

Consensus, Withdrawal, Opposition: Images of Youth and Generational Conflict in Feature Films of the GDR

Denis Condon, B A

Submitted to Dublin City University in May 2000 in pursuit of the degree
of Master of Arts

Supervisor Dr Anthony Coulson, School of Applied Languages and
Intercultural Studies

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of a Master of Arts degree, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed:



ID No.: 96971347

Date:



Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	11
Abbreviations	111
1 Introduction	
1 1 Introduction	1
1 2 Terminology	3
1 3 Youth and Film in the SBZ/GDR	6
1 4 Chapter Outline	12
1 5 Excursus The German Youth Movement and Generational Conflict	17
2 Images of the <i>Aufbau</i>	
2 1 Introduction Consensus	31
2 2 The Construction of the Antifascist-Democratic Family	33
2 2 1 <i>Irgendwo in Berlin</i> (1946)	34
2 2 2 <i>Unser täglich Brot</i> (1949)	44
2 3 Between Heroes and <i>Halbstarken</i> Socialist Realism and Film	52
2 3 1 <i>Eine Berliner Romanze</i> (1956)	56
2 3 2 <i>Berlin - Ecke Schonhauser</i> (1957)	65
2 4 Youth and Education in the Space Age	73
2 4 1 <i>Karla</i> (1965)	78
2 5 Conclusion	89
3 Images of the <i>Nischengesellschaft</i>	
3 1 Introduction Withdrawal	94
3 2 <i>Die Legende von Paul und Paula</i> (1973)	98
3 3 <i>Solo Sunny</i> (1979/80)	109
3 4 Conclusion	118
4 Images of the <i>Wende</i>	
4 1 Introduction Opposition	120
4 2 <i>Emmer trage des anderen Last</i> (1988)	122
4 3 The Watchtower of Babel	130
4 3 1 <i>Der Verdacht</i> (1991)	131
4 3 2 <i>Jana und Jan</i> (1991)	139
4 4 Conclusion	149
5 Conclusion	153
Appendix	
Bibliography	

Denis Condon Consensus, Withdrawal, and Opposition Images of Youth and Generational Conflict in Feature Films of the GDR

This research aims to examine “images,” elements of a filmic discourse, of youth and generational conflict in feature films produced by DEFA, the state film production company of East Germany, that portray the postwar Soviet Zone of Occupation/GDR. It posits a periodization of this discourse consisting of three broad stages: images of the *Aufbau* (1946-1965), images of the *Nischengesellschaft* (1965-1980), and images of the *Wende* (1980-1991). It sees these stages as discursive constructs of GDR filmmakers and other cultural workers in their negotiation of the official cultural policy of the state. It traces how the very image of youth in rebellion that emerged from the first decades of the 20th century was subsequently “improved” through the elimination of critical elements and adopted by the official state youth organisations of national-socialist Germany and of the GDR. In this context and within the constraints of the rigid supergenre of socialist realism, it shows the extent to which the connection between youth and generational conflict was maintained by critical filmmakers in the GDR to become an important way of expressing dissent in a society that attempted to neutralise all opposition.

Acknowledgements

Thanks must go first to my supervisor, Tony Coulson, who not only helped to shape this project initially and guide it subsequently but who also provided much of the primary material, the films themselves, which were not then readily available on video. For keeping me in touch with wider intellectual debates and for providing a sense of scholarly community, I wish to express my gratitude to the members of the Red Stripe Seminar, of whom particular mention is due to Heather Laird and Joe Cleary for their material assistance with this project. I would like to acknowledge the camaraderie of my colleagues in the H W Wilson Company, many of whom were or are engaged in postgraduate research. I am obliged to Mary Harkin for proofreading. To friends too numerous to mention thank ye for your moral support.

“Hab ich jemanden vergessen?” I ask with Karla, “Dann sei auch er bedankt.”

Particular recognition is due to my parents, Frances and Joe, and to my brothers and sisters, Cliona, Aisling, Joe, and Frank, for a lifetime’s practical support. A special mention is in order for my (nine-month-old) son, Oscar, whose imminent arrival provided the impetus for getting the thesis to a finished form. Finally, to my partner, Lisa, without whose encouragement from the beginning and continuing active support over an extended period (which ranged from watching and giving her opinion on films in a language she does not speak to putting up with me for a number of years in a state of physical presence but mental absence that might be called *academentia*) there would be no thesis. All my love.

D C , Dublin, August 2000

Abbreviations

BDM	<i>Bund Deutscher Madel</i> , League of German Girls
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DDR	<i>Deutsche Demokratische Republik</i> , GDR
DEFA	<i>Deutsche Film Aktiengesellschaft</i> , German Film Joint-Stock Company
FDJ	<i>Freie Deutsche Jugend</i> , Free German Youth
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
HJ	<i>Hitlerjugend</i> , Hitler Youth
KJVD	<i>Kommunistische Jugendverein Deutschlands</i> , Communist Youth League of Germany
KPD	<i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands</i> , Communist Party of Germany
SBZ	<i>Sowjetische Besatzungszone</i> , Soviet Occupation Zone
SED	<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands</i> , Socialist Unity Party of Germany
SMAD	<i>Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland</i> , Soviet Military Administration in Germany
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> , Social Democratic Party of Germany
Stasi	<i>Staatssicherheitsdienst</i> , State Security Service (of the GDR)
ZK	<i>Zentralkomitee</i> , Central Committee (of the SED)

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the portrayal of youth and generational conflict in feature films produced in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It explores how the changing relationship between filmmakers and the cultural authorities influenced the portrayal of youth in rebellion.

