Introduction

An Uneasy Fit

It all started with a screening of *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land* (*Calm Prevails Over the Country*, 1975) in the early 2000s. I had just come back from a six-month stay in Latin America, and this story about a community who, despite their fears, resist an oppressive government gave historical depth to my recent experience. The poetic and powerful images of the film captivated me and woke my curiosity to know more about the director. I met Peter Lilienthal for the first time in 2007, and it was a most gratifying and eye-opening encounter. He was a generous and rebellious interlocutor who challenged my perceptions of German film and history and the misnomer *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past). I listened to anecdotes of a history teacher who stood on a table when he lectured his students, of Sunday afternoons spent in a Montevideo makeshift theater watching Jean Vigo's *Zéro de conduite* (*Cero for Conduct*, 1933), exchanging kisses under Bette Davis's strange eyes, and about adventures of making television at the Südwestfunk (SWF) in its early days. The conversation lasted for an entire weekend.

In these and other talks with Peter Lilienthal that took place over the years emerged the profile of a director whose cinema is political and realized through social intervention, resistance, and solidarity effort. Few have acknowledged the various personal and cultural influences that shaped Lilienthal's immense cinematic vision. This book will utilize Lilienthal's German-Jewish-Uruguayan biography as the departure point toward critiquing his films within a transnational framework. It will observe his affiliations with European and non-Western social and political movements and cinematic tendencies. Informal conversations with the artist will be interwoven throughout this study and

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

reproduced in its entirety at the end of this book. Lilienthal's memories and broader evaluations assisted in identifying the director's position within the German film landscape, in locating his concerns as a member of the Jewish diaspora, and in understanding his collaboration with the Latin American avantgarde in Chile, Argentina, and Nicaragua. As part of both the West German auteur filmmaking and its production, distribution, and exhibition networks, Lilienthal's work can be understood to be closely aligned with diasporic thought and the militant character of New Latin American Cinema. His films ignited discussion within both Eastern and Western European cultural and intellectual circles. The scope, vision, and character of Lilienthal's filmmaking forms an alternative cinematic memory of the ideological rifts between East and West, North, and South, from the Cold War era to post-9/11.

The work of this veteran director stretches over more than five decades. Born in 1929 in Berlin, Lilienthal fled persecution from the Nazis, grew up in Uruguay, and then returned to Germany after World War II. These experiences shaped and defined his filmmaking journey. As German Jewish filmmaker, cultural activist, and television pioneer, Lilienthal was a driving force for the thriving cinematic culture in Germany, whose films provided interesting commentary for the major political events of the twentieth century. In the beginning of his career, Lilienthal's work drew on experimental drama, such as *Picknick im Felde* (*Picnic on the Battlefield*, 1962), an adaptation of a play by Spanish author Fernando Arrabal. With his visionary and aesthetically stimulating practice, he quickly established himself within the West German filmmaking elite. Lilienthal's work contributes to the genesis and evolution of television from the artifice of the studio system and proximity to the theater stage into its own unique format. He found his voice as politically committed filmmaker in the wake of the drastic political and social changes in and beyond Europe in the late 1960s. The feature film *Malatesta* (1970), a visionary comment on the violent potential of the West German student movement, was one of the defining works of the late 1960s. Lilienthal became a prominent figure alongside Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Volker Schlöndorff, Wim Wenders, and Werner Herzog, all of whom set the filmmaking parameters in West Germany for more than a decade. Lilienthal's work was also an important contribution to German Jewish matters. *David* (1979) won the Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival. In his widely acclaimed text *New German Cinema: A History*, Thomas Elsaesser classified Lilienthal as a director who "has one of the most solid reputations and track records as a left-liberal director with an excellent knowledge of Latin American issues."[1] Indeed, his

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

spirited engagement in and with Latin America established the heart of Lilienthal's work. *La Victoria* (1973) was the first of six films—five feature films and a documentary—that reflect his interest in Latin American progressive cultural and political movements. The scope and eloquence of this German filmmaker's cinematic engagement with Latin America are unmatched.

West German media and film critics evaluated Lilienthal's work as part of New German Cinema (NGC). While no comprehensive study about the filmmaker exists, scholarship continues to align him with this movement. Paradoxically, scholars and critics also note that the thematic concerns and aesthetic character of Lilienthal's cinema locates the filmmaker outside of Germany. The films reveal social and political views that are very much situated against the grain and are considered a cinema in which resistance and escape play a major role. Egon Netenjakob mentions having been attracted by the otherness of Lilienthal's early television work. Netenjakob finds mundane and passive resistance within his cinema: "His interest in individuals in ordinary situations had nothing to do with an escape to an inner self. On the contrary, this is a quiet but persistent fight against social violence and limitations."[2] Further, Hans Günther Pflaum and Hans Helmut Prinzler comment, "*La Victoria* (1973) and *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land* (1975) are practically the only feature films . . . in the New German Cinema that have taken up current problems and conflicts in the Third World."[3] Bettina Bremme, author of *Movie-mientos. Der lateinamerikanische Film. Streiflichter von unterwegs* (2000), acknowledges Peter Lilienthal to be one of the European filmmakers whose concern for Latin America is linked to his biography. She finds films such as *La Victoria*, *Der Aufstand* (*The Uprising*, 1980), and *Das Autogramm* (*The Autograph*, 1984) to contain imagery that includes timely commentary of political events and social mayhem, during a time in which many Latin American countries were ruled by repressive military regimes.[4] Michael Töteberg had written the only book-length publication about the filmmaker to date. In his study entitled *Peter Lilienthal. Befragung eines Nomaden* (2001), he observes about the ambiguous relationship between the filmmaker and Germany, "In Germany he kept being a stranger. No other German filmmaker is as cosmopolitan as Lilienthal."[5] Töteberg's book describes the filmmaker as a nomad because of his turbulent life, his affinity to the Jewish diaspora, and his solidarity for Latin American cultural, social, and political matters. Film critics and colleagues describe Lilienthal as a wanderer who is "at home in the margins."[6] Manfred Etten further notes about Lilienthal at his sixtieth birthday:

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

> Though at the end of the 1960s he is one of the renowned figures of the "New German Film," his work is the curious example of an exile cinema in his own country: a transnational cinema that never wants to fit into fixed national, cultural, and aesthetic coordinates, a cinema that is populated by border-crossers, loners, displaced people.[7]

These and other voices indicate that Lilienthal is an exceptional figure in the landscape of German film, who fits the profile of an outsider "who gains entry yet remains ever cognizant of his or her origins, a somewhat uncanny presence that does and does not belong."[8] His films are of indispensable value to German and international film history. My study sets out to examine why and how.

Peter Lilienthal in German Film Culture

This investigation begins by reviewing Lilienthal's filmmaking career in specific relation to sites, institutions, and agents of German film between the 1950s and early 2000s, reflecting on the activities of the filmmaker and importantly the possibilities and limitations of German film culture to include the views of an outsider.

