

'Making visible the White of the Enemy's Eyes'
Cinematic Weapons of the Cold War by Heynowski&Scheumann –
GDR's internationally best known Documentary Makers ^[1]

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September 11, 1973: airplanes attack the Moneda, the palace of Salvador Allende, democratically elected socialist president of Chile since 1970. The results of the putsch, which was supported by the CIA: Allende's death and the beginning of a bloody dictatorship under the new regime of General Augusto Pinochet. Peter Hellmich's pictures of the attack and the burning Moneda are historical records used in one of the internationally best known documentaries by 'Studio H&S', the documentary makers Walter Heynowski and Gerhard Scheumann: it is the East German documentary *Krieg der Mumien (War of the Mummies, GDR 1974)*. With regard to content and style Heynowski and Scheumann shaped the entire genre of documentary, documentary television and the international image of the GDR more than any other documentary maker in East Germany. All of their films carried their distinctively fomenting and investigative stamp. Producing around 70 documentaries of any kind of length in only 25 years, they were more productive than anybody else. For a long time their international reputation was even better than the GDR's.

And even today their oeuvre is internationally well estimated. In the unified Germany, however, they are barely paid attention to. Their international esteem was – and still is – a result of their film cycles on Vietnam, Chile and Cambodia. All of those documentaries contain historical documents, making their films historical documents themselves. To a certain extent, however, Heynowski's and Scheumann's films can also be seen as documents of the Cold War, mirroring tensions and arguments between the opposing (media) systems. Today, their films on the 'West German Imperialism', for instance, are only interesting with regard to the severe conflict between the opposing systems that were carried out via the media.

Looking at East German documentary making in general, Heynowski and Scheumann are anything but typical. Unlike other (East) German filmmakers, they soon gained a privileged position, due to:

- content and style of their films,
- their ability to market their films within the party, but also outside of it, and
- to promote them on a both national and international market; and finally
- through their close and intense contacts to the highest authorities of the party.

One of their privileges was, among others, having an independent company for their documentary productions. From 1967 on their company

was still a part of *DEFA*, the East German state owned film studio. Between 1969 and 1982, however, it became the entirely autonomous *Studio H&S*.

This article will give an overview on the history of this symbiotic collaboration, as well as the situation of both partners before. After that, it examines the myth of how Heynowski and Scheumann lost their privileged autonomy in 1982 – a myth that still exists today. This article was written on the basis of broad studies on written sources from the Federal Archives Berlin-Lichterfelde and the *German Broadcast Archive (DRA)* in Potsdam.

As already indicated the alliance Heynowski&Scheumann enjoyed tremendous freedom while they worked for the *DEFA Studio of Documentaries and Newsreels*, starting in 1976. This freedom became even stronger between 1969 and 1982, when they owned their company *Studio H&S* [from now on called H&S]. This unique autonomy, which ended with the closing of H&S in 1982, was justified with the enormous significance of their topics and the necessity to work secretly, to a certain extent even conspiratively in West Germany/FRG and other 'imperialist countries'. During the production of their second film, *Der lachende Mann (The laughing Man, 1966)*, the directors had also made negative experience in collaborating with the state-run DEFA and its bureaucratic machinery – experience, they did not want to make again.

Their autonomy resulted in quite a number of privileges. Heynowski and Scheumann were authorized to independently trade with their film rights both within the GDR (for TV, DEFA, and other state-run corporations) but also on an international market. In addition to that they were permitted to deal with strong 'Valuta-currencies', such as D-Mark, US-Dollar, Swedish Crowns, and Swiss Francs. Without any restrictions they could travel to capitalist countries and freely pass borders with all of their production equipment. Only few, selected people and corporations of the GDR enjoyed privileges like these. Due to their special position, the directors did not only have friends among their colleagues. Right before the party deprived them of their privileges in 1982, longtime Socialist United Party/SED comrade and documentary maker Gerhard Scheumann, who had decisively contributed to the Party's and nation's international reputation, held an intelligent, enlightened and far sighted speech. But let's follow the chronological order.

Walter Heynowski's early Work for Television Phase I: 1957 to 1960

Compared to Gerhard Scheumann, Walter Heynowski had more experience in working for television. He had been working for *Deutscher Fernsehfunk (DFF)* since 1956/1957. As an editor, Heynowski was responsible for the political caricature shows *Zeitgezeichnet* [2] and *Schnipp-Schnapp-Schüsse* [3]. By using humorous and satirical programs as 'dangerous weapons', *DFF*, and thus also Walter Heynowski, fought 'militarism, owners of monopolies, corruption, and reactionary bourgeoisie in West Germany'. They

wanted to 'clear our republic from all blimpish, antiquated and non progressive attitudes and concepts' [4]. In the series *Tele -Studio-West*, Heynowski also had caricatures made on the elections to the West German Parliament (Bundestag) in 1957 [5] and satirised on the governing Mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt: *Hoppla, jetzt kommt Willy – Whoops, there comes Willy*. [6]

In his first years of working for TV, and during his early stage of film making, Heynowski used means of satire and irony to predominantly oppose the West German 'class enemy'. This tied in with his prior work for the satirical magazine 'Eulenspiegel'. In his documentary productions, satire and irony quickly turned irony and cynicism. And he started traveling abroad: as early as in July and August of 1958 he went on a shooting trip to the United Arab Republic (Egypt) [7]. His report on this journey was the beginning of a long tradition, which was totally unusual at that time and which was later collectively cultivated by H&S: to keep the highest circles of Party and government informed about their successful activities abroad.

Phase II: 1960 – 1965

Example: *Mord in Lwow* (1960)

Already Walter Heynowski's documentary *Mord in Lwow*, which was broadcast on February 8, 1960, showed specific characteristics of the then-33-year old – especially with regard to subject, style, propagandistic aspects as well with regard to marketing and its international utilization. The film on the – alleged – Nazi involvement of the West German federal minister for the expelled (Vertriebenenminister), Oberländer, was part of a broad campaign. This campaign was mainly led by the SED Party's leading Politburo and its member Albert Norden, secretary of the SED Central Committee. It was also widely supported by the Central Committee's western division and the MfS (Ministry for State Security, called 'StaSi').

Walter Ulbricht had issued the instruction to put an end to the West German Adenauer Era by forcing the Chancellor to resign [8]. By the end of the Fifties, the campaigns against Globke, Oberländer and Federal President Heinrich Lübke were launched. They were supposed to reveal evidence for the West German return to Nazism. Through their blatant unwillingness to actively correct the national socialist legacy and their blindness toward the coming back of old Nazi, many political leaders and many citizens of West Germany/FRG even nurtured this campaign.