The thesis approaches the portrayal of youth and generational conflict as a discourse. Its three central chapters examine the way in which this discourse was deployed in films made throughout the history of the *Sowjetischen Besatzungszone* (Soviet Occupation Zone, SBZ) and, after 1949, the GDR. These chapters argue that the relationship between youth and generational conflict was portrayed differently at different periods in the history of the SBZ/GDR. Each of these chapters represents a discrete stage in the portrayal of this relationship and analyses a number of exemplary feature films that portray young people.

There has been little previous scholarly work that has focused primarily on the portrayal of youth in GDR film. Pioneering in this respect are Harry Blunk's chapter "Die Darstellung von Jugend- und Sozialisationsfragen im Gegenwartsspielfilm der DDR" ["The Representation of Questions of Youth and Socialisation in Contemporary Feature Films of the GDR"] from his 1984 monograph¹ and his 1987 essay,

¹ Harry Blunk Die DDR in ihren Spielfilmen: Reproduktion und Konzeption der DDR-Gesellschaft im neueren DEFA Gegenwartsspielfilm, 289-328.

“Alltagsprobleme der Jugend in Spielfilmen der DDR”² [“Everyday Problems of Youth in Feature Films of the GDR”], which draws substantially on his earlier work. As pioneering works, Blunk’s studies offer an overview of this field. While drawing on Blunk’s work, this study differs from it in a number of ways. It attempts to identify and trace the historical links between generational conflict and youth in Germany that inform the competing views on what youth in the GDR is capable of. Where Blunk provides the broad sweep, it examines exemplary works in context. Finally, while Blunk’s account ends in the early 1980s, this study devotes a chapter to films of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

This introduction proceeds, in section 1.2 below, briefly to clarify the use of analytical terms in the study. Section 1.3 then traces the narrative of the development of the discourse of youth and generational conflict in modern German history in summary form and demonstrates how it informs the three chapters that form the body of the thesis. It does this by tracing the discourse, which originated in cultural-political movements of the 18th and 19th centuries and was adopted by the oppositional antimodernist *Jugendbewegung* [youth movement] of the period prior to the First World War. This discourse was institutionalised by the mass political utopias of National Socialism and Communism, both of which had to negotiate the elements of generational conflict that was anathema to the social conception of each of them. It then demonstrates how the SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Socialist Unity Party of Germany), the postwar Communist-dominated ruling party in the GDR, drew on elements of this institutionalised discourse in its attempt to construct a unified

² Harry Blunk ‘Alltagsprobleme der Jugend in Spielfilmen der DDR.’ *Deutsche Studien* 19.76 (1987) 373-81.

state and how, through the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (Free German Youth, FDJ) state youth organisation, it set out to incorporate all classes of young people into the state. Because the focus of the thesis that follows is on filmic portrayals of youth in rebellion rather than the FDJ, a more detailed treatment of the degree to which the youth movement and the institutionalised youth organisations shared a common heritage is confined to an excursus at the end of the introduction (section 1.5). Section 1.3 next turns to an examination of the way in which the SED established a hegemony in film production, showing the importance of youth as both the theme of and the audience for feature films, and noting the troubled relationship between filmmakers and the cultural authorities in the GDR. Section 1.4 offers an outline of the chapters that follow.

1.2 Terminology

Before proceeding to the historical contexts, it is appropriate to clarify some of the key terms that will be used in the analysis of GDR film. The title of this study promises an analysis of “images of youth and generational conflict in feature films of the GDR.”

In particular, the terms “image” and “generation” require some initial elucidation.

The term “image” is used to denote utterances in a discourse of youth and generational conflict. The construction “filmic discourse” perhaps best delineates the focus of the study, but “image” was favoured because of its wider visual and literary connotations.

An image can be both a visual and non-visual trope. While the focus here is on film, it was not merely, or even primarily, through the medium of film that the conversation on youth and generational conflict was conducted, and the wider discourse forms part of the context for, but is largely beyond the scope of, this thesis.

The concept of discourse as employed by such cultural theorists as Michel Foucault, nevertheless, remains of importance here. Even to understand “images” narrowly as utterances in a filmic discourse suggests that they are part of a wider conversation on youth and generation. Foucault distinguishes three definitions of the term “discourse”

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word ‘discourse’, I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.³

“Discourse” is used in this thesis particularly in the latter two of these senses. The study identifies certain utterances within the discourse of youth and generational conflict and attempts to reveal the parameters of this discourse in the SBZ/GDR.

Discourse, as the term is used here, views all utterances as part of a wider social conversation and as a site for negotiation and for contestation. This conversation has a history, the discursive parameters change over time. It is possible to trace this conversation through filmic discourse from the turn of the 20th century to the 1990s.

