrating negative characteristics such as obscenity, decadence, vice, greed, intellectualism, anarchism, egocentrism, and internationalism—was banned on the grounds that such art was an insult to German feelings and un-German in nature.

With the start of World War II, Germany's film industry created a wave of explicit Nazi propaganda films filled with slogans of pan-Germanism, nationalism, and anti-Semitism (Weinstein 2019, 4). The Nazis claimed that degenerate art was the product of Jews, and they used stereotypes of a Jewish enemy and emphasized, almost exclusively, the racial inferiority of these Semitic subhumans and the intellectual superiority of Aryans in anti-Semitic polemics. The purity of Germanness, which the Nazis actively tried to discover by looking at the Middle Ages, could only be recovered and preserved through the rigorous extermination of this foreign race. International Jewish influence was seen to be corroding the purity of German culture. Ironically, Germany's technically advanced film industry had exaggerated anti-Semitic tendencies very effectively.

According to Nazi propaganda, which was used as an art of persuasion, ancient Germanic peoples, including Aryan Greeks and Romans, had created a harmonious society. Propaganda films praised the *Blutgemeinschaft* (blood community) of Germany as being an original homogenous ethnic group, and they rejected the dangers of modernity, especially rapid urbanization, and industrialization. Anti-Semitism condemned Jews for benefiting from global turmoil linked to urbanization, industrialization, and modernization. The ancient Germanic peoples were closer to the original purity and beauty of the Nordic race. Therefore, Nazi leaders strove to return to this peaceful and pure community, praising, for example, the concept of medieval brotherhood.

As Nazi cinematic propaganda espoused the notion of the original people of Germany, creating a mystical understanding of *Volk* (nation) that was outside the realm of the scientific rationale, the racist manifestation of such work became more apparent. The Nazis thought that a new type of man should be regenerated from the layers of sediment under which he had been trapped. National Socialism favored recreating the past within the present by following examples of ancient and medieval communities that were united, homogenous, closed, and hierarchical. With this purpose in mind, the Nazis used film as an instrument for reinventing German medieval history.

Ewiger Wald (Eternal Forest, 1936)

The Nazis developed a vast and elaborate propaganda system using new 20th-century media, including cinema. The film became an intricate part of the Nazi campaign to disseminate Nazi ideology to the masses and influence individuals' beliefs. *Ewiger Wald*, a Nazi Kulturfilm (culture film) directed by Hanns Springer and Rolf von Sonjevski-Jamrowski, is a remarkable example of Nazi medievalism (for more detail about the film, see Wilke 2001; Lee and Wilke 2005). Released in 1936, it sought to cover the organic and analogical symbiosis between the German forest and the German people, embodying a Nazi vision of history. By making a German forest a symbol of the eternal nation and state, the entire course of German history, from prehistoric to National Socialist times, could be systematically re-arranged, re-staged, and rewritten. Fascists effectively appropriated the technology of reproduction as a tool to use and abuse history, and they adeptly manipulated the media in their own interests.

In particular, the film reinterprets the Middle Ages for political and nationalistic purposes and portrays a mystical bond existing between the pure German race and the fertile German soil. The forest, which helped the German people to rise above their troubled history, becomes a symbol of a strong and secure nation. Peaceful and noble peasants working the soil and living in harmony with the forest, craftsmen building and sculpting from wood, artists working on Gothic churches, and Teutonic knights driving territorial expansion eastward are all illustrated as heroes of the golden period of the Middle Ages. The film portrays them as peaceful while also emphasizing the harmonious history of Germany, despite frequent aggressions from foreign neighbors.

By depicting archaic, premodern, and even anti-modern sentiments, the film features an idealized vision of the forest peasantry and highlights that, in medieval times, hearty German peasant farmers worked with their sacred homeland and achieved unity and greatness. Rural virtues and the sacredness of the soil are central themes of the propaganda film. It also lauds the tremendous passion and achievements of craftsmen and artisans: the working class. The filmmaker emphasizes the need for expanding *Lebensraum* (living space), which drove Teutonic knights to conquer through militaristic expansion. After a long introductory sequence that presents different visions of the German landscape through the seasons, accompanied by a large orchestra and a male and female choir singing a long ode, a narrator is heard declaring with great pathos: "Ewiger Wald, ewiges Volk, es lebt der Baum wie du und ich. Er strebt zum Raum wie du und ich" (Eternal forest, eternal nation, the tree is alive like you and I. It strives towards its space like you and I). This infers that territorial expansionism is regarded as the sacred mission of German people, and the national territories that their ancestors acquired should be protected and preserved. To emphasize the collective nature of nation-building, the narrator uses the collective "we"—the body of a nation or a state.

