

YOUTH OPPOSITION IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (GDR)

The dictatorship of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) lasts forty years in the GDR, and dissent is articulated against it the entire time. Young people searching for guidance and truth confront over and over again the limits set by the regime. Music and literature are censored, music bands and writers forbidden; the militarization of the entire society

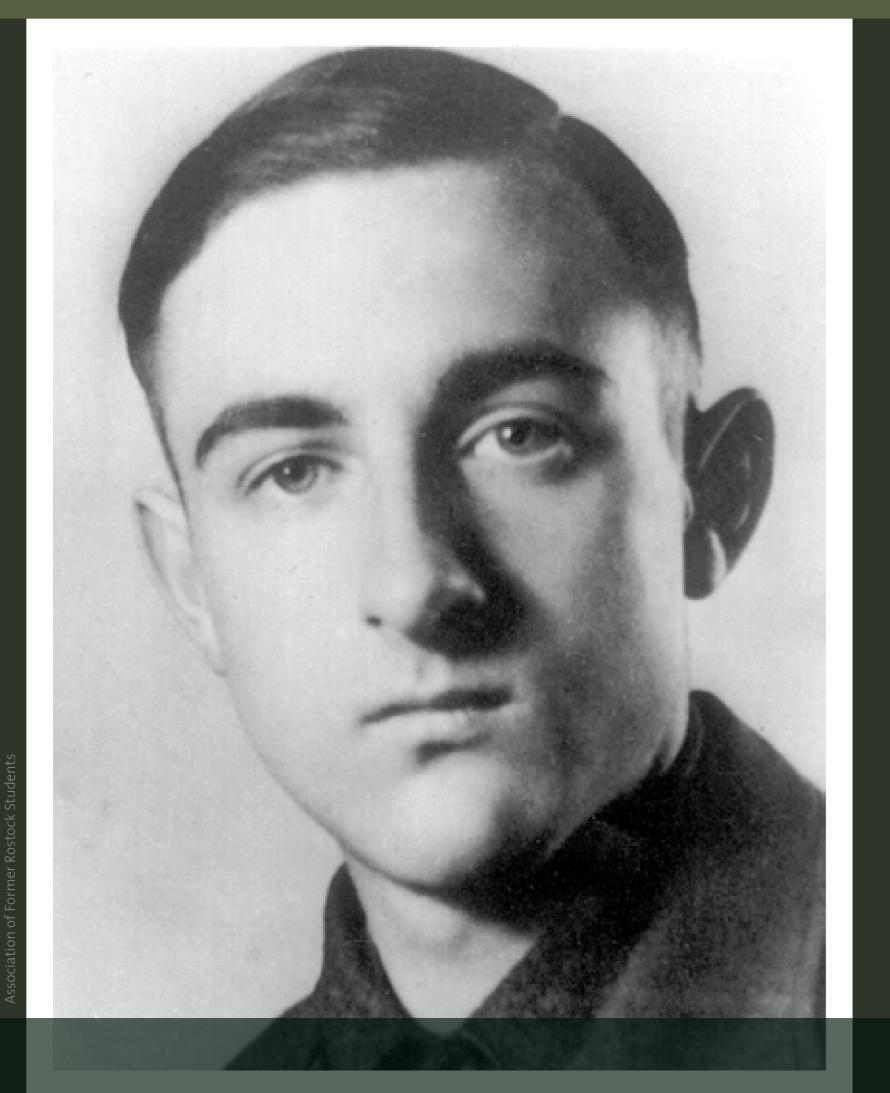
gives the lie to official peace policies; elections are rigged. Whoever desires something else is penalized by the state, arrested, condemned. There are nevertheless people – from the Baltic Sea to the Thuringian Forest, in the cities and in the countryside – who resist and stand up for their ideals. It is often young people who take a stand. This exhibition presents some of the actors who emerged from this great variety of opposition and resistance.

An exhibition of the Robert Havemann Society and the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship.



ARNO ESCH

* 1928 † 1951



A rno Esch, who has not yet reached his sixteenth birthday, is drafted into the army in January 1944. After the war his family moves from Memel to Mecklenburg, where Esch begins to study at the University of Rostock in 1946. He aspires to an academic career, is considered to be extraordinarily talented and very hardworking.

According to Arno Esch's liberal beliefs, individual liberty is the bedrock of human society. He helps expand the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Mecklenburg and becomes a mem-



Photo Archive Marburg / LA 420915

The University of Rostock around 1950. Arno Esch studies law and economics here. In the fall of 1947, at the age of nineteen, he becomes the university advisor of the LPD state organization of Mecklenburg.

immatrikuliert: 27.März. 1946

"I feel closer to a liberal Chinese person than to a German communist."



auf dem Sitzwurf der SED uber die "Grundrochte des deutschen Velker" eröffnet. Sie im in ein neues Stadium getreten, nachdem einerzeits in Bonn eine werideutsche Verfassung ausgearbeitet wird und in der Outzone durch den Deutschen Volkurat ein Verfassungsentwurf der breiten Orffentlichkeit zur Diskussion gesicht wurde. Dieter Verfassungsentwurf ist als Gemeinschaftsarbeit der verschiedenen politischen Strömungen entstanden, was schon darzus hervorgeht, daß er gegenüber dem Verfassungsentwurf der SED erhebliche Anderungen aufweist. Er enthält eine Reihe staatsrechtlich bedeutsamer Gedankenginge und ist insgesamt gesehen eine durchaus beschilten Distussionsgrundlage. Einige Einzelprobleme bedürfen aber noch einer eingebenden

selbstverständlich dahin aussednich werden, daß nicht ein Organ sondern mehrere Organe die Fulle der Staatsmacht ausüben. Dos Volk kann such in konkreter Form regeln, wis die Staalsorgane bei der Ausübung der Souveränität susammenwirken sollen und ob das eine oder das andere eine ausschlaggebende Stellung besitzen soll. Wenn man aus dierem Gesichtspunkt die Frage der Verfassungsgerichlabarkeit beleuchtet, ergibt sich zunächst, daß die Errichtung eines Sinstagorichishofes nicht ohne weiterer als dem Prinzip der Volkssouveränität widerspee chend angeschen werden kann. Doch muß noch ein anderes Moment in Erwägung gezogen werden, nämlich die verfassungsrechtlichen Formen des Zustandokommens der Staatsgerichtshöfe. Wonn das Volk die Ausübung seiner Souveränträt. auf bestimmte Organe überträgt, dann mit der ausdrücklichen willenamäßigen Bestimmung ständiger Feststellung und Berücksichtligung des Volkswillens und ständiger Möglichkeit der Abberufung.

Als Beispiel sei hierbei auf die neuen deutschen Länderverfassungen Bezug genommen. Die west- und söddeutschen Verlassungen haben sich – poweit als intwischen fertiggestellt worden sind – autnahmeles zum Prinzip der Staats, bzw. Verfassungsgerichtshöfe bekannt und sich dabei auch an diese überliefer en Bezeichnungen pelasten, Die Länderverfassungen der sonderlichen Bemituntwente kennen mit einer einzigen Ausnahme eine solche Einrichtung nicht, Ledirfich Thurie-

ber of the party's executive committee in 1948. Esch calls for a democratic state governed by the rule of law, as well as for conscientious objection. As one of its first members, he brings his liberal values to the Free German Youth (FDJ), the – at first – seemingly nonpartisan and ecumenical youth organization. Arno Esch is also actively engaged in establishing independent youth organizations alongside the FDJ. All of this is a thorn in the side of the Soviet occupation power. While the FDJ is quickly made into a cadre training school for the communist SED, the Soviet secret police arrest Arno Esch in 1949. A Soviet Military Tribunal charges him with "counterrevolutionary activities", "spying", "anti-Soviet propaganda", and "the creation of illegal groups". Arno Esch is sentenced to death in July 1950 and is shot in Moscow on July 24, 1951. He is only twenty-three years old.



Arno Esch's University of Rostock student ID. Shortly before his first state law exam, Esch is arrested – along with other mostly liberal students – by the Soviet secret police on October 18, 1949.



Robert Havemann Society

There are several resistance groups at the University of Rostock at this time. In the photo an excursion by a rowing group on Ascension Day in 1951. The following persons pictured here are condemned by a Soviet military tribunal in 1951: Hartwig Bernitt, Karl Alfred Gedowski, Alfred Gerlach, Otto Mehl.

43

Die Frage der Vereinbarkeit einer Dreitellung der Staatsgewalt in Legislative, Exekutive und Gezichtsbarkeit und insbesondere der Errichtung eines Sisalspecichisholes mit dem Prinzip der Volkatouveränität ist erneut Gogenstand der Verfassungsdebatten geworden. Es erscheint zweckmildig, diese Frage einmal aus der Sphäre leidenschaftlicher politischer Austinandersetzungen hetauszulösen und ale unvoreingenommen nach zein afaatsredvilichen Gesichtspunkten zu untersuchen. Mit dem Grundsafz, daß das Volk der Träger der Staatsgewalt ist, bekennen sich alle modernen demokratischen Verfassungen zum Prinzip der Volkszouveränität, Souveränität ist die höchste, unabhängige, unbeschränkte und unbeschränkbare Gewalt des Siaates nach innen und außen. Sie ist dann eine Souveränität des Volkes, wenn nach dem popitiven Inhalt der Verfassung Quelle und Ausübung derselben beim Volk in seiner G+sumtheit liegen,

Nach marxistlicher Auflassung ist die Gewaltentrennung mit diesem Frinzip unvereinbar und wird die Volkssouweränität insbesondere dann durchbrechen, wenn die Verfassung einen Staatsbese. Verfassungsperichtshof vorsieht der die Befornis besitzt, die von der Volksvertretung boschlossenen Gesetze auf ihre Verfassungsmißligkolt zu prüfen. Diese Ansicht beruht darauf, daß die Souveränität der Valksvertretung mit der Souveränität des Volkes verwechselt wird. Die Volksvertretung ist nicht das Volk, sondern ein Organ des Volkes. Ze hich sich alse hichsteres eagen, daß die Souverinität eines Volksorganes durch andere Einrichtungen durchbrochen oder beschränkt wird.

In welcher Form die Organe das Volkes dessen Souveränität entsprechend den Staatsaufgaben ausüben sollen, bestimmt das Volk durch eine ganz bestimmte Willensenischeidung, nämlich, indem es sich eine Verfassung gilt. Diese Ueberingung ist auch der Grund dafür, daß man die Eeschlußfassung über die Verfasrung in violen Fällen nicht der Volksvertretung überläßt, ausdern der Verfassungsentwurf dem Volke in seiner Gesamtheit zur Annahme oder Ablehnung durch Volksentscheid vorlagt. Dar Wille des Volken

Norddeutsche Zeitung (newspaper), January 13, 1949

The clear thinker and sharp-tongued discussant writes numerous political newspaper articles. Excerpt from an article written by Arno Esch.

gen hat sich ein Organ geschaffen, das - wenn auch der Ausdruck nicht verfassungscomäß verankert worden ist - alle Morkmale eines echten Slaatsperichtshofes aufweigt. Ueber die Verfassungarablickeit von Gesetzen entscheidet ein Gremlum, hertebend sus dem Präcidenten und des drei Vistpräsidenten des Landtøgen, einem Mitglied des Oberlandesgerichts, einem Mitglied des Verwaltungsgerichtes des Landes Thüringen und einem Vertreter der juristischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena. Die Beschlüsse dieses Ausschusses sind bindend und bedürfen keiner Bestätigung durch die Volksvertretung. Dumit sind die Merkmale der Verdassungsgerichisbarkeit gegeben. Auch die Staatsgerichtshöfe der westdeutschen

Länder besichen sus Personen, die entweder alle oder in der Mehrzahl durch die entsprechende Volksvertretung für eine in den einzelnen Verfassungen verschleden geregelte Zeitdauer gewihlt werden. Meistens wird dieses Gremium aus Angehörigen der Volksvertretung und nam anderen Teil aus Fachleuten, das heißt aus Juristen zusammengesetzt. Dabei läßt sich in fast allen Fällen feststellen, daß zumindestens die absolute Mehrheit der Mitglieber des Staatagerichtsholes durch eine Wahl in dieses Amt berufen werden. In Konfliktsfällen, das heißt dann, wenn der Staafsgerichtshof die Verfassungsmäflickeit. eines Gesetzes verneint, wird also nicht dar Willedes Volkes durch ein vom Volke gänzlich unabhängiges Organ unwirksam gemacht, sondern es lingt eine Meinungsverschiedenheit gwischen zwei-Volksorganen vor, in dem die Meinung desjenigen entscheidet, dem für diese Fälle vom Volke durch. ausdrückliche Willensentrebeidung das Primat zupoetanden warden ist. Von den anderen Aufgaben, wie sie verfassungsgemäß den Staatsgerichtshöfen rugewiesen werden und die man schlecht anderen Organen übertragen kann, soll in diesem Zusammenhang nicht gesprochen werien. Sicher ist jedenfalls soviel, daß von einer Durchbrechung des Prinzips der Volkssouveränität durch die Errichtung eines Staatsgerichtsholes solange nicht die Rode sein kann, als das Volk mittelbar oder unmittelbar die Zusammensetzung dieses Organs bestimmt.



Federal Archive / Poster 103–005–008

The Liberals enter the 1946 elections in the Soviet zone of occupation with this poster. The twenty-year-old Arno Esch helped formulate his party's program and rejects the idea of the LDP as a so-called "block party" forced to toe the SED's line.

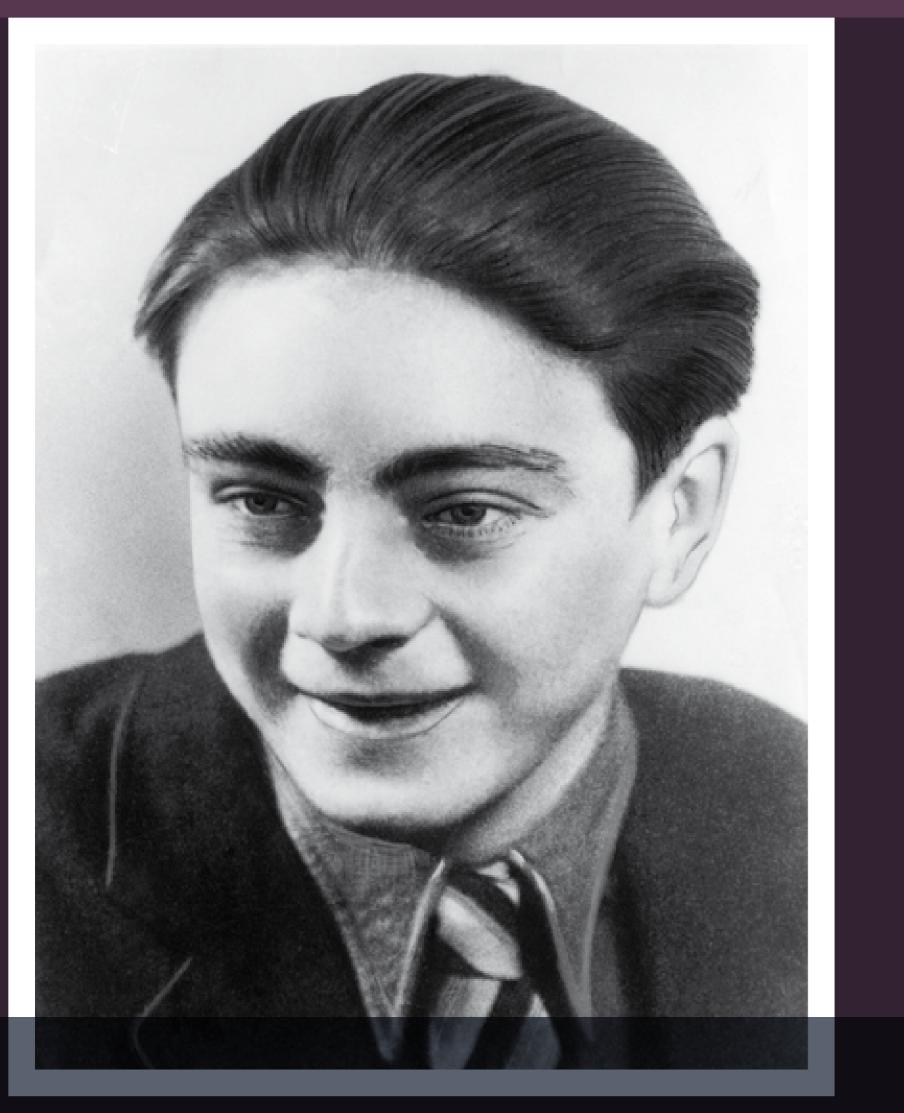
 $^{\odot}$ Военная коллегия CIPABKA Вераковного Суда Дляо по обанения Эн Арно, 1908 года рок-диния, переснотрено Военера коллегией Берков-ного Суда СССР 19 иная 1990 года. Course CCP Приговор военного трибучала Носисовского военного округа от 20 мая 1961 года в отноше-нии За Арно отменен и дляо прекрадено за от-сутствием состава преступленая. · Jar · _____ NRA ____ 1992 · xi_1_002967/p-50 (2105) Juccas, pr. Reportson, p. 18 Эн Арно по данному дляу полностью реабидитирован. Haven, market owners Bosserof Ronnerwa conside_ Cyte S.Bemosod 30 auge 103. Sec. 210

Association of Former Rostock Students

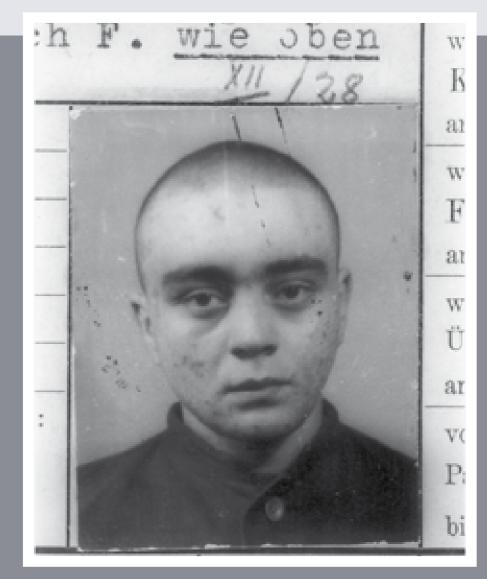
Following Soviet penal law, a Soviet military tribunal in Schwerin gives either the death penalty or twenty-five years of hard labor to Arno Esch and thirteen other accused in 1951. Esch's sentence is confirmed on April 4, 1951 in Moscow. He is shot. In the document shown here, the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union completely rehabilitates Arno Esch on May 30, 1991.