Discourse is a useful analytical tool in discussing the interaction between *Kulturschaffenden* [artists and intellectuals] and the state, between *Geist und Macht*, in the GDR. This relationship was not simply one of repression and resistance, writers,

³ Michel Foucault *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 80

in particular, enjoyed a position of prominence in the cultural life of the GDR. This prominence was, ironically, partly the result of the authorities' only partially successful attempts to restrict the freedom of expression of its artists and intellectuals.

In the introduction to a recent anthology that represents the first English-language collection of essays on German history to adopt a generational theme, Mark Roseman draws a distinction between two analytical definitions of the term "generation."⁴ The first, employed chiefly by sociologists, views generations as discrete stages in a life cycle stretching from childhood to old age. The subject progresses through these usually static stages as s/he ages, participating in conflicts that commonly exist between members of different generations. It is common in the West, for example, for a failure of communication to exist between adolescents and adults, particularly parents. This understanding of generation has obvious relevance for this study, which specifies "youth" in its title, but it does not exhaust the ways in which "generation" is understood in what follows.

The second model, more often favoured by historians, sees generations as historical cohorts. These groups can be identified as possessing a common identity through the influence of a common formative experience that is historically located. As s/he ages, the subject continues to belong to the generational group that shares the imprint of this formative experience, remaining in a fixed structural relationship to those generations with whom s/he is in conflict.⁵ The members of the generation of 1968 in the West,

⁴ Mark Roseman (ed.) Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany 1770-1968, 3.

⁵ Roseman "Introduction: Generation Conflict and German History 1770-1968," 6-7.

for example, retain their strong links with the 1960s and an imagined common identity based on their (perhaps quite different) negotiations of the issues of the 1960s

This study does not deal directly with the “reality” of the experiences of young people in the GDR but with the way in which such experiences are mediated by filmic texts

The generations that it analyses are generations of images rather than people. In relating these images to historically located young people, however, the study combines the life-cycle model of generations with that of the historical cohorts in order to argue that generational identity is formed around particular historical events but that generational conflict is particularly associated with the life-cycle stage called youth. Young people inherit traditions from previous generations of youth, but they adapt these traditions to the changed circumstance in which they find themselves

1.3 Youth and Film in the SBZ/GDR

The special relationship between youth and generational conflict, which is commonly known as youth rebellion, was portrayed in film in all the developmental stages of the GDR. Rooted in German romantic idealism of the 18th and early 19th centuries, this discourse on youth and generational conflict was, in general, antiauthoritarian and antimodern and propagated a belief in the superiority of youth over age. It was as part of this discourse that the early 20th-century *Jugendbewegung*, initially a phenomenon

of middle-class suburban schoolboys, developed its hugely influential views on youth activities. Considering the technological advances of industrialising Germany as spiritually destructive, members of the youth movement wandered the countryside in groups led by agreed leaders from among their own ranks, searching for contact with the traditional, and, it was thought, more authentic, modes of existence of the rural peasantry.

With the politicisation of the *Jugendbewegung* in the interwar Weimar Republic, this discourse remained extremely influential and was absorbed to a large extent by the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth, HJ) in the period before it became a mass youth organisation attached to the Nationalist Socialist state. The notion that the Nazi party was a party of youth struggling against the old, spiritually bankrupt men of the Weimar government was useful to the broad National Socialist movement in its revolutionary phase. Once the Nazi party seized power, however, such a discourse had to be eliminated, both because the Nazis were now the authorities in the state and because antimodern elements were at odds with the new capitalist backers of the Party and with the mechanised militarism it foresaw. This happened with the purging of such social-revolutionary elements of the Nazi party as the SA (*Sturmabteilung*, the paramilitary wing of the Nazi party) and the restructuring of the HJ to institutionalise it as the state youth organisation of Hitler's Germany.

Somewhat anomalously, the revolutionary content of the discourse of youth and generational conflict appears only to have been used by the KPD (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, German Communist Party) of the Weimar Republic against the government, that is, externally. It does not seem to have characterised the relationship

between the Party and its youth wing, the KJVD (*Kommunistische Jugendverein Deutschlands*, Communist Youth Association of Germany) The KJVD was a reserve of the KPD, apparently assisting the Party harmoniously, during the Weimar period Because of this harmonious relationship between the Party and its youth group, it is hardly surprising that when the post-World War II KPD came to think about influencing young people, it considered a youth organisation to be a suitable tool for achieving that end A youth organisation under the control of trusted members of the Party who had experienced the generational alliance between the KJVD and the KPD could perhaps be the mechanism for the dissemination of generational harmony more widely through postwar German society It was Erich Honecker, a prominent member of the Weimar KJVD in the Saar, who was made responsible for youth affairs for the KPD in 1945 He set about creating, in accordance with the postwar KPD's policy of alliance building, a cross-party consensus on the establishment of a single unified youth organisation Originally devised for all the zones of occupied Germany, this task was only successfully achieved in the Soviet Zone of Occupation because in the SBZ, the KPD had the co-operation of the Soviet authorities The new youth organisation was controlled by a central committee that included members from all the SBZ's "antifascist" parties, that is, those parties licensed as such by the occupying authorities, and the church Having put an SBZ-wide youth organisation, the FDJ, in place on a more or less democratic basis, the KPD worked to undermine the power of those members of the central committee of the FDJ who did not belong to the SED, the party jointly formed by the KPD and SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, Social Democratic Party of Germany) in 1946 Over the next 20 years, the SED worked successfully to bring the FDJ more under the wing of the Party, a fact

recognised in the statutes of the FDJ and in SED youth policy. By the mid-1960s, the FDJ was openly being called the 'helper and reserve of the Party'.