The StaSi helped to gather and partly fake information, which were then publicised in the GDR but also in West Germany [9]. Albert Norden induced the search for certain files that would incriminate Minister Oberländer. After Heynowski's film was broadcast and the appropriate campaign was conducted, Norden told Erich Mielke, head of the StaSi, that he was satisfied with the 'extraordinarily successful search for files on Oberländer' [10]. Still in 1998, Marcus Wolf, former head of the StaSi's foreign espionage department, praised the successful work of the MfS under his lead: 'Back then, and also in the following years, operations like these

had the effect we aimed at: Minister Theoder Oberländer ... had to resign' [11].

When producing his film, Walter Heynowski did not only rely on information provided by the MfS. He created cinematic documentary sources himself – or had them created. The West Berlin 'film reporter' Helmut W. Sontag was involved in the production of Heynowski's 'Mord in Lwow' – shooting in Bonn and Berlin. He was one of the first Film- and TV correspondents of the GDR in the West. He shot footage that showed Oberländer in front of his private apartment entering his official car. He also shot a staged but documentary style ride of the 'Bonn Senior Attorney' from Bonn to the East German capital Berlin, passing the Brandenburg Gate, where he would be offered proof for the allegations against Oberländer. The tendency of the film was clear: West German politicians and jurisdiction are not interested in following up Nazi crimes.

A side-effect of the film was that the scenes would prove West German authorities that West Germans were working for East German media and 'that the *Deutscher Fernsehfunk/DFF* could operate very well in West Germany' [12]. Due to the described beginning sequence of the film, Sontag could be identified and was interrogated by the West German FBI. He had set up the ride using several shots of his own Mercedes and pretended the shooting in the Bundestag and the Federal President's palace was demanded by the 'Thailand Television' [13]. Since Heynowski was not yet authorized to travel the West, Sontag reported him on his shootings and later on the investigation against him.

Heynowski's film is also an example for successful international marketing at times when the GDR was far away from being internationally established: films as ambassadors and agitators. On February 17, 1960, the finished film was presented to the English press in the form of a 'private' screening in Crown Theatre, Wardour Street/Soho. The screening was organised by *DFF* employee David Rummelsburg, who received support from Stanley Forman's *Plato Films*. Forman's companies *Plato* and *ETV* (*Educational TV*) which had been founded in 1950 had distributed films from the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries, as well as Vietnam into the United Kingdom [14]. Forman had already released four East German documentaries in England [15].

'We [the directors of *DFF*, R.St.] assigned Rummelsburg to inform the leading English newspapers on the fact that the file was from the Central Archives of the GDR. That it was from the same archives which also contain the authentic files on more of a thousand blood judges' ('Blutrichter') of the Third Reich [16]. But with the film Rummelsburg did not entirely succeed in convincing the London journalists of the plausibility of this argument. This becomes even more obvious when analysing the responses of the London press, which were translated into German and submitted to the director of the *DFF*.

The British reporters criticised the lacking explanations regarding the questions *how* and *where* the Oberländer files, which constituted the basis of the film, could be obtained [17]. The press review also explains that *BBC* and *ITV* stayed absent from the screening to not vex the West German

government the UK was friend with. The only journalist representing the electronic media was John Mac Fadden from *AR-TV*. On February 23, 1960 another screening of the film was conducted in front of members of the House of Commons. This time, it was organised by the representatives of the Labour Party, Frank Allaun (Salford) and Stephen Swingler (Newcastle-under-Lyme), as well as the member of the Conservative Party, Drayson. The screening in London now caused a reaction in the FRG. After the West German media had joined the campaign, the unmasked Minister Oberländer resigned from his office on May 3, 1960. He had become intolerable for Chancellor Adenauer. In addition to that, Oberländer was convicted by the GDR Supreme Court, receiving life sentence.

Heynowski's next film *Aktion J* (DFF, April 20, 1961) focussed on Hans Globke, State Secretary of the Bundeskanzleramt, the Chancellor's Office. In *Aktion J*, Heynowski had already made his cinematic rhetoric perfect. He constructed a complex entanglement of accusations and effective narration, which was too inscrutable for viewers to unscramble. At the end the only option left was the condemnation of 'NS perpetrator' Globke. The music by Hanns Eisler contributed to that even more. Globke waited till the turmoil had calmed down and finally retired together with Chancellor Adenauer on September 30, 1963.

In the second phase of working for television, from 1960 to 1965, Heynowski produced quite a few 'cinematic pamphlets' ('films of evidence'). By means of focusing on special persons and 'cinematic argumentation', these films almost came across as accusations at court. Heynowski advanced Andrew Thorndike's [18] method of the series *Archive sagen aus* (*Archives are giving Evidence*), however, he raised it to a higher cinematic level. If this was a higher or lower level of development with regard to ethical standpoints, is not to be discussed in this article. The effect Heynowski's films had on politics was much more significant. This cinematically rhetorical, narrative and documentary 'work of art' does still today have an impact on its viewers, particularly, if they are not familiar with its historical context.

Gerhard Scheumann: Practical and Theoretical Approaches on Television

Like Heynowski, Gerhard Scheumann already had quite an amount of experience in working for television, as well (from 1962 to 1965). Before, he had also worked as radio and newspaper journalist, and academic teacher. In contrast to Heynowski, who only had contact to the MfS in his official positions as editor-in-chief for television and the head of *Studio H&S*, Scheumann had been an unofficial collaborator ('IM') of the StaSi since 1957. From 1963 to 1965 he was the founder, editorial head and anchorman of the TV magazine *Prisma. Probleme – Projekte – Personen*. The initiative for this magazine was launched by TV director Heinz Adameck. He wanted Scheumann to develop a political magazine that would be a rebuttal to West German ones, such as *Panorama* and *Report*. Using his extraordinary journalistic skills, Scheumann made the first and – for a long time – only

political magazine by *DFF*, which contents also appealed to viewers. His reports revealed everyday problems citizens of the GDR were confronted with; to a certain extent they even criticised grievances while trying to improve them.