After the prelude, which lasts for almost ten minutes, the film portrays the legendary Battle of the Teutoburg Forest as a fight for liberation where Germans struggle against Roman soldiers who have

intruded into German territory. This serves as a historical prototype for more modern conflicts with France, such as the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon (1813–1815), the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), and World War I (1914–1918). The battle scene, with its strong focus on Herman the German—the hero of the fight for German liberation, shows the forest as the origin of the German nation, secured by a victory attributed to fallen warriors.

At the same time, *Ewiger Wald* promotes cultural isolationism, which rejects foreign influences over German national culture. The filmic perceptions of the Middle Ages see cultural isolationism as a demonstration of the pure nature and deep roots of national existence, as well as a rediscovery of its original ethnicity. While the film depicts the Roman or French others as aggressive invaders, Slavic or Eastern others are denigrated as inferior steppe people, devoid of culture. The chorus insinuates that land in the East is vacant and incultivated, wasting away under the indolence of uncivilized Slavic hordes. The phalanxes of armored crusaders are doubly ominous when the narrator commands, “to the East you can hear the words: German knights take up your swords! Expand the soil, expand the forest! Create room for the nation and its inheritors!”

Der Ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew, 1940)

Ewiger Wald employs a variety of techniques to turn history into nature. As the camera scans a medieval Gothic cathedral, the architectural monument fades in and out of a forest background that closely resembles the building’s outlines. The pillars of the cathedral stretch ever higher, gradually fading into the tall trunks of beech trees, and stained-glass windows filter a beam of sunlight much like a beech bough would. The production pioneered advanced cinematographic techniques, such as the moving camera, scene dissolves, and superimposition. Later, these techniques were used in the most malicious way in *Der Ewige Jude*, where groups of Jews were visually equated with packs of rats. Art education in cinema experienced a significant boost under National Socialism.

Released in 1940, the Nazi propaganda film *Der Ewige Jude* (about the content and public’s reaction to the film, see, Hornshøj-Møller and Culbert 1992; Hornshøj-Møller 1999; Clinefelter 2002; Hansen 2009), directed by Fritz Hippler, head of the film division of Nazi Propaganda Ministry, is infamous for its horrific anti-Semitism. At the behest of Joseph Goebbels, minister of propaganda and under the guidance of Adolf Hitler, the film used technical manipulations to legitimize the dehumanization and annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe. According to Stig Hornshøj-Møller (1999, 472), “*Der ewige Jude* is probably one of the most manipulated films ever made.”

Der Ewige Jude has been the subject of extensive scholarly criticism. However, scholarship on this anti-Semitic propaganda film centers around its unique construction, contents, and use as a tool for Nazi ideology. However, its uses and abuses of history, particularly medieval history, have not been investigated. Hippler and his staff produced *Der Ewige Jude* as a documentary, but it imitates the affective structures of fictional film “by combining documentary footage from the ghettos with clips cut from newsreels, other National Socialist documentaries, and even Weimar-era and Yiddish films” (Clinefelter 2002, 133). To accomplish the film’s goals, Hippler needed to puzzle over fragments of history.

Wrapped up in the guise of being a brutally honest documentary, the appalling pseudo-documentary *Der Ewige Jude* uses a series of odious images that show modern contemporary Jewish art as distorted and degenerate, in contrast to racially pure *Nordische Schönheit* (Nordic beauty) and tradition-bound German art. The film looks back to the Aryan Greeks, suggesting that the Aryan-Hellenic sculptures of the ancient Greeks are a model for racial ideals and represent a genuine racial consanguinity between Greek and Nordic aesthetics (*echte Rassenverwandtschaft*).