The film industry in the SBZ was established on a similar broad antifascist basis as a centralised organisation DEFA (*Deutsche Film Aktiengesellschaft*, German Film Joint-Stock Company). In pursuit of the goal of the re-education, in particular, of the young and in a state in which young people made up a considerable percentage of cinemagoers,⁶ "youth" was frequently the focus of films made by DEFA. Because of the strong cultural resonance of the discourse of youth and generational conflict, it being both reflective and constructive of social relations, youth rebellion was a frequent theme in youth films in the GDR. Because of the control that SED officials had on the culture industry and because many filmmakers had a genuine socialist worldview, generational conflict in film narratives, particularly in the early years of the GDR, was frequently resolved to reflect the policy requirements of the Party.

The KPD/SED had strong convictions about the role of young people within the GDR, and this was to have important implications for the portrayal of youth in film. Working with the SMAD (*Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland*, Soviet Military Administration in Germany), the KPD followed a *Bündnispolitik* [policy of alliances] by which it sought ultimately to centralise all apparatuses of the state by working on a broad antifascist platform. It sought to place "lose Bausteine" [loose building blocks], on which it could later build a centralised state on the Soviet model.⁷ In close consultation with the Soviet authorities, the KPD/SED was slowly able to

⁶ Harry Blunk "Alltagsprobleme der Jugend in Spielfilmen der DDR," 374

⁷ Freya Klier Lug Vaterland, 72

establish hegemonic control of many of the future bases of state power. One of these *Bausteine* was cultural and intellectual life, and within this, film played a particular significant role as a mass, popular medium.

The German phrase *Geist und Macht* [spirit/intellect and power] offers a useful context for discussing the relationship between filmmakers and the state in the SBZ/GDR. In the preface to a 1992 collection on GDR literature, Axel Goodbody and Dennis Tate trace the history of this term from Heinrich Mann's programmatic essays in the 1910s, in a period in which the position of the left-wing intellectual as the voice of the people in unambiguous opposition to the bourgeois state, to the late 1940s when Mann considered returning from American exile to become the first president of the GDR's new Academy of the Arts. They point out that the rhetoric of an equal relationship between *Geist* and *Macht* gained credibility when the author Johannes R. Becher was appointed Minister of Culture, and they quote Becker's claim on this relationship:

Nie waren Kunst und Dichtung so verbunden mit der Macht wie bei uns, nie war die Macht so aufgeschlossen gegenüber Kunst und Dichtung wie bei uns. Geist und Macht – diese tragische Gegensätzlichkeit im Vergangenen geht ihrer Lösung entgegen.⁸

[Never were art and poetry so connected with power as with us, never was power so receptive in relation to art and poetry as with us. Intellect and power – this tragic opposition of the past is faced with its solution]

Goodbody and Tate remark that “this illusion was short-lived.”⁹ It is interesting to note in Becher's quote that a figure in cultural authority is announcing that another discourse of conflict is said to have become resolved by the founding of the GDR. *Geist* and *Macht* have supposedly merged, as can be seen most clearly in the figure of the writer-Minister for Culture Becher.

⁸ Axel Goodbody and Dennis Tate (eds.) *Geist und Macht: Writers and the State in the GDR*, 1.

⁹ Goodbody and Tate 1.

The chapters that follow show that, despite rhetoric and repression, neither the discourse of conflict between the generations nor the unequal and troubled relationship between creative artists and the state ever vanished from the GDR. Artists were accorded a special place in official GDR society, but this was only on the basis of the Party's view of the purpose of culture. As Ehmar Schubbe puts it

Der Künstler genießt als »Ingenieur der Seele« seitens der politischen Führung und des Staates eine Hochschätzung wie nirgends sonst auf der Welt. Andererseits wird er aber auch von der Partei und ihrer Administration gemäßregelt, wenn er seinem Auftrag als »Ingenieur der Seele« nicht gerecht wird.¹⁰

[The artist enjoyed as "engineer of the soul" a high respect from the political leadership and the state like nowhere else in the world. On the other hand, he was reprimanded by the Party and its administration, if he did not perform his task as "engineer of the soul" correctly.]

Up to 1949, filmmaking was relatively free of repression. The call on artists to toe the party line as "engineers of the soul" did not come with any force until the early 1950s, after the SED had abandoned its broad alliance-building of the antifascist-democratic period and had transformed itself into a Stalinist party. It began to emerge in the aftermath of this development that filmmakers and the authorities had conflicting views of how social relationships were to be presented. The SED, drawing on Marxist-Leninist theory, saw itself as the most progressive force in society, the only one with the "correct" vision of the way forwards and the avant-garde of the people in the move towards a Communist society. While in general filmmakers considered themselves committed socialists, the actions of the Party in cultural policy and in its wider policies pushed artists into conflict with the Party. The SED wanted compliant artists who would produce propaganda for their vision of the way forward, but this never happened fully, artists largely remained loyal to socialist ideas but not to the *Realpolitik* of real existing socialism in the GDR.