Due to stomach trouble, however, Scheumann had to quit his leading position of the magazine 'Prisma' in 1965. From now on he started working together with Walter Heynowski, producing documentaries for the *DEFA* Film Studios and for GDR TV. In the fall of 1965 he created his paper 'Prisma-Testament' which was addressed to the heads of Party and government. His 'testament' expressed his entire conformity with all ideas of GDR socialism. But at the same time, it mirrored the early realisation about the possibilities television offered for the empowerment of socialism. Finally, it was also a document of a clear thinking, anticipatory, professional of TV journalism, who would not mince matters, and it was a critical one – critical, regarding the frame of criticism possible in GDR.

Scheuman clearly saw the clash, the East German television and the people working for it were facing. To him, the basic conflict originated from the two contrary functions of television: the 'socialist instrument that helped to maintain the status quo' on the one hand, and its simultaneous function as an 'institution of the public opinion'. Back then, however, 'public opinion' was not a general, frequently used term in socialist countries – it was a western one. In its function as an institution of public opinion, the magazine *Prisma* would somewhat stand in contrast to 'official institutions of the socialist government'. By making this statement, Scheumann criticised the specific authorities in charge of *Prisma*: the SED Central Committee's Department for Agitation and also other governmental departments.

Scheumann also called on socialist journalist's and authors' use of 'civil courage', using another non-socialist phrase, which was introduced to the public debate again by John F. Kennedy in the early Sixties. Moreover, he pleaded against the creation of taboos concerning topics, contradictions and grievances, as well as against the 'proclamation of 'socialist sanctuaries''. He demanded that TV documentary makers should no longer dodge palpable problems of the socialist everyday life, regardless of any instructions by party officials. Any actions diverging from that would result in their incredibility and doubtful reliability. This is what he had experienced while in charge of 60 episodes of his magazine *Prisma*.

On the basis of this experience Scheumann described the creation of (socialist) publicity, that is, socialist agenda setting, as a simple question of power rather than the result of a debate on the quality and validity of different socialist arguments. For the first time, his 'Prisma-Testament' revealed experience, thoughts and reflections of a TV professional finding himself in a conflict with his socialist convictions. These would coin his works: his pleading for a central role of documentary television (and film) in socialist systems; his pleading for the appreciation of the role of the public in socialism; his pleading for some sort of autonomy of an author; his pleading for the disclosure of problems in socialist systems; and his disapproval of the Party's and government's disinterest in substantial criticism; as well as his criticism on certain authorities of Party and government that would

purposely work against the revelation of any kind of criticism. While working for *Prisma*, however, Scheumann could not implement these ideas and became sick. These conditions resulted in his legendary long time collaboration with Walter Heynowski, which lasted 25 years. Only few weeks after he had written his 'testament' Scheumann was sitting in a provisional film studio at Stachus (Karlsplatz, respectively Charles Square) in West German Munich, interviewing 'Kongo-Müller' for the first big H&S production *Der lachende Mann* (*The laughing Man*, GDR 1966) [19].

The 25 Years' Collaboration of Heynowski&Scheumann

Walter Heynowski and Gerhard Scheumann were born in 1927 and 1930 – at a time while Fascism in Germany (and Italy) started to grow. During their childhood and youth they should experience the entire rise of National Socialism. Shortly before the end of the war Heynowski had to serve as an assistant in the 'Luftwaffe', the German Air Force. Aged 11 to 15, Gerhard Scheuman attended the national socialist elite school 'Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt' (NaPolA). He then had to flee from Ostpreussen/Eastern Prussia to the periphery of the Harz Mountains in the heart of Germany. Being in the Soviet Zone of occupation, Scheumann was 'converted' to socialism by a school teacher and a journalist. After the war had ended, both Scheumann and – after quitting his academic education – also Heynowski started working as journalists for East German newspapers.

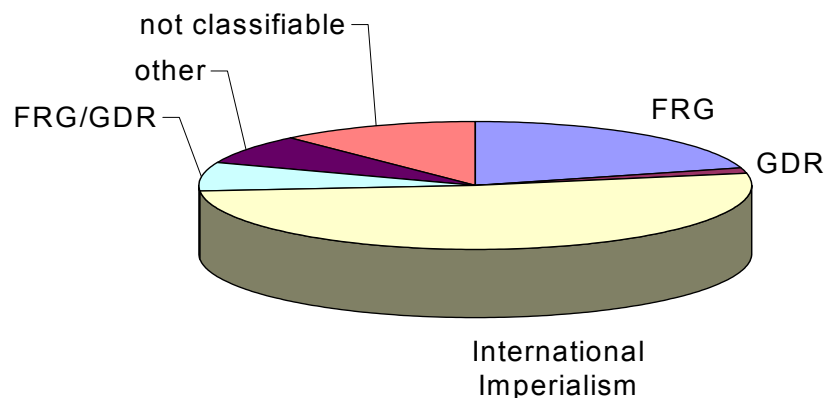
Consequently, both Walter Heynowski and Gerhard Scheumann had journalistic background knowledge on different kinds of media. Their basic journalistic approach was mirrored in all of their documentaries: through their research techniques; their way to conduct interviews; their fast working procedures; their climatic verbal and visual argumentation and agitation; their desire to not only observe but also initiate changes by means of film; their concise, simplified argumentation; their emphasis on the most significant current topics and problems; their deductive rather than inductive approach; their international orientation; their remarkable ability to make contacts, including their ability to promote themselves and their projects at the highest authorities of party and government; their impatience with regard to dilatoriness of decision makers of Party and governmental administration.

Both of them had another particular characteristic in common: Heynowski and Scheumann frequently left their origins of television, transcending the borders to film. Unlike many other documentary makers of the GDR, FRG and many other countries, H&S did not have any arrogance toward television. Far from it: using theoretical approaches as well as idiosyncrasies of production and screening, they decisively accelerated and shaped documentaries for television at the beginning of the Sixties. Earlier than most others they realised the effect television might have on the masses: at a time when the television of the GDR barely reached a million viewers. Consequently they coined television as a whole, even shaping the political documentary focus of the TV program until the Eighties.

Both Heynowski's early politically-agitatory films like *Mord in Lwow* (1960) and *Aktion J* (1961) and Scheumann's activity as head of the magazine *Prisma* (1963 - 1965) proved their objective to use television to reveal hidden facts and to educate the viewers. Since *Der lachende Mann*, the division of labor between Gerhard Scheumann and the dominating Walter Heynowski was clear: Heynowski developed the topics and determined the films' basic structures of content and style. Through Gerhard Scheumann's questions (both on and off-screen) and his off-screen commentary the films received their specific textual and journalistic character.