Using medieval German statues, two gothic works—the *Bamberg Rider* (*Der Bamberger Reiter*) and *Uta von Naumburg*—are combined into a single image by focusing on their heads, which fill the entire screen. The *Bamberg Rider* is an early 13th-century life-size stone equestrian sculpture set in the cathedral in Bamberg, Germany. The human subject looks westward, has an intense and furious gaze, and his mouth is open as if he is speaking. The true identity of the crowned, yet unarmed, man remains unknown. It is speculated that it could be a particular saint, a royal, or a representation of the Messiah (Pinkus 2014, 334-337). Due to vast gaps in knowledge about this famous medieval sculpture, nationalists were about to appropriate and expropriate the statue, and it has been extolled as the pinnacle of German aesthetic achievement. In a 1935 radio broadcast, Kantorowicz describes it as the true national shrine of the Germans and the Germanic-Mediterranean ideal racial type.

Located in the early-Gothic west choir of Naumburg Cathedral, *Uta of Naumburg* is a life-size donor sculpture rendered by an anonymous Naumburg master. Uta was one of 12 donators to Naumburg Cathedral. Therefore, a painted statue dedicated to her memory and honor was erected around 1250. While the true identity of the *Bamberg Rider* continues to elude scholars, the history of Uta's life also lies in darkness, except for the fact that she married Ekkehard II and the couple had no children. She is known to history by name only. Moreover, like the mysterious *Bamberg Rider*, from the early twentieth century onwards, a sequence of idealized images of Uta was featured in publications. Previously, Uta's statue had been forgotten and ignored for almost 800 years. It is hard to believe that, until the 1920s, no one took much notice of the statue.

However, right-wing nationalists began to use the statues for their own political interests, characterized by the politicization of memory and the aestheticization of politics. Through the politics of art (*Kunstpolitik*), the Bamberg Rider and Uta became the figures that represented the national character of the German people. The two statues became enormously popular and were seen as evidence of eternally German culture; their popularity made use of the new technology of moving pictures—cinema—by reinforcing a belief in a unique destiny for Germany as a singular nation whose history dates back to the Middle Ages.

Although the cathedrals of Bamberg and Naumburg belong to entirely different sculptural cycles and have their own histories, the German fascists made the aestheticization of politics possible through the apparatus of film, and figures were enlisted to reinforce a German idea of art. A well-known voice actor of the time, Harry Giese, narrated for cinema audiences, saying: “Der Schönheitsbegriff des nordischen Menschen ist dem Juden von seiner ganzen Natur aus unverständlich und wird ihm ewig unverständlich bleiben” (The Nordic concept of beauty is, by its very nature, completely incomprehensible to the Jew, and always will be) and “Für die Reinheit und Sauberkeit des deutschen Kunstempfindenseins hat der wurzellose Jude kein Organ” (The rootless Jew has no feeling for the purity and cleanliness of the German idea of art).

Emerging on the left-hand side of the screen, Uta slides up against the shoulder of the *Bamberg Rider* to illustrate the noble beauty of German culture imperiled by Jewish degeneracy. Then, to the right of Uta's image, the head of Adam fades in. Finally, the head of Eve fades in, slightly below and to the left of Adam. These Adam and Eve portal sculptures can be found beside the door of Bamberg Cathedral. The variation of placement and gaze continues as Botticelli's *Venus*, Michelangelo's *Birth of Adam*, and a representation of a Madonna and child float solemnly down the screen (Ulrich 2011).

The film acts as a powerful agent for the tremendous shattering and liquidation of aura in cultural heritage. *Der Ewige Jude* removes medieval statues from their appropriate surroundings—both spatially, from their placement as a mounted rider and a female donor in a holy space, and

physically, from their historical context of the Middle Ages—and places them into an incongruous juxtaposition. It detaches the replicated objects from the sphere of tradition. Divorced from the standing figure of her spouse (Ekkehard), Uta seems to be now leaning over the shoulder of the *Bamberg Rider* from behind, and she is romantically portrayed as if she is riding with him. The film's focus is not so much an attempt to convey a spatial experience of the Naumburg Cathedral but rather an attempt to enliven the sculpture of Uta. Integrating the sculpture into the cathedral's architecture takes a back seat. It is a strange interpretation of space and time.