Lilienthal's foundational work took place in the television industry, which became his institutional home. Having graduated from the Hochschule der Künste (University of the Arts) in West Berlin in 1959, where he had studied plastic art and experimental photography, Lilienthal's first position was at the television channel SWF in Baden-Baden. He served as assistant director to Ludwig Cremer and worked with Gustav Rudolf Sellner and Heinz Hilpert, who brought their experience in theater and radio to the new medium.[9] At the end of the 1950s, television was still in its embryonic stages, a genre not yet institutionalized and one that functioned with creativity and relied on improvisation to make up for the lack of resources. Because there was no proper studio framework at this time, filming often took place in a gym hall. The young artist blossomed in this environment, still independent of viewer ratings and other market pressures. Lilienthal and his colleagues had free rein to experiment and put ideas into practice with minimal interference from artistic directors or directors of programming, who themselves were largely unfamiliar with the demands of television as a technology.[10]

Michael Ballhaus, who was employed as photographer at the SWF, notes, "We were not working in cinema, but in television. Here, artistic freedom was not just tolerated but it was encouraged and demanded."[11] Lilienthal collaborated with Ballhaus on *Die Nachbarskinder* (*The Neigh-*

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

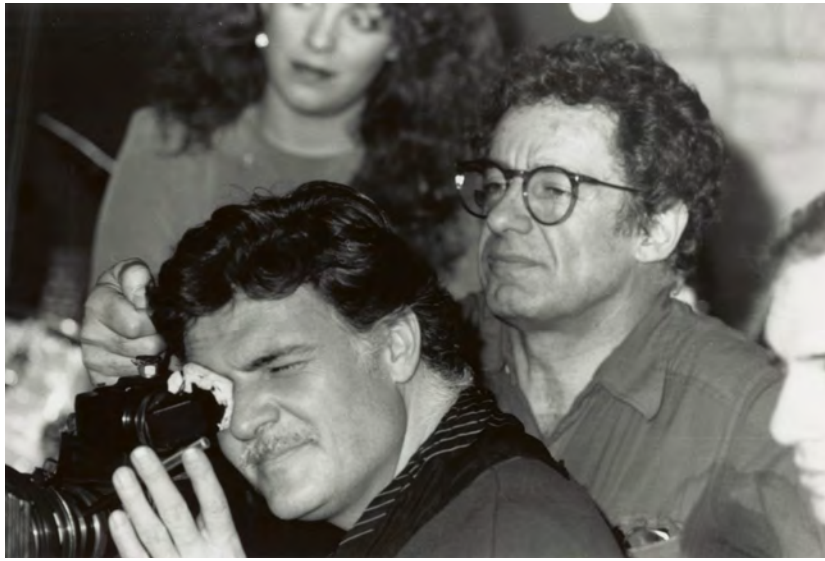

Figure 0.1. Michael Ballhaus and Peter Lilienthal on the set of *Dear Mr. Wonderful*. © Akademie der Künste.

bours' Children, 1960) and *Das Martyrium des Peter O'Hey* (*Martyrdom of Peter O'Hey*, 1964), which established their friendship and long-lasting professional collaboration. Ballhaus would later photograph Lilienthal's *Abschied* (*Farewell*, 1966), *Der Aufstand*, *Dear Mr. Wonderful* (*Ruby's Dream*, 1982), and *Das Autogramm*. He would join Lilienthal as professor at the newly founded Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin (DFFB, German Film and Television Academy). When the SWF became more institutionalized, Lilienthal moved on to the recently launched Sender Freies Berlin (SFB). He worked as a freelance director for the broadcaster until 1968, before changing to the Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), marking the beginning of a long and productive relationship with this broadcasting company.

At the end of the 1960s, Lilienthal was still known as somewhat eccentric, an "enraged reader of absurd fables and strangely creepy stories,"[12] fascinated by aesthetic experiments and altogether out of touch with reality. Film critic Peter W. Jansen wonders if "Lilienthal's films were able to evade commenting on the contemporaneous social situation and problems."[13] He further notes that Lilienthal's films would lack any link to the global political calamities that had unfolded over the course of the 1960s: "Anyone who searches for contemporary political references in Lilienthal's films will find none; there is nothing about

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

Vietnam, nothing about repression, nothing of the troubles that cripple liberal societies."[14] This was about to change. Lilienthal was sucked into the charged political atmosphere of the late 1960s in personal ways that would have a profound impact on his interests and practices. When teaching at the DFFB, an engagement that lasted from 1966 until 1968, Lilienthal was caught up in many battles between students and authorities, among them the prominent radicals and leading members of the West German student movement Holger Meins and Rudi Dutschke. Michael Töteberg notes, "The vicious debates of the Extra Parliamentary Opposition were out of touch with reality. They wanted to reanimate class struggle in West Germany with Marx and Mao slogans. This seemed to him [Lilienthal] to be a thing from the past."[15] The claims and reproaches of the rebellious students prompted Lilienthal, as he comments in an interview, "to rethink, where, when, and under which conditions people have committed themselves to fight for freedom."[16] A year later Lilienthal had made his first feature film, *Malatesta*, about the Italian anarchist and philosopher Errico Malatesta (played by Eddie Constantine), who spent more than ten years of his life outside of his home country, Italy, and was the leader of an anarchist group in London's poorest quarters at the beginning of the twentieth century. Malatesta, arguing for peaceful actions to eliminate the government, could not stop his naïve follower Gardstein, who believed that social change could only be achieved with weapons and ended up being shot and killed by the police. Lilienthal has Malatesta say to Gardstein, "You are a rebel, not a revolutionary. A rebel cannot wait for the right moment." Using footage from old newsreels to document urban London at the beginning of the century, the film is a deliberation about the subject of revolution and ways to achieve social changes. A personal response to Lilienthal's experiences at the DFFB, *Malatesta* is a perceptive comment on the radicalism and fanaticism of the members of the Außerparlamentarische Opposition (Extra-Parliamentary Opposition, APO), which eventually spiral out into violence and terrorist activities.[17] *Malatesta*, which won the German Film Award and was nominated for the Golden Palm in Cannes, enabled growing recognition of Lilienthal's work in West Germany in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The attention toward *Malatesta* coincided with the successes of other filmmakers in the international film circuit and a more general awareness of film as a political medium. Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet's N*icht versöhnt oder Es hilft nur Gewalt, wo Gewalt herrscht* (*Not Reconciled*, 1965) and Ulrich Schamoni's *Es* (*It*, 1965) were screened at the Cannes Film Festival in May of 1966, where Volker Schlöndorff's *Der*

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

Figure 0.2. Still shot from *Malatesta*. Source: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

junge Törless (*Young Törless*, 1966) won the International Critics Award. Later that year, Alexander Kluge's *Abschied von gestern* (*Yesterday Girl*, 1966) was awarded the Silver Lion at the Venice Film Festival. Within the stream of socio-critical films that appeared in West Germany in the 1970s, Lilienthal made a number of well-regarded works of his own, among them *La Victoria*, *Hauptlehrer Hofer* (*Teacher Hofer*, 1975), *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land*, and *David*, and documentaries such as *Start Nr. 9* (*Start No. 9*, 1972), *Shirley Chisholm for President* (1972), and *Kadir* (1977). Like his peers, Lilienthal profited from the frameworks and the unique public funding structures that were set up and enabled socio-critical filmmaking from the mid-1960s onward. His special relationship with television remained unbroken. Affiliated with the public channel ZDF as commissioned filmmaker, he had a carte blanche arrangement that gave him artistic autonomy over his projects while having the guarantee that the finished films were broadcast. As a result of the Film and Television Agreement, which committed both television and cinema to the funding and financing of films,[18] *La Victoria*, *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land*, and *Der Aufstand*, parallel to airing on television, were also screened in cinemas.

The filmmaker worked with nearly all talents who created the look and feel of New German Cinema. He often teamed up with his old

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

friend, photographer Michael Ballhaus, who meanwhile was known for his collaboration with Fassbinder. Heidi Genée, an editor who had worked for nearly all German filmmakers around the group of New German Cinema, edited three of Lilienthal's films.[19] Hanna Schygulla and actor-turned-director Reinhard Hauff acted in *Jakob von Gunten* (1971), while Hanns Zischler had roles in *David* and *Das Autogramm*. Barbara Baum, who was responsible for the costumes used in Lilienthal's *Verbrechen mit Vorbedacht* (*A Crime Well Planned*, 1967), designed dresses for all of Fassbinder's films.[20] Lilienthal also acted in the films of his colleagues. Among other roles, he starred as a thug in Wim Wenders's *Der amerikanische Freund* (*The American Friend*, 1977) and appeared as a minister in *Aus der Ferne sehe ich dieses Land* (*I See This Land from Afar*, Christian Ziewer, 1978). Lilienthal's films were official German entries for international film festivals in Eastern and Western Europe, Cuba, the United States, and Australia. This exposure on the international cinematic stage bolstered his recognition as part of this new wave of uncompromising and unpolished films coming from West Germany. The Hollywood trade magazine *Variety* said about the filmmaker, "Lilienthal can match German Helmers like Herzog, Fassbinder, and Wenders almost at will, given half the chance."[21]

Lilienthal occupied a special place in the close-knit community of West German independent film. These young filmmakers, born around 1945 in West Germany, were from a middle-class background and cultivated their reputation around rebellion, personal quirks, and cinephilia. Lilienthal was about ten years older than most of his colleagues, well-traveled, and fluent in English, Spanish, and French. Wenders comments in an interview for Maria Teresa Curzio's Lilienthal film portrait *Ma vie* (*My Life*, 2011), "Peter was the only one among us who had seen Berlin already as a child, and the only one who had experienced this story in a different way than we did." In Dominik Wessely and Laurens Straub's *Gegenschuss—Aufbruch der Filmemacher* (*Reverse Angle: Rebellion of the Filmmakers*, 2008), a documentary that revisits the ideas and people of the New German Cinema, Straub describes Lilienthal as a respected colleague, whom he looked up to:

> Then there is Lilienthal. He is a gentleman, an urban gentleman. First of all, he is the pilots' grandson, and he is Jewish. He is Spanish-German. He is involved in the Latin American conflict. . . . He is a man who can tell you who Fidel Castro is.