¹⁰ Schubbe 37

1.4 Chapter Outline

The chapters that follow examine a number of film texts from different stages of the GDR's history, positing a periodization in the portrayal of youth in rebellion. This periodization consists of three broad periods, within each of which there are discernible shifts and nuances. The chronologically arranged terms "consensus, withdrawal, and opposition" characterise these broad periods. The terms suggest that the portrayal of conflict between the generations was deployed in the early years of the SBZ/GDR to support official policies of various kinds, that it later failed to engage official policy, and that it was finally used to oppose the party line.

The years between 1945 and 1965, a period that was in various ways dominated by the word *Aufbau*, mark the period of greatest consensus between politicians and filmmakers in the SBZ/GDR. The very concrete demands of the rebuilding of the social infrastructure ran parallel to the ideological re-education of a population that had largely, however tacitly, supported the Nazi regime. Films of this period group themselves into three broad thematic periods¹¹ – the first dealing with the problems left by Nazism, the second treating issues on the relationship with West Germany, and the third addressing educational questions.

In the first phase of GDR history, the antifascist-democratic period between 1945 and 1950, it is initially fascism and later capitalism that are portrayed as causes of disharmony between the generations and that must be removed to allow for the ideological reconstruction of the family. *Irgendwo in Berlin* (1946) shows a boy who

¹¹ These thematic periods draw on the work of Harry Blunk. See page 32 below.

has been partly socialised in Nazi Germany unconsciously participating in fascist forms of play that tend towards criminality and who lacks the guidance of his strong father who has not yet returned from the war. Hailed as the first socialist film, Unser täglich Brot (1949) charts the break-up of a bourgeois family because of the father's stubborn adherence to capitalism and its reconstruction under the aegis of a *volkseigenen Betrieb* (state-run "people's own" firm). In this ideological shift, the loyal socialist son becomes the symbolic head of the family.

With the founding of the two German states in 1949, the front line of the Cold War was represented most clearly by the open border between the GDR and the Federal Republic. This division was repeated in microcosm in the four occupied zones of Berlin. DEFA's struggle for the ideological commitment of the young people of Berlin was carried out perhaps most famously in the Berlin trilogy of the later 1950's from the writing-directing team of Wolfgang Kohlhaase and Gerhard Klein. The latter two films of the trilogy, Eine Berliner Romanze (1956) and Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser (1957) show that the West is the source of at least some of the conflict between the generations. The naive Uschi in Eine Berliner Romanze believes that her parents are ruining her life when they disapprove of her "carrying on" in the West. Through the financial hardship experienced by her Western boyfriend Hans, she learns, however, that her attraction to the shallow enticements of the West can be no substitute for a steady job and a family that looks after her in the East. Treating a theme that had international resonance at the time, Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser offers a sympathetic portrayal of the *Halbstarken* (hooligan), showing that the class of young people who wanted to have nothing to do with official culture were by no means all

bad. It shows a vibrant youth culture outside official control, but also makes the point that caring social services exist for these young people when they need them.

Made during the cultural thaw that came in the aftermath of the building of the Berlin Wall, Karla (1965) focuses on the disaffection of a young teacher and her students, confronting mistakes being made in the education system and arguing for the need for change in the era in which advances in the area of technology were exemplified by the Soviet space programme. Karla identifies certain people in positions of authority within the GDR as those responsible for generational conflict in society. Despite this critical outlook, the film can be seen to represent an example of consensus filmmaking because it was reflecting an official policy that was attempting to reform the educational system. The film actually locates the blame for problems in a provincial school in the authoritarian attitude of an old Communist headmaster. It suggests that this man should hand over the reins to the younger generation of teachers, and the headmaster himself says that he is on the brink of retirement. In the worst single case of censorship in the GDR, all the films produced in 1965, including Karla, were banned to the archives at the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED in December of that year.

In what might be seen as the middle period in the development of the GDR, the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, many citizens learned to adapt to state repression by conforming externally but also cultivating an area of life that was untouched by official culture. This form of adaptation was called the *Nischengesellschaft*, and it represented a form of withdrawal of engagement with the organs of the state. The 11th Plenum mentioned above also marked the end for many filmmakers of active

engagement with the cultural authorities and their policies, and the portrayal of generational conflict underwent changes. The cultural thaw that followed Honecker's famous announcement in 1971 that there could be "no taboos" for socialist artists, however, gave rise to a number of films in which generational conflict, while part of the narrative, is eclipsed by a wish for the recuperation of true community. Die Legende von Paul und Paula (1973) offers a fantasy of escape from the drudgery of life in the city as part of a nuclear family to the possibilities of individual expression offered by membership of a traditional nomadic extended family. Made in the aftermath of a further period of cultural repression, epitomised by the expatriation of the singer Wolf Biermann in 1976, Solo Sunny (1980) portrays a woman alienated from the structures of the GDR state who attempts to find a meaningful place for herself in society through artistic expression.