HERMANN FLADE

* 1932 † 1980



n 1944 at age twelve, Hermann Flade, who is raised Catholic, takes an extremely unusual step: he quits the Hitler Youth. After the war Hermann Flade goes to school in Olbernhau in Saxony. In October 1949 he takes a year of absence from school in order to help support his family financially. He becomes a hewer for Wismut, a Soviet uranium mining company. The strenuous underground manual labor pays well. He speaks often with a Catholic priest about deficiencies in the GDR in the GDR, and witnesses the propaganda during the lead-up to the East German parliamentarian elections of October 15, 1950. Flade is supposed to vote in favor of the predetermined election list. He finds that appalling. He spontaneously expresses his criticism about the electoral procedure. Flade uses a rubber stamp to make approximately 190 leaflets, which he distributes at night in Olbernhau. While distributing the leaflets on October 14, 1950, he is surprised by a police patrol. Flade injures one of the policemen with a pocket knife during a scuffle, and flees. He is arrested two days later and sentenced to death on January 10, 1951. There are hefty protests against this in the GDR and in western Germany. The SED regime is forced to reduce the penalty to fifteen years imprisonment.



3StU, MfS, Ast Chemnitz

Hermann Flade is sentenced to death at a show trial because of "rabblerousing", "the plying of military propaganda", "attempted murder", and "resisting arrest". A passport photograph from the arrest file in Waldheim.

"I distributed the leaflets because of the political recognition that one had to struggle passively and actively against the GDR and its institutions."



obert Havemann Society

The communists want to consolidate their power in East Germany. Parliamentary and municipal elections are held in the fall of 1950 in line with the following motto by Walter Ulbricht, the head of the SED: "It has to appear democratic, but everything has to be in our control". All of the seats are already assigned before election day, according to a preset distribution ratio, among the SED as well as the so-called block parties and mass organizations tolerated under their rule. An absolute majority is guaranteed for the SED since the majority of deputies from the mass organizations are SED members.

Maximum 1
The state of the first state of the state

Robert Havemann Societ

Pupils from the town of Werdau formulate their protest against the death sentence in this leaflet. Because of such actions the youths are condemned a few months later to long-term prison sentences.

Volkspeilzei SED-Funktion ev kerung Ihrwerdet zur Verant- Wilden Fonzen wird

wortung gezugen wertentionenkt en die Straf, in die maziverbrecher Hintel Euch vornaktiven Dienst in der sogen, DDR ferniDie freie Weit hat in worea unre Kraft gezeipt. Auch die Osttet Wirferstand soviei Ihr könnt: Seid bereit! Mit den Ponzen wird abgerehnet.Noch ist Zeitzur Besignung: Loen der Besignung: Loen der Profes Besig freiung von der bolsch. Diktetur, Hetzpropaganda. Dann komt f.d. k tiv. SE Der die gerechte Strafe. Denkt daren! Des Eowjeureginge wekseitungen darn je Haut

BStU, MfS, Ast Chemnitz, AU 12 / 52, vol. 1

Flade makes such leaflets spontaneously and without any accomplices. He places them in mailboxes in his hometown Olbernhau.



BStU, MfS, ZA / AS 41 / 57, p. 49

A January 1951 leaflet opposing the fifteen-year jail sentence

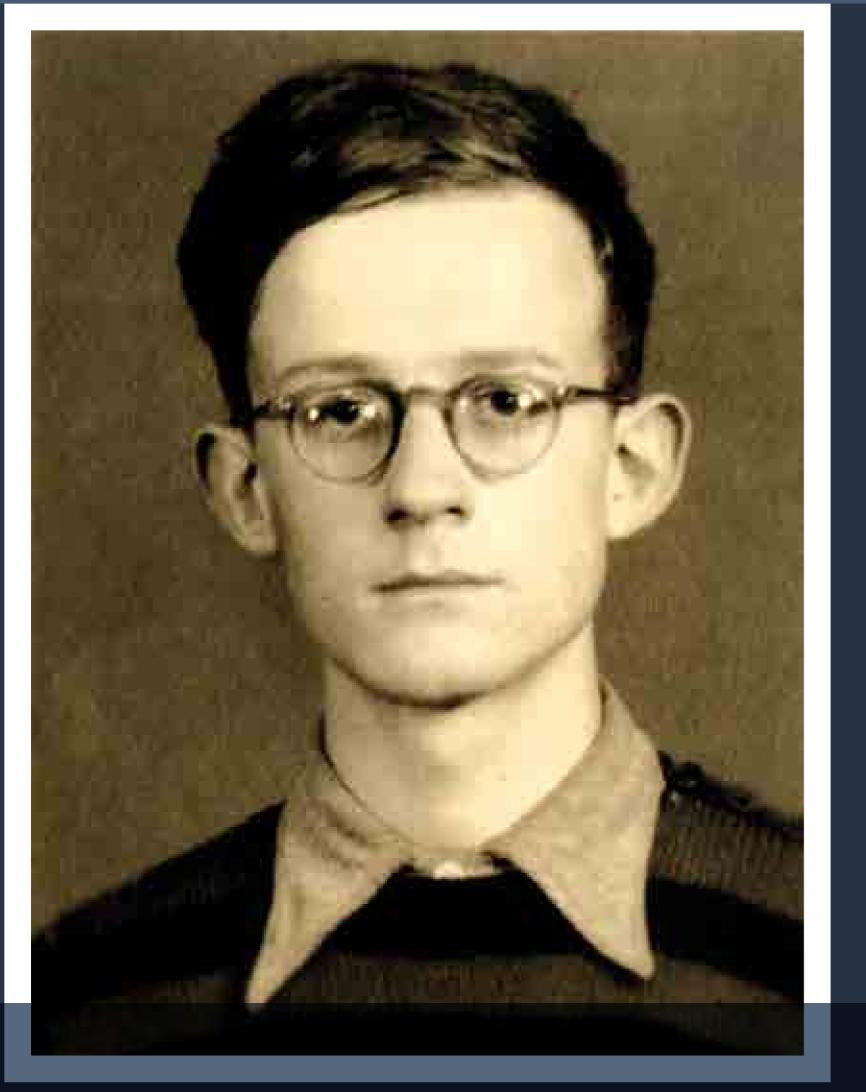


ullstein bild/dpa

Trauenstein in December 1960. Hermann Flade with his mother a few days after his release from prison and emigration to the Federal Republic. Flade dies in 1980, shortly before his forty-eighth birthday, as a result of the long-term effects of imprisonment.

THOMAS AMMER

* 1937



Thomas Ammer goes to school in Eisenberg in Thuringia. In 1952 the SED launches a campaign in the GDR, which is only three years old, against the Youth Community *(Junge Gemeinde)*, the Protestant Church's youth organization. Thousand of youths are harassed and expelled from schools and universities. At the time, Ammer, who comes from an antifascist family, is the FDJ secretary of his school class. Outraged, he tries to defend his classmates affected by these measures. On June 17,



Robert Havemann Society

The 1955 graduating class at the high school in Eisenberg. The members of the Eisenberg Circle include Thomas Ammer (in the front on the left), Joachim Marckstadt (behind him), and Hubert Gumz (all the way in the back on the left). The teacher Irene Geyer (in the middle in the front) encourages the pupils to develop a critical attitude toward the SED.





"Given the recent experience of National Socialism, no one should be able to say that we did not defend ourselves."



1953, Ammer witnesses the suppression of the East German people's uprising. His views of the GDR and the power politics of the SED become more and more critical.

Thomas Ammer conducts discussions with classmates and, together with eleven other youths, establishes a resistance group in the fall of 1953. The so-called Eisenberg Circle works in a strictly conspiratorial fashion and is set up similarly to the communist party cell model. That is why all of them never meet together at the same time. Few besides Thomas Ammer know every member. The group demands free elections, freedom of the press, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the release of political prisoners. Concrete actions follow from these discussion, such as the distribution of leaflets, the hanging of banners, and, in January 1956, arson at a firing range. The group takes a clear stand against the militarization of GDR society with the latter step.

Thomas Ammer is arrested on February 13, 1958 and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. BStU, MfS, Ast Gera, AU 33/58

As a sign of protest against militarization, members of the group set aflame a firing range run by the Society for Sport and Technology, a paramilitary organization, in January 1956. The photo is from the files of the Ministry of State Security and serves as evidence in the trial.



3StU, MfS, Ast Gera, AU 33 / 58

On October 21, 1956, members of the Eisenberg Circle write their demands in red paint on a railroad car at the Hainspitz railway station near Eisenberg. A Stasi informant betrays the group in 1958. The youths are condemned to long-term prison sentences.



BStU, MfS, Ast Gera, AU 33 / 58

In 1954, the Eisenberg Circle hangs this banner, which all travelers can easily read from the train on the railroad line between Eisenberg and Gera.

Was hat dir die bisherige bolschewistische Herrschaft gebracht? Entziehung der <u>treien Meinungsaußerung der Versammlungs- und</u> Ressefreiheit, des Streikrechts. Jmmer noch Kriegsmäßiges <u>Karten-</u> system HO-Wucherpreise und rücksichtslose <u>Ausbeutung</u>. Willst du <u>das alles</u> noch länger mitansehen? Deshalb stimme mit deinen <u>ver</u> <u>lässlichen</u> Arbeitskameraden ar gen die sog-Nationale Front!

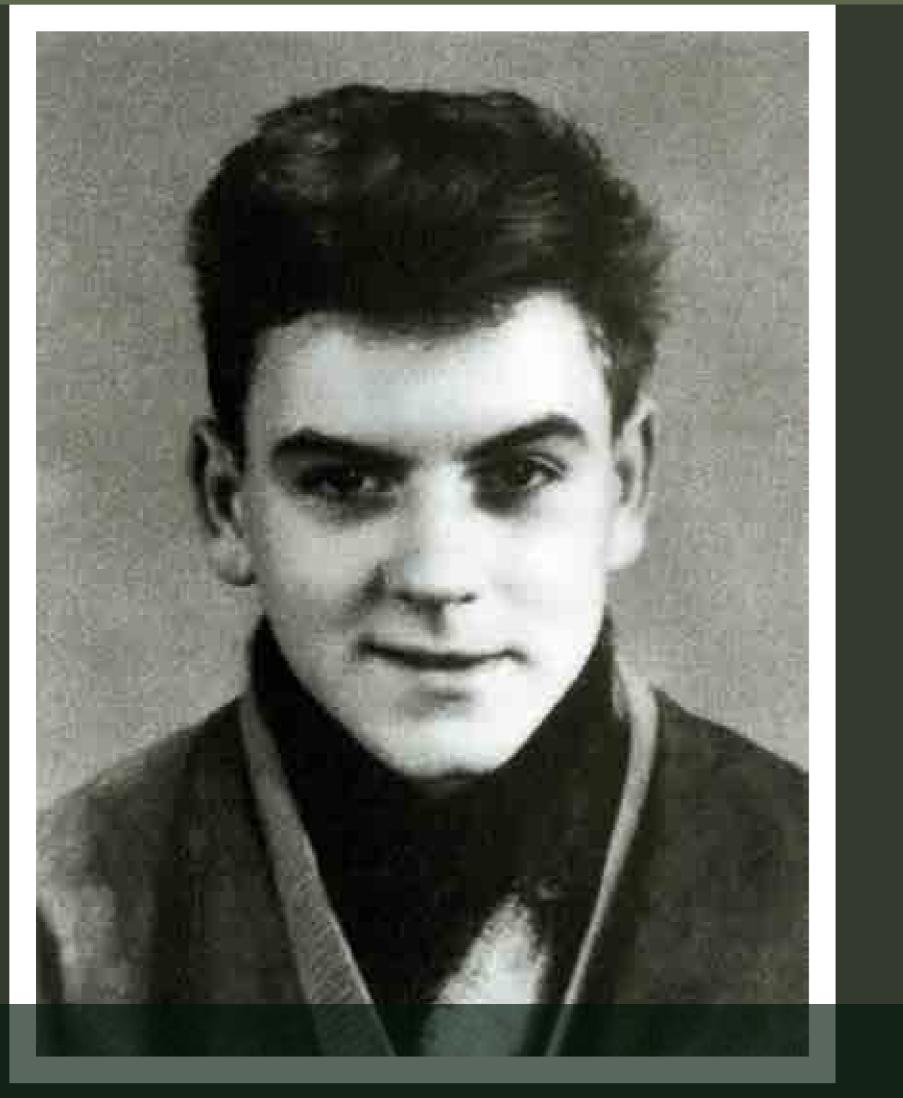
BStU, MfS, Ast Gera, AU 33 / 58 As in 1950, it is especially young people who protest against the rigged parliamentary elections in 1954. Thomas Ammer's group pastes up this poster in Eisenberg.

bert Havemann Society

Thomas Ammer belongs to the first group of GDR prisoners whose freedom is bought by the Federal Republic.
In the photo are Thomas Ammer with his mother in Austria, shortly after his ransom from prison in August 1964.

4

MICHAEL GARTENSCHLÄGER



ogether with some classmates, **Michael Gartenschläger estab**lishes a Ted Herold fan club in 1960 in Strausberg, a city located east of Berlin. The pupils travel regularly to West Berlin to attend the popular singer's concerts and enjoy the uninhibited life of the big city. The GDR is largely closed off after the erection of a German-German border in 1952: only the escape hatch to West Berlin is still open. That is also no longer possible following the building of the Berlin Wall in August 1961. Michael Gartenschläger and his friends cannot accept this. They write slogans such as "NO SED" on public buildings in Strausberg. Shortly thereafter they set a barn on fire as a sign of protest. All of those involved are arrested on August 19, 1961. The SED stages the proceedings against the "yobs", as they are called at the time in East and West, as a show trial. Michael Gartenschläger and his friend Gert Resag are condemned to lifelong imprisonment. The Federal Republic ransoms Gartenschläger after two escape attempts and ten years imprisonment. He can't forget about the inhumane GDR border even in Hamburg. He dismantles two spring guns from a metal lattice fence belonging to the separation barrier and presents them to the world. A spy betrays him during a third attempt. On the night of May 1, 1976, Gartenschläger dies at the border fence in a rain of bullets fired by a Stasi detachment.



Gerd Resag

Gerd Resag and Michael Gartenschläger with their girlfriends in the Federal Republic in 1972. Suffering from poor health, Gartenschläger is ransomed by the Federal Republic in 1971.



"One must actively oppose totalitarian regimes regardless of their political shade."





BStU The rock-'n'-roll fans paint their StU

Close-up of the SM 70 spring gun at the German-German border. Michael Gartenschläger remains politically active. Despite public denials, the GDR installs cluster mines at the border beginning in 1970. Escapees trip the mines and are seriously injured or even killed. The mines are dismantled only in 1983 as a result of international pressure.



Lothar Lienicke

Michael Gartenschläger dismantles the mines at the border in order to demonstrate the existence of the SM 70. The picture shows Gartenschläger during his first dismantling effort on the night of March 30, 1976. He succeeds a second time on April 24. But on the third try during the night of May 1, a twenty-nine member Stasi task force ambushes him and shoots him to death.

Lothar Lienicke

East German fans of the West German rock-'n'-roll star Ted Herold – the Strausberg Clique in 1961: Gerd Peter Riediger, Karl Heinz Lehmann, Michael Gartenschläger and Jürgen Höpfner (from left to right). All four, along with the photographer Gerd Resag, are arrested in August 1961. shirts with pictures of their idol. During the trial against the youths, which takes place in the Culture House of the National People's Army in Strausberg, the shirt is presented in a glass case as evidence of "subversive activities against the GDR".



BStU, MfS, Ast Frankfurt / O., AU 122 / 61, S. 7

The slogans that the youths write on the garages in Philipp Müller Street in Strausberg are a sign of protest against the erection of the wall and the SED regime.



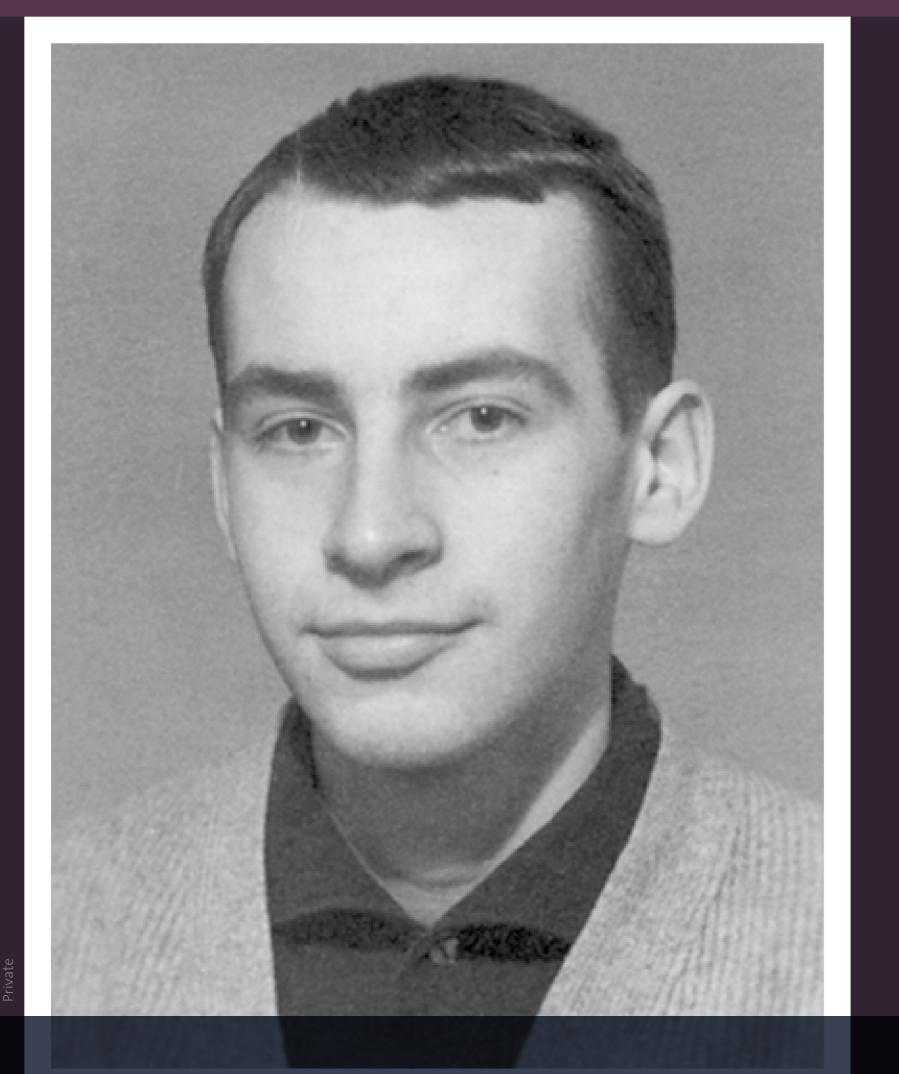
Deutsche Lehrerzeitung (newspaper), September 19, 1961

HILL MEET

Propaganda piece about the trial in the "Deutsche Lehrerzeitung" (German Teachers' Newspaper) on September 19, 1961. In the picture (from right to left) are Gerd Resag, Michael Gartenschläger, Karl Heinz Lehmann, Gerd Peter Riediger, Jürgen Höpfner.