In the same documentary, Hark Bohm remembers that the young filmmakers had an enormous respect for Lilienthal because of his Jewish

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

background: "Lilienthal, who was the only German Jew in our group, had a moral authority. We felt immensely honored that he joined in with us." While all in their own right grappled with the legacy of Nazism, the differences between Lilienthal and his colleagues could not have been more pronounced. As a child in Nazi Berlin, Lilienthal observed the increasing limitations and injustices that the Jewish community suffered. He had spent his formative years in Latin American exile, among other uprooted and displaced persons. Meanwhile, the Holocaust had wiped out approximately six million Jewish people, including members of his family. As a student in his mid-twenties, Lilienthal returned to post–World War II Germany, the country that had expelled him.

Lilienthal had an inclination for anarchist and existential literature and was familiar with Jewish, Spanish, and Latin American authors such as Elias Canetti, Franz Kafka, Raymond Carver, Federico García Lorca, and Jorge Luis Borges. He said:

> When I arrived in Germany, I had no idea about German literature and art. Everything I knew was Spanish, French, Italian. . . . One can say that I am a German director, because I received my money in Germany. But the themes do not have much to do with what was important for the Fassbinder generation, German history. For the colleagues of the "New German Cinema," as it was called, I was a stranger, an exotic bird from South America, someone who participated but did not belong.[22]

These experiences of having grown up as part of an exiled family who was accustomed to European and Latin American cultures would determine a worldview that Lilienthal brought into his work as a filmmaker.

In contrast, the preoccupations of this group of filmmakers—known as New German Cinema—originated in a shared cultural formation, alongside memories of a destroyed post–World War II Germany and their self-proclaimed tenuous relation to the generation of their parents. The cinema of Herzog, Wenders, and Fassbinder was associated with the loss of personal and collective history and a recourse to German cinematic and literary traditions that were unspoiled by Nazi thought. As Marc Silberman observes, New German Cinema was "one of the main sites in which this often nostalgic yearning for a lost history was worked through both with seriousness and pathos."[23] Supported by the setup of production and funding possibilities, the filmmakers increasingly responded "to international aesthetic and ideological expectations in remapping political concerns along the reterritorialized axes of cultural identity."[24] John Davidson claims:

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

> Although any number of reasons account for individual invocations of "the German," the cumulative effect is to establish and reinforce a circular assumption about the Germanness of German films made by Germans, which becomes the touchstone for recognizing NGC. By the mid-1970s, NGC had been firmly established, which meant that certain expectations had been developed on both the production and the reception sides.[25]

Lilienthal became absorbed by expectations and pressures vis-à-vis German filmmakers to use their talents and make use of the public money given to them and to choose subjects that would be a contribution to relevant national themes and concerns of the past and present. Robert Fischer and Joe Hembus say in an overview of the Who's Who in German film in 1980, "It is noticeable that, in contrast to his Latin America trilogy, Lilienthal's films *Malatesta*, *Hauptlehrer Hofer*, and *David* are all situated in the past. . . . This makes Lilienthal the only politically aware director of the New German Cinema who has not yet examined contemporary German reality."[26] This fascination with "Germanness" on behalf of film critics and scholars neglected a significant number of sites, institutions, filmmakers, themes, and approaches important to the German filmmaking scene of the 1970s and 1980s. Among them, only footnote space was left for a director such as Lilienthal, whose films dealt with violence and political unrest and felt remote from the German present of the 1970s and 1980s. As recourse to Lilienthal, this study contributes to efforts of expanding research on the NGC movement to include sentiments, ideas, and practices that were realized at its fringes.

The filmmaker had always pushed against introspective tendencies in German film culture, not only with his own films. Lilienthal was a catalyst for projects to promote collaborative filmmaking that worked independent of state funding and cultural-political influences. In 1971, he cofounded the Filmverlag der Autoren with Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Thomas Schamoni to seize the potential for collaboration that the *Autorenkino* (auteur cinema) presented at that time and to buffer fierce competition between filmmakers for governmental resources. As an established and well-connected filmmaker, Lilienthal used his resources to bring the Global South to the attention of First World audiences and enriched the German filmscape with non-Western narratives and aesthetics. The filmmaker was a reference for Latin American exile cinema and their agents in Europe of the 1970s and 1980s. He worked closely with program director Eckart Stein of *Das kleine Fernsehspiel* (*The Little Television Play*), a ZDF program that played a significant role toward introducing Latin America films to German screens. Lilienthal had always praised *Das kleine Fernsehspiel* as an exceptional and diverse space in the West German TV landscape, open to filmmakers

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

from within and beyond Germany, that encouraged aesthetic and narrative experiments.[27] The first European works of Chilean émigré directors Raúl Ruiz, Valeria Sarmiento, and Aldo Francia, all three part of a burgeoning progressive filmmaking movement that was cut short by the military coup, were cofinanced, produced, and broadcast by *Das kleine Fernsehspiel*. The program's efforts contributed to gestures of solidarity in a situation where Latin America exiled film personnel, in need to reestablish their professional networks in Europe, required a platform for the exhibition of their work.[28] The films, dealing with political calamities in Latin American countries as well as narrating experiences of torture, violence, and exile, presented challenging images to German viewers.

During his engagement as director of the department for film and media art at the Akademie der Künste (Academy of Arts) between 1985 and 1996, Lilienthal founded the European Summer Academy together with media scholar Siegfried Zielinski, philosopher Dietmar Kampner, and the creative mind behind *Das kleine Fernsehspiel*, Eckhart Stein—an annual event that included interdisciplinary dialogue and art projects. Lilienthal's ideas around how to celebrate the three-hundred-year anniversary of the Akademie der Künste in 1996 illustrate once more his aim to foster a mobile and open film culture:

> One can rent such a nice, big, inflatable tent, and set it up at times in Potsdam, at times in Bonn. At times we take it to Paris, do a lecture here, a workshop or a performance there. . . . That is the mobility we need. That is the philosophy of placelessness, modern nomadism. If we tie ourselves down—this is the culture of the past.[29]

He objected to plans to move the Akademie der Künste to Pariser Platz in Berlin but voted for activities that would move the academy to critically reflect on the last three hundred years, to curate exhibitions about artists who were not admitted to the academy over the centuries, and to rethink the institution's compliancy with abusive political powers. These ideas once again highlight an activist-filmmaker who was bound up with German national culture in an oppositional way and who used his resources to promote a diverse range of views, images, and ideas from outside the Western world.

Travel, Migration, and Diaspora

Since Lilienthal is a member of both German Jewry and the Jewish diaspora, experiences of deterritorialization and homelessness are central to his life story and, as I argue, to his filmmaking approaches. The Jew-

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

ish experience can be considered a key historical example of uprooting, synonymous with the idea of ethnic cleansing and displacement throughout its history. Moreover, cultural and political dimensions of migration and displacement establish an important part of this research. My theoretical framework will capture this phenomenon in the tenuous relationship of personal and collective trauma, constructions of national identity, and the transdisciplinary textures of diaspora for cultural studies and film production.