In the mid-1980s, filmmakers, along with the rest of the population of the GDR, had to come to terms with an external change that was to have a decisive influence on the way in which dissent was expressed. Mikhail Gorbachev's assumption of leadership of the Soviet Union. This gave increased impetus to the active opposition to the SED that had been growing in the GDR throughout the 1980s in the forum provided by the churches. In searching for images of the *Wende* in DEFA feature films, it must be recognised that there are two distinct stages in this portrayal: before and after events of autumn 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall. Belonging to the first of these periods, Einer trage des anderen Last (1988) attacks the paragon of youth in the eyes of the SED in the shape of a young activist from the early *Aufbau* years who has participated in the FDJ building projects and the securing of the border. It shows that this model of youth, according to the Party, is more interested in engaging in an ideological struggle

with a young clergyman than in granting the last wish of a young woman who is dying from TB

As revelations of the activities of the *Stasi* appeared in the media, two DEFA films released in 1991 explored the surveillance of young people in the GDR, drawing a parallel between the actions of parents and legal guardians and those of the repressive state. Der Verdacht shows how a girl who has been irreproachable in her loyalty to the state, rejects the Party and her own parents who toe the party line, once the Party attempts to break up her relationship with a young man who is considered politically undesirable. Jana und Jan relates the love affair between two teenagers in a state institution for abandoned and abused young people. It shows how they take responsibility for their actions when Jana becomes pregnant and refuse the easy options offered by the officials in the institution. Both of these films reflect the uncertainty of the period in which they were made by ending with scenes that call for a re-examination of their respective narratives

1.5 Excursus The German Youth Movement and Generational Conflict

The development of a discourse of youth and generational conflict can be traced from the primarily cultural movements of the late 18th and mid-19th century to the youth movement of the early 20th century. It was from this movement that the Communists and Nazis in the interwar period modelled their youth groups. These latter politicised groups formed the basis for the postwar FDJ, the organisation by which the KPD/SED's views on youth were to be transmitted to the young.

The emergence of youth revolt and conflict between the generations in late-18th-century Germany is linked both to the emergence of the nuclear family in modern society and to the distinctive cultural history of Germany in the period. The development of what is here called the discourse of youth and generational conflict is closely linked to the challenges to traditional authority during the Enlightenment, the discussion of universal human rights, and the American and French Revolutions in the late 18th century. As feudal social structures began to disintegrate and capitalist social relations emerged to take their place, extended family structures also began to break up, as people moved from the land to the urban areas in which capitalist enterprises were concentrated.

In the context of this Europe-wide diminution of patriarchal power and revolutionary ideas, the German *Sturm und Drang* [Storm and Stress] literary movement of the 1770s, as Joachim Whaley points out, linked the ideal of youth to anxiety about the relationship between modernity and nature.¹² These associations were to have

¹² Joachim Whaley 'Youth in Eighteenth-Century Germany' 48

resonances that reached at least as far as the youth movement of the early 20th century and can perhaps be seen further in the ecological movements of the second half of the 20th century. Whaley goes on to observe that this anxiety was translated in subsequent generations to the political arena in a context in which the German nation was constantly on the brink of being established.

It was with the *Junges Deutschland* [Young Germany] movement in the 1830s and 1840s that “‘youth’ first surfaced as a political slogan in Germany”¹³. Like the *Sturm und Drang*, *Junges Deutschland* was first and foremost a cultural movement of young middle-class men who saw themselves as a part of a spiritual renewal of the German nation. The notion of youth as redeemer of the nation is a crucial one, and the deployment of this idea to political ends. “One of the reasons why the image of united youth was so evocative for Germany’s young bourgeoisie,” writes Mark Roseman of *Junges Deutschland*, “was undoubtedly the weakness of another imagined community the German nation”¹⁴. Similarly, the idea of a united youth was important to the youth movements of the 20th century, which, even in the context of a unified Germany, were presented as a socially critical “imagined community”.

Roseman points out another vital factor in the discussion of youth and generational conflict in Germany, namely, the tendency to identify the patriarchal order of the state with that of the family.¹⁵ Even as the patriarchal extended family was becoming a phenomenon of history, there was a continued identification of paternal authority with

¹³ Rainer S. Elkar “Young Germans and Young Germany: Some Remarks on the History of Germany Youth in the Late Eighteenth and in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” 69

¹⁴ Roseman “Introduction: Generation Conflict and German History 1770-1968,” 13

¹⁵ Roseman 13

the almost universally authoritarian forms of government in 18th- and 19th-century Germany. Seemingly anomalous in the context of the development of the nuclear family, this continued identification gave youth rebellion at the level of the family a particular force in Germany.

It is these factors that constitute the discourse of youth and generational conflict that was absorbed by the youth movement at the beginning of the 20th century: a concern over the relationship between industrial society and nature, the identification of paternal authority with the authority of the state, and the notion of youth as the saviour of the nation. The pre-World War youth movement, the *Wandervogel*, gave this discourse a particular style that was to be influential for half a century.

The first *Wandervogel* branch, founded in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin, in 1901 to provide rambling trips in the countryside for middle-class urban boys,¹⁶ allowed for the creation of a space that offered an alternative to the rigidity of patriarchal family life in the Germany of the *Wilhelmine Reich*. The movement spread rapidly, forming an organisational structure that stretched from the local group to the national. Its importance lies in the way in which it created a strong image of itself as youth in revolt. It attracted unprecedented attention because its activities were planned and run by young people themselves. From the first, one of the movement's most important tenets was that youth should be led by youth. In the context of the patriarchal

¹⁶ Walter Laqueur *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* 13. "The young people of the *Wandervogel* and the groups that succeeded it were for the most part sons and daughters of professional people, middle or higher government officials, or people of similar status in the world of industry and commerce: i.e., the middle classes proper."