Through the appalling pseudo-documentary *Der Ewige Jude*, viewers are hypnotized into seeing medieval statues as contemporary people. The film encompasses diverse cultural and historical contexts and involves social interactions. Uta and the *Bamberg Rider* are decontextualized from sacral environments and are reincarnated as a testament to the ideal German. Their cult value is thwarted, and through technological reproduction in the film, they lose, as Walter Benjamin claims, any claim to historicity. The cinematic fabrication of fact brings the sculptures physically closer to viewers and blurs the approximate 750 years that separate the audience from the medieval stone sculptures.

Nazi medievalization was not an expression of political reaction but rather one of a longing for a lost national past. The past would be used for the ongoing and future construction of national identity. Nazism drew on powerful sentiments and sensibilities and allowed for combining a mystic past with the future. German medieval art was used by a wide spectrum of society, including politicians, scholars, artists, and the public, and became a usable past that could, to some measure, ameliorate disillusionment with present conditions. In terms of Uta's sandstone statue, nationalist movements found a past that was useful for promoting German national consciousness, superiority, and pride. The nationalization of the statue recreated a racialized German community or, to use a term coined by Benedict Anderson (2006), an "imagined community." Racial Germanization repositioned the statue in a new light by removing Uta from a medieval environment and separating her from her relatives, including her spouse.

Contact zones studies and reinventing history

The early 20th century saw a resurgence in the popularity of medieval heroic figures and various forms of popular media, such as narrative fiction, photography, and film, that featured an ahistorical reenactment of the medieval past. Through the use of medieval history, cinemas became a political weapon of nationalism that promoted national values. In nationalist thinking, medievalism was a consequence of searching the idea of the nation in wishful fantasies of (lost) medieval unity and glory. However, Nazi medievalism has its own long history. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a founder of modern German historical science, Barthold G. Niebuhr, had already envisioned the medieval period as a source of German nationhood and cultural cohesion. He hoped to create a unified nation framed in the Middle Ages. According to Peter Viereck (1961, 19), romantic perceptions of the Middle Ages and romantic medievalism gradually evolved into Nazism. The instrumentalization of an idealized medieval history saw history as a derivative of ideology and led to manipulations and deformations of the past in popular media.

There was no distinct form of medieval statehood in the European Middle Ages. Nationalist historiographies of the 19th and early 20th centuries searched for the medieval roots of nation-states and constructed political, cultural, and ethnic national genealogies. However, the notion of actual continuities between medieval polities and the modern nation-state is unsustainable. Just as the distorted memory of Uta does not represent her real life, medieval European society was far from

being a homogeneous community. The relationships between Germans and Slaves, who lived together near the eastern border of the medieval German Empire, involved intimate family links based on blood and political interests. In the borderland, Ekkehard's family acted as a buffer between two societies. In addition, the region's native Slavic tribes and the German ruling forces had very close relationships that went beyond pure political alliances, and this connection gradually expanded into cultural hybridity in daily life. The encounter in the borderlands—Uta's birthplace—should not be seen simply as conquest and subjugation but as a phenomenon of inclusivity and interminglement (Cha and Son 2019, 18-26).

Nazi romantic perceptions of the Middle Ages (romantic medievalism) see cultural isolationism, which rejects foreign influences in the creation of national culture, as demonstrating the pure nature and deep roots of national existence and recovering an original ethnicity. According to traditional border studies produced in the 19th and early 20th centuries, borders are exclusive lines that function to protect, disconnect, control, and interdict. Therefore, the eastern border of Germany, where Uta lived, was understood to be a stronghold for a civilized territory where Germanic inheritance and advanced culture had spread since the High Middle Ages. The loss of the border would have been understood to be the defeat of civilization by barbarism, and it was a sacred boundary that must be defended. However, new contact zone studies reveal that, in the premodern era, the notion of a border was not that of a definite line. The contact zones between medieval Germany and the Slavic culture were not fault lines: they were hybrid zones full of cultural encounters and interethnic relations. Some Slavs moved into German-speaking areas where they were employed and integrated into German domains: lives were entangled, accommodation was shared, and disputes existed between all parties.

Contact zone studies also emphasize the harmonious birth of a new hybrid culture and that conflicts between medieval German- and Slavonic-speaking people should not be projected as nationalist images. In medieval Europe, there was no strong ethnic hatred—it was later imagined by scholars—and social interactions cut across ethnic lines. However, nationalism has encouraged an understanding of history in which history offers a narrative for what the future might become. National memory culture has represented history through the production of novels, monuments, and films.