Mobility and migration are part of the human experience throughout history. Countless persecution, conflicts, violence, and human rights violation have forced individuals, families, and ethnic and religious groups to abandon their home countries. Since the founding of Israel, Palestinians are victim to Israel's insatiable appetite for land, inhabit ever-shrinking sites that remain to them, and fight against the ongoing invasion of their territories. Caught up in the ideological feuds during the Cold War, military dictatorships in Central and South America provoked millions of their populations to seek refuge in North America and Europe between the 1960s and 1980s. Warfare in the Balkan regions and in Rwanda caused significant displacements of their ethnic communities. Regional extremist formations threaten populations in the Middle East. Common arguments of national states justifying their existence as imagined communities are based—now and then—on forms of social and cultural nostalgia. As David Morley and Kevin Robbins note:

> Whether "home" is imagined as the community of Europe or of the national state or of the region, it is drenched in the longing for wholeness, unity and integrity. It is about community centered on shared traditions and memories.[30]

Populist political parties in power, as well as those aspiring to be, utilize historical events and personalities to evoke what cultural theorist Stuart Hall defines as both "shared cultural codes" and "unchanging and continuous frames of reference of meaning"[31] and that have justified a multitude of resources to keep unwanted newcomers out.

Undermining such nationalist rhetoric, the success of the capitalist system in its constant drive to expand crucially depends on resources and markets that are outside of its boundaries. The history of Europe, as in its self-proclaimed understanding as motor of modernity, evokes legacies of Western trade and finance that cannot be properly understood without reference to the world it thought to conquer. Exploitative capitalist practices that have been refined over centuries of colonial op-

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

pression, illegal and violent modes of land appropriation, and genocide of native populations have always forced global migration movements. Nowadays, transnational activities such as technology, money flow, commodities, and media come disguised as globalization that seek to benefit all.[32] Nico Israel notes, "Through proliferating information and communication flows and through mass human migration, [globalization] has progressively eroded territorial frontiers and boundaries and provoked ever more immediate confrontations of culture and identity."[33] These asymmetrical exchanges have promoted old and mapped out new centers of political, economic, and cultural power. Those who are located in the margins remain strapped of resources and are pushed to go on dangerous journeys, which often require crossing borders, in the search for a decent life.

The presence of diverse social, cultural, and ethnic groups in the nation constantly questions the hegemonic project and its ethics. Postcolonial scholars, intellectuals, artists, and activists, many of whom were born in former French or British colonies, have been advocating for the acknowledgment, empowerment, and representation of minority groups since the 1960s. Homi Bhabha, in his seminal volume *Nation and Narration* and other of his publications, stresses the need to re-evaluate the national narrative from the peripheral positions of its minorities.[34] Diasporic experiences and cultural minorities upset "genealogies of 'origin' that lead to claims for cultural supremacy and historical priority."[35] The British Indian scholar argues that the multiplicity and fluidity of cultural identities make up the nation-state. As a member of the Black diaspora in Jamaica, cultural theorist and activist Stuart Hall is motivated in his work by a personal and collective history of discrimination and displacement. From the onset of early European imperialism, deterritorialization marked Black communities. Ever-new challenges to the social, cultural, and religious integrity of these groups translate to a diaspora identity that is "constantly renewing and reproducing"[36] itself, visible in cultural expressions that negotiate conflicts, traumas, and ruptures. In the multisited, multilayered influences and inspirations, cultural hybridity signals survival, strength, and resistance against, beside, and because of imposed Western-based power regimes.

Within these articulations, diaspora emerges as an "appropriate and timely cultural paradigm responding to the totaling character of Western thought."[37] As concept, discursive practice, and vision of politics, it challenges conventional assumptions of group membership, affiliations, associations, and attempts to assign places, locations, origins, and iden-

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

tities. "Diaspora" is a term that promotes dialogue, interaction, and collaboration on equal ground. Bhabha explains his idea of the *in-between* in spatial terms: as casual and coincidental meeting on a staircase, a situation that marks performativity, movement, and temporariness.[38]

On the backdrop of sociological, cultural, and postcolonial studies that emphasize diaspora in the nexus of cultural hybridity, traveling, and border-crossing, Lilienthal's cinema gains further traction in transnational film studies categories, which traverse these terms. Rosalind Galt notes the benefit of an observation that uses the transnational as magnifying lens: "The transnational asks us to look at cinema in terms of processes and transits, rather than objects and states."[39] The approach to her volume *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories* (coedited with Karl Schoonover in 2010) offers a productive example. In embracing art cinema as impure and unstable category—the genre sits between national cinema and world cinema categories, has an uneasy relationship with Hollywood, and is closely linked to notions of authorship—it becomes a traveling object visible in its diverse images and historical shifts, a cinematic language that moves across geopolitical contexts.[40]

Where national cinema tends to align filmmaking to territorial, imaginative, or ideological agendas of the nation-state, transnational cinema focuses on histories of travel and mobility and directs attention to meeting points between traveler and community. Tim Bergfelder suggests a historiography of European cinema that is based on such a perspective:

> Rather than focusing exclusively on separate national formations, a history of European Cinema might well begin by exploring the interrelationship between cultural and geographical centres and margins, and by tracing the migratory movements between these poles. In this context, the various waves of migration into and across Europe, motivated by the two world wars, national policies of ethnic exclusion, and the post-war legacy of colonialism and economic discrepancy between Europe and its other, are fundamentally linked to the development of European cinema.[41]

Bergfelder's idea contains the mobility of a filmmaking between various cultural and national contexts, meanings, and intentions. The significance of this study as transnational approach aligns to projects that highlight the need to disclose what was marginalized by dominant trends in German and European cinema and its canon-oriented film historiography and that visualize encounters between times, places, and identities in which alternative agents and film formats appear.[42]

More specifically, I investigate Lilienthal's filmmaking within notions of cinema that explicitly navigate experiences of exile and emigration.

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

Diasporic, exilic, and postcolonial films form part of the thriving field of transnational cinema, challenging the notion of national cinema to be coherent, stable, and ideologically well-defined.[43] Drawing on dynamics of exchange and dialogue, diasporic and exilic cinema benefits from notions of world cinema as a voice for historically marginalized groups and communities, including feminist, queer, or subaltern expressions. World cinema criticism, according to Stephanie Dennison and Song Hwee Lim, seeks to question rigid and binary terms such as center/periphery, West/non-West, articulating resistance to politics of integration, homogenization, and essentialism.[44] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam's *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (1994) is generally viewed as groundbreaking work toward a conceptualization of world cinema. The authors criticize Eurocentrism, a network of oppressive relations that Europe engages with its many Others, as a long-standing and unquestioned philosophy of the Western world and instead emphasize filmmaking as political and social practice that empowers formerly marginalized individuals and groups.[45]

Hamid Naficy's seminal *An Accented Cinema*, the most complex study on exilic and diasporic filmmaking to date, understands these films to be marked by noticeable accents: "Visual style, the impact of biographical and sociocultural locations of the filmmakers, and modes of production, distribution, exhibition and reception give the films their *accent*."[46] Following this study, some scholars are invested with the idea of exile in filmmaking as a site to negotiate identity formations. In the words of Yosefa Loshitzky, immigrant filmmakers make films about displacement and relocation, "from the point of view of the other himself/herself, negotiating whether and how to maintain his/her identity within a dominant culture."[47] However, such binary cultural imaginations can create discursive ghettos. Think of German Turkish filmmakers, for example. In some instances, research is still informed by essentialist notions that view contemporary German Turkish filmmakers as ethnic individuals first and filmmakers second. Their films, however, are no longer confined to oppositions of Turkey as home and Germany as a foreign place but rather acknowledge the importance to cross classes, religions, and languages.