REINER BOHLEY

* 1941 † 1988



R einer Bohley is not yet four years old when his father dies during the last days of the war in the spring of 1945. The experience has a lasting effect on the family. Not one of the seven sons wants to ever pick up a weapon. This does not seem to pose a problem at first. In 1959, Reiner Bohley pre-enrolls at the College of Transportation in Dresden and performs a one-year apprenticeship at the train station in Merseburg. He ignores a summons to enroll in a training course for army reservists. Since

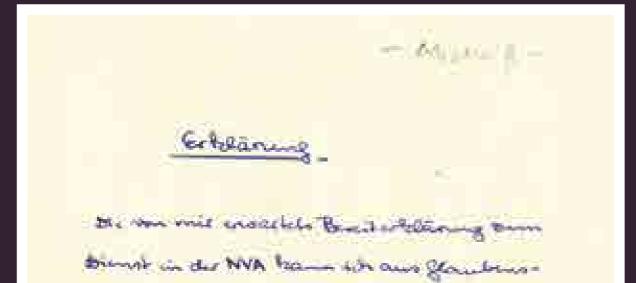


Private

The seven Bohley brothers: Karl, Reiner, Michael, Dietrich (standing from left to right), Jochen, Peter, Eckart (sitting from left to right)

VERPFLICHTUNG	
grines an	
Commit firstation	

"I won't abandon an oft tested religious conviction just because I could suffer disadvantages as a result."



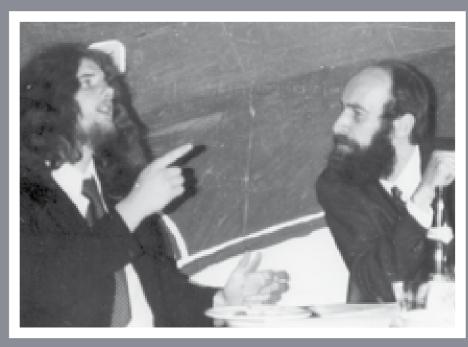
participation in military training is not yet a requirement at institutions of higher learning, Reiner Bohley can begin his studies.

Universal conscription is introduced in the GDR beginning in January 1962, a few months after the construction of the wall. The closing of the border to West Berlin makes the introduction of conscription first possible. Many young men would have fled there prior to that, since there is no compulsory military duty in West Berlin.

Reiner Bohley refuses to comply with repeated demands to undergo military training. In February 1962 he reconfirms his declaration of November 1961 that he cannot perform service in the National People's Army (NVA) for religious reasons. He is subsequently expelled. Reiner Bohley is no longer permitted to study at a state institution of higher learning. In 1963 he begins to study Protestant theology at a church institution, the Naumburg Catechism Seminary.

11110				
	and broad-broag the			
ADW pady-pice		distanting:	on addition to	
	Andrew Rowsenson			
	our Veritures million			
Watered and	Deduce to by \$2.		Added to believe	
and Londonness	of the ball of the ball	and the name,	in this line we We	
- Alter and the second	tinth free PARAT Indexes			
States Years	my Course and As	and the second	ويتراجع ومتلك	65
	le and in Paulianus also Filialana ince all		And the local data	10 C
1	the filler set of	10 A 10		
	a Riccola dens Petitions n Riccola des Montant			
	save di Oppeni unu			
the Volation	a de ministricies	inflate courses		
_	199			

Most students in the GDR sign this customary commitment at institutions of higher learning – but not Reiner Bohley.



Private

At the end of his studies and after receiving his doctorate, Reiner Bohley becomes vice chancellor of the Ecclesiastical Proseminary in Naumburg. The photo (Reiner Bohley on the right) shows a 1975 theater performance by the proseminary.



und Jeinsensgründen wicht abgelen. Tie mich gill dass 5. Gebet i der sollest nicht töhen " und das Gebet, dass wir auch unser teinde lieben sollen Lienstahen als Musdenet des Börnes aber mißbeilligen müssen). De Teilenhum an eine Musbeildung, dei mich dum Töhen son Menn Sein Gefährigen soll, reinde deshalb zu minen Gefährigen soll, reinde deshalb zu mich Jeanben in Dides spruch skelen. Dafür ableis ich mich linder, in der Rodichten zu alleiden unserten.

Dresthing a. 24. 15- 1361

Unihadnist

Private

Reiner Bohley describes his reasons for conscientious objection in this declaration of November 24, 1961.

Reine Bahley Brinder A 21 Dalershines W. 47

Private

Editaring zun Wehrpflichtgische

Jer chler, daprich men an 24. Nov 1361 in sine Colling Angeligt Einskellung Zum Willsdienst die 2 dar an 24. Jan 1962 Just die Vollerhamme die VD4 bealtenne Dilippflicht geste nicht geendert Brek

Bridgen, den 5. Telmas 1962

Reiner Bohley

Military training is already obligatory for male students as of January 1, 1962 – even before universal conscription is introduced on January 24. Reiner Bohler reconfirms once again in February 1962 that he is not willing to perform military service.

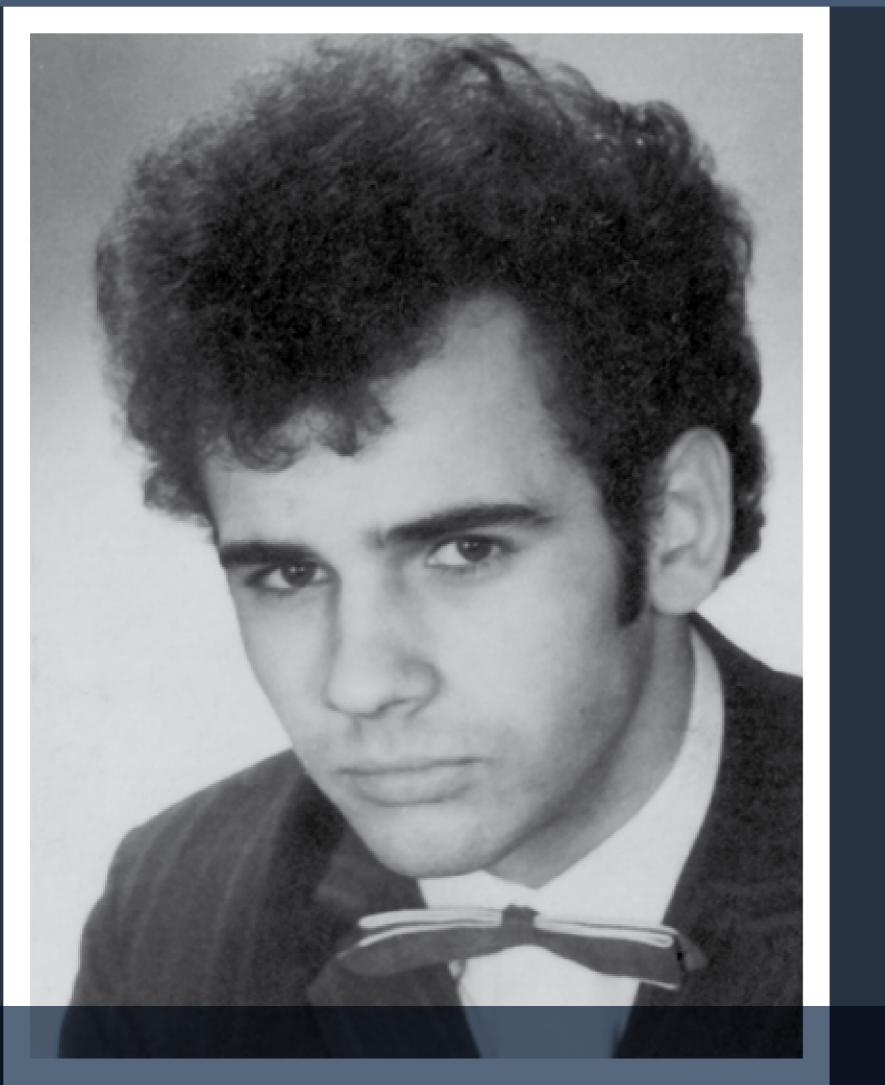


Private

Reiner Bohley with his wife Annette and their son Carl in 1976. Annette Bohley is refused permission to study medicine because she is not a member of the FDJ, the state youth organization. She then studies theology as well.

SIEGMAR FAUST

* 1944



Ciegmar Faust already writes poetry in high school and is crazy about the American poet Walt Whitman. He believes in Marxism, in the construction of a better world under socialism, and applies for membership in the SED. During his study of art education and history in Leipzig, Faust organizes a series of events at the university called "Uncensored Lyric". He reads aloud some of his own texts, which the secret police regard as "statements of a politically negative nature". Faust is expelled and put "on probation doing manual labor". That means the interruption of his studies and the forced delegation to a workplace. Siegmar Faust must labor for a year cleaning rayon in the small Saxon town of Pirna. He begins a second round of studies in 1967 at the Literature Institute in Leipzig and publishes poetry. The Stasi tries to recruit him as a spy. Faust refuses. The confrontation with the system is finally revealed in his "Ballad of the Old Sulfuric Coke Oven", which mentions the people's uprising of June 17, 1953. Faust is expelled once again and, after a twotime extension of his probationary period, dropped as a candidate for membership in the SED. From now on he works as an assistant coxswain and night porter, and also makes progress on his first novel. Since Faust is not permitted to publish in the GDR, he tries to do so in the West. He organizes an illegal "motorboat reading" in the reservoir at Elster in Leipzig and forms an artistic group with friends. Siegmar Faust is subsequently kicked out of Leipzig.



-

The Stasi observes Siegmar Faust (on the right) and Wolfgang Hilbig during the Leipzig Book Fair on March 7, 1969. Having been robbed of every possibility to publish, Faust tries to make contacts for himself, as well as for his colleagues Wolfgang Hilbig and Gert Neumann, with publishing houses in the West.



"I was expelled from university twice and arrested twice, psychologically and physically abused, before I was able to abandon my old religion, Marxism-Leninism."

> SS XOBNES DIA COMPR 8. 64 modia maller atrahlem

Womant anlarde int alle, in simm mit werftennig ber att Dirtiel 63, anim ising "fest out affestital 4 on memory.

to my heveretaboutes tak! as if, 24 motor 142 mit hims lamosting

"then ultimated intics, correlated presses had expenditure footbally, Detter petromystampf worthath due pales to polet effections shotttesting, that any balantalactes, in for fits severable alloin far tatigs allement blauber, mie befentliche jaber mitlaff alfaablien eingeleten Season TasketTitums von merenbigflicher mergie un getannilane Insultante Ciclasses out pigteres, onner three letter is withighter and interest investorspectar anyth, and even three too reballionsing to visit was first as first an Personal mure surgebates, as has used as the eihert Beifell un Matashes, wegelegten mostationen einestnett murconner, in from also size with provide that - size Attains alleging sher like for sitters as redsherate, waters die site sites motodi mittiner, (.), Sitting is the performe times."

14. meint fewerttrever, finen die mit 16,8 5 aller Mapauellinen geraits inglorms there are the set-instru-shortes size as the "Illpoolss invited day taxadioscolicts" and 100-Marth Millin, busom our siles + 1.1 + instal simpler silles. In applied all balant on many providentiants of "Sense Mounty has dad unally, being used, alphotitizentities affense algement, be verblanne perch, to sells land surfaitedness," In his white all perithent mutterichtening destricted to discon there summing an interretation over and appropriation everyoothet modifieds, Incluse his or \$,584,500 marging this containing of the property of the and minors mathin and for employeenty third, registress budgerwynballin merberblagenta

Expelled for a second time, the doors to the university are now shut for Faust. He works in production factories. On the occasion of elections held on May 19, 1974, he hangs up this text in the People's United Paper Factory in Heidenau.



Marth die Erlegnundes Muntum bellen . die spärlichs Taohirisgesat afasta geostham , die likeuft eiles acconversichert. WELD'S vir die milnigen Phresenomumden they measure insel versalisations a wir den unfruchtharen Propagandasetlane entwiseerter : vir the signaturalitat beeser begieden wirden : wir dan Fold dar Miglichkeit saubovet pringen winden unt unsers allar Frichts gereablur unter das Dessinidenen verfeilt wirden .

in höterte die Seette cost baller strahlen . cosh klaiter , wheney und geallader, ween stort Excitatilitan and Hotels and intelligenslevelups fiber ins ktight the work 324. "Arbeiter- u. - leasts- Ulse? " Schatten worfen wirdes ates makie labzutoffinnum and pride Maralsiaky die Sicht nus Link's verspervise Is allinty His Some

post halles sizhilan [www. Ais Annum: der Verstäwertungslosigkeit guevetst warden 1 He mights die Soone mei stadium; 111

Private

Faust writes texts, especially poetry, long before starting his study of literature. The poem "The Sun Could" is from June 1964.

hald wird as to last 1 or hat side or toda gedrause. abor need labt or this aphroid or test boliomorporation ? unfremdligh fughtelig and herrischnum mores as the an i of tat each shart were obten ackings. 11000 and allthis has don't or humbers also all aim activity hole frequent anto enlants hand below walker tigeboreks gonet te den

States and states arts Step grassachig und stacking historibust of die ange avinen Bedlinten

solared beauer and monochildelars sure des note pares sain stor as alten Empi (115) nue altes dringt mak altes 14.4/17 AGAIN TO THE AGAIN the know 2464 destroyants about only on where sim IV, just let de adokt unsighteb. on will derphysicateliants i das pro-and sift blut series and more

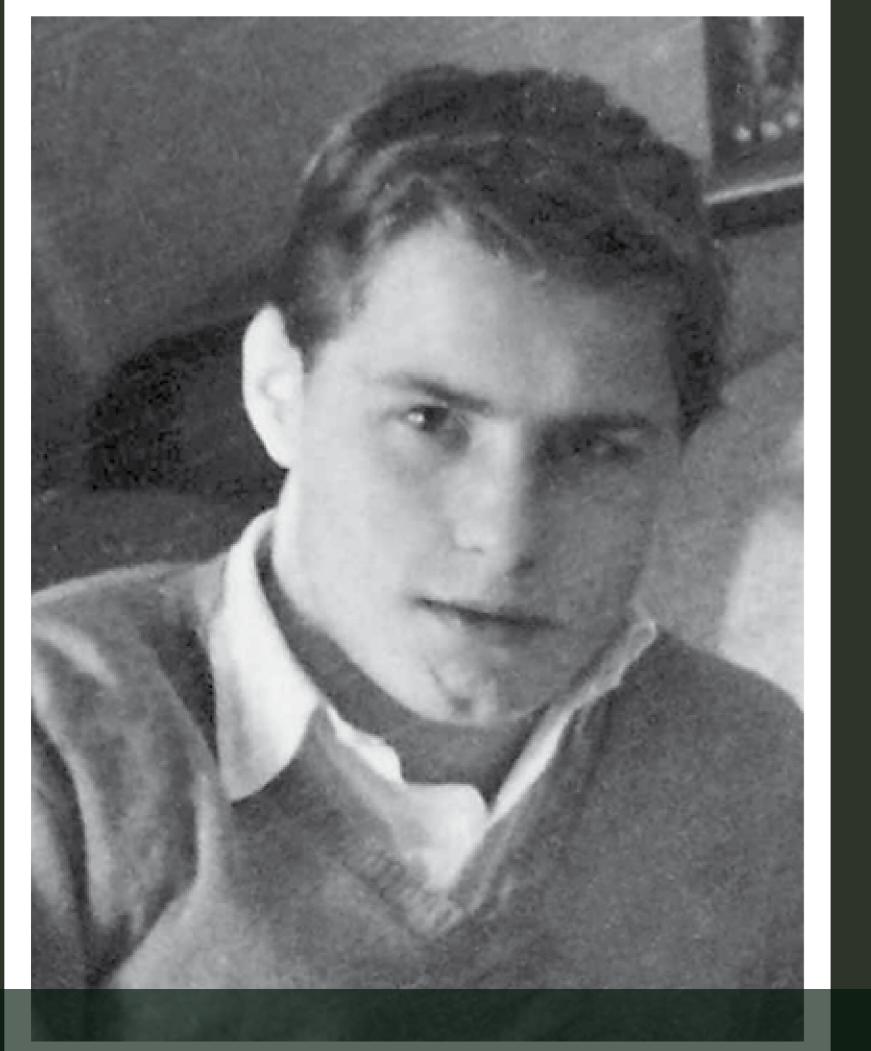
场乐气

Siegmar Faust is arrested in 1971 and released in 1972 thanks to a statewide amnesty. He applies for the right to emigrate in 1973. He is arrested again a few months later. He is sentenced to 400 days of solitary confinement for writing flyers while in jail. After repeated requests and after suffering numerous forms of repression, Siegmar Faust (fourth from left) is finally allowed to emigrate to the West. The farewell party in Dresden takes place on August 31, 1976 during the night before his emigration.

Excerpt from the "Ballad of the Old Sulfuric Coke Oven". The censors pounce on this part of the text. The SED regime wants there to be silence about the people's uprising of June 17, 1953. Faust is expelled a second time as a result of the February 1968 ballad.

BERND EISENFELD

* 1941 † 2010



he pupil Bernd Eisenfeld is a good chess player. At the age of fifteen he wants to take part in a tournament in the West German city of Erlangen. That is not allowed. Though raised to play along with the system rather than resist, he develops a more critical attitude beginning with this experience. The suppression of the people's uprising of June 17, 1953 and the construction of the wall lead him to openly reject the authority of the SED. Eisenfeld speaks out against German division and demands democracy in the GDR. He will not take an oath to the state. That is why he refuses in 1966 to perform military service. As a conscript allowed to perform non-military construction work, Eisenfeld refuses, along with other regime opponents, to take such an oath. From this point on he is persecuted by the Ministry for State Security. Eisenfeld, who is versed in philosophy, turns against socialism that lacks bourgeois freedoms. He welcomes Prague Spring downright euphorically in 1968. Censorship is eliminated, foreign newspapers are permitted, independent groups emerge, the borders are opened in Czechoslovakia. Eisenfeld publicly endorses "socialism with a human face". On September 20 and 21, 1968, he protests against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by five Warsaw Pact states with flyers he makes himself. He sends a telegram to the Czechoslovakian embassy expressing solidarity. The Stasi arrests Bernd Eisenfeld in February 1969. He is sentenced to jail for two-and-a-half years.