Since their first films, *H&S* were conjointly responsible for the script, direction, and mostly also the texts of around 70 films. Their productions also paid a tribute to their first cameraman Peter Hellmich by listing him as co-director. Hellmich's role was central for *H&S*: by carrying a West German passport, Hellmich shot at places inaccessible for Heynowski and Scheumann. He also utilized and maintained international contacts, *H&S* could not sustain, as well. Peter Hellmich, the man who owned two passports, was the wheel of conspiracy. In some *H&S* films Peter Voigt participated as co-director, in few also Harry Hornig. In these times of active collaboration, only few films were produced solely by Walter Heynowski.

"H&S" contents 1966-1991



Sources: Own arrangement on the basis of assigned productions for the television of the GDR in the DEFA studio for documentaries, database on DEFA films, Uwe Bräuer (1999), German Broadcast Archive (DRA). FF-Dabei. Schwarzweiß und Farbe. DEFA-Dokumentarfilme 1946-92 (ed. Potsdam Museum of Film, Günter Jordan/Ralf Schenk. Berlin, 1996.)

The team around *H&S* was highly productive. They frequently produced four to five documentaries per year. These numbers reveal the gap that opened after the independent *Studio H&S* had been closed in 1982. Their films were of any kind of length. They produced some short documentaries of six minutes. But they also produced longer documentaries, some of which were even more than 90 minutes of length. When it comes to topics and subjects

of their films, *H&S* had two major emphasises: 'international imperialism', particularly the one of the USA (36 films), and the FRG (22 films). Only two films of their oeuvre dealt with the GDR. The other six films were concerned with the historical era of National Socialism (excluding the post war era) or other topics that could not be classified. Some of their films were shown first on television, others in film theaters, some were even simultaneously released on TV and in theatres. Whenever a *H&S* film was shown on TV, it was scheduled at prime time, at 8 pm – until the Eighties.

Everything started with *Der Lachenden Mann*

In December, 1965, the 11th plenum of the Central Committee of the SED came close to a 'cultural clear cutting' ('kultureller Kahlschlag'). Almost the entire oeuvre of films produced by the *DEFA Feature Film Studio* in that year fell victim to it. Only eight weeks later, however, on February 9, 1966, at 8 pm, *Der lachende Mann. Bekenntnisse eines Mörders (The laughing Man. Confessions of a Murderer)*, premiered on the East German *Deutscher Fernsehfunk* – three months after it had been shot in Munich, West Germany. The film was the beginning of *H&S'* collaboration, which almost ended exactly 24 years after the premiere of *Der lachende Mann*, in February of 1990 [20].

The 'laughing man', Foreign Legionnaire Siegfried Müller, was exposed as a brutal, unscrupulous murderer. He was West German, a former member of the Wehrmacht and a convinced anticommunist – all of which could be revealed by Heynowski, Scheumann and Hellmich in their simple, but extraordinarily remarkable documentary. They exposed a murderer in Legionnaire's uniform. However, they did not succeed in generalizing the specific example of Müller as a common feature of the 'imperialistic' system of the FRG as brutal Legionnaires like him exist(ed) everywhere in the world. Consequently, these attempts to create such a connection by means of the rhetoric of questioning and by montage finally derogated its credibility as a whole. *H&S* had fooled their interview partner about their East German provenance, making him talkative through a bottle of Pernod while conducting their interview for two and a half hours.

Der Lachende Mann was not only broadcast by the *Television of the GDR* and shown at countless events, always gaining remarkable audience shares. It was also widely distributed on the international market, within *H&S* oeuvre screenings and retrospectives. As late as in 1981, the film was still synchronized to English, French, and Spanish [21].

From now on Heynowski&Scheumann carried their new logo *H&S*. The tremendous success of *Der lachende Mann* was a decisive prerequisite for assuring their exceptional position among East German film makers. Being supported by the future star of GDR politics, Erich Honecker, and despite the resistance of *DEFA*, *H&S* convinced highest political authorities of the need for the privilege of a sovereign production company: between 1967 and 1969, still under the roof of the *DEFA Studios for Documentary*, and finally, from 1969 to 1982 as wholly independent *Studio H&S*. Their studio was also

totally autonomous with regard to economical matters – an exceptional privilege in the GDR. They purchased and sold film rights within the GDR, but also to the FRG, Sweden and the United States. The main members of the studio could pass the Wall anytime, even without any kind of control. Their wages, however, decisively differed from each other: the West German cameraman Peter Hellmich received 50.000 (Western) Deutschmarks, whereas his East German colleague Hans Eberhard Leupold was only paid 14.400 (Eastern) Marks per annum. Heynowski and Scheumann themselves received an exceptional wage of 50.000 (Eastern) Marks. These different salaries must have resulted in tremendous tensions between the members of *Studio H&S*, but also with regard to the poor *DEFA Studios of Documentary and Feature Film*.

Economic Sovereignty of *Studio H&S*

The Swedish, Danish, Belgian, Austrian and Swiss television broadcast *H&S* documentaries. The record was set by their most loyal customer *Sveriges Radio TV*, which televised eleven *H&S* films between 1971 and 1979. Even US channels were interested in *Piloten im Pyjama (Pilots in Pyjamas)* about US bomber pilots imprisoned in North Vietnam. *NBC* acquired the exclusive rights in 1968 for almost 13.000 Dollars; however, it never broadcast the documentary. *CBS* and *ABC News* purchased short clips of *Pilots*. *H&S* also sold licences to traders of film rights in different countries, while always ensuring shares between 40 and 60 percent for possible contracts with television. All payments *H&S* received were made in the western currency of the according country. The only patron that had an 'East German account' and paid with Eastern Marks (MDN) was the West German rock band 'Floh de Cologne'. The West German public TV corporations *ARD* and *ZDF* barely purchased productions from *H&S*. With *Unidoc*, however, *H&S* had found a West German film distributor as active as their British distributor *ETV*.

By 1982 *Studio H&S* had become a film and TV production company, that did not only produce, commercialize and trade in films, but which would also provide services. These services included, for example, sound mixing, copying, recording and taping, dubbing of films, as well as the rental of technical equipment, e.g. to *DEFA Film Studios*. This underlines the extraordinary position *Studio H&S* had. In a very small niche of the centralised socialist GDR film and economical system, they made use of their privileges of producing and trading like capitalist corporations. Their price was: represent political and ideological GDR positions in the world. All these privileges ceased to exist when the studio was closed in fall of 1982.