Lilienthal's filmmaking has fluid, multisited cultural and geographical alignments. He is one of those figures who are, according to Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim's observation, "keenly aware of power relations between centre/margin, insider/outsider, as well as the continual negotiation between the global and local that often extends beyond the host/home binary in transnational or diasporic cinema."[48] The defi-

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

nition of a cosmopolitan transnationalism, as Mette Hjort asserts, suggests that experiences of deterritorialization benefit filmmakers in acquiring social and cultural sensibilities that largely inform their artistic approaches and practices:

> Multiple belongings linked to ethnicity and various trajectories of migration here become the basis for a form of transnationalism that is oriented toward the ideal of film as a medium capable of strengthening certain social imaginaries. The emphasis is on the exploration of issues relevant to particular communities situated in a number of different national or subnational locations to which the cosmopolitan auteur has a certain privileged access.[49]

Hjort finds that a migratory background and related experience facilitates access to other ethnic, cultural, and social communities in which filmmakers might occupy an insider status. Critical voices warn that this mobility makes them belong to intellectual and social elites whose experiences are championed over those of the majority who are less flexible, less educated, and less affluent.[50] Still others claim that diasporic filmmakers use their capacities to mediate between top and bottom hierarchies, linking groups who have political power and those who do not.[51] They might even become a trusted spokesperson and/or use their influence for the benefit of the political and social urgencies of different groups. I will explore how Lilienthal's Jewish diasporic heritage and his experiences of displacement sparked his connection to artists and communities with similar stories, motivated experimenting with techniques, and enabled him to experiment with his filmmaking style in collaborative projects that indeed acted as a mouthpiece for sociopolitical matters that were important to individuals and communities he worked with.

Cultural and political institutions, regulations, and practices had great impact on the modalities under which Lilienthal's films were produced, distributed, and exhibited, as well as determining their access to and success with audiences. A framework of Lilienthal's cinema as diasporic film allows a zooming in on these complicated relations of his work in national and international cinema structures. Michael T. Martin and Marilyn Yaquinto note that diasporic cinema "problematizes national identity and the nation as an imagined and bounded territorial space while engaging national cinemas and audiences."[52] Traditionally, the art cinema circuit was a preferred site for diasporic film, which also holds true for Lilienthal's films. Naficy mentions that a number of outlets of accented cinema are typically associated with

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

independent, alternative, and avant-garde film, which was traditionally viewed on television channels such as Channel Four, ARTE, PBS, or the Sundance Film Channel.[53] Art cinema networks classify them in well-defined boundaries; high art versus popular genres address a selected, educated, and cinephile cohort of audiences, a national-cultural product that defines itself against the "cultural mesh" and "popular trash" of the Hollywood industry. Other more market-oriented exhibition sites, from film festivals to streaming services, cluster diasporic films under classic genres, auteurs, and national origin. These criteria divert attention away from the primary function of diasporic film as a social and political counter-practice. As Steve Neale argues, "In giving a coherent rationale both to the policies and to the films they produce (they are all instances of 'self-expression'—hence their eclectic heterogeneity), authorship serves partly as a means by which to avoid coming to terms with the concept of film as social practice."[54] Chapter 3 will address such ambivalent strategies and their effects with regard to Lilienthal's filmmaking and how his texts were adopted in different national contexts to serve different purposes. For example, the director was seen perfectly suited to promote West Germany's self-critical identity to audiences in the Global South during the 1970s and 1980s. In this process, his work became recognized as part of Chilean national cinema made in exile.

To conclude this section, with a viewpoint of Lilienthal's films as diasporic film, I investigate thematic choices and diverse cultural and artistic influences in his work tied to their dynamics within German cinema culture, national and international film structures, and audiences. Third Cinema becomes another necessary element in this framework. The term stands for theories and practices of resistance,[55] which account for Lilienthal's identity as a Jewish and Latin American artist, defining his filmmaking philosophy as aligned to Latin American progressive political and cultural ideas both at home and in Europe.

Third Cinema Configurations

The enthusiasm for the social and political reforms that happened in Chile under the socialist party Unidad Popular (Popular Unity Party) motivated Lilienthal to get in touch with the Latin American artistic community at the beginning of the 1970s. *La Victoria* marked Lilienthal's first cinematic engagement with Chile and generates a long-standing collaboration with Latin American film personnel. Starting with this

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

project, Lilienthal's Latin American films acquired certain features that echo the postcolonial agenda of Third Cinema filmmaking and reflect his concern for Latin American communities. Beyond a strategy of adopting Third Cinema as a narrative and aesthetic framework for Lilienthal's Latin American film series, his political views were formed, similar to that of artists and intellectuals in Chile, Brazil, and Cuba, as a reaction to the precarious social, political, and cultural conditions on the Latin American continent. His filmmaking is political engagement, an exercise of solidarity and opposition to ubiquitous Western views and cultural discourse. This stance aligns with the Latin American filmmakers close to the Third Cinema movement and philosophy of the 1970s and 1980s.

Third Cinema had developed as part of social and political reformation processes that vibrated throughout Latin America, Asia, and Africa from the 1950s onward. Prominent intellectuals, political leaders, and activists such as Frantz Fanon, Ho Chi Minh, and Fidel Castro called for revolutionary action to fight dependence on North American and European economic and political interests. In Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, or Cuba, artists, intellectuals, and students joined activities and processes that were established to address problems such as poverty and lack of education and housing, which significant numbers of their populations suffered from. Artists experimented with content, forms, and genres to create modes of filmmaking linked to the social realities within their countries, invested in the project to develop indigenous cinemas and revive local culture traditions.[56]

Filmmakers and theorists agreed that Latin American film had to find its own identity, separate from what they criticized as the elitist notion of European art cinema and Hollywood's industrialized and standardized modes of film—a cinema that speaks to indigenous audiences and frees itself from role models that echo the cultural history of domination.[57] This movement became theoretically underpinned by various cinematic manifestos that expressed conditions of poverty and scarcity of resources within an aesthetic program. Cuban filmmaker and theorist Julio Garcia Espinosa wrote one of the most influential manifestos in 1969. He argues for an *imperfect* cinema that should gain strength from its economic, scientific, and technological backwardness:

> Imperfect cinema is no longer interested in quality or technique. It can be created equally well with a Mitchell or with an 8mm camera, in a studio or in a guerrilla camp in the middle of the jungle. Imperfect cinema is no longer interested in predetermined taste, and much less in "good taste."[58]

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

The low-budget style of Italian neorealism presented, at least in the beginnings, a viable role model for the Latin American filmmakers.[59] Film equipment was scarce, and there was a lack of funding and infrastructure. Shooting on location using portable and flexible film equipment and the use of nonprofessional actors enabled a low-budget mode of filmmaking that, according to Robert Stam, may have been technically poor but was rich in imagination.[60] Elsewhere the scholar notes that the filmmakers utilized the abject as cinematic strategy: "By appropriating an existing discourse for their own ends, they deploy the force of the dominant against domination."[61] *La hora de los hornos* (*The Hour of the Furnaces*, 1968), made by the Argentine filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, is a political-aesthetic vanguard and key representative of the Third Cinema concept—an investigative, experimental documentary that observes, comments on, and harshly criticizes conditions of repression, global capitalism, and colonialism in Argentina.[62] The film aims to mobilize spectators to pay attention to power relations within their own environment and to take part in activities to challenge their agents.

These social-cinematic experiments were to come to a sudden halt very soon. The vivacity of left-wing movements and its wide-ranging support by populations of lower and middle classes, guided by Cuba as example of a successful revolution and most of all Chile's elected socialist government, were a worry to the United States. Operation Condor and other US interventions that aimed to prevent the continent tipping the fragile balance toward socialist powers led to the installment and repressive measures of right-wing regimes in Chile, Argentina, El Salvador, and other South and Central American countries. These developments provoked the exodus of progressive filmmaking in these countries. Third Cinema ideas came to reside in Europe and North America in the 1970s when many of its proponents fled repression and persecution.