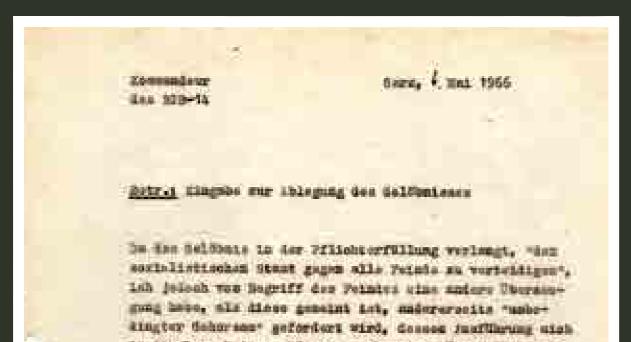


Robert Havemann Society

Conscripts performing non-military construction work near Luckau in 1966 (Bernd Eisenfeld in the background). After his time in the army, he loses his job as an economist at the State Bank in 1967. He works in the chemical engineering sector in Leipzig and organizes, under the umbrella of the church, meetings of conscripts who perform non-military construction service.

and the second se

"They are driving me up a mountain that allows for no other decline than that of one's conscience."





obert Havemann Society

In March 1968 in Halle, Bernd Eisenfeld publicly expresses sympathy with the reform communist movement in Czechoslovakia. After that the Stasi persecutes him in an action known as "Operation Economist". His twin brother Peter and his brother Ulrich (from left to right) are also in the Stasi's sights. The three of them nevertheless travel, unnoticed by the secret police, for a few days to Prague in May 1968.

less bitte sucht

sitte. cottold sitehtil

Exter Armedon oder Aretgrung frunder Unrithunden wurdeht die Ingioreng, in Heilang sit den Anthobenithenis der Denkrotis in atiganeizen und der verk-Wilgen Uhnese in berenderen, jede Antioherung siner Ministen oder entwochen Wilkerestoft an einen groine nier stahnigen ihret, eine del diese Wilkerestoft über innerstelligen ihret, eine del diese Wilkerestoft über innerstelligen ihret, eine del diese Wilkerestoft ihr ihrersetinstie und foren Daret untirerestinstiale, Har unt Bredstille uns fastert getannit bet.

Two tryadelse faithe sit locals, origins live and houses? executes hower, glatilatel, or disserfuncts in an increase over in fully expression, is in dilates der fertidet over in hydrogen mit odations gaps die untimule interinienen privieri work - der beits vervettelten stet, meb vollationing hoteintelung der frepes der mestitiveredes oder theptetet der utigkeren intice in freier Hethanen ihre die Stenen Ever visatilater interes obe das nichtigte in Stene Liver visatilater interes obe das nichtigte ind geste ander in entertation, of fet das nichtigte festigteren interestet, db. eine Detering sei Vergenitignen, "

C i e n 5 n - "Dilovi liter dan refecter" 3

Robert Havemann Society

in die Lage bringen könnte, mach meiner Deerstugung unschuldige Hansekan zu töten bew, im Todengefahr zu bringen und somit gogen mein Gerissenn zu handeln, bitte ich sie ernethaft zu Hourgefiften, wich von der iblegung des Dellöuisses mussachlichen.

Debei stiltes ich mich auf die Verfassung der 1008, im der Bürgern der 2008 des unverleteliche Grüntrocht der Dewissennfreiheit zugesichert wird.

Inh betone, unebhängig von der Bientoblogung des Belöbminnen die Fflichten wie Bezoelint ardnungsgemiß au urfüllen.

Bit day Bitte um Verständnis meiner Lingübe und Threr Semehnigung

H D. Listafe

Robert Havemann Society

Bernd Eisenfeld explains in writing why he cannot take the oath. Along with other regime opponents, he demands an alternative to military service – one that involves no military activity whatsoever. The Stasi observes and persecutes him, as well as three other conscripts who perform non-military construction work, in a procedure called "Operation Degradation".

TELEGRAMM	- BOTSCHAFT DEN CSSR	
5600 Hauge/2 To Moor Int Ton 1 11 [Rě Bêlum	IN DER DOR 10/BERLIN	
63	st 4N	
lelegence and 133	HALLESAALE/1 23 23 1710	- 53
		1000
ÎCH BANGE MÎT ÎN	RNEN UND THREN GUTGESTNNTEN LANDSLEUTEN HAL	TEN
ICH BANGE MIT I STE STAND BEHAL	and the second	TEN
la relativate esta de	and the second	TEN
la relativate esta de	and the second	TEN

Robert Havemann Society

Bernd Eisenfeld sends the Czechoslovakian embassy this telegram protesting the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. On September 20 and 21, 1968, Bernd Eisenfeld distributes in Halle approximately 100 self-made flyers protesting the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. He is arrested on the second evening.



obert Havemann Society

The Eisenfeld family in Halle in 1972. During Bernd Eisenfeld's time in prison, the Stasi applies pressure on his wife. After his release in 1971, the family repeatedly submits applications to emigrate. They are only allowed to emigrate to West Berlin in 1975. Bernd Eisenfeld's twin brother must remain behind in the GDR.

BETTINA WEGNER

* 1947



he young acting student Bettina Wegner is convinced that socialism is the better system. She, like her boyfriend Thomas Brasch, grew up in a communist home. It is incomprehensible to them both that the states belonging to the communist Warsaw Pact brutally invade their ally Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968. Outraged, Brasch and his friends compose leaflets on the day of the invasion itself and distribute them in mailboxes. Those involved are arrested that very night. Despite being warned by her boyfriend not to participate in this action – as the mother of their child – Bettina Wegner cannot remain silent. She writes slogans on slips of papers at her kitchen table and then distributes them together with friends. Bettina Wegner drives afterwards to her parents, where she is captured by the state security service (Stasi, or MfS). She is provisionally released after a week in custody, but has to appear at the secret police for daily interrogation. She is expelled from acting school. In October 1968, Bettina Wegner receives a prison sentence of sixteen months but is put on probation and must "prove herself manually" by working for two years in a factory. She does not want to return to acting school afterwards. She sings, writes texts, receives her profession credentials as an entertainer-artist in 1973, and organizes critical events.



Robert Havemann Society

Bettina Wegner participates in the protest against the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czashoslovakia – not despite

"My foundational experience was to have a five-month old child – and enter jail at age twenty."

FOR MELLER MAGORIANSAMEN FRAMMUR

Wenn ich nach einer angabdurenerstämben Skons srwache da konst en machael, ded ich weindens ische weil ich vermiose, was inh einest hette die Schutshaut, meine herte, meine glatte die ist merrissen und blieb irgendun.

Es gind so viels von une voggegangen ach, hätte hiemals hiemand denit angefangen Trauer und Wut, das hat auch weggebrieben. Mensch, wär das sobön, ihr wärst alle hiergeblieben bei such, bei uns und auch bei sir. Stille Statistik wird sich jetzt mit euch befassen und doch habt ihr ein biBohen mehr verlagsen sla euren Zor,n und eure Bitterkeit ins Viel an Unrecht und Verlogenheit. De war noch andres, das ichnte, hier zu bleiben. but rather because of her five-month old child. She does not want to be told later on by her son that she had done nothing to combat injustice.



Thomas Höpker / Magnum Photos / Agentur Focu

Bettina Wegner with her husband, the writer Klaus Schlesinger, in their apartment. They are among the GDR artists who protested against the expatriation of Wolf Biermann in November 1976.



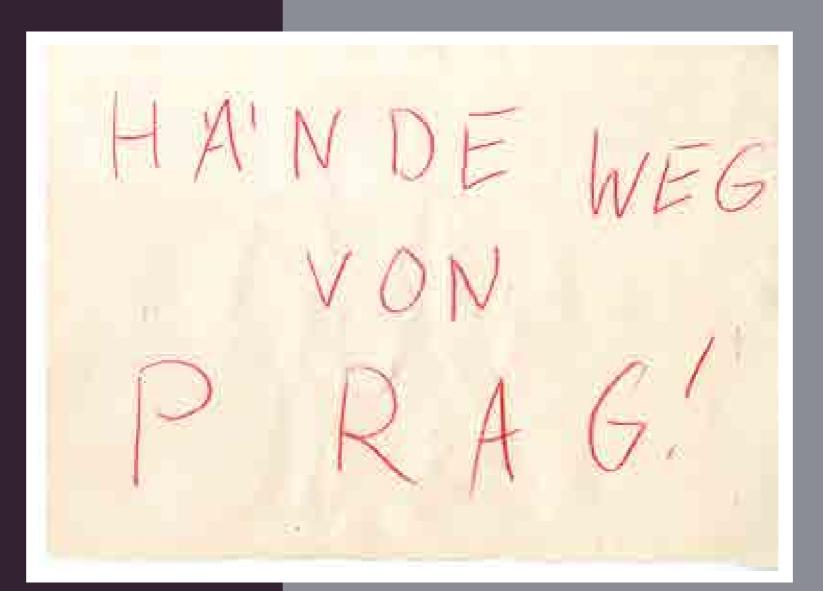
Toh maine alle, die euch wirklich brauchen und jatet in ihrer Trauer untertauchen zie such noch folgen wurden auf die gleiche Reise und die bier bleiden, starben still und leise en such, ab his und an gieb solber such.

Tah warde dieses Lied visileicht nur susman und eines Tages visileicht gans verstemuch. Bohweigend und klein verbucht man die Varluste. Ich weiß nur sicher, daß ich tießen mußte daß ungre Ohnmacht nicht mach größer wird.



Robert Havemann Society

Bettina Wegner wrote the song "For My Friends Who Have Gone Away" in 1978. After the expatriation of Wolf Biermann and the repressive measures subsequently taken against those who protested that decision, many intellectuals left the country for the Federal Republic.



tU, MfS, AU 303/90, vol. 1, p. 213



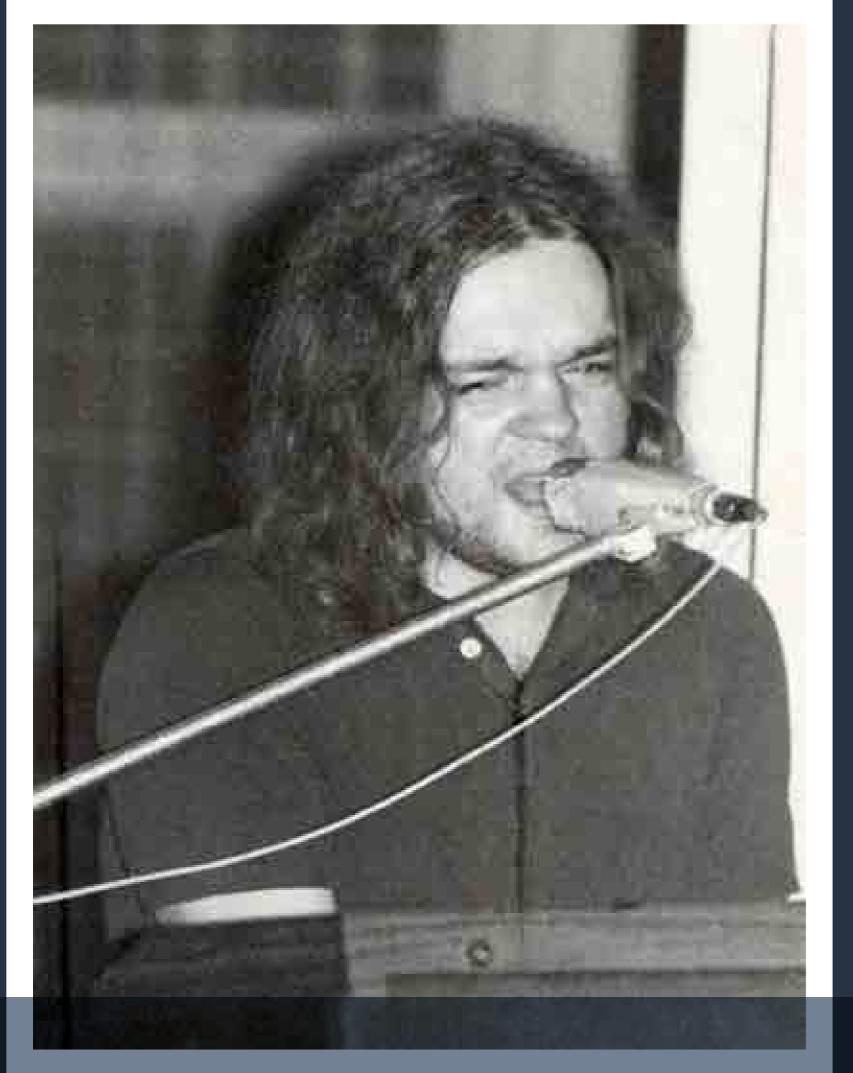
Robert Havemann Society / Bernd Markowsky

In concert in 1982. Performance prohibitions and Stasi persecution are a part of Bettina Wegner's everyday life. After an investigation is started against her for an alleged customs offence, she has to go for interrogation four times a week. She finally leaves for West Berlin in 1983.

Leaflets that Bettina Wegner wrote and distributed in Mühlen Street in the Pankow section of Berlin. "I could not simply accept the fact that socialist countries march into another socialist country."

CHRISTIAN KUNERT

* 1952

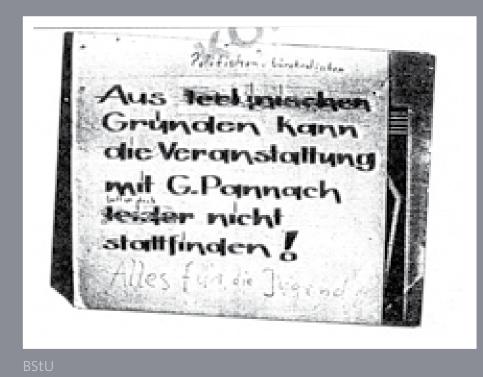


e sings in the St. Thomas Choir of Leipzig as a child, establishes his first band, "The Little Stars", at age twelve. Christian "Kuno" Kunert does not want to join the army and, in 1970, begins his studies as a music teacher. Teachers are so urgently needed at this time in the GDR that they can begin their studies right away, even without having first performed basic military service. Christian Kunert nevertheless switches to the Leipzig Conservatory and studies the trombone. At age nineteen he plays the keyboard for the "Renft Combo", one of the most beloved bands in the GDR. Many of the band's critical texts are written by Gerulf Pannach, who is banned from performing in 1974. The musicians refuse to put up with this. At Kuno's suggestion, Pannach continues to play with "Renft" illegally. The entire group is banned in September 1975. Pannach and Juno write new songs and develop a program that does not receive official approval – which is tantamount to a ban from the profession. They pile crates from now on at a vegetable business, and protest when their friend, the famous dissident songwriter Wolf Biermann, is expatriated in November 1976. They are arrested on November 21. After nine months in prison they emigrate to West Berlin.

7801.09 The hort ein politisches liederprogramm Ber Kuno und 142, wir machens zusamn'n Eier muß Keiner strammstehn, wir stehn auch nicht stramm Vor der Politik, sie ist ja kein heiliges Lann Und wir sind micht ihre Opferlämmer Die Lieder hier, mennen die Dinge beim Nam'n Und sind kein antisozialistischer Schlamp Wie ich es des öftern zu hören bekan Von manchem im imte verschimmelten Wicht Der sich selbst meint, wern en won Sozialismus spricht Diese Lieder, die ang ich aus meiner Sicht Sind hoffentlich II der Bürckratenschicht Ein heilsamer Schlamm gegen politische Gicht Den Klassenfeind werf ich den Schlamm ims Gesicht - une mich4

0.0394 6669313

Every music program in the GDR has to be inspected by a state commission before a public performance can take place. The Pannach / Kunert duo introduce a new program in the summer of 1976. Gerulf Pannach wrote this greeting for the commission. The program is not approved.



"We would never have hought of wanting to establish a political party or write a programmatic paper. Our program was simply to write cool songs."

Gerulf Pannach is already banned from performing in 1974. His already announced concerts are cancelled because of alleged technical difficulties. The handwritten comments by audience members who had travelled to the concert show that nobody believes such claims.



The photograph shows the friends (from left to right) Christian Kunert, Gerulf Pannach, the songwriter Wolf Biermann, and the writer Jürgen Fuchs in West Berlin in 1977. The three were arrested because they spoke out against the expatriation of Biermann in November 1976.







ringer, America

Wir alad aleht freiwillig aach Waatberija gekommer

Der ein dreiviertel Jahr hinweg verauchten wir den widerlichen Methoden der Staataalcherheit ussere feste Abeicht entgegenzusstzen, dad wir in der 00% lebes wollen, uin dort als Könstler initrahelfen, eine fortachrittliche

Sixty percent of the music played in all discotheques in the GDR have to be from socialist states, even though youths prefer Western music and fashions. Several GDR bands are nevertheless very popular. The ones whose lyrics strike a chord with young people and their attitudes about life include "Renft".

Graphics: Klaus Vonderwerth; Photos: Rolf Heynemann, Peter Langner

Album cover from 1973. In the mid 1970s, the SED leadership takes drastic measures with respect to youth and cultural policies. Several critical events are forbidden. This measure also affects the "Klaus Renft Combo" in late September 1975.

ie-scheiwürdige Gesellschaft zu verwirklichen, Ich wiederhole! In der DDR ru 1 e b e n und nicht im Gefängnis zugrunde zu geben. Da wir weder bereit waren, unsere könstlerischen Arteiten zu widerrufen und als "Metze im verschieften Falle" zu begreifen, noch Gemeinheiten gependier unseren engegen Freunden zu begünstigen, worde uns eine Haftstynfe bis zu sehn Jahren mehörficklich versprochen, Wir slad froh, alcht mehr im Untersuchungsgefängets m sein und wir danken allen in Oat und West, die alch nit uns solidarialerten. Gielchseitig sind wir in großer Sorge um unseren Freund und Genopsen Robert Have nann, well wir die Abscheulichkeit und die Absichten des Apparates, der unser Land buherveolty unvertilit kennengilfrat haten und der Anaicht sind, dad sein Leben bedroht int. Ganz bemondere deshalb, well Robert Have mann den gegen the und selles Fa cills perichteten heitischen und brutalen Schlännen gelassen and its appromifies entgegentritt and eich keinem Payshoterror beaues wird, Das Gleiche trifft unseres Erschlens für Rudolf Bahro zu, der sich jetzt dort befindet, woher wir kommen, und der in diesen Tages ein äuderet bedeutungwolles Buch im Westen veröffentlicht. Deun "Die Alternative" der Staatsuicherheit besteht möglicherweise in den Verwoch, die Peredulichiedis des Autors mit wissenschaftlicher Akribie zu versichten. Wir,wissen, worden vir sprechen, diese Einschützung resultiert nicht aus der Unkenntsig ettade. Wohin treibt unser Land? Und wer treibt es wohin? Dabei 200 48 do eine Alternative! Eine menschanfreunfliche, fortachrittliche Gesellschaft i

der jeder Mensch at nen kaun, kuln Gebel adlehatstaat, der seine Dürger bespitzelt, einsperrt, ausbürgert oder aus Erre a eigenen Lande drühgt. Magan Pueba **Gervál** Paulach

Christian Kunert

Fuchs, Pannach, and Kunert's statement about their involuntary expatriation to West Berlin.