***US-Pilots in Pyjamas* at 'Hilton Hanoi'**

In their first phase of producing films, *H&S* initially focussed on subjects about their primary, immediate opponent: the FRG. As early as in 1968, however, the main emphasis of their entire oeuvre was born. *Pilots in*

Pyjamas [22] was the beginning of their distinctive interest in the US imperialism in Vietnam, and later Chile, as well as the Chinese imperialism in Cambodia.

When the war in Vietnam had reached its peak, they focussed on the pilots of US bombers. They asked: 'How do these people feel, who drop the bombs? What do they think, and what's going on in their heads? We want to ask them, and yet, up in the sky they are inaccessible for us' [23]. Through the help of the North Vietnamese air raid defences, however, they became, accessible for the film team – in a North Vietnamese prison camp, which was cynically called 'Hilton Hanoi'. Cynicism was also expressed in the title of the documentary: the US officers' prison uniforms had a certain similarity to pyjamas.

In the four parts mini film series, most of the time, the pilots are rigid and emotionally unaffected, sometimes, however, questions have the power to emotionally move them. *H&S* repeatedly utilized this method to raise the dramatic weight of their interview partners and main characters, so they could make them fall much deeper. The main characters of this documentary were ten pilots, among which were for instance Lieutenant Hubbard (released from prison in 1973), Lieutenant Robinson Reisner and Lieutenant Avarett Alvarez, who was the first to be shot down over North Vietnam and who was released in 1973 as well.

All of the ten pilots were asked the very same off-screen questions by Scheumann. The interviews were shot with two cameras, one of which taped close ups and extreme close ups of their faces, hands and other body parts. The other camera recorded medium and long shots. From today's perspective, it is not definitely determinable anymore, if Scheumann had actually asked these off-screen questions in this situation, or if he had added them later. In the German edition of the documentary, the pilots' original answers can not be heard. Each pilot was dubbed by 'his own' expressive, professional speaker. Thus, there is a lot of room for manipulations regarding quotes and consecutive questions, despite the director's attempts to verbally and visually create a definite authenticity of the film. This cinematic technique was criticized quite often. Gerhard Scheumann, however, justified the synchronization of his interviews, claiming that a regular voiceover would have 'blurred and bedaubed' any kind of differences and idiosyncrasies of the statements [24]. According to Scheumann, the dubbing decisively helped to make the four parts of the documentary easier to consume.

Shooting the Documentary in Hanoi

Scheumann on the location of shooting:

We utilized a villa, which had probably belonged to French colonial officers in former times. We were sitting in the first floor, next to our microphones through which we recorded our questions. The pilots had

earphones which provided the pilots with an American translation, and a worried Perry Friedman from the level above. [25]

Former Lieutenant Avarett Alvarez jr. remembers the prisoners were free to say what they wanted during the shooting of the film. However, this freedom was only a theoretical one as they did not want to increase their problems and being beaten up in case they would not cooperate. On the other hand, he did not want to cooperate with Scheumann who asked these 'stupid questions'. He had found out the more generally he answered and the more complicated, the less they would get on his nerves. Lt. Alvarez knew his family would see these pictures and that is why he would not, in any case, admit how bad he was off [26].

Nevertheless sometimes, when the pilots lost their poise – or when the film makers made them lose it – the camera team cinematically savored their state. Cameraman Hans Leupold: 'I noticed that Heynowski highly appreciated any emotional movement of the pilots. This is just the way he was. Whenever he had the feeling that he got something special, he was visibly contended' [27]. Hans Leupold describes the staging of a scene, which shows the 'capturing of a pilot, whose plane had been shot down':

We went to a small village close to Hanoi. Someone had already prepared a two wheeled trolley, upon which lay a parachute. There were also a couple of girls armed with carbines. Then a Sanka arrived, a vehicle with barred doors and windows. A pilot was more or less pushed out of it. I noticed that he was injured, that he could not walk. When he sat on the trolley, women and children came out of any corner of the village. They saw the pilot sitting on the cart and ran after him, carrying their rifles and bayonets. Whenever he lifted himself up, they used their bayonets to stab him down again: he was someone who was defeated – a typical symbol ... I was pretty shocked, that something like that was set up – I didn't like this idea at all. Inside myself I strictly opposed actions like this, because – to me it was a violation of human dignity. Even, if this is the enemy. I really condemned that, and I was sort of ashamed that I did not say right from the beginning: 'I am not going to shoot this.' If I had said this, however, I would have caused a scandal. Like many directors I knew, Heynowski and Scheumann did not rely on the mere documents ... they always thought they still had to enhance certain things, and suppress others, and so on. Thereby they added a stamp of manipulation to everything, visible for everybody who kept their eyes open. These people would notice the facts were heavily manipulated on. Heynowski and Scheumann were indeed suspected to manipulate. [28]

Gerhard Scheumann himself conceded that this scene had been re-enacted – however, in the exact way, it had actually happened:

It was re-enacted the same way the flag was hoisted on the German Reichstag in Berlin in 1945. I consider procedures like these as totally

legitimate. We never felt offended by remarks claiming that the purpose of our films was agitation or even propaganda. Propaganda can be traced back to the Catholic Church. We were never ashamed of our objective to not only say something in our films, but to accomplish something and to also get through to our viewers. [29]

Finally, *H&S* were also permitted to shoot in the shanty prison camp, also called 'plantation'. In there, they shot prisoner Galanti, sitting and making the obscene gesture of holding both of his middle fingers down. He thereby wanted to tell adept viewers: They will not get us down.

As I explained above, *H&S* were in the position to internationally sell clips and pictures of their exclusive films. For the clips shown in *NBC's Huntley Brinkley Report*, they are said to have received 50.000 Dollars [30]. But the documents I had access to do not verify this amount. Instead, the accounting documents of August 20, 1968 prove that *NBC* paid a lump fee of 8.000 Dollars for the exclusive rights on *Pilots*, as well as 4.613 Dollars for the costs of the film material. But the films were never shown. On *ABC*, only the above mentioned clip with Galanti was shown without original sound with the banner 'Communist Approved'. Gerrit Gutley commented on it for *ABC News*:

The prisoners' most difficult problem, however, is certainly not physical but psychological: These Americans are men of high intelligence and great skill. Above all, they are men accustomed to action. There is little they can do – except wait. [31]

This commentation verified *H&S'* thesis, that these pilots were not stupid boys, but highly qualified specialists. Almost 30 years after the shootings, Gerhard Scheumann expressed his relationship to Vietnam – in a deeply moved way but clinging to his socialist convictions:

I think, the whole Vietnamese fight for freedom is something heroic ... I am happy, that this tradition goes on over there. Because, if it ceased, I myself would lose a lot, as well. Back then we used to quote the words of author Ernst Busch: 'Countries we lived in carefreely are left without any mournfulness. But the country we trembled in we will always love.' [32]

Pilots in Pyjamas was, and still is, a cinematic document of the Cold War, which subjectively mirrors the socialist viewpoint. Moreover, however, it stays a document about the thoughts and feelings of war pilots in the whole world. It demonstrates how their juvenile vigor, their desire for adventures, and unlimited faith in technology leads to ruin and decay down on earth which they rarely have to experience themselves.