Third Cinema as resistance of Latin American artists and intellectuals to colonial dependency, Western interests, and forced displacement of the movement exercised important influence on Lilienthal's activities. Having developed remote from metropolitan centers in ideological as well as in linguistic terms, Third Cinema had been of marginal importance in contemporary West Germany of the 1970s and 1980s. Lilienthal's collaborations with Latin American émigré artists, such as his long-term work with Chilean author Antonio Skármeta, his work with Argentine musicians in *The Autogramm*, and his engagement to get their films produced and exhibited, sought to promote and encour-

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

Figure 0.3. Peter Lilienthal and Fernando Birri at the International Conference for Collaboration with Central America and the Caribbean in the Akademie der Künste Berlin, October 1988. © Akademie der Künste.

age their involvement in a European film industry framework during this difficult time. Hence, an understanding of Lilienthal's work in a Third Cinema mode of filmmaking as "art that abandons the idea of an artistic avant-garde and submits to being political"[63]—as stated by Argentine film scholar David Oubiña—highlights his work as driven by an ethos of sharing resources and social intervention. Lilienthal's filmmaking approach echoes Argentine film pioneer Fernando Birri: "In the last instance, it is a cinema which is generated within the reality, becomes concrete on a screen and from this screen returns to reality, aspiring to transform it."[64] His film projects are motivated by urgent social and political problems, and his filmmaking is a way to reflect on and alleviate such realities.

Lilienthal preferred to work with nonprofessional casts. The inclusion of ordinary people enriched the narrative and formal dimensions of his films and further highlighted a cinema in which lived experiences and footage of real social and political events are combined with fictional elements. These were ingredients of many contemporary progressive Latin American films, such as the Cuban masterpiece *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, Tomás Alea Gutiérrez, 1968) or *Valparaíso, mi amor* (*Valparaíso, My Love*, Aldo Francia, 1969), the latter

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

a story of children who roamed around the port city of Valparaíso and, being without parents, prostituted themselves in order to survive. Third Cinema strategy finds its themes in the people who struggle,[65] relying "more on appeal to social and political conflicts as the prime rhetorical strategy and less on the paradigm of oedipal conflict and resolution."[66] In Lilienthal's films, isolated and apolitical individuals whose lives have been suddenly and severely changed through recent social and political turmoil are pushed to react and subsequently become involved.

Notions of diaspora and Third Cinema philosophy account for Lilienthal's engagement with social realities outside of West Germany and his criticism of dominant cultural and political discourses. This configuration suggests conceptual and ideological differences between Lilienthal's work and that of fellow (New) German filmmakers. For example, the film *Der Aufstand*, shot in Nicaragua immediately after dictator Anastasio Somoza had fallen, was motivated by enthusiasm for this victory after a decade of fascist rule in many Latin American countries. Lilienthal collaborated with the Nicaraguan population and adapted his filmmaking style to reflect local cultural traditions in representing the final events of the fight. Meanwhile, Latin America, Africa, or North America in other German films of the time served to map an inner conflict of their mainly white protagonists situated within a foreign landscape. *Ballade vom kleinen Soldaten* (*Ballad of the Little Soldier*, 1984), a documentary directed by Werner Herzog and Denis Reichle, made a few years after *Der Aufstand*, explored the Sandinista victory focusing on the Miskito Indians, a native tribe that took part in the guerrilla activities with the Sandinistas in 1979. Herzog and Reichle's interest in this endeavor was more to do with German history and culture. They connected Miskito Indians to German soldiers fighting in World War II, contributing to a revisionist discourse of collective German victimhood. Against Herzog's and other German films that utilize the Global South as imaginary spaces, Lilienthal's films demonstrate a genuine interest in and knowledge about Latin American politics and cultures. His filmmaking and practices add "another locus of cultural and historical specificity"[67] to the coexistent, inward-looking German filmscape, introducing to it a different set of subjectivities, thematic interests, and sociopolitical spaces.

Methodology and Outline

Investigating the dynamics between displacement, diaspora, and notions of Third Cinema, this book aims to analyze Lilienthal's work as a

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

transnational filmmaker, paying close attention to Jewish influences, issues such as dislocation, emigration, and mobility within his filmmaking practices. Within the larger effort of de-westernizing film studies, this research demonstrates Saër Maty Bâ and Will Higbee's aim to "emphasize ways in which non-Western influences, experiences and ways of thinking, theorizing and *making* film can take their place alongside those from within the West."[68] I study Lilienthal's filmmaking in relation to the subjects, desires, and anxieties of progressive Latin American cultural discourses, which I argue establish a singular ideological, political, and cultural view in the German filmscape of the 1970s and 1980s. One of my objectives is to investigate how Lilienthal's work reflects the conditions and augments the acceptance of Third Cinema in the West. Secondly, what can his films contribute toward easing fraught German-Jewish relations post–World War II? And how do the films mirror European cultural-political interests toward Latin America during the Cold War? To answer these questions, I observe Lilienthal's filmmaking practices, undertake close readings of selected film texts, and integrate reception analysis case studies. These methods are closely linked to the political and cultural environments in which his films were conceived, made, and discussed. This lively journey between Europe and Latin America will take me to a number of places. It begins with an examination of Lilienthal's appreciation as a Jewish filmmaker, Jewish émigré, and artist in West Germany, before moving on to analyze the Latin American film series that he made with regard to the political and social calamities that occurred in Chile, Argentina, and Nicaragua. Then I will offer insights into the simultaneous reception of the Latin American films in West and East Germany. Finally, I evaluate Lilienthal's legacy in the twenty-first century, by analyzing cultural activities and research efforts in Argentina, Chile, and Germany. The following section takes a closer look at the contents of the individual chapters.

Chapter 1 starts off with a retrospective of Lilienthal's early television work. Here, the trauma of World War II and the Holocaust as an experience of emigration, death, and loss appears in rather opaque thematic form and hidden behind aesthetic mannerism. The feature *David*, in contrast, which he made more than fifteen years later, is a confident engagement with German Jewish history, made with an all-Jewish cast. The narrative discusses the conditions and possibility of escape of the Jewish population from Nazi Berlin. The figures of father and son Singer symbolize an older German Jewish population committed to German society and culture, as opposed to the younger generation having grown up in the years after 1933, who were exposed to racism and

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

ostracism all of their lives. *David*'s critical reception in contemporary West Germany, analyzed in this chapter, was framed by a vivid public discussion of the matter that had been inspired by the West German TV broadcast of the American television drama *Holocaust* (Marvin M. Chomsky, 1978). Critics were uncomfortable with both acknowledging *David* as a Jewish perspective and accepting the film as a reliable reflection of the Jewish experience during the Nazi era. The reception of *David* discloses that the contemporaneous discourse on the Holocaust made unheard Jewish voices painfully felt.

Chapter 2 analyzes Lilienthal's Latin American film series in terms of regional cultural and political influences. In the conception and making of these projects, Lilienthal is at his best. The films showcase his humanist ideals and pacifist ideas, testing chances to understand, accept, and reconciliate oppositional political frames of reference and perspectives. They pay homage to an ethos of solidarity and cultural diversity as a basic element of functioning societies. While Lilienthal's Latin American films have been previously critiqued from within a German cultural context, I will analyze them as part of transcultural film culture of the 1970s. As a key cultural meeting point for European and Latin American progressive filmmaking, Lilienthal's work echoes many concerns of the European-based communities of Latin American exiled artists, intellectuals, and left-wing partisans. As such, Lilienthal's film series successfully reflect changing moods and concerns of the New Latin American Cinema movement of the 1970s and 1980s and assist cultural identity formation in both Central and South America. As mentioned previously, *La Victoria* is Lilienthal's entry point to agents, aesthetics, and themes of progressive cinema in Allende's Chile. I study his subsequent project *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land* as a film that reflects Lilienthal's support of the international solidarity network. *Der Aufstand*, made in the feverish atmosphere immediately after the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979, captures the contemporary social and political events in Nicaragua as told by local voices, becoming an important document of this period of upheaval. The film assisted in establish a local filmmaking industry. I will compare *Der Aufstand* with *Camilo*, a documentary that Lilienthal made a quarter of a century later. The film visits the same places and contains interviews with Sandinista war veterans, exploring current neocolonial tendencies, such as recruitment strategies on behalf of the United States to encourage young Mexicans or Nicaraguans to serve in the US Army. *Das Autogramm* and *Der Radfahrer vom San Cristóbal* (*The Cyclist of San Cristóbal*, 1988) deal with the depoliticization of public life in Argentina and Chile in the 1980s, respectively. *Das*

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

Autogramm, made in collaboration with a Paris-based group of Argentine émigré artists, criticizes strategies of appropriating popular tango culture to instill a sense of patriotism toward the military leadership. In *Der Radfahrer vom San Cristóbal*, the filmmaker explores social ideas around competition, consumer culture, and entertainment as part of a full-blown market economy in the late stages of Pinochet's dictatorship. These films suggest that in the decade of the 1980s, belief in revolutionary collective action in Latin America had transformed into a painful memory that belonged to an already distant past.