DORIS LIEBERMANN

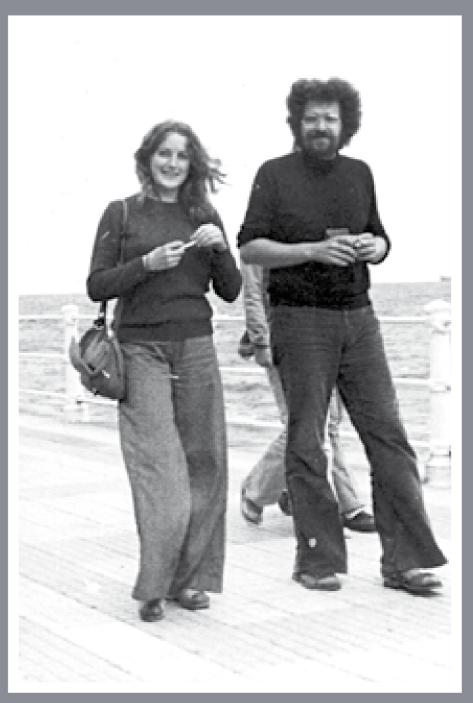
* 1953



uring her school years growing up in a village, Doris Liebermann is not averse at first to stateorganized youth activities. At the same time, however, she has contact with the church. A pastor from a neighboring village introduces her to the literary world of Friedrich Dürrenmatt and Max Frisch. She goes to the University of Jena wishing to study Slavic languages. As a child of farmers, she is supposed to become the FDJ secretary of her college seminar group and represent the policies of the SED. She does not wish to do so. Feeling pressured to make a decision between the church and the state, she ends her studies, and spends a year as a deacon. She begins to study theology in 1976 and gets involved in Protestant public youth activities. The youths in Jena appreciate Wolf Biermann's critical songs, which give expression to their feelings and doubts. Recordings are passed around since, for years, the communist Biermann is not allowed for years to publish or perform in the GDR. The young people are outraged when their hear about his forced expatriation. On the evening of November 17, 1976, the writer Jürgen Fuchs reads to Doris Liebermann on the phone a petition to the GDR leadership protesting the expatriation. She writes down the text. The following evening, fifty-six young people from Jena sign the protest. Betrayed by an informant, the signatories are arrested beginning the next morning. Doris Liebermann is subject to hour-long interrogations for two days, but then released. From that point on she concerns herself with those who are still imprisoned,



Members of the Jena "scene" hiking in the early 1970s. Bernd Markowsky (second from right in the front) and Walfred Meier from Erfurt (in the back on the right) are in prison for a long time for signing the protest letter.





"I try to live in truth but encounter many lies"

OPPENER BRIEF

Erklärung der Barliner Künstler vom 17.11.1976

Welf Biermann war und ist ein unbequamer Dichter. Das hat er mit vielen Dichtern unserer Vergungenheit genein. Unser somialistischer Stant, eingedenk des Wortes mus Marxens "18.Brzaeiz ", densufalge die proletarische Hevolutien sich unablässig selbst kritisiere, müßte in Gegennatz zu anschrenistischem Gesellschaftsformen eine solche Unbequan-Lichkeit gelessen nachdenkund ertragen können. Wir identifisieren uns nicht mit jeden Wort und jeder Eendlung Wolf Biermanns und distanzieren uns von den Versuchen, die Vorginge an Wolf Biermann gegen die DDE en mißbrauchen. Biermann hat selbst nie, auch nicht in Kün, Sweifel darüber gelensen, für velchem der beiden deutschen Staaten er, bei aller Eritik, eintritt.

Mir protestieren gegen seine Ausbürgerung und bittem darun, die beschlossene Hainahne zu überdenkun.

Sara Kirech Christs Wolf Volker Byam Cornerd Hold Rolf Schmeider States Heralin

Vacation in Romania. Doris Liebermann together with her friend Thomas Auerbach, the social deacon of downtown Jena's Young Community, a religious youth organization. The secret police keep him in prison and interogate him for nine months.



Gerd Lehmann, Wolfgang Hinkeldey, Doris Liebermann (from left to right). The expatriated meet up again in

Ward a ball to serve a lite	When even as 1940 have described	Shadon Ross
Erion Arendt	Franz Filmann	Shaim Hoyn
		Concernence of a concernence of the concernence of
Jurak Bookor	Ginter Kunert	Heiner Miller
JURGE BOODER	GINDOR KUNDER	HOIDOR BULLER
	A served a served as a served	

Susabs: Mir erklären uns mit dem Protest der Berliner Schrift-steller vom 1%.11.1975 gegen die Ausbürgerung von Wolf Biernann soliderisch:

Jutta Hoffmann	Rolf Rounds	Robert Envenage
Katharina Thalbach	Kitte Reichelt	Christian Kunert
Manfred Krug	Nina Hagan	Sybille Havenann
Ulrich Finzdorf	Eva-Maria Hagen	-
Klaus Schlesinger	Bettina Wegner	
Pritz Rudolf Fries	Gisola Key	
Thomas Brasch	Christiane Uicle	
T.K. Tragelehn	Poter Hernann	
II. J. Schildlich	von der Eenft-Gro	uppe -
Kurb Barbroh	Thomas Schoppe	
Wagaja Götze	Erikas Jürgen Böt	bahor
Hilmer Thate	Gerulf Pannach	
Angeliks Dourdse	Jürgen Fuchs	

nicht sum Frief gehörend: Die Veröffentlichung dieses Briefes in vestlichen Massenmedien war nicht geplant.Wahr ist, daß er an Brich Honecker und der Rodektion des "Neuen DButschland" mit der Bitte um Veröffentlichung übergeben worden ist.

Several East German artists criticize Biermann's expatriation in a public letter. Biermann's friend Jürgen Fuchs dictates the text over the telephone to Doris Liebermann, who copies it on a typewriter. She throws the carbon paper she uses for copying into a wastepaper basket. The Stasi uses it as evidence of her 'rabblerousing' against the state.

964 - 16-**1**

among whom is her friend Thomas Auerbach. She accompanies her friend, who is sent off to West Berlin right after being released from prison, on December 17, 1977.

Pupils, students, apprentices, and young workers

from Jena make their criticism of the songmaker's

expatriation known by signing the letter. Almost

all are brought in for interrogation. Many remain

incarcerated for many months.

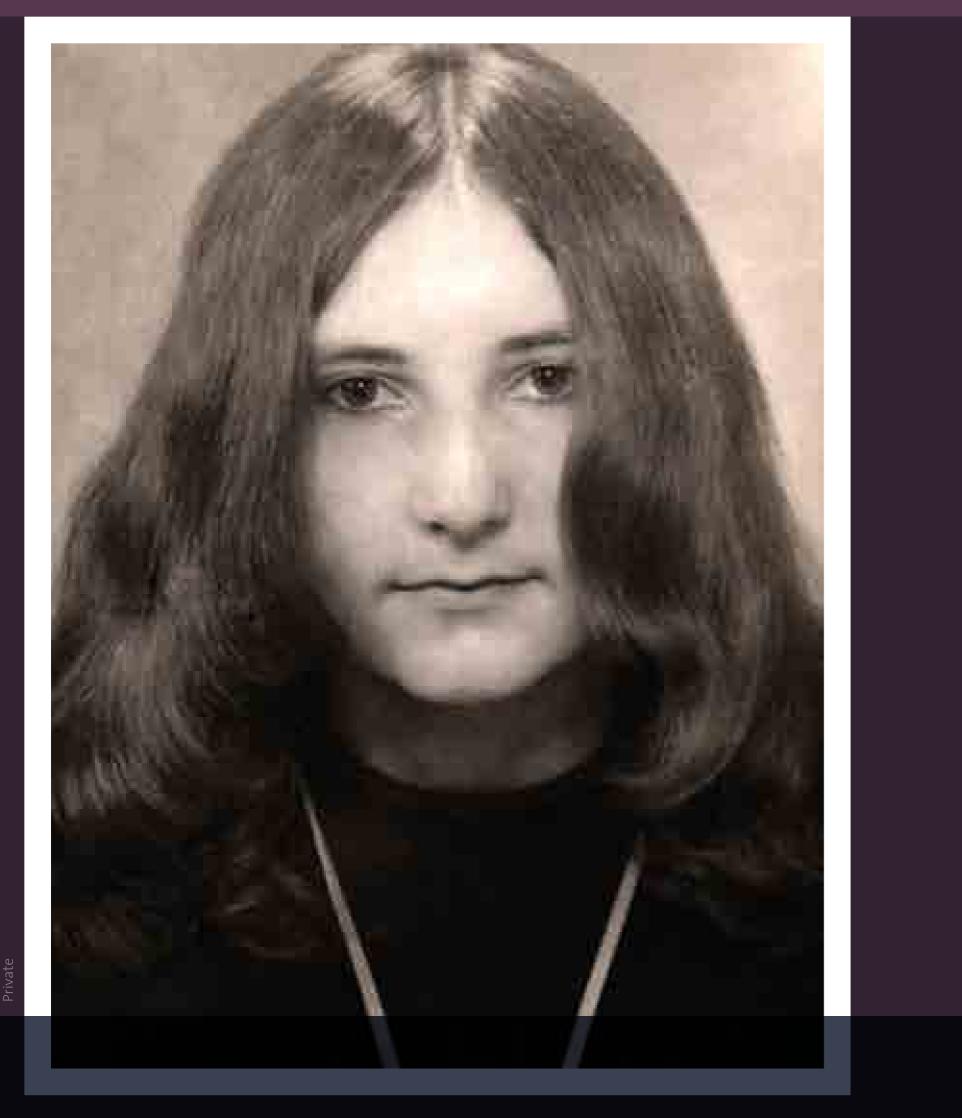
West Berlin. Lehmann and Hinkeldey report about their imprisonment and interrogation by the Stasi.



From now on in the West, Doris Liebermann (standing in the back) and Thomas Auerbach support members of the opposition in the GDR. Since they are not allowed to travel to the GDR, they meet their friends from Jena in Czechoslovakia or in Poland – for example in August 1980 in the Masurian Lake District.

GABRIELE STÖTZER

* 1953

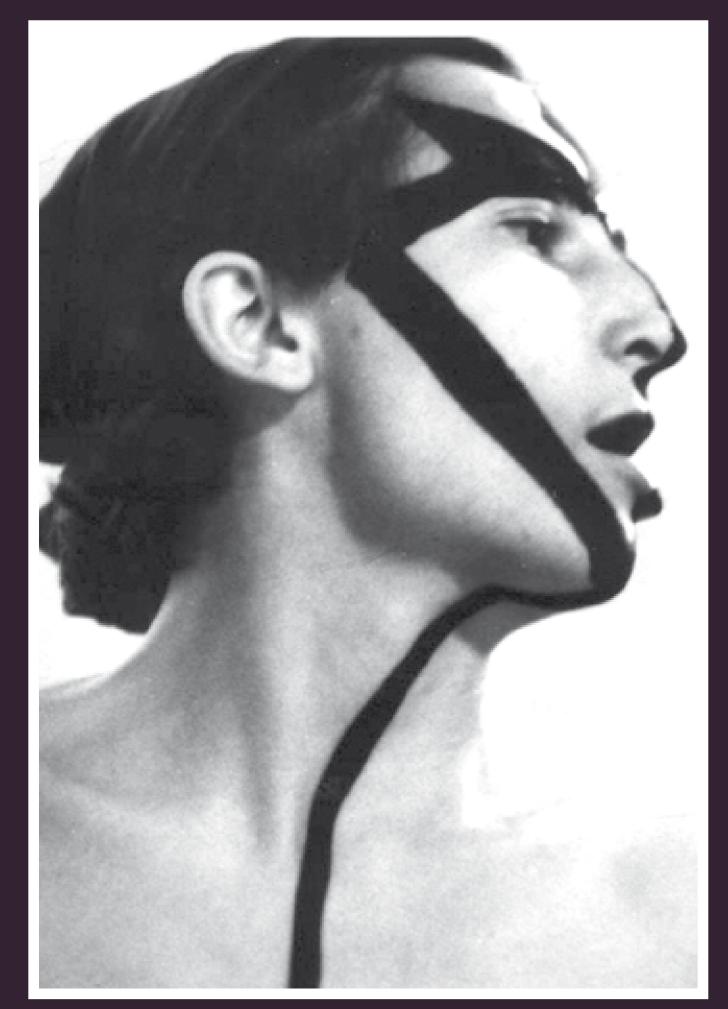


fter finishing middle school in A Gotha in 1969, Gabriele Stötzer begins training as an assistant medical technician in Erfurt. She gladly attends meetings of the local youth "scene" in front of Café Angereck, works toward earning a high school diploma at an evening school, and, in 1973, begins studying art education and German at the Pedagogical College. She is twenty years old, a top student, deputy secretary of her study group's FDJ organization, and a member of the student theater. When one of her fellow students calls for a less dogmatic form of Marxist-Leninist education, he is expelled. Gabriele Stötzer expresses solidarity with him and, as a result, must also leave the college in mid 1976. Friends knock at her door on the evening of November 20, 1976. They bring along a petition protesting the expatriation of songwriter Wolf Biermann. Gabriele Stötzer copies the text and is the first of twenty people in Erfurt to sign it. She is arrested two days later, but is released again after a night. The Stasi picks her up again repeatedly over the next several weeks. During an interrogation on January 6, 1977, she is told to withdraw her signature. When she refuses to do so, she is immediately sent to the Stasi detention center in Erfurt. She is found guilty and has to spend a year in a women's prison. During this time the twenty-four-year old writes a report about her imprisonment, which is then secretly passed around from hand to hand – for there is no official information about prison conditions in the GDR.



Following the signing of the petition: the opening of an investigation against Gabriele Stötzer and Thomas

"I no longer wanted to remain silent. And I didn't want to leave."



Wagner on November 22, 1976. After a year in jail she is released in 1977. She does not wish to leave the GDR for the West.



Robert Havemann Society / Jo Doese

Following her release, Gabriele Stötzer must "prove herself" by performing manual labor. That means that she must work for two years in a shoe factory. At the same time she begins to pursue art. She writes, takes pictures, makes films. The well-known GDR author Christa Wolf finds her texts good, but she fears that publication will lead to repression. Gabriele Stötzer subsequently enters the artistic underground.



A group called "Women for Change" is founded in Erfurt in 1989 (Gabriele Stötzer standing on the left). The women campaign for social reforms, demand freedom of opinion and assembly, and speak at demonstrations.



Gabriele Stötzer / Heike Stephan

The artist Gabriele Stötzer explores different forms of expression during the 1980s. The photo shows a 1983 performance: the self-portrait "Female Caller". Gabriele Stötzer

Gabriele Stötzer heads the private art gallery "Galerie im Flur" in Erfurt beginning in 1980. She offers a venue here to nonconformist artists here. The Stasi intensely observes the artist and shuts down the gallery in 1981. After that Gabriele Stötzer works on the documentation pictured here.

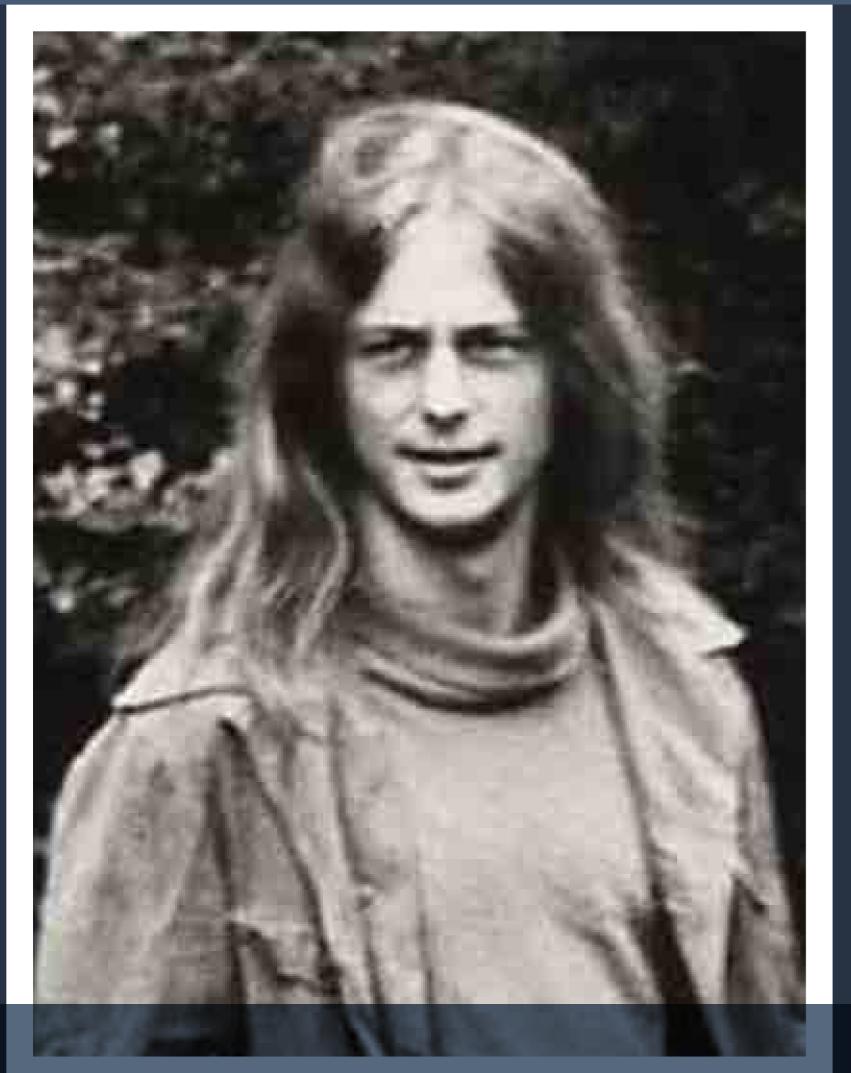


Sascha Fromm

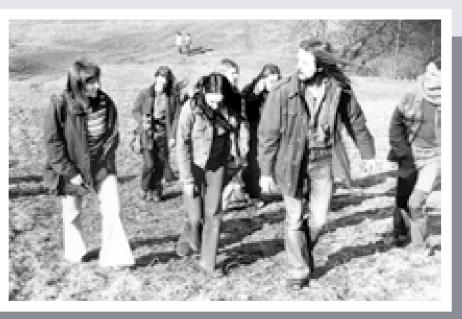
The occupation of the Stasi building in Erfurt on December 4, 1989. Gabriele Stötzer (last row, third from left) is among the women who occupy the first Stasi district administration – consequently giving the starting signal for the dissolution of the communist secret police.

DETLEF PUMP

* 1954



etlef Pump leaves his place of birth in Brandenburg in 1971 to begin an apprenticeship as a machinist at Carl Zeiss in Jena, where he remains after completing his training. By this time he belongs to Jena's alternative youth "scene". Several youths who protested against the expatriation of songwriter Wolf Biermann are arrested in November 1976. Detlef Pump is close friends with some of them. A wave of military recruitment follows in an attempt to remove other critical spirits from the public sphere. Detlef Pump is among those who reject conditions in the GDR most radically. Though earlier rejected from military service for medical reasons during his apprenticeship, he must also attend a military recruitment inspection. On March 8, 1977, Detlef Pump declares in writing his conscientious objection to military service. He bluntly offers political reasons and also refuses to perform alternative service in the army as a weaponless "construction soldier". He submits an application to leave the GDR in September 1977: on May 3, 1978, he receives a draft call. Detlef Pump does not show up and is arrested the next day at his place of work. He is in jail for two years. He resubmits his application to leave but is nevertheless kept in the GDR. He is allowed to leave for West Berlin only in 1981. That is especially important to him because West Berliners cannot be drafted into the military because of its occupied postwar status.