As early as in 1967, *H&S* had started to deal with the war in Vietnam: in their film *Der Zeuge*. The subject Vietnam then became a main emphasis of their entire oeuvre; in 1976/1977 they produced an entire Vietnam series: *Die Teufelsinsel (The Devil's Isle)*, *Der erste Reis danach (The first Rice*

afterwards) , *Ich bereue aufrichtig (I do regret hnestly)*, *Die eiserne Festung (The iron Fortress)*. Until the Eighties they even produced more films on Vietnam, such as *Am Wassergraben (At the Moat)* on the My Lay/ Lt. Kelly-Massacre (1978), and *Phoenix Inside CIA* (1979) on the fall of Saigon, as well as six other documentaries.

Going along with the presidential election of socialist Salvador Allende in 1970 and his assassination on September 11, 1973, H&S started their emphasis on Chile, which was continued till the Eighties. Their concern with this subject becomes clear in films like: *Mitbürger (Compatriots)* (a speech of Allende, 1974), *Psalm 18* (1974), *Ich war, ich bin, ich werde sein (I have been, I am, I will be)* (1975), *El Golpe Blanco/Der weiße Putsch* (1977), *Die Toten schweigen nicht* (1978) and *Im Feuer bestanden* (1978).

Finally, in the beginnings of the Eighties, Cambodia constituted another emphasis in H&S' oeuvre. It includes the documentaries *Sterben und aufersteh'n (To die and rise again, 1980)*, *Die Angkar* (1981) and *Der Dschungelkrieg (The Djungle War, 1983)*. After that, the Heynowski and Scheumann were again committed to East-West German topics, thereby returning to the subjects they had dealt with at the beginning of their collaboration.

A harsh Break: The Closing of the Studio in 1982

Until the Eighties, H&S films were exclusively broadcast on GDR 1 TV at prime time. They were permanently shown in movie theatres of the GDR, as well as in other countries. In the context of oeuvre screenings and the presence of the directors, they were even shown in non-socialist countries, such as Greece (after the end of the military junta), and Denmark. They enjoyed an internationally high reputation. The remarkable track record and the lifetime achievements of these two convinced socialists, were, however, disrupted by their own party in fall of 1982.

Already in 1963, Gerhard Scheumann had argued the difference between the socialist 'ideal and its reality'. Consequently, in his 'Prisma Testament' of 1965 he had insisted on honesty and truthfulness in documentary making. And now, on September 16, 1982 he held a speech on 'documentaries in conflict with strategy and policy' in front of East German TV and film professionals. He criticized the media politics of the party and called for a 'media public sphere', a public debate: 'The extent to which a society publicly discusses their problems determines their maturity or immaturity.' Scheumann even asked authorities to consider the 'audience' of the socialist state GDR as mature and capable of a public debate. The current situation: TV news and reports were regarded as journalistic genres, whereas documentaries were rather classified as art; even though they were 'always related to the concrete reality.' According to Scheumann East German media politics would not realize this difference, and thereby give away the chance to better recognize and solve the problems of socialism by means of documentary films.

Scheumann underestimated his own vulnerability. He was convinced that the national and international reputation of *Studio H&S* and his longtime authoritative position in television and the StaSi made him invulnerable. But the Party disciplinarily sentenced Scheumann for his statements. He had to withdraw his remarks (which he did only to a limited extent), *Studio H&S* was closed, and Heynowski and Scheumann lost all of their privileges. From now on they had to work for *DEFA Studios of Documentary Film*, again. Only through their last important film *Die Generale (The Generals, 1986)* they could gain back parts of their autonomy. However, the wound was deep, and it would not heal anymore until the end of GDR, either.

Among highest international Circles: *Die Generale (1986)*

This film helped *H&S* recover from Gerhard Scheumann's chastisement by the Party and the closing of their sovereign studio. At the same time, however, the directors entered the slippery circles of the highest national and international connections and authorities. The time the film was shot was characterized by another severe conflict between the opposing blocs – caused by the deployment of intermediate-range missiles. It was also characterized, however, by the growing peace movement in West Germany in the first half of the Eighties. Eight (former) high-ranking officers of the NATO argued against the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in West Germany/FRG, at the German-German border to the Eastern Block.

Being released just right before a SED Party congress, *H&S'* film in two parts was made available for 'the political leadership, to strengthen the socialist 'peace push' [33]. To achieve this, the directors used all their international connections and conspirative capabilities to release the film produced for DEFA Studios as a multinational production. Besides *DEFA*, with which *H&S* had been working together for years, other collaborating producers were *ETV Films Ltd.*, London [34]; *Euro-Television Productions*, Amsterdam (*Spectrum Film*, Amsterdam); *Akropolis Films and TV*, Athens, *Werkstatt H&S'*, Berlin, in cooperation with 'Generals for Peace and Disarmament', London (and the 'Centre for International Peacebuilding', London) [35].

For years, *H&S* had cultivated 'close and faithful relationships' to the owners and representatives of these companies and organizations. They used the initiative 'Generals for Peace and Disarmament', to maintain contact to eight NATO generals: Marshal Francisco da Costa Gomes, Portugal; General Nino Pasti, Italy; Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, France; General Michiel von Meyenfeldt, Holland; General Michael Harbottle, England; General Georgios Koumanakos, Greece; General Johan Christie, Norway; and General Gerd Bastian, West Germany/FRG.

The initiative founded in 1981, had been launched as a reaction to initiatives of the Head Office of Reconnaissance of the East German StaSi (Ministry of State Security/MfS). By means of detours and disguise it was continually financed by the MfS, as well. The organizer of the initiative was the West German Gerd Kade, a historian at Hamburg University and a

former officer of the Bundeswehr, the West German Army. In 1982 the group was given the status of a Non-governmental Organization (NGO) by the UNO. Its growing influence on the West German and West European peace movement must not be underestimated.