"Analysing the biographies of one hundred leading personalities of the youth movement, Walther Jantzen reaches the conclusion that they hailed almost without exception, from middle-class families. 'The aristocracy, the officer corps, the rich entrepreneurs and the proletariat are never, or only very seldom, represented.'"

Wilhelmine Reich, this “free youth movement,” independent of church or political party, offered a space in which young people won for themselves a degree of independent action and self-fashioning. This independence of adult control was itself perceived as a threat to the authority of the family and, ultimately, of the state.

The *Wandervogel* inherited the concern of the *Sturm und Drang* with modernity’s troubled relationship to nature. They literally turned their backs on the industrial city, eschewed, as much as possible, such modern comforts as motorised transport, and camped out in farm outhouses or tents. Assuming the garb of the medieval itinerant scholar, the *Bachant*, they embraced the Romantic enthusiasm for a simpler life that they perceived was still being led in the countryside and left the city to experience “tradition.” From this interest in tradition arose perhaps their greatest contribution to German culture. On their rambles and around their campfires, they sang old folksongs and composed others themselves, and these were collected in songbooks that helped preserve and popularise Germany’s folksong tradition.

The preserving of the folksong tradition was no accidental by-product of the activities of the *Wandervogel* but a conscious campaign by a movement that saw itself, like the earlier youth movements, as the redeemer of the nation. The numerous reformers and lifestyle prophets who attached themselves to the movement to promote their own ends encouraged this belief by the members of the *Wandervogel*. Two events of particular importance in the history of the *Wandervogel* illustrate how the movement saw itself as the redeemer of the nation: the Hohe Meißner festival in 1913 and the movement’s reaction to the First World War.

As the movement grew, infighting led to its splitting into many disparate groups, a fact that undermined the claim that it spoke for German youth as a whole. Attempts were made to reunite the movement, the most famous of which occurred at the Hohe Meißner, a mountain near Kassel, in October 1913. The festival at Hohe Meißner was called to coincide with the large number of patriotic celebrations marking the centenary of the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig in October 1813.¹⁷ The groups who attended heavily criticised the jingoism of these celebrations as they attempted to forge closer links between their disparate ranks. It was proposed that the various *Wandervogel* groups merge into an association that was to be called the *Freideutsche Jugend* [Free German Youth; not to be confused with the similarly named state youth organisation of the GDR], whose aims were expressed in the famous *Meißner Formel* [Meißner formula]:

Die Freideutsche Jugend will ihr Leben vor eigener Verantwortung nach eigener Bestimmung in innerer Wahrhaftigkeit selber gestalten. Für diese innere Freiheit tritt sie unter allen Umständen geschlossen ein.¹⁸

[The Freideutsche Jugend wants to fashion its life itself, on its own responsibility and according to its own choosing, in inner truthfulness. As a body, it unanimously defends this inner freedom under all circumstances]

Within a year of this declaration of independence of the adult world and criticism of its seeming patriotism, *Wandervogel* members assembled on the battlefield. Many of these young German soldiers “were willing to sacrifice their lives because they believed that through fighting, killing, and dying they were contributing to the moral elevation of their country and the progress of humanity.”¹⁹ “At Langemarck in November 1914,” writes Walter Laqueur, “thousands of German students, including

¹⁷ The war against Napoleon in 1813-14 was to be of importance later for the GDR, being the occasion of both popular uprisings and an alliance between Prussia and Russia.

¹⁸ Quoted Harry Pross *Jugend, Eros, Politik: Die Geschichte der deutschen Jugendverbände*, 156.

¹⁹ Robert Wohl *The Generation of 1914*, 51.

many members of the youth movement, stormed the enemy lines and were mown down in swathes, singing ‘Deutschland, Deutschland uber Alles ’”²⁰ This *Schlachtenmythos*²¹ [battle myth] was to enter the mythology of the movement and the country, and was initially seen as confirmation of the moral superiority of the Germans over their enemies. At the outset of the war, this sort of idealism was possible, but the realities of life in the trenches quickly led to disillusionment. Of the 9,185 members of the *Wandervogel* who were mobilised during the war, 2,000 were killed and 250 were missing in action, and of those who returned few had any further interest in the activities of the movement.²² The war inflicted terrible losses on the movement, and effectively led to the death of the *Wandervogel*.