Chapter 3 engages with Lilienthal's Latin American films again, specifically to consider their reception in West and East Germany. In the first part of this chapter, I examine the functions and views of the filmmaker in both countries. In the cultural-political context of West Germany, and due to Lilienthal's knowledge of the Spanish language and Hispanic cultures, he was seen as an agent to establish links to the cultural vanguard in Latin American countries such as Chile and Argentina. The filmmaker's insights and tireless dedication to political and social matters of Third World countries—i.e., underdeveloped and newly independent states—also matched the political agenda of East Germany. He was involved in screenings and events that took place at the Akademie der Künste Ost (Academy of Arts East) during the 1980s and became an active member of the academy in 1990.

A number of his films, including the *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land* and *Der Aufstand*, were screened in East German cinemas and broadcast on the two state television channels. My reception analysis of *Es herrscht Ruhe im Land* in West and East Germany picks up on issues such as ideological and cultural-political imperatives and the differing function of cinema in East versus West Germany. Above all, the critical reception of the film offers East-West insights and perspectives into the human rights violations that happened under Pinochet's military regime and captures the highly politicized atmosphere at the end of the 1970s. In West Germany, the film was showered with prizes and acclaimed for its educational value—film critics, reserved about Lilienthal's unflinching sympathy for the political left, saw the film as belated revolutionary romanticism. East German critical voices, on the other hand, valued the films as an honest portrayal of capitalist power structures. They promoted Lilienthal as an ally to their political ideas. Despite ideological differences, the readings show that Lilienthal's film had the capacity to connect and enthuse audiences on either side of the border, linking East and West German solidarity efforts for the Chilean cause. The chapter finishes with a reception analysis of *Der Aufstand*. Lilienthal had always

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

pushed the boundaries with his uncomfortable political views, ones that defied expectations of German film identity. The critical reception of *Der Aufstand* makes visible the commotion around his films and how this impacted audiences, critics, and colleagues. Many evaluated this film as an artistic failure, instead housing their views in more established definitions and demarcations of Western auteur/art film.

At the end of a long and productive life, the filmmaker has been recognized and honored as a human rights ambassador in Germany on numerous occasions. His films continue to cross national boundaries and find new audiences. The conclusion discusses the relevance of Lilienthal's work within democratization processes and memory of the dictatorships, its impact on second generations of post–World War II filmmakers, and its intrinsic value for transnational film histories. In Latin America, some of his films have been granted a second life cycle. Forty years after the coup d'état, these works began to play a role in Chile's collective memory of the Pinochet dictatorship. In initiatives headed by the progressive cultural institutions such as the Santiago-based Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos (Museum of Memory and Human Rights) and the Cineteca Nacional, Lilienthal's work was included in an audiovisual archive consisting of materials made by foreign filmmakers and Chilean artists in exile. Among the films used for exhibitions, themed screenings, and public seminars, *La Victoria* and *Der Radfahrer vom San Cristóbal* stand out as rare documents that successfully captured images of Chile before and during the dictatorship and records the whereabouts of Chilean exiled film personnel who collaborated in his films throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In Argentina, where *Das Autogramm* had never been seen before, a recent screening in Buenos Aires was a gem found by many. Local audiences and critics were delighted by this encounter with a German filmmaker who had an excellent sense of the political and social tragedies that happened in Argentina during the so-called *años de plomo* (years of lead). The work of younger filmmakers reflect an ongoing interest in Lilienthal's work. For example, in the documentary *Por aqui pasaron los ciclistas* (*The Cyclists Passed through Here*, Isidora Gálvez Alfageme, 2018), a village community involved in the making of *Der Radfahrer vom San Cristóbal* could be considered a meta nod to Lilienthal's influence. Curzio's aforementioned documentary, *Ma vie*, is among the materials that I link to final reflections on Lilienthal's work as a significant contribution toward German Jewish film and to encourage a rethinking of German cinema history from transnational vantage points. The chapter finishes with current events on the occasion of Lilienthal's ninetieth

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

birthday, among which is a project organized by the Deutsche Kinemathek to digitally conserve a selection of Lilienthal's films so that they could be more easily accessible for cultural and scholarly endeavors.

Notes

1. Thomas Elsaesser, *New German Cinema: A History* (London: BFI, 1989), 113.
2. Egon Netenjakob, "In paradiesischen Zeiten. Interview mit Peter Lilienthal," in *Es geht auch anders*, Gespräche über Leben, Film und Fernsehen, ed. Egon Netenjakob (Berlin: Bertz+Fischer, 2006), 99.
3. Hans Günther Pflaum and Hans Helmut Prinzler, *Cinema in the Federal Republic of Germany: The New German Film Origins and Present Situation; With a Section on GDR Cinema* (Bonn: Internationes, 1993), 94.
4. Bettina Bremme, *Movie-mientos: Der lateinamerikanische Film. Streiflichter von unterwegs* (Stuttgart: Schmetterling Verlag, 2000), 243–246.
5. Michael Töteberg. *Peter Lilienthal: Befragung eines Nomaden* (Frankfurt: Verlag der Autoren, 2001), 9.
6. See, for example, Sebastian Feldmann, "Der Sieg des Stillen. Zum 65. Geburtstag des Berliner Filmregisseurs Peter Lilienthal: Kunst und Menschlichkeit," *Rheinische Post*, 26 November 1994; or Wilhelm Roth, "Chronist auf Zehenspitzen. Peter Lilienthal, der große Filmemacher und Wanderer zwischen den Kulturen," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, 26 November 2004.
7. Manfred Etten, "Praktische Solidarität. Peter Lilienthal zum 60," *Filmdienst* 25 (1989).
8. Gerd Gemünden, *Continental Strangers: Exile Cinema, 1933–1951* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 9.
9. Volker Pade, "Peter Lilienthal: Reisender Kinozauberer zwischen den Welten," accessed 29 July 2019, http://www.volker-pade.de/Lilienthal, percent20Peter.pdf.
10. Netenjakob, "In paradiesischen Zeiten," 108–112.
11. Michael Ballhaus and Claudius Seidl, *Bilder im Kopf. Die Geschichte meines Lebens* (Munich: btb, 2015), 53.
12. Joachim von Mengershausen, "Lilienthal—Die Faszination des Abgelebten," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 April 1966.
13. Peter W. Jansen, "Negationen des Mediums. Zu den Filmen von Peter Lilienthal," *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 30 May 1970.
14. Jansen, "Negationen des Mediums."
15. Töteberg, *Befragung eines Nomaden*, 33.
16. Lilienthal, in Ulla Ziemann,"8 Filme von Peter Lilienthal" (pamphlet printed for 28th Berlin Film Festival, Berlin, 1978).
17. See also Lynne Layton, "Peter Lilienthal: Decisions before Twelve," in *New German Filmmakers: From Oberhausen through the 1970s*, ed. Klaus Phillips (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1984), 230–246.
18. Roswitha Müller, "From Public to Private: Television in the Federal Republic of Germany," *New German Critique* 50 (1990): 47–48, https://doi.org/10.2307/488210.
19. Heidi Genée was known to be, alongside Beate Mainka-Jellinghaus, one of the best two editors of New German Cinema. She was part of the editing team of the omnibus production *Deutschland im Herbst* (*Germany in Autumn*, 1978). See Renate Fischetti,

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

"Interview with Heidi Genée," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985), https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/onlinessays/JC30folder/HeidiGeneeInt.html.