Contact zone studies also help us to reevaluate colonial Korean films. Mary Louise Pratt takes an asymmetrical approach to contact zones and employs the term “autoethnography,” referring to “instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms [...] in response to or in dialogue with [...] metropolitan representations” (Pratt 1992, 7). That is to say, contact zones generate autoethnographic texts in which colonized people present themselves in ways in which their conquerors have represented them. As Kwon Nayoung Aimee described, a range of colonial films “were produced (and consumed) in the contact zones between colonial Korea and metropolitan Japan” (Kwon 2013, 10). Accordingly, contact zone theory suggests that *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels* should be reevaluated as autoethnographic texts of hybridity, mimicry, and ambivalence.

Conclusion: film and collective memory in colonial Korea and Nazi Germany

Scholars have examined the use of cinema in spreading nationalist propaganda. However, most of these studies focus exclusively on one nation, thus neglect to compare propaganda films of different countries directly.² This study aimed to compare cinematic propaganda of colonial Korea and Nazi Germany. Despite the similarities between the colonial Korean and Nazi German film industries in

spreading nationalist propaganda, there are significant differences between these two countries' ways of promoting national values. Comparing these two countries reveals that dichotomous evaluations of the victim and the aggressor are inconsistent with existing standard interpretations. Colonial Korea, which is generally known as having suffered the trauma of Japanese colonialism, also engaged in cinematic fabrication and the weaponization of history, as Nazi Germany did. Propaganda films in both colonial Korea and Nazi Germany played a pivotal role in reconstructing their national identities. Regarding the cinematic reinvention of these national identities, we should eschew the artificial dichotomy between victims and aggressors.

The films *Der Ewige Wald* and *Der Ewige Jude* describe the medieval German nation as racially pure and ideal, emphasizing, on the contrary, the modern German state as failed and influenced by the pernicious Jewish power. By comparison, two films, *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels*, produced during the late Japanese colonial era, present imperial Japan and colonial Korea as one nation. The films this essay focuses on have some common features of making nations. To use Eric Hobsbawm's definition of nationalism, it is best understood as a political ideology (Hobsbawm 1990). Like history books, films play a significant role in constructing narratives of nationalism.

The slogan *Naeseon ilche* is based on the idea that the origins of ancient Japan and Korea are the same. Seeking to instill this ideology in the Korean audience, *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels* aimed to promote harmony and unity between the two nations. Similarly, *Der Ewige Wald* and *Der Ewige Jude* sought to bolster claims of nationhood by providing origin myths for modern nations in the distant past, influencing myths of medieval national origin, blood purity, and ethnic enmity. The past can be used for the ongoing and future construction of national identity. Nazism drew on powerful sentiments and sensibilities and allowed for the combination of a mystic past with the present and future.

Due to the political and ideological differences between Nazi film policy and colonial Korea's film industry, drawing a parallel between them is dangerous. Nonetheless, the comfortable relationship between cinema and politics and cinema's response to political and social changes appears like a ghost that transcends time and space. The ghost of ferocious censorship and propaganda still haunts, consumes, and glorifies history. The film policies of the authoritarian regimes in Germany and colonial Korea struggled to use history to create a unified national identity. To appeal to audiences' sense of national identity, Choi In Gyu's films embodied nation-building policies in the same manner as the Nazis did. For these political purposes, strategies of exclusion were launched. While Nazi propaganda films were intended to demonstrate the otherness of the Jews by labeling German Jewish artists as degenerate, excluding filmmakers branded as inappropriate colonial subjects from the film industry produced a similar effect.