Robert Havemann Society / Hans-Helmut Kurz

The oppositional "scene" in Jena often meets for daytrips to the surrounding region: here a hike to the village of Vollradisroda in March 1976 with Detlef Pump (second from the left in the back).



"An army, regardless of which one, cannot, in my opinion, be humane."

Pump Jellef	Jena, den 8.03 72
69 Juna Schlaß gasse 3	BSIU 23 000189
Erkland	
	216 Pump, den Webschienst uns
-	los mit and show the fle me
me weijen.	,

obert Havemann Society / Hans-Helmut Kurz

Entry by Detlef Pump in the *"Kundenbuch"* ("freak's Book") (April 1976). They call themselves hitchhikers, bluesmen, or "freaks", and are the East German counterpart of the flower children. They try to escape the philistine narrowness of everyday life in the GDR. They write down their texts and poems in Hans Helmut Kurz's *"Kundenbuch"* and, in this way, express how they understand themselves.



Robert Havemann Society / Hans-Helmut Kui

Detlef Pump (second from left) in June 1976 with friends on a hike in the environs of Jena. Uwe Behr and Thomas Auerbach sit on his right. Both are put in jail a few months later because they protested against Biermann's expatriation.

Eine Romee, die winen System dient, in dem die Polirei, Romee rowie der H/S zwissten frein Meinenz und Urteundung entralistet, im dem nich ime Obenslicht auf kosten der Volken lebt und nich dessen repräsentient, in dem Momelen nur weit sie des hand auf lijzelem übje nich verlanen kommon glekt abr in Hoft gehalten werden; hann und werde ich wicht diemen.

Detter Thing

nicht human sim.

BStU, MfS, OV Opponent, AOP 1020 / 81, vol. X, p. 189

Detlef Pump declares in writing the political reasons for his conscientious objection. Between 1962 and 1989, a total of approximately 6,000 draftees refuse to perform military service; 3,144 of them are sentenced.

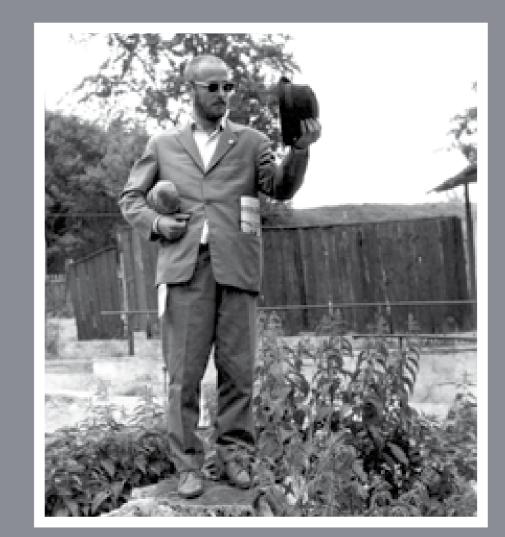
Angeige Yon antowegen wird angezeigts Pump. Detlef geb. an 11.07.1954 in Ferleberg wh. 69 fens, Schlofgasse 3 Der erhielt von mustindigen Vehrkreiskommande des Einberufungs-befehl per Post Ubereandt, wonach er an 03.05.1978 den Wehrdienst (Behrersstudienst) anzutretan hette. Er kas dieser Fflicht nicht nach und müte durch die Organe der Demtschen Volkupolizei festgenomnen und zugeführt werden. Der Wehrpflichtige weigert sich auch Weiterhin, seiner Ver-pflichtung zur Ableistung des Vehrerentolienstes nochsu-

0.U., den 04.05.1978

Robert Havemann Society

An official notice by the attorney general of the military against conscientious objector Detlef Pump.

Der Ellitärstestpermalt

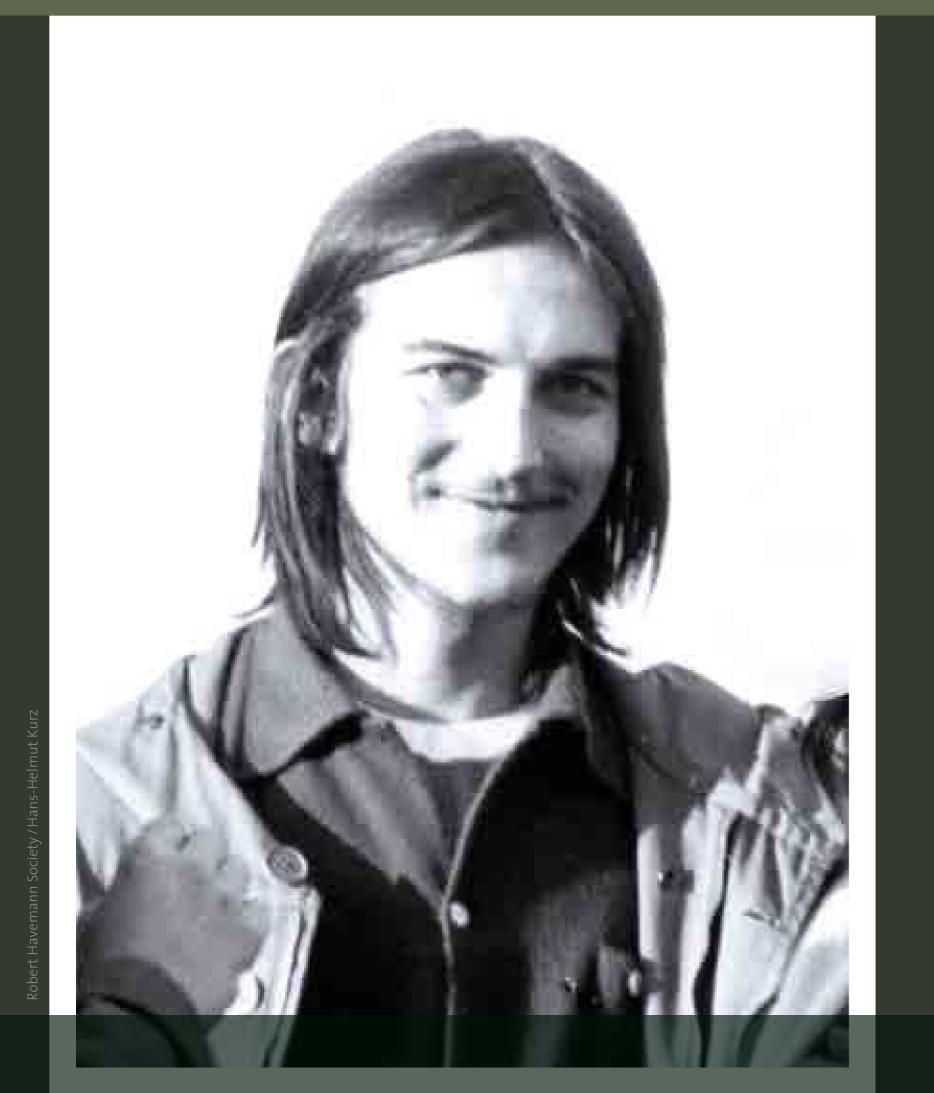


obert Havemann Society / Olaf Weißbach

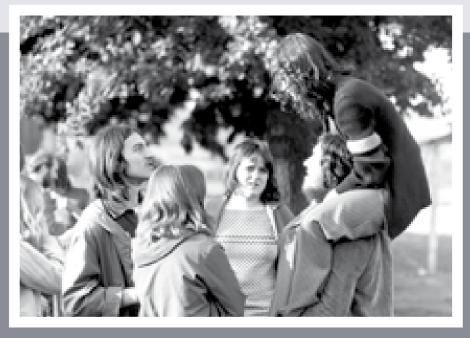
"Man cannot live by bread alone" – Detlef Pump as living proof of this quotation (taken in 1989 shortly after his release from jail)

THOMAS KRETSCHMER

* 1955



homas Kretschmer is raised as **L** a Catholic and grows up near Jena. Although a member of the state youth organization, the FDJ, he does not participate in the socialist confirmation ceremony (Jugendweihe). In order to become a medical doctor, he begins professional training in 1972 and works toward a high-school degree. That same year he quits the FDJ and announces his refusal to perform military service. He is forced to end his studies. He then begins training as a medical orderly. The seventeen-year old tries to flee the GDR in June 1973 but is caught and must spend fifteen months in a youth penitentiary. The Stasi recruits him there as an informant-but while still in custody he takes back his extorted agreement. Thomas Kretschmer is released in late 1974. He returns to Jena, makes contact with the Protestant church's "Open Work" (Offene Arbeit) organization, and converts in 1976 to Protestantism. Newly married, he moves with his family in 1977 to a rural parsonage near Erfurt and completes his studies in a theological seminary. His house becomes a shelter for youths who are viewed critically by the church hierarchy and observed by the Stasi. He refuses to serve after being drafted into the National People's Army. He is arrested again. After six weeks in detention and a probationary sentence, he becomes a "construction soldier" in Leipzig. Here he openly demonstrates his support of the Polish Solidarity union and the emerging East German peace movement. That is why he is sent to jail a third time, from 1982 to 1985.

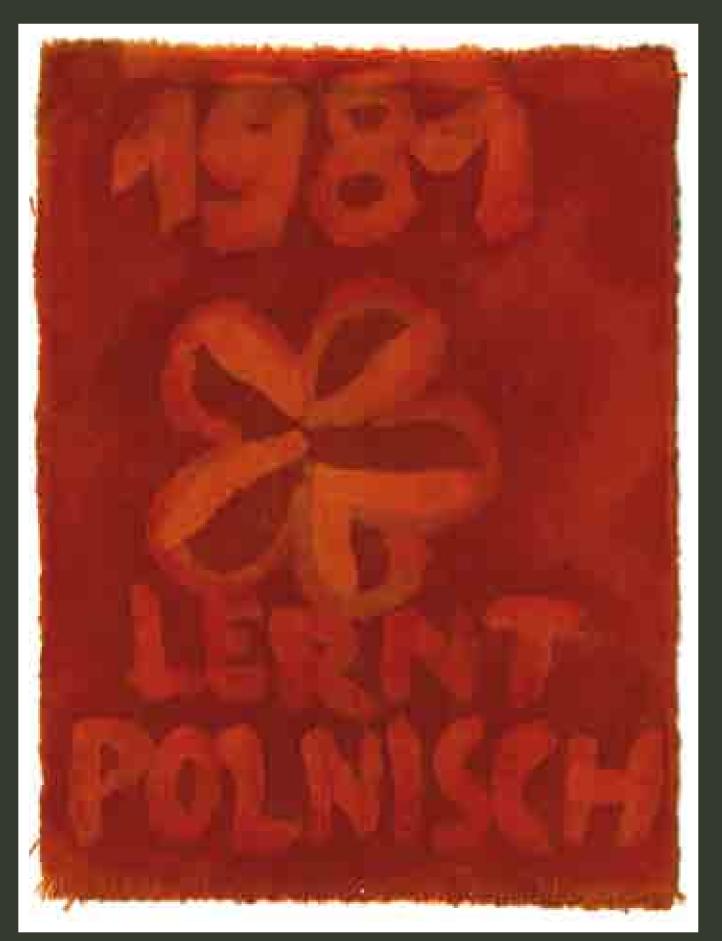


Robert Havemann Society / Hans-Helmut Kurz

Thomas Kretschmer (on the left in the picture) on the sidelines at a soccer match between the "freak teams" from Jena and Gera in May 1975. Youths who wish to distance themselves from official norms call themselves "freaks". They wear anoraks and jeans, have long hair, and are observed by the Stasi and the police.



"Poverty, beauty, nonconformity. Rock'n'Roll!"



The Kretschmer family in 1983: without father and husband Thomas, who is in jail from 1982 to 1985. Despite urging by his lawyer Wolfgang Schnur, who is active at the same time as a Stasi informant, the family does not want to go to the West.



Archive StAufarb, amnesty international holding, Nr. 1027

Amnesty International acts on behalf of Thomas Kretschmer . In 1985 he becomes a "prisoner of the month" and is released that same year.



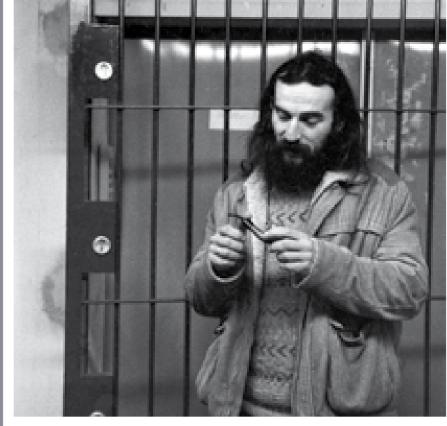
Robert Havemann Society / Thomas Kretschme

During his time as a "construction soldier" in the National People's Army, Thomas Kretschmer makes batik cloths like these as a New Year's greeting and sends them to friends. One cloth is found in his locker. That, among other things, is used as a reason for sentencing him in 1982 to four years in prison.



Associated Pres

A demonstration by the Polish Solidarity union at the pilgrimage site Tschenstochau in Poland in the early 1980s. The independent union is founded in 1980 following social unrest in Poland and officially forbidden in 1981. It nevertheless continues its work and becomes the most important force in the Polish revolution.



Robert Havemann Society / Andreas Bley

Thomas Kretschmer in 1990. In the fall of 1989, he participates in the occupation of the local Stasi bureau and participates as a member of the citizens' committee that disbands the Stasi in the state of Thuringia.

TINA KRONE

* 1957



onditions in the GDR are criticized at home: the stepfather spent almost four years in jail for trying to flee the republic illegally. Tina Krone is not supposed to talk about that at school. She must learn to distinguish early on between what may be said in private and in public. In 1977 she goes to Berlin to begin her pedagogical studies. Through a college friend she comes across Rudolf Bahro's book The Alternative, which is forbidden in the GDR: it makes a great impression on her. The book explains why official propaganda and experienced reality diverge, and what an alternative to that could be. More people should learn about this, she believes, so Tina Krone establishes a secret reading group. In 1982 the GDR leadership issues, without any public discussion, a new military draft law, according to which women can be drafted into the army in a "crisis situation". For Tina Krone, this is a further step toward the militarization of society. In October she signs a petition protesting the law, even though she knows that this will have consequences for her. Tina Krone pays for her political engagement with the loss of her occupation. Beginning in 1986 the teacher may only work in the daycare center at a special school for difficult children. Tina Krone is not intimidated. She works in various peace groups and at an illegal radio station, and participates in the publication of an underground magazine. She becomes active in the fall of 1989 in the citizens' group New Forum.



Altogether 150 women sign the protest against the military service law and make up the statewide movement "Women for Peace". An information stand of the women's group at the "Peace Workshop" in 1983.



"I don't want to just clench my fists in my pockets."

thigh	sauterezs	Seantry .
hatter i	letah 160	160 192
(inal)	met dar	THE
00 3	ette his	staff-ois -or

100715%, 04082, 10, 1000 17 M.L.B.C.M

liebring lieve theaterstowerd bunder!

ling in pd P1

In diamen heisf michter wir Dieses states sedachen vorliges, die mar seit der Verschreptigeiner dar nuchen Wefrichmentgenanntes verBU.5.7755 in fieren and die Schwydlight fig Printer honogen. "Ir alad France, alt had dime Minder, Battellich, evengellich, oder might encodingle geboundant, sindly wom man beben simme Esting activity, spherons ist disse hope infiniting eveners gebiliton, abor disse workings was, dad wir micht gleicheditig eini, und micht unseen seiseligunge ime attonnig an alass Secola galan mallen, one den Frenen gern sons Tillaten

- HIP Freems willes ins finis day licents duppidopoint and alles Indian's Pormenter Souly als fittel my youritabling mater initedan ma-8240884

enterlant, the blank all measures followivered mints as versions and.

Tina Krone in the middle of the photo during a "peace workshop" held on the grounds of the Berlin Church of Redemption.

Radiorauschen in Ost-Berlin Deutsch-deutsche Radiopiraterie: Ende Oktober strahite der «Schwarze Kanal» eine Sendung über Atomkraft in Öst und West aus / Ein persönlicher Erlebnisbericht von drüben o prices. Der Berlin, wenn auser Stamme

en Preitag, des 31. Chadres,	Ten an Ding der Unmöglichkeit,	Paulation side as thereafter,	and day entitizable zero erivery. Der-
Earge nor 23 Uhr, hel bei den	Technik-Frenks arthrony sich ai-	Its ison postcher-strend gar siche	Sender sicht in West Berlin, wenn
alaren Miggliedore der Die Berli-	nor appreciations Belables.	adder/Wenest/Wenes, Meter	or you'r alweilyn nie senerer 't hanne
er Briedens- and Crewellberse-	and three Busicements revealers from an-	dal-free beaudoritender jangen	for we proposition has.
ong das Radio. Zubbina war nar	dichtig weisergegeben. Die -di-	Summer dat methy UCV-Band	We have in des verpagenes
n Warnerfahrungsbere, in das der	chehelsorganes anigtes jales	sproughts, that the protituble Car-	Jahren of animat, sit wir in Da-
Manifeliation resultation (COL	Tath belowing Alternation Ver-	when in DR-Index de	Borlin Sendorpen productoren
ed 87%6 (britischer Millignum-		Fieldandprodecka von AFN,	Money and size farm you street, an-
et, 4. Bal.3 hielderschwagten.	医弗里克氏试验 人名德尔 化	IN RE and REAL and the Scheime-	enconcellentie in Vene Berlin de-
Walket herroche im Rucho-Billie.	per erste unab-	riesigide, 373. Kerwarpitalish	strables bases. We taken solche
Internet (adex Geopetic Instruments)		ein Sender, der absellat aktuell int,	Plane immer windly fallen lasen,
brid 22 Uhr, mim 23 Uhrs, kam	Mangige Seader	aberlandeurs spricht. Er war-ein-	riefeide, weit nie gereicht web-
michel eine abund wohnnde	1k der 202	sensation Bristmin.	test, whether and specingeted data int,
stansage durch lies Adver-		Was signalish progt works,	warmin de agentiation.
Beproses have to donia, did	31.30./##.00WER	habou war eng damada heim 10%6-	Robig war jointh storm An-
idean N. Okaderia Iron Brief-	UEN DO.S MES	nm der Kasselenmischnite mit-	where, behavior West Berlands
hten bleise Papiersend fanden.	Direct Zenel Andre sich in man-	gehrings. Warhdeten die Gags und	solubier familier mit relativ großer
iche Polssmitci. Wolche Drete	chew Brickanes	ipires pres, we do not. Do	Senderleinung micht lange aberch-
nd writches Springen die Prozincarf-	the second se	pair Schwächen ihr Sendung ha-	halonians
kloss hater, ist night bekanser. In-		bet signard goalds.	his, were jobr sender, was iber-
findentile sprach sich die Bache-	states Polacistelles aspes sub-	Nachden wich netwinipen Ta-	puft? its, we kleme wit him? life
ents. An Proing sheed your	auf den Strahen. Die Wohnungen	gen die Trankertheit gelegt hats,	plosts, in Spreadler Do Berli-
amproved on a first star De-	Incoders wordle higher Alternativ-	worth the Situation aublich arthr	serf-redees and Departments on graphers semichter Producers
triannelades, derste beichtete-	Promia warden beuchatet. Wir	net. We want and deduction be-	-Schwarten Kanal- für eine vor-
on gehölt hatte. Methige Dicken-	plane. Alice does afgr-	print, nel with photoestech	darrent pass halter blands darket.
innen wanden gefährt, Wignen ab-	ichesches Americanhactes as in- heaver en Groud.	gladnes, dal der Sender in Om-	Wrote for as such stands whath,
ndines. In Scheheises-	Contract of the second s	Berlin only and wie durch improd-	that day Ather on hostman, day
um des mathematistischen Stage	Alsdaman22Ob allerUslim	eite Wurder von des Getangegerlä-	wire sole pay there himschalupante
n, in the Berlin, nine automore	releases Troube-Advector Ka-	tender Stackalde gehaden wurde.	instantially wind superstant series"
onlong association on this at-	hals as specifier hepoty, was die	En giv neterach latter Wander,	Our Bertute control brate astory,
			2. Roll i

A small leaflet is passed around in East Berlin in October 1986. It announces the creation of the illegal radio station "The Black Channel". The producers are members of the East Berlin opposition, among them Tina Krone. The program is broadcast from West Berlin. The East German secret police is alarmed.