Initially, *H&S* had planned to disguise their identities when dealing with the generals – a method they had repeatedly used since their production of *Der Lachende Mann* in 1966. Despite their failure to stay in the course and keep this up till the end, the generals cooperated anyway. They did not regard this as applause for the social order of socialism. Rather, they accepted socialist states as reality, which would not pose a threat of a nuclear war – a far spread position in West Germany at that time. However, they had some 'decisive reservations': the USSR war at Afghanistan, centralism of socialist states vs. pluralism in democratic societies, the Warsaw Pact invasion of ČSSR and its capitol Prague in 1968, the suppression of Sakharov as a representative of the USSR opposition, and so on [36]. The generals provided *H&S* with information and materials on World War II, the collapse of the British, French and Portuguese colonial systems, the creation of the NATO, the US-domination in the western military alliance, as well as the armament race of the western and eastern block. All of these photographs and documents were taken out of the generals' private archives, and referred to in the final credits.

All in all, both parts of the film constituted a stylistic and documentary continuity within *H&S'* work; regarding their conspirational activities, *Die Generale* can even be seen as the peak. Conspirational was also the pre-screening of the film in East Berlin: on March 24, 1986, the West German citizens Peter Hellmich, *H&S* cameraman, and Professor Gerhard Kade, organizer of the initiative 'Generals for peace' and vice-president of the 'International Institute for Peace' in Vienna, drove four former generals of the NATO from West Berlin to the East Berlin Academy of the Arts – to a 'confidence-building screening' of the film [37]. The four former NATO generals were: Michael Harbottle (GB), Michiel von Meyenfeldt (NL), Johan Christie (N) and Gerd Bastian (FRG).

Unlike in their other films, *H&S* did not make use of a harsh and cutting commentary, this time. Gerhard Scheumann gave himself credit for making the persons in his film 'open themselves up and to make them reveal their inner selves'. To achieve this, Scheumann asked the provoking question: 'Did you have a career at all, or are you just unsatisfied, because you didn't achieve everything you wanted?' [38] Now, the effects of their propaganda did no longer result from Scheumann's palpably criticizing commentary, but it arose from the generals' military biographies which were catalytically revealed by Scheumann's questions. In the second part of the film, these biographies consistently led to the generals' calls against a western armament with intermediate-range missiles.

On May 6, 1986, the film celebrated its world premiere in the representative office of the UN in Vienna, Palais Wittgenstein. It was also attended by the involved generals. The German premiere was conducted on September 25, 1986, on a Thursday afternoon. The event, that took place in the Berlin film theatre 'Kosmos', was joined by Erich Honecker, and the

Politburo members Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Günter Schabowski, as well as Heinz Kessler, General of the Army [39]. Already in the evening of September 25, 1986, the first part was televised on GDR TV; the second one on Sunday, September 28 – each of them at prime time 8pm in the first channel.

The first part, which was 80 minutes of length, cinematically displays the personalities of the eight generals. Their almost consistent birth to families whose members had been soldiers, their convinced participation in World War II – all of this is told by means of parallel editing. The second part, which was with 100 minutes of length even longer, describes the generals' NATO careers, as well as their motivations for resigning from the Army and their engagement in the peace movement. The end credits state:

The initiative 'Generals for Peace and Disarmament' dedicate this film to the United Nations, which have declared the year of 1986 to be the International Year of Peace. [40]

The Finale

Die Generale was the last highlight in H&S' work but they would be working together for another four years. With the last film they produced together, however, they entered the last phase of the existence of 'good old' GDR. Their three-part-series *Die dritte Haut*, which dealt – of all things – with the accomplishments of the socialist GDR with regard to domestic construction and housing, was to be broadcast in the context of the 40. anniversary of the GDR. Its broadcast on October 3rd, 10th and 17th of 1989 was to restore the public opinion, which was, however, already beyond remedy [41]. While masses of GDR citizens were fleeing the country via Hungary, H&S' film only came across as ridiculous and sick.

Due to their different ideas, the ways of the film makers parted. When asked about that in February of 1990, Gerhard Scheumann told GDR news agency *ADN*:

Our ideas on certain standards and values have diverged a lot within the last months. I more and more realized that the possibilities of a mutual collaboration are exhausted. [42]

Scheumann died on May 30, 1998. Former TV director Heinz Adameck, film minister Horst Pehnert and his colleagues of Studio H&S published a two column obituary saying: 'Compañero Gerhard presente!' The obituaries dignified the various sides of a documentary film maker, who had the remarkable talent to masterly conduct revealing interviews; but who was, beyond his practical work, also capable to develop theoretical and political, prospective ideas; a film maker, who was able to transform humanistic-socialist convictions into effective agitation. None of those people, however, admitted to know – or wanted to know – of his longstanding collaboration with the StaSi, which he used to put on and take off like a second skin

whenever it was necessary. None of them saw Scheumann's pertinacity to develop basic concepts and positions of socialist journalism, hopelessly trying to convince the SED Party about these ideas for more than two decades. None of them saw the double bind relationship that shackled him to Walter Heynowski, while repelling him at the same time. None of them could guess the drama he faced since 1982. To an even greater extent than Gerhard Scheumann, Walter Heynowski withdrew from the post Wende media system, enjoying the resplendence of his international fame that from time to time fell on him again. He is living near Berlin and refuses any contact, stating his films were speaking for themselves.