Notes

1. In the literature, researchers such as Takashi Fujitani, Nayoung Aimee Kwon, and Travis Workman have studied the connection between nation-building and cinema (Fujitani and Kwon 2013; Kwon 2013; Workman 2014). With that as the focus, the two films in this article, which have been rediscovered and made available in the past two decades, are analyzed in connection to the processes of colonial nation-making. According to Takashi Fujitani and Nayoung Aimee Kwon, "Korean filmmakers always faced the enormous challenge of realizing their artistic creativity even as they confronted the demands imposed upon them by the need to negotiate and work with Japanese filmmakers, technology, and capital" (Fujitani and Kwon 2013, 5). In such ways, like many film producers in colonized nations, Choi In Gyu worked within the imperial system and negotiated imperial policies. Two of his films, *Suicide Squad at the Watchtower* (1943) and *Love and the Vow* (1945), were collaborative efforts where he

codirected with the Japanese director Imai Tadashi (Watanabe 2013). Accordingly, we must recognize their different background compared to his previous works, such as *Tuition* and *Homeless Angels*, which were produced solely by Choi In Gyu. The main characters in those earlier films were colonial children who were educated to become imperial citizens. Meanwhile, *Suicide Squad at the Watchtower* and *Love and the Vow* depicted the unity of Japan and Korea as fulfilled. Such films with so-called trans-colonial coproduction warrant a careful reevaluation today, considering the need and justification for their depictions of colonial nation-making.

2. Travis Workman (2014) conducted a comparative study of late colonial Korean films, which includes in the discussions references to Siegfried Kracauer on Nazi propaganda films and André Bazin on the famous US war propaganda film *Why We Fight*.

Notes on contributor

Yongku Cha is Professor of History in the Department of History at Chung-Ang University in Seoul, Korea. He has published, among other papers, “Thinking about the Films on Medieval Ages” (2004); *History Reconciliation between Germany and Poland* (2008); “Die Reformation in aktuellen koreanischen Schulbüchern” (2015); *History of Borders: Adopting the Borderscape as Method* (2022).

References

- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Baek, Moonim. 2018. “Revisiting Colonial Cinema Research in Korea.” *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema* 10 (2): 85–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17564905.2018.1518689>
- Berns, Ute, and Andrew J. Johnston. 2011. “Medievalism: a Very Short Introduction.” *European Journal of English Studies* 15 (2): 97–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13825577.2011.566690>
- Bildhauer, Bettina. 2016. “Medievalism and Cinema.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, edited by Louise D’Arcens, 45–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cantor, Norman F. 1991. *Inventing the Middle Ages. The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century*. New York: W. Morrow.
- Cha, Yong Ku, and Ju Kyung Son. 2019. “Gukgyeongui Gieok: Naumbureukeu(Naumburg)ui Uta(Uta) Ipsang.” [Memories of Border: The Statue of Uta in Naumburg Cathedral.] *Seoyang Jungsesa Yeongu* 44: 3–37.
- Chung, Chongwha. 2015. “Joseonyeonghwa ‘Sueomnyo’ui Yeonghwahwa Gwajeonggwa Tekseuteu Bigyo Yeongu.” [A Study on the Filming Process of *Tuition* and the Comparison with its Regarding Texts.] *Yeonghwayeongu* 65: 201–236.
- Chung, Chongwha. 2019. “The Identity of ‘Joseon Film’: Between Colonial Cinema and National Cinema.” *Korea Journal* 59 (4): 16–47. <https://doi.org/10.25024/kj.2019.59.4.16>
- Clinefelter, Joan. 2002. “A Cinematic Construction of Nazi Anti-Semitism: The Documentary *Der Ewige Jude*.” In *Cultural History Through a National Socialist Lens: Essays on the Cinema of the Third Reich*, edited by Robert C. Reimer, 133–154. New York: Camden House.
- Elliott, Andrew B. R. 2017. *Medievalism, Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the Twenty-First Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Fujitani, Takashi, and Nayoung Aimee Kwon. 2013. “Introduction.” *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 2 (1): 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ach.2013.0008>
- Hansen, Jennifer. 2009. “The Art and Science of Reading Faces: Strategies of Racist Cinema in the Third Reich.” *Shofar* 28 (1): 80–103. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sho.0.0528>
- Hermant, Jost. 2014. *Culture in Dark Times: Nazi Fascism, Inner Emigration, and Exile*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornshøj-Møller, Stig. 1999. “Propaganda and Produced Reality in the Holocaust.” In *Encyclopedia of Genocide, Vol. 2 of Encyclopedia of Genocide*, edited by Israel W. Charny, 472–474. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