- The Design sellers dan appendiance for Press pickle also inclusive disinglamenting, somern als since Thissains as three Pro-Otios its salies many obsightereditions (so last moduliter shall cario. and wis only in simony without, dis die roofs in the hand noteenty. southern have finned . Als wis wir orbanat behan, das die abstruktionen "Print" and "General" signething linesolunevenuisiting bodersens als Wir shishes,
- Wir Press verytakes die Baraitistesfine Tambliseriälle als sins inclustifying, die das Streben musik monskingher und stilltfrimbler Ab-Platung autgrouwstants and die Uthins for Manual manachitister. Vermanfy in all third-shap Seturing milergoing 1214.
- Mar Presses fillion was becoming door herafter, das Lobas as sabilition, Ale Alter, (rening with sentendent inserting on millerkhilogi. Ongen den tring und für das Pristen with; au suin, man any in sectoies and ansicherizations Haredall pendhohan, want tilr aleht INIXXI wer der simftigen Deswarding varming solies.
- The Pressin weight and Coccurry, Had wir eines Daper in for Delhaw As-WA whohen not win land workships coller, das inderschilder owin stre. andbut musit atoms koorwardlooollon Siter, der is mrann vebroobeinlich in sizer witheryon Saturdayojde minan wirds.

FORDERT VOLKSDISKUSSION

"Entwürfe grundlegender Gesetze werden vor ihrer Verabschiedung der Bevölkerung zur Erörterung unterbreitet. Die Ergebnisse der Volksdiskussion sind bei der endgültigen Fassung auszuwerten." verfassung artikel 65 absatz 4

WIR BESTEHEN AUF UNSEREM DURCH DIE VER -FASSUNG GARANTIERTEN' RECHT, UND FORDERN EINE ERÖRTERUNG

ÜBER DAS NEUE WEHRDIENSTGESETZ

Robert Havemann Society

Courageous women convey their criticism about the draft law to SED chief and head of state Erich Honecker. When Tina Krone's friend appears at her door with this letter one October evening in 1982, Tina Krone hesitates at first before signing. But she does want conditions to change and thus decides not to hide her true opinion anymore.

BStU, MfS, BV Berlin XV 4345/82

	alling to alling the second second
ism of the military te law adopted in n 1982 is prohibited. Thet illegally distribut- April 1982 demands ght, anchored in the German constitution,	Print Print Print Print Print Stall Icar Stall
cuss laws before adoption.	

Critic

servio

Marcl

A leat

ed in

the ri

East (to dis their

. .

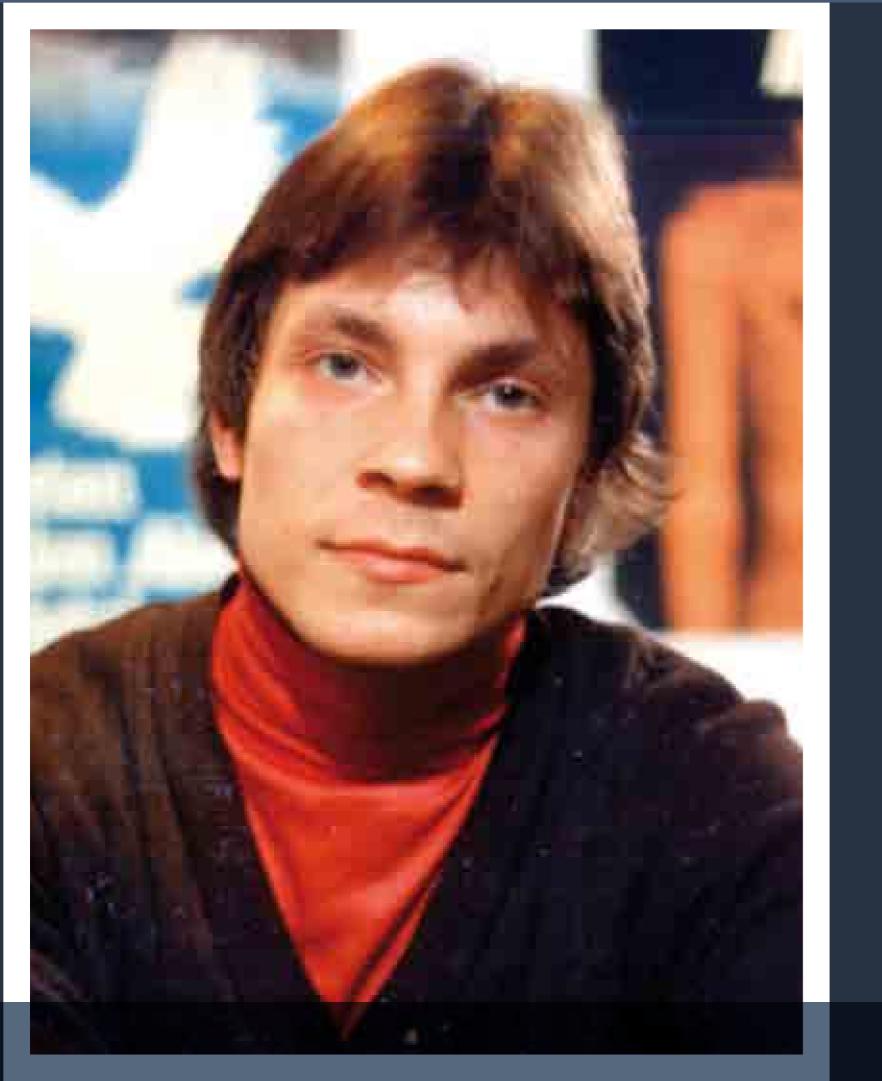
OFFENER BALLF BA GIE HEGIERONG DEN VA CHINA Mil Bet, frame and Altrest two or further all and built of the set finite of the set for the billion fin filter of beauty and all the very schemer Aller Controls on all his second Stands Balancian and St. holdstatis to surplisand the second s Ald Financh and threat on did Hofe and talles by second target approach and prove the eine ginenentinettet wert eine gin 'immine Bat-men furtherinetin-milthas also, bat and Productive Classification there we arterterne rid stropi - s 1100 2125 8.13

Berther, B. S. Dies

Tina Krone is involved with the Friedrichsfelde Peace Circle since 1985 and participates in the publication of the underground magazine Friedrichsfelder Feuermelder (Friedrichsfelde Fire Alarm). A protest that she formulated is published on the cover of the June 1989 edition.

RALF HIRSCH

* 1960



ike his peers, the fourteen-year lold Ralf Hirsch becomes a member of the FDJ, the state youth organization. But flag ceremonies and strategic game-playing aren't his thing, which is why he quits just a few months later. A year after that, he and his friends experience firsthand the great severity of state authority after distributing leaflets protesting military service. Ralf Hirsch is assigned in 1976 to the youth works yard in Hummelshain. He refuses to work and, as punishment, must go for six months to the enclosed youth works yard in Torgau. The youths there are subject to nonstop drills and violence, and are supposed to learn to obey meekly. After his release in 1978, Ralf Hirsch receives the discriminatory identity papers known as "PM 12"; he has to report weekly to the city district council, and is not allowed to leave Berlin without permission. All disciplinary efforts nevertheless fail. Now he really gets involved in the dissident movement: he works with the Peace Circle of the Berlin Samaritan Community and participates in the organization of "blues fairs" that soon become known across the land. Feeling strengthened in his steadfast antimilitary position, Ralf Hirsch refuses to serve under arms in 1982 and enters the military instead as a "construction soldier". Ralf Hirsch plays a major role in the establishment of the "Peace and Human Rights Initiative": he is a speaker of the oppositional group and co-editor of the illegal newsmagazine Grenzfall (Borderline Case). Ralf Hirsch is arrested in 1988 and expatriated to

DAYS AND HERE AND THE and the second sec Contraction and providence in the Address The Press Contact Survey the last a private and to be the state the internet of the state with the state we A loss of product of the second secon The second s

International Property

In 1985 during the UN's officially proclaimed "International Year of Youth", Ralf Hirsch and his friends assert the right to send a letter to the GDR government



"Remaining silent would have damaged us."



Robert Havemann Society



A blues fair in the Church of Redemption in 1983: Ralf Hirsch is one of the organizers. The blues fairs take place in Berlin churches between 1979 and 1986. Approximately 8,000 to 9,000 youths temporarily travel to Berlin from across the entire GDR. Their increasing attraction stems from the mixture of concert, unconventional sermons, prayer, and critical skits about problems that were otherwise not discussed in the GDR.

demanding radical changes. By demanding the demilitarization of public life, as well as freedom to assemble and travel, they attack fundamental pillars of the dictatorship.



Liebe Fetre 1

Jeter Orian

1962 Berlin

Wir heben dem Text Deiner Rede vor der HUD Convention in instordam arholten und möchten uns dafür bei Dir bedenken. Da berichtest davon, daß as Yorwürfe gab, well Da unseren Brief sus " Jahr der Jurend " an Brich Homesker auf dem UND-Jagend Symposium verlesen hast.

Ta ist keus zu glauben, daß susgerechnet sich Hitglieder der Grünen meinen, uns damit su schoden und vielleicht such noch die Ande der " stillen Diplometie " mit dem Hichtigen beversupes,

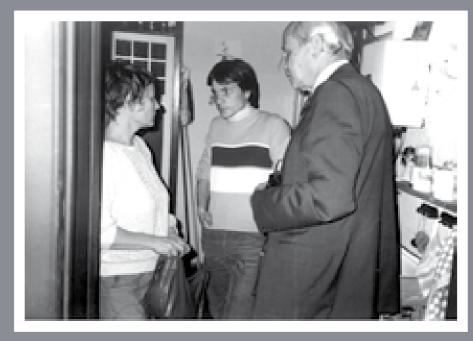
UND REPTE DAS SCHWEIGEN GENORAUSP 111 Wir wissen aus Mirchlichen Kreisen, das unsere Verhaftung als Higlichksit der Reaktion auf unseren Brief vorgesehen war.

Davor haben uns u.s. die Veröffentlichung dieses Briefes und hauptmichlich die Bekunntgebe vor dem 190 - Jugend Symposium heashet. Dafir elobten wir uns pochnils herslich bei Dir bedankes,

Alles Britikers Deiner Minie möchten wir angen, daß uns nicht bartimete Teröffestlichungen schoden, sondern vor allem das Solveigen. Dies het sich in den letzten Jahren inner wieder geneigt und des micht mur in der 700. dei herulich gegrüft und unarwi-



Since the authors of the letter are not allowed to travel to the West during the Year of Youth, Petra Kelly reads it aloud for them at a peace conference in Amsterdam. She is heavily criticized in the West for this, but the youthful members of the GDR opposition, Ralf Hirsch and Peter Grimm, are grateful. They emphasize the fact that publicity in the West protects them from arrest.



Robert Havemann Society



BStU, MfS, HA XX / Fo / 738, Picture 18

Ralf Hirsch's engagement in the GDR peace movement does not abate despite penalties and other repressive measures against him. Ralf Hirsch: first from the right during a "peace workshop" on the grounds of the Church of Redemption in Berlin on June 29, 1986.

Stasi observation photo from August 28, 1987. Ralf Hirsch (in the center of the picture) and other members of the "Peace and Human Rights Initiative" distribute a critical "Statement about the Work of the Mass Media" during an event organized by the state Association of Journalists.

the Federal Republic.



subsitiichen Dertons in der

ICE was three Degins an aw up

"Gransfall" bashelshtigt, PP-

gehaldig ein inferentionsblath

hepeneskyshes, in das Bullbig

Desights they dis signed the

mationie Arbeit, seule Stel-

Insynchises an abtuallan, pell-

tiashes Designinges verifiest

light worden sollars

terrenedant.

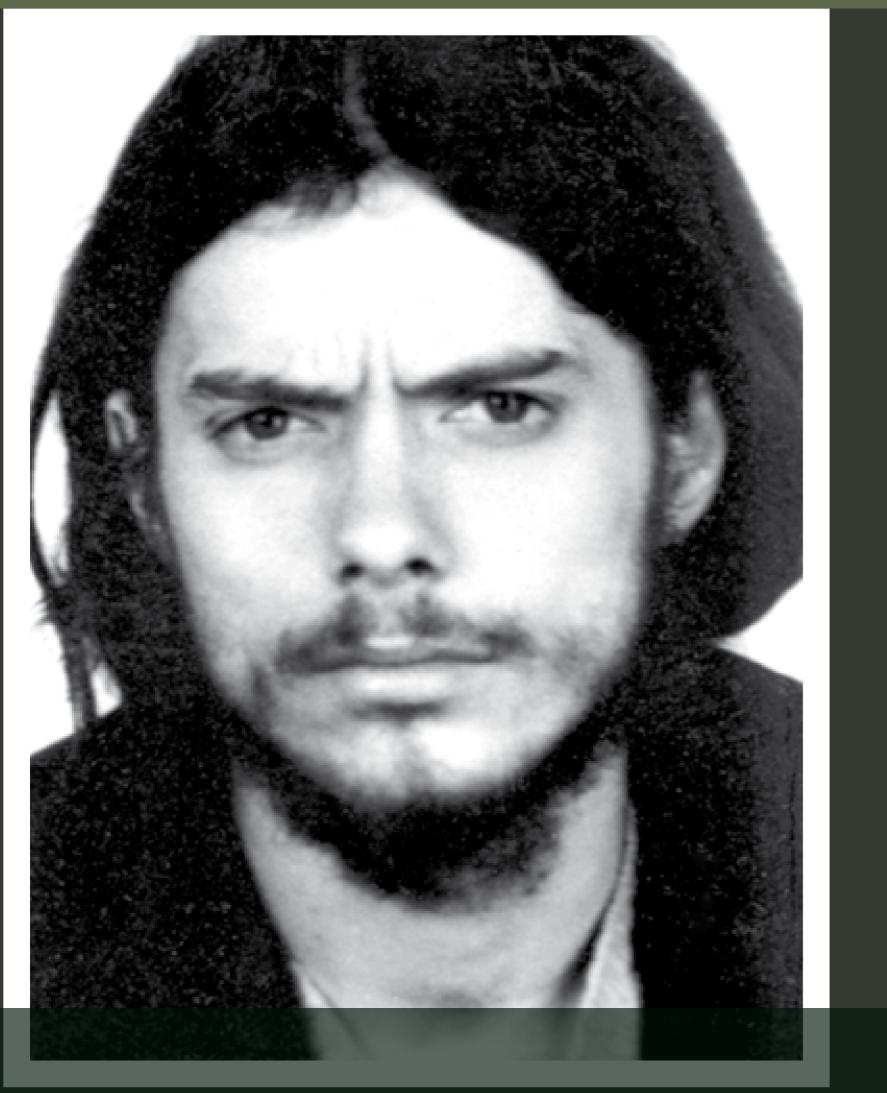
Die Gruppe "Greasfall verstably sich the six mathinagiger, solicisticity arbuitskysis isserbold day Trisisanbersgang. tis will versichet, ein D D R weites Infematio cannots and- and susanbunna, das den einzelnen Priedence, Goolegies, Reschuszechtor, 2/3 Teldand sensitizes invoyen die They startlight Median heine Highielkeit aus Infemationswiterphe haw--verbreitung bestitum, den ter our Territodicung unspational an electric Aniordon will als selbet theantisch offeiten und hat sich daam die Aufgabe gestellt, den Directoreafter and dis Stratarverisierungen des gesell-

Gert Bastian speaking with Ralf Hirsch and Bärbel Bohley (from right to left). Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian are among the few West German politicians who visit and support members of the opposition in the GDR.

Grenzfall (Borderline Case) is an illegal publication. The first edition is presented at the Peace Workshop held at the Berlin Church of Redemption on June 29, 1986. Seventeen editions appear altogether.

CHRISTIAN HALBROCK

* 1963



hristian Halbrock grows up as the son of a Protestant pastor in Belitz near Rostock. Politics plays a large role in his family, which has a critical view of the GDR. Halbrock begins training as an electrician in 1980 after not being allowed to attend high school. Because he makes known his pacifist position by wearing a "Swords into Ploughs" patch, there is a danger that he will not be allowed to complete his training – for criticism of the SED's military policies leads to repression and persecution in all state educational establishments. Halbrock makes the first contacts with environmental activists in 1982, gets involved in activities protesting environmental destruction in the Bitterfeld-Wolfen chemical region and also caused by the construction of a highway near the city Schwerin; he also participates in bicycle demonstrations in Berlin. But it is not enough for him just to discuss things in secret groups. He is in search of a public forum, wants to act and inform people in the GDR about various wrongs and mobilize them to protest. In 1986, the year of the reactor catastrophe in Chernobyl, Halbrock establishes, together with like-minded spirits, the "Environment Library" (Umweltbibliothek) in East Berlin. Pastor Simon of the Zion Church parish allows access to his basement for this dissident activity. A public library is set up; it collects and makes available books forbidden in the GDR. Events are organized and limited numbers of information pamphlets are published. This center of opposition is fought by the state



1. DIE UMWELT-BIBLINTHEK STELLT SICH VOR 2. TSCHERNOBYL IST ÜBERALL

The idea after TweerHild() the ist is before and a of the tweerproperty of the second second

An D. Angeleniters word, the star lines filmens dig threathy Billing and the singulation but the star filment former than Star and the singulation of the star filment of the solution and the solution for the star filment of the solution without the solution for the solid growing section date and the solution for the solution of the solution and the solution the solid vertices in the balance of the solution with the solid vertices into the balance of the solution and the balance of the solid vertices in the solar solar solar and the balance of the solid vertices in the balance of the solar solar solar the balance of the solid vertices in the solar solar solar solar solar the balance of the solid vertices in the solar solar solar solar solar the balance of the solid vertices in the solar s

Robert Havemann Society

First edition of the library's information pamphlet. There is just about no official information in the GDR about the causes and consequences of the major disaster in

"We have to undermine the state monopoly on information."