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NOTES

- [1] See Rüdiger Steinmetz/Tilo Prase, *Dokumentarfilm zwischen Beweis und Pamphlet. Heynowski&Scheumann und Gruppe Katins* (Leipzig, 2002), see also Claudia Böttcher/Judith Kretzschmar/Corinna Schier: *Walter Heynowski und Gerhard Scheumann – Dokumentarfilmer im Klassenkampf. Eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Leipzig, 2003).
- [2] According to the program database of Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv/DRA, 26 episodes between 17 May, 1957, and 25 December, 1958. Title is not translatable.
- [3] *Snap-Shots*. According to database of DRA, 8 May 1959 until 1961.
- [4] Unknown author (SED Bureau of Television), *The improvement of the TV program and the beginning of the official program for the President's birthday on January 3, 1956*, no date given, (December, 1955). SAPMO-BArch DY 30/IV 2.902.
- [5] According to database of DRA: 9 September, 1957.
- [6] According to database of DRA: 13 December, 1959.
- [7] Walter Heynowski, *Bericht über die Reise nach Kairo vom 27.7. bis 13.8.1958*. DRA. [4] September, 1958. SAPMO-BArch DY 30/IV 2/9.02. Underlined in original.
- [8] 'From now on, the campaign to end the Adenauer Era must be conducted and further developed every day. The focus is on Adenauer, Strauß, Gehlen, Globke, and so on. We have to be aware of the fact, that we approximately have one year to finish the campaign. During this time Adenauer's resignation must have been enforced. When this moment has come, it must be clear to the whole world that he was overthrown by our regime.' Information on a meeting with comrade Walter Ulbricht. Emphasis of the caucus: the further continuation of the campaign against ultraconservatives in the Bonn government. No date given, SAPMO-BArch DY 30/IV2/902/100, quoted in Hubertus Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik. Stasi im Westen* (Berlin, 1999), p. 123.
- [9] See Hubertus Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik. Stasi im Westen* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 122.
- [10] Albert Norden to Mielke, 9 May 1960. BStU, ZA, SdM 1121. Quoted in Hubertus Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik. Stasi im Westen* (Berlin, 1999), p. 125.
- [11] Markus Wolf, *Spionagechef im geheimen Krieg. Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1998), pp. 352
- [12] *Deutscher Fernsehfunk/Director, Analysis of the TV film Mord in Lwow with regard to its agitative effects on the masses*, 19 February, 1960, SAPMO-BArch DY 30-IV2-9.02-86. The quote hawks reactions on the film by the Bonn Bundeshaus. Therefore it must be read critically.
- [13] Ibid.

- [14] 'For half a century, *Plato Films* and *Educational Television (ETV)* were responsible for distributing British Communist Party's collection of films made during the 1930s, along with a variety of post war films made in the Soviet Union, the socialist states of Eastern Europe and Vietnam.' www.etvltd.demon.co.uk (8 August, 2002). Still in 1986, *ETV* played a role as alleged producer of the H&S film *Die Generale*, see below.
- [15] *Urlaub auf Sylt, General Speidel, Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank und Die deutsche Geschichte*. See also *The Scotsman, Memembers of Parliament want to see Oberlander Film*, 18 February, 1960.
- [16] *Deutscher Fernsehfunk/Director, Analysis..* [Note 12].
- [17] Anti-Nazi-Propaganda. *The Glasgow Herald*, 18 February, 1960. Submitted to director of *DFF* in German translation.
- [18] Andrew and Annelie Thorndike shaped East German documentary film making, particularly in the Fifties and Sixties. Both of them worked for *DEFA Studios*.
- [19] Already in the Pre-IAMHIST-Era this film has been the subject of a conference of the IAMHIST-founders in Brandbjerg/Denmark, 1973.
- [20] Gerhard Scheumann's reason for the decision to go seperate ways: 'Our ideas on certain standards and values have diverged a lot within the last months. I more and more realized that the possibilities of a mutual collaboration have been exhausted.' ADN, *Heynowski&Scheumann trennen ich nach 25 Jahren*, Ku 111 891 15ZI ADN 1114, 141546 feb 90.
- [21] *Studio H&S* charged these costs to the account of the head office of film, ministry of culture of the GDR. H&S 1981: *Outgoing Invoices*. SAPMO-BArch DR118/1.503.
- [22] Four parts: *Yes, Sir; Hilton Hanoi; Der Job; Donnergötter (Thunderchiefs)*.
- [23] Scheumann's off-screen commentary in the beginning of *Pilots in Pyjamas*.
- [24] Scheumann quoted in Hasso Bräuer, *Abgeschossen – die Geschichte von den Piloten im Pyjama*. Prod.: Transfer-Film for *MDR/SFB* 1996.
- [25] *Ibid*.
- [26] Averett quoted in *Abgeschossen – die Geschichte von den Piloten im Pyjama*. *Ibid*.
- [27] Cameraman Hans Leupold quoted *ibid*.
- [28] Cameraman Hans Leupold quoted *ibid*. In this context, the author Bräuer uses film footage that shows Walter Heynowski staging the scene with the women. In addition to that: Heynowski during the final rehearsal on the trolley.
- [29] Scheumann quoted *ibid*.
- [30] *Ibid*. The film contains this clip.
- [31] End of Gutley's off-screen text over the footage Leupold had shot for *H&S*. Gutley quoted *ibid*.
- [32] Scheumann quoted *ibid*.
- [33] Heynowski&Scheumann, *Die Generale. A film in two parts. Suggestions for international and national screenings of the film in the UNO Year of Peace*, 10 January 1986. SAPMO-BArch DY 30/IV 2/2.037.
- [34] *ETV/Educational TV*, 247a Upper Street, Islington/London. www.etvltd.demon.co.uk [13 August, 2002]. *Spectrum Film/Euro Television Productions*, Louis van Gasteren, Kloveniersburgwal 49, 1011 JX Amsterdam, 4cent.nedjap@wxs.nl [13 August, 2002].
- [35] Information according to end credits of *Die Generale*, part II, version in DRA.
- [36] Heynowski&Scheumann, *Die Generale* [Note 33].
- [37] P.S. to Heynowski&Scheumann (Heynowski's signature only) to Krenz, 12 March 1986. Date stamp of HA [Dpt.] XX of the MfS from the same day. BStU, former HA XX [Dpt.] ZMA, No. 20327. See also Jochen Stadt, *Die Bedrohungslüge. Wie sich acht Generäle aus NATO-Staaten für die psychologische Kriegführung der DDR einspannen ließen*. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung/FAZ* No. 83, 7 April, 2002.
- [38] See note 36.
- [39] See Jochen Stadt [Note 37].
- [40] The title credits mention the following people who participated in the realization of the production (in this order): Peter Hellmich, Horst Donth, Graphic Art Studio, Vienna, Neithard Willerding, Franz Endlicher, TV-Film-Photo-Service, Vienna, Traute Wischnewski, Armand Meppiel, Walter Martsch, Harry Landis, Jacques Serres, Wolfgang v. Polentz, Georgios Samiotis, Menios Nikolaidis, Eberhard Schwarz, Sarah Blum, Ilse Radtke, Renata Gil Rojas,

Carmen Bärwaldt, Marie-Claude Reverdin, Stanley Forman, Mathias Remmert, Georgios Tsiokos, Gerardo Barolo und Heynowksi&Scheumann. Film version in DRA.

[41] See: Rüdiger Steinmetz, *The Surprise was televised*, in this volume.

[42] ADN: *Heynowski&Scheumann trennen ich nach 25 Jahren*. [Note 20].

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