20. "Das Lebenswerk einer Kostümbildnerin," *Frankfurter Wochenblatt*, 11 November 2018, https://www.frankfurter-wochenblatt.de/frankfurt/sachsenhaeuser-wochenblatt/frankfurt-sachsenhausen-ausstellung-hautnah-filmmuseum-stellt-lebenswerk-kostuembildnerin-10410776.html.
21. "Der Aufstand," *Variety* 15, 2 July 1980.
22. Lilienthal, in Netenjakob, "In paradiesischen Zeiten," 112.
23. Marc Silberman, *German Cinema: Texts in Context* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 201.
24. John Davidson, *Deterritorializing the New German Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 34.
25. Davidson, *Deterritorializing*, 24.
26. Robert Fischer and Joe Hembus, *Der Neue Deutsche Film 1960–1980* (Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 1981), 114.
27. See Lilienthal in Egon Netenjakob, "Zwei Sendejahre der Redaktion Das kleine Fernsehspiel: 1976 und 1986. Anmerkungen eines Teleasten," in *Das experimentelle Fernsehspiel—"Das kleine Fernsehspiel" im ZDF. Notate und Referate*, ed. Thomas Koebner and Egon Netenjakob (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), 184–185. Netenjakob refers to Lilienthal's text "Die gute Narrenfreiheit—Bemerkungen zum Produktionssystem," which was published in *Das Fernsehspiel im ZDF*, no. 3 (1973/1974).
28. Alongside the ZDF program *Das Kleine Fernsehspiel* in West Germany; Channel Four in the UK and the Film Board in Canada actively supported Chilean exiled filmmakers whose work could not be produced or distributed in Chile. See Antonio Skármeta, "Europe: An Indispensable Link in the Production and Circulation of Latin American Cinema," in *New Latin American Cinema*, vol. 1, *Theory, Practices and Transcontinental Articulations*, ed. Michael T. Martin (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1997), 265.
29. Lilienthal, in Volker Müller, "Diese Akademie hat ein krankes Herz," *Berliner Zeitung*, 5 March 1996.
30. David Morley and Kevin Robins, "No Place Like *Heimat*: Images of Home(land) in European Culture," *New Formations* 12 (1990): 4.
31. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 223.
32. Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Manur (London: Blackwell, 2003), 25–48.
33. Nico Israel, *Outlandish: Writing between Exile and Diaspora* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 13.
34. Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 1–7.
35. Homi K. Bhabha, "Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 307.
36. Hall, "Cultural Identity," 235.
37. John Durham Peters, "Exile, Nomadism, and Diaspora: The Stakes of Mobility in the Western Canon," in *Home, Exile, Homeland. Film, Media, and the Politics of Place*, ed. Hamid Naficy (New York: Routledge, 1999), 17.
38. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 5–6.

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

39. Rosalind Galt, in "Transnational Cinemas: A Critical Roundtable," led by Austin Fisher and Iain Robert Smith, *Frames Cinema Journal*, 2019, accessed 2 December 2019, https://framescinemajournal.com/article/transnational-cinemas-a-critical-roundtable/.
40. Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover, introduction to *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories*, ed. Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3–30.
41. Tim Bergfelder, "National, Transnational or Supranational Cinema? Rethinking European Film Studies," *Media, Culture & Society* 27, no. 3 (2005): 320, https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443705051746.
42. See, for example, Gerd Gemünden, *Continental Strangers: Exile Cinema, 1933–1951* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Ofer Ashkenazi, *Anti-Heimat Cinema: The Jewish Invention of the German Landscape* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020).
43. Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim, "Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies," *Transnational Cinemas* 1, no. 1 (2010): 9–10, https://doi.org/10.1386/trac.1.1.7/1.
44. Stephanie Dennison and Song Hwee Lim, "Introduction: Situating World Cinema as a Theoretical Problem," in *Remapping World Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics in Film*, ed. Stephanie Dennison and Song Hwee Lim (London and New York: Wallflower Press, 2006), 9.
45. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 3.
46. Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 45.
47. Yosefa Loshitzky, *Screening Strangers. Migration and Diaspora in Contemporary European Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 9; Eva Rueschmann, introduction to *Moving Pictures, Migrating Identities*, ed. Eva Rueschmann (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), xxi.
48. Higbee and Lim, "Concepts of Transnational Cinema," 9–10.
49. Mette Hjort, "On the Plurality of Cinematic Transnationalism," *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*, ed. Nataša Ďurovičová and Kathleen Newman (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), 20.
50. Tim Bergfelder, "Love Beyond the Nation: Cosmopolitan and Transnational Desire in Cinema," in *Europe and Love in Cinema*, ed. Jo Labanyi, Karen Diehl, and Luisa Passerini (Bristol: Intellect, 2011), 62.
51. Rey Chow, *Ethics after Idealism: Theory-Culture-Ethnicity-Reading* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 113.
52. Michael T. Martin and Marilyn Yaquinto, "Framing Diaspora in Diasporic Cinema: Concepts and Thematic Concerns," *Black Camera* 22, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2007): 23, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27761689.
53. Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 43–44.
54. Steve Neale, "Art Cinema as Institution," *Screen* 22, no. 1 (1981): 37, https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/22.1.11.
55. See Anthony R. Guneratne, "Introduction: Rethinking Third Cinema," in *Rethinking Third Cinema*, ed. Anthony R. Guneratne and Wimal Dissanayake (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 10.
56. John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1990).
57. Ana M. López, "An 'Other' History: The New Latin American Cinema," in *New Latin America Cinema*, vol. 1, *Theory, Practices and Transcontinental Articulations*, ed. Michael T. Martin (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 147.

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter

58. Julio García Espinosa, "For an Imperfect Cinema," in *Film Manifestos and Global Cinema Culture*, ed. Scott MacKenzie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 341. Espinosa's essay was first published in *Cine Cubano* 66/67 (1969): 46–53. It was translated by Julianne Burton and published in *Jump Cut*, no. 20 (1979): 24–26, https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/onlinessays/JC20folder/ImperfectCinema.html.
59. Mariano Mestman, "From Italian Neorealism to New Latin American Cinema: Ruptures and Continuities during the 1960s," in *Global Neorealism 1930–1970: The Transnational History of a Film Style*, ed. Saverio Giovacchini and Robert Sklar (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 163–177.
60. Robert Stam, *Film Theory. An Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 94.
61. Robert Stam, "Beyond Third Cinema. The Aesthetics of Hybridity," in *Rethinking Third Cinema*, ed. Anthony R. Guneratne and Wimal Dissanayake (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 32.
62. See Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, "El resurgir de la vanguardia política," in *Cine y vanguardia artísticas: conflictos, encuentros, fronteras* (Barcelona: Paidós 2004), 228–247.
63. David Oubiña's lecture at the symposium "La imagen política/La(s) política(s) de la imagen. Diálogo entre Oubiña, Molina y Ardito," organized by the Faculty of Arts at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), 2 July 2018, Buenos Aires, accessed 17 May 2019, https://hclauba.wordpress.com/6actividades-realizadas/.
64. Fernando Birri was an Argentine Third Cinema pioneer. His documentaries *Tire dié* (*Toss a Dime*, 1960) and *Los Inundados* (*Flooded Out*, 1961) were early examples of a cinema that depicted and criticized the social realities in Argentina of the 1950s and 1960s. Birri founded the *Escuela Documental de Santa Fe* in Argentina in 1956. See also Fernando Birri, "The Roots of Documentary Realism," in *Cinema and Social Change in Latin America: Conversations with Filmmakers*, ed. Julianne Burton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 1–12.
65. Espinosa, "For an Imperfect Cinema," 228.
66. Teshome H. Gabriel, "Towards a Critical Theory of Third World Films," *Critical Interventions: Journal of African Art History and Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (2011): 195, https://doi.org/10.1080/19301944.2011.10781409.
67. Julianne Burton, "Marginal Cinemas and Mainstream Critical Theory," *Screen* 26, no. 3–4 (1985): 6, https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/26.3-4.2.
68. Saër Maty Bâ and Will Higbee, "Introduction: De-Westernizing Film Studies," in *De-Westernizing Film Studies*, ed. Saër Maty Bâ and Will Higbee (New York: Routledge, 2012), 9.

Peter Lilienthal
A Cinema of Exile and Resistance
Claudia Sandberg
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/SandbergPeter