Robert Havemann Society

Because Christian Halbrock wears such a patch on his anorak, he is no longer permitted to enter the school building during his occupational training. The Stasi finally seizes the anorak along with the patch. Chernobyl. The East Germans are greatly concerned and ask about proper modes of behavior and secure foodstuffs. The Environment Library collects data and facts and organizes events about this topic.



Robert Havemann Society / Ann-Christine Janssor

Visitors can drink coffee and see exhibitions in the gallery that are not shown elsewhere in the GDR. Public prosecutors and secret police carry out a raid in November 1987 and arrest a number of staff members.



Robert Havemann Society / Dirk Moldt

Dirk Moldt's call for solidarity with the arrested staff members of the Environment Library. Statements of support arrive from East and West, followed by donations of paper and books. The opposition group is suddenly well known and more and more visitors show up.

Jeally And Hills



Robert Havemann Society / Johannes Beleites

The youth pastor from the Bitterfeld district and Michael Beleites (on the left) organize this public protest on May 19, 1984 against environmental degradation in the chemical region. Two years later, Christian Halbrock (in the center of the picture covering his face) belongs to the initiators of the East Berlin Environment Library. DIE UMWELT-BIBLIOTHEK

GALERIE : VERANSTALTUNGEN KAFFEE . REDEN DIE . DO. SONNIDAG 19-23h



Robert Havemann Society

Poster and leaflet of the Environment Library.

but becomes more and more popular.

Entre Mitterlatter de Universitationale

Set Hurgen adart in der briedensgruppe Desch-Johnnahilt und Labe diese John Her Lunge Hollther "Im Digman 1988 besen Höhnen Für under Deut in diese Sogge und merste Den fellen Tettflass alle Gehrer und die entheldene Införmerkensen D.B. Der die Unterert der Konkenprechensichten Her Hilligele), wie unterte US-sinde wich Her Hilligele), wie unterte US-sinde wich Her Hilligele, wenn Tobe US-sinde wich Her Hilligele, wenn februke

Sie Helineren proch under Kelligenfelsenst führ ans milmenter und anfür interspecter), und danne program Informationen sociation undertaid entreperanden hofely.

Bielen pruk ! Wiennerster Withhood Conceptor

Robert Havemann Society

Interest in environmental topics increases, as this letter from a teacher shows. He signs with his name and address. Fear of the all-powerful SED is gradually overcome by the late 1980s.

EVELYN ZUPKE

* 1962



E velyn Zupke goes to school in the town of Binz on the island of Rügen. She receives good grades and belongs to the Pioneers, a state organization for youngsters. Her views about the GDR become more critical during high school. A fellow pupil who reneges on his agreement to train as an officer in the military is supposed to be kicked out of school. Evelyn Zupke and her friends are the only ones who support him – against everyone else. She gives up the chance to study at university because she finds the requisite political conformity abhorrent. Instead she works in a vacation home. Evelyn Zupke makes no secret of the fact that she does not want to participate in the local 1984 elections. The head of the home tries to change her mind but she maintains her stance. Shenanigans at work are the consequence and Evelyn Zupke applies to train as a health educator with the church. In 1987 she goes with her son to Berlin, works in a daycare center for seriously disabled children, and gets involved in the oppositional Peace Group in the Weißensee section of Berlin. Her main concern remains recurring election falsification in the GDR. The Peace Group carefully prepares itself for the local elections of May 7, 1989. The votes at the polling stations are counted in public. Members of the opposition organize it so that voting results from as many polling stations in Weißensee as possible are written down and added together. The action is a success. When the SED newspapers publish the official election results, the fraud is obvious and



obert Havemann Society / Siegbert Schefke

Members of the Weissensee Peace Group (from left to right): Ralf Sköries, Evelyn Zupke, Beate Pankow, Gunther Seifert (Stasi informant), Klaus Kupler, Frank Pfeifer. Through its activities, the opposition group is decisively involved in the 1989 revolution.



Oppositional groups prove electoral fraud – not just in Berlin but also in Dresden, Leipzig, Rostock, and other large cities. Statistics

"The entire education system in the GDR is dishonest and hypocritical."





from civil rights activists are documented and distributed in the illegal publication *Wahlfall* (Election Case).

obert Havemann Society

Ost-Berliner sprechen von Wahlfälschung

In der DDR Nein-Stimmen unterschlagen?

Von unserem Korrespondenten Karl-Heinz Baum

BERLIN, 8. Mai. Den Vorwurf der Wahlfaischung haben am Tag nach der Kommunalwahl in der DDR mehrere Ost-Berliner Friedens- und Umweltgruppen erhoben. Sie kamen aufgrund eigener Zusammenzählungen der offiziell festgestellten Endergebnisse in einzelnen Ost-Berliner Stadtbezirken zu erheblich höheren Anteilen von Nein-Stimmen als offiziell bekanntgegeben worden war.

		And the second s
--	--	--

Frankfurter Rundschau (newspaper), May 8, 1989

West German correspondents – like Karl-Heinz Baum in an article in the newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* – pick up on the data supplied by the opposition and report about the electoral fraud in the GDR. East Germans learn of the proof concerning manipulation from West German television and radio reports.



Robert Havemann Society / Hans-Jürgen Röder

On every seventh day of the month following the elec-

time ca information been and the source of the later insure between the source in the state of the source of the s

Robert Havemann Society

Election officials are involved in the manipulation of the vote. Evelyn Zupke is not allowed to observe the counting of the ballots. She complains on May 13, 1989 to Lord Mayor Erhard Krack, who, as a leading functionary of the ruling SED, serves at the same time as chair of the voting commission in East Berlin.

Evelyn Zupke brings formal charges of election fraud.

Der Friemprickung Willunger lauten

2463

Bargerin

umi2 1.4. 1383 un 2 0th ImHeinpich Groom

Storgen balancentraliseteile Zagiterste Lune 2018:

Ihema: Zur Wahrnehmung

derstaatsbürgerlichen Rechte

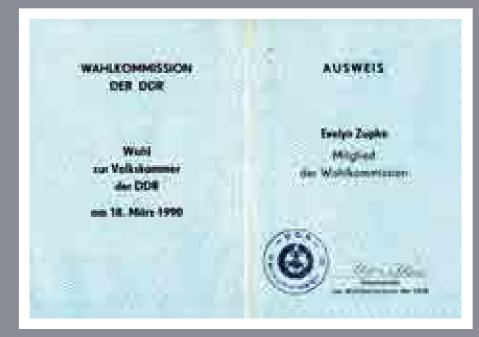
hinsichtlich der Kommanalwahl 1989

-Kontrolle der Wahl, durch den

bentitung auf den 7.5.89

== praktischen Ver-

tion, there are demonstrations in Berlin against the election fraud – seen here is the first demonstration on June 7, 1989 in front of St. Sophia's Church in Berlin. Three months later, protesters are brutally arrested by communist secret police in the middle of Alexander Square.



Robert Havemann Society

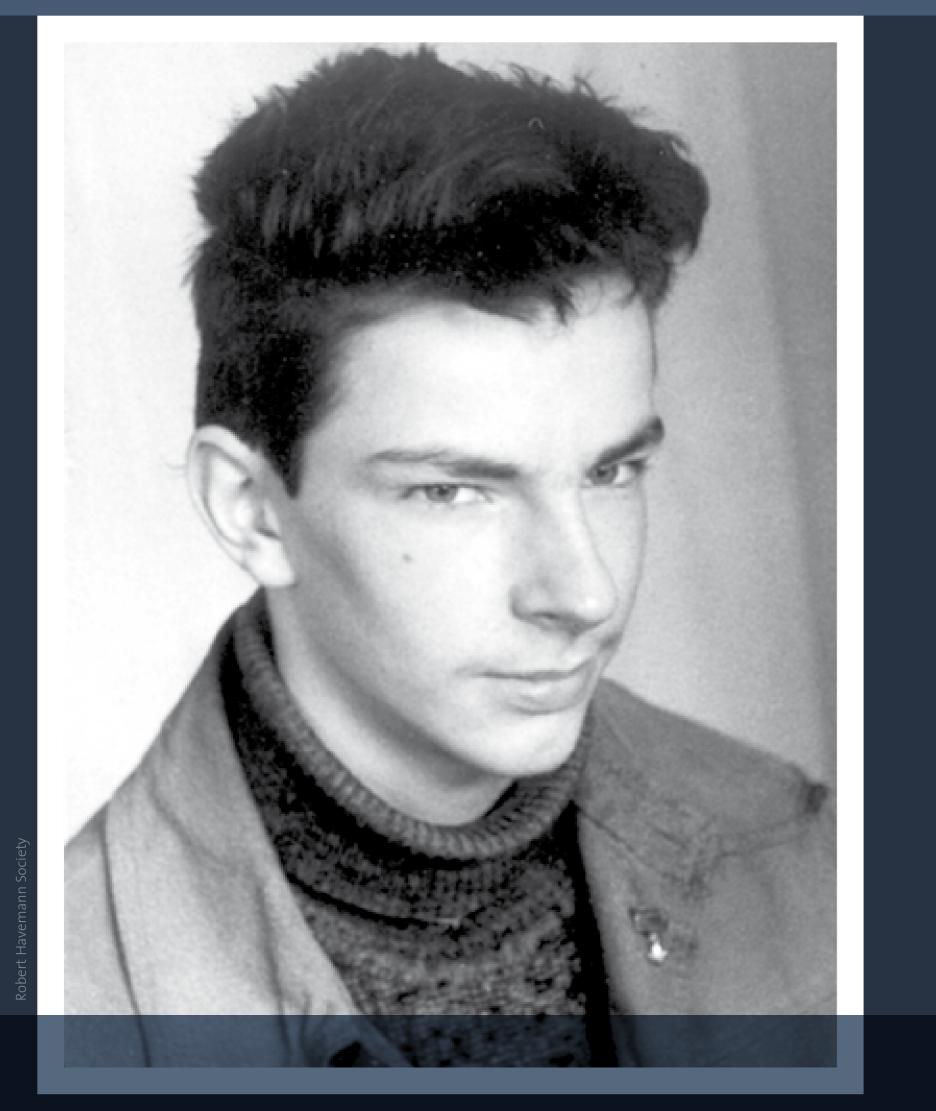
The only free parliamentary election ever in the GDR takes place on March 18, 1990. Evelyn Zupke is a member of the electoral commission.

Youth Opposition in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) 18

At events already held months before the election, the Weißensee Peace Group provides information about the action planned for May 7, 1989. Large numbers of allies support the project and observe the counting of the ballots.

FRANK EBERT

* 1970



rank Ebert is a rebellious pupil. During instruction at school he refuses to calculate the throwing angle of a hand grenade; "Swords into Ploughs" is displayed on the cover of his homework heft. At age fourteen he moves in with his older sister, who is active in the oppositional "scene" in Halle. Frank Ebert quits the FDJ youth organization during school because he does not wish to belong to the "fighting reserves" of the SED. Frank Ebert hears in the Western media about the East Berlin Environment Library. After his first visit, the eighteen-year old helps out at first in the café and sets up exhibitions. Later he prints underground magazines and leaflets in the basement. It is in this way that he becomes involved in the creation of Wahlfall (Election Case), which demonstrates electoral fraud by the SED regime. Every month a small group of young people meet in Alexander Square to protest against the fraud that took place during the local elections of May 1989. Frank Ebert is arrested three times doing this. More and more people are arrested as the number of street protests increase beginning in September 1989 in Leipzig, Dresden, and other cities. That is why Frank Ebert and his friends organize a vigil in early October in the East Berlin Gethsemane Church. They demand the release of all political prisoners in the GDR. Over the following days thousands of people meet daily in the church. Security forces gather in front of the church. The Gethsemane Church becomes a focal point of the Peaceful Revolution.



Caro / Jandke

The Gethsemane Church becomes an information center during the early days of October 1989. Reports about oppositional activities and arrests across the entire land are called in by telephone around the clock. Physical assaults by the state are recorded in memory depositions.

"Remain in the country and defend yourself every day."

13470	A HERRICH CARLES AND A POST-	- 1172 ©1.8-6	98
1170	Brif strendgreet stid Semant Bertitte, on Fast derivational fails. Int direction fails. Net direction repetions: tak seether from the sector repetions. Tak seether fails fair has been to Direct Periodial ? This version work dent alls are easily a direction storest Weeksmann Republication reprint the Semante or invities. This bis soluble haven't Veryon periodicate reprint. Mark Bernager or invities. This bis soluble haven't Veryon periodicate sources. Bis's blocks work assessed as a source.	In the second se	
irmet annaut	Jos bin der Montann, auf geventgen von einzetnets dech antiere enegelegt social Kevitiate befattentenen macht einen geb Nahle für sat des abermanneplate gepfit im mis atcht medatten, fan folis in Beblik, ich hant eksettene enes block pe	ta fan hole o Lire. Hire f Ger Teileref Galera	1 1



BStU, MfS, HA XX / Fo / 59, Picture 8 Paper is always in short supply. Anyone in the



icture-alliance / dpa / Wolfgang Kumm

Egon Krenz, the new SED leader for just a few days, is made head of state by his vassals on October 24, 1989. Many East Germans do not agree. That same day thousands demonstrate against this in front of the State Council building in East Berlin. The photo shows Frank Ebert with a flag.



Prover 945 25522 region and Same's supprisone out suppressing money daughters direy T. sensing and bedates Detroit former at our builds, on both Jever sup-Shipper's work. Arrists Belleville Addressive Try Boy and the Williams Take Spin Bonomore encaptaling T little in the same shift and fully 21u211 WORL have like aloft die Verliegun dasseneral. Fr. through hits buts while hitch provide, Mr arrow she has accounted well-did Amor. watter, dat walkilder, "At swith wis and?" some happened and the shally assess billing, had min Bord. His wight house proving their Trucht Tix setting without reported wave the list first the 10000 mas according to the execution Franks Salaroon Alal Shabes Mid. Concenterry, 1. areasa the set here, and hereas were that he when hypers, and hostings. Porting holicity from proved, this percess matter

the lappid divide more the gravity had brane dation and the second divides the second divides the second divides the second divides and the second dinteres and the second divides and

BStU, MfS, Ast Berlin, KD Prenzlauer Berg, 7271, p. 134

Frank Ebert protests against the electoral fraud on September 7, 1989 on Alexander Square and is arrested. The interrogation records demonstrate: he is not intimidated. GDR who buys more than two packages of typewriter paper is suspect. Copy machines and ink arrive illegally from the West. Their import is forbidden. Individual journalists and diplomats flout the prohibition.



obert Havemann Society

In addition to the publications of the Environment Library, such as *Umweltblätter* (Environment Leaves) and *Telegraph*, Frank Ebert also prints thousands of copies of leaflets and statements by other oppositional groups, civil rights movements, and political parties in the fall of 1989.

Der Spiegel (newsmagazine), October 30, 1989

In the fall of 1989 first hundreds, then thousands, and finally hundreds of thousands of East Germans take to the streets calling for civil and human rights and force the SED regime to its knees. Frank Ebert (under the red flag) is there as well.

In the summer of 1990 both German governments want to seal up the Stasi records in the Federal Archive. Frank Ebert participates that September in the occupation of the Stasi record archive in East Berlin. The occupiers force the opening of the records and victims of the SED regime can still view today the records of the GDR secret police.

YOUTH OPPOSITION IN THE GDR

Robert Havemann Society

nir d Macht ?

The Robert Havemann Society documents and tries to convey the history and experiences of the opposition and resistance against the East German communist dictatorship. Using the Archive of the GDR Opposition, which the Society administers, it researches this theme, publishes historical and political publications, develops exhibitions, provides access to contemporary witnesses, and participates in political education. The papers of Robert Havemann, as well as the archival records of the New Forum, the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, the East Berlin Environment Library, the Independent Women's Association, many Round Tables of the Peaceful Revolution, as well as numerous holdings of members of the GDR opposition are all located in the archive. > www.havemann-gesellschaft.de

Wirterern



The Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship

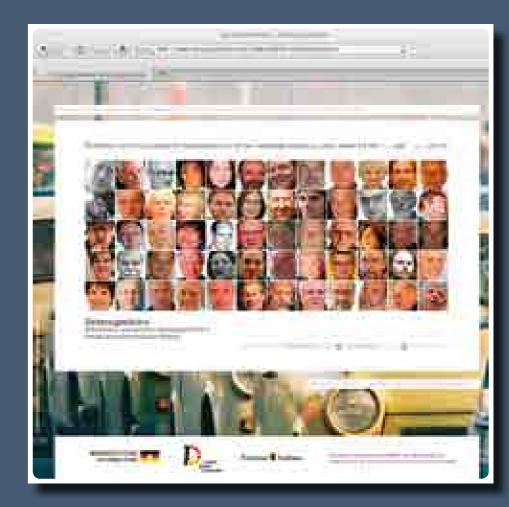
The Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship promotes engagement with the history and consequences of communist dictatorships, German and European division, as well as the surmounting of that division. It was established by the German parliament in 1998 and has since given more than 33 million Euros in #support of 2,400 projects across Germany. It has a library and archive, and maintains a public presence through exhibition and publications. The Federal Foundation supports pluralistic debate about history and, though its activities, works against a glorification of the SED dictatorship. **>** www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de

Portal to Contemporary Witnesses

It is possible, via the online link www.zeitzeugenbuero.de, to establish contact with members of the East German opposition. One also finds there interlocutors about central themes related to German division and unity. New contemporary witnesses are continually added to the website: they can provide information about how young people took a stand against the SED regime.

Youth Opposition in the Internet

The exhibition **Youth Opposition in the GDR** is accompanied by comprehensive internet offerings by the Robert Havemann Society and the Federal Foundation for Political Education. A great deal of further information is available online in addition to that about the persons and activities portrayed in this exhibition. Photos, documents, films, and accounts by contemporary actors vividly and emotionally convey the situation and hopes of young people in the GDR. The multimedia offerings, which also include study materials, vivid texts, glossaries, and biographies, received a Grimme Online Award. They are especially suited for use in schools and other educational institutions. > www.jugendopposition.de



Masthead

The exhibition **Youth Opposition in the GDR** was initiated and brought into being by the Robert Havemann Society. Tom Sello was the head of the project; Stefanie Wahl was responsible for the concept and texts (wahl_büro Berlin, www.wahl-buero.de / www.erinnerungslabor.de); the Robert Havemann Society conducted research and editing. The exhibition was translated into English by Dr. Andrew I. Port, associate professor of modern German history at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan (http://clasweb.clas.wayne.edu/aiport). Dr. Thomas Klemm (Agentur für Gestaltung, Leipzig, www.thomasklemm.com) designed the exhibition, which is published jointly by the Robert Havemann Society and the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship.

Photo Credits

Despite careful research, not all persons owning the rights to the photos in the exhibition could be determined. They have the possibility of contacting the Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e.V., Schliemannstraße 23, 10437 Berlin. An exhibition of the Robert Havemann Society and the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship.