- Hornshøj-Møller, Stig, and David Culbert. 1992. "Der ewige Jude (1940): Joseph Goebbels' Unequaled Monument to Anti-Semitism." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 12 (1): 41–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01439689200260021>
- Kim, Namseok. 2017. "'Jip Eomneun Cheonsa (家なき天使)' wa 1930~40 nyeondae Joseonui Hyeonsil—Silhwa (實話) ui Rieollitireul Tonghae Bon Chinil(seong)ui Jaejomyeong." [Angeles on the Streets and Korea's Reality in 1930s–40s.] *Hangukgeugyesuryeongu* 56: 13–52.
- Kim, Jihoon. 2019a. "Korean Popular Cinema and Television in the Twenty-First Century: Parallax Views on National/Transnational Disjunctures." *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 47: 2–8. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01956051.2019.1562815>
- Kim, Jihoon. 2019b. "Perceptual Realism and Digital VFXs in the Korean Blockbuster of the 2010s: The Admiral: Roaring Currents And Ode to My Father." *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 47: 9–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01956051.2019.1563448>
- Kwon, Nayoung Aimee. 2013. "Collaboration, Coproduction, and Code-Switching: Colonial Cinema and Postcolonial Archaeology." *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 2 (1): 10–40. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ach.2013.0002>
- Lacan, Jacques. 1991. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book 1: Freud's Papers on Technique 1953–1954*. New York and London: Norton.
- Lee, Hwajin. 2008. "Singminjigi Yeonghwa Geomyeorui Jeongaewa Jihyang." [The Development of Film Censorship during Colonial Period in Korea.] *Hangungmunhagyeongu* 35: 417–456.
- Lee, Ducgi. 2009. "Yeonghwa 'Sueomnyo' wa Joseonyeonghwaui Jwapyo." [The Film Sueopryo and the Joseon Cinemas Coordinate.] *Hangukgeugyesuryeongu* 29: 123–152.
- Lee, Robert G., and Sabine Wilke. 2005. "Forest as Volk: Ewiger Wald and the Religion of Nature in the Third Reich." *Journal of Social and Ecological Boundaries* 1 (1): 21–46.
- Leiser, Erwin. 1968. *Deutschland erwache! Propaganda in Film des Dritten Reiches*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- Pinkus, Assaf. 2014. "Imaginative Responses to Gothic Sculpture: the Bamberg Rider." *VIATOR* 45 (1): 331–360. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.VIATOR.1.103794>
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1991. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* 91: 33–40.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Pugh, Tison, and Angela J. Weisl. 2013. *Medievalism: Making the Past in the Present*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Swenson, Astrid. 2016. "Historicism. Forum with Bettina Bildhauer, Stefan Goebel, Stefan Laube, Sue Marchand and Astrid Swenson." *German History* 34 (4): 646–671. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghw031>
- Ulrich, Wolfgang. 2011. *Uta von Naumburg. Eine deutsche Ikone*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach.
- Viereck, Peter. 1961. *Metropolitics: The Roots of the Nazi Mind*. New York: Capricorn.
- Wallace, David. 2020. "Studies in Troubled Times: The 1930s." *Speculum* 95 (1): 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1086/706097>
- Watanabe, Naoki. 2013. "The Colonial and Transnational Production of *Suicide Squad at the Watchtower* and *Love and the Vow*." *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 2 (1): 89–115. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ach.2013.0007>
- Weinstein, Valerie. 2019. *Anti-semitism in Film Comedy in Nazi Germany*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wilke, Sabine. 2001. "Verrottet, verkommen, von fremder Rasse durchsetzt. The Colonial Trope as Subtext of the Nazi Kulturfilm *Ewiger Wald* (1936)." *German Studies Review* 24 (2): 353–376. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1433480>
- Workman, Travis. 2014. "Stepping into the Newsreel: Melodrama and Mobilization in Colonial Korean Film." *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 3 (3): 153–184. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ach.2014.0004>
- Yecies, Brian. 2005. "Systematization of Film Censorship in Colonial Korea: Profiteering from Hollywood's First Golden Age, 1926–1936." *Journal of Korean Studies* 10 (1): 59–83. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jks.2005.0006>
- Yecies, Brian, and Richard Howson. 2014. "The Korean 'Cinema of Assimilation' and the Construction of Cultural Hegemony in the Final Years of Japanese Rule." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11 (25): 1–11.