The *Wandervogel* as an organisation did not long survive the war, but a youth movement with an altered style grew vigorously in the Weimar Republic. This *bundische* [the word denotes membership of the free youth movement] phase of the movement differed from the *Wandervogel* in a number of respects. While the *Wandervogel* had been critical of society, it had not tried to change it as the *bundische Jugend* now attempted to. While the *Wandervogel* focused on the development of the individual, the later phase of the *Jugendbewegung* emphasised the role of the collective, stressing discipline and the demands placed on the individual. The romanticism of the *Wandervogel* was being replaced by something tougher. Where the *Wandervogel* took the medieval itinerant scholar as its model and this was

²⁰ Laqueur 89

²¹ For an analysis of this myth and its use by – among others – the Nazis see Bernd Huppauf “Schlachtenmythen und die Konstruktion des »Neuen Menschen «”

²² Pross 179 quoting an issue of the “*Wandervogel*” publication from 1919

reflected in a certain anarchic element and a flamboyance of dress, the *Bunde* placed great stress on discipline and a uniformity of dress

The two phases of the *Jugendbewegung* do, however, evince large areas of continuity. Like the *Wandervogel*, membership of the *bundische* groups was drawn almost exclusively from the middle classes, and acceptance into a group was on the basis of a selection process that varied from group to group. Independence remained a definitive feature of the movement, and there was an adherence to the principle of youth leading youth. Most importantly, the *bundische Jugend* was a politicisation of the *Wandervogel*'s generational protest in the context of the Weimar Republic. Similar to the earlier phase of the youth movement, the *bundische Jugend* attempted to unify its disparate strands in order to provide a unified voice of youth. In the radicalised political climate of the time, however, the fragmentary nature of the youth movement was only increased.

Alongside the free youth movement, there existed numerous youth groups attached to the churches and political parties. Of particular interest here are the youth groups attached to the Communist Party and the National Socialist Party. An examination of the HJ shows the difference between the free youth movement and the phenomenon of the *Staatsjugend* ["state youth"], the title given to the HJ as the only officially allowed youth group in Nazi Germany. The HJ in its institutional stage as the *Staatsjugend* of Hitler's Germany provides the only precedent for a mass, state-controlled youth organisation before the GDR's FDJ.

The history of the HJ may be divided into two periods: that of its movement phase, largely under Karl Gruber, before Hitler assumed power, and that of its established institutional phase, under Baldur von Schirach, after the Nazi *Machtergreifung* [seizing of power]. The first phase of this periodization corresponds to what in the Nazi history of the HJ was called its *Kampfzeit*, its period of struggle. In its movement phase, the HJ bore a certain resemblance to other *bündische Jugend* groups, displaying to some extent those key features of generational conflict and social criticism that have been identified with the *Jugendbewegung*.

As part of the Nazi party, which Hitler presented as the party of youth in opposition to the old men of Weimar constitutional politics, the HJ was part of a movement that defined itself in generational terms. Similarly, as part of the Nazi party, it was critical of, in fact utterly opposed to, the Weimar state. While it always had pretensions to the status of a mass movement, its proletarian focus under Gruber and its position as one of the many groups that vied for the support of young people in Weimar Germany made it involuntarily selective. The oft-noted contrast between those “old timers” who had joined the HJ of their own volition before 1933, and the great mass of young people who were pressed into its ranks after the *Gleichschaltung* is of relevance here. Furthermore, because it was based up until 1931 in Gruber’s native Plauen and not in the Party’s Munich stronghold, it was, as Werner Klose puts it, “nur locker am langen Zügel der Parteileitung, und ihre Organisation kam nur mäßig voran”²³ [only loosely on the long lead of the party leadership, and their organisation made only moderate progress]. The early HJ fought for its autonomous identity within Hitler’s NSDAP, rejecting its relegation to a section of the SA and making unapproved appeals to youth

²³ Werner Klose *Generation im Gleichschritt: Die Hitlerjugend: Ein Dokumentarbericht*, 12.

from Plauen. This last point lent urgency to the taming of the HJ, when, as Hitler was seeking supporters among conservative industrialists, the youth organisation was still spreading the message of proletarian social revolution. Like the social revolutionary SA, the HJ had to be brought under the more strict control of the Party. This process began with the replacement of Gruber in 1930, continued with the transferring of the leadership from Plauen to Munich in 1931 and the appointment of von Schirach as *Reichsjugendführer* in 1932, and was completed with the establishment of the HJ as the *Staatsjugend* of the Nazi state once Hitler came to power.

If the HJ, then, resembled a *bundische* group, there were also some crucial differences. From the very start, the HJ was devoted to one political doctrine and was resolved to help establish its total mastery over Germany. This assurance in the political sphere was not a feature of the *bundische Jugend*, which in political matters “was notoriously hesitant and refrained from giving full support to any one party or political programme”²⁴. In line with its revolutionary tendencies, the HJ adopted many of the agitational tactics of the Communist Party, including the use of mass demonstrations and physical violence.²⁵ Rambling, group camps, and the singing of songs were part of the HJ, but they were not its chief activity; shows of strength in the streets assumed that honour. Whatever the ambitions of Gruber, the HJ was seen by the party leadership as a paramilitary training organisation that prepared young men for the life in the SA, the SS, or the army.

Like the HJ, the KJVD was closely linked to a political party, in this case the KPD of

²⁴ Peter Stachura *Nazi Youth in the Weimar Republic* 90

²⁵ Stachura 92

the Weimar Republic. Vying for much the same constituency as the National Socialists, the KPD also portrayed itself as a party of youth that aimed to bring down the old men of the Weimar government and save the nation. There did not exist the same generational conflict between the KPD and the KJVD, however, as existed between the NSDAP and the HJ during its movement stage. The KPD participated in the discourse of youth and generational conflict on the societal level but an alliance existed between the generations at the level of the organisation.

Analysing the interwar KPD, Klaus-Michael Mallmann critiques the explanation of Communism in terms of generational conflict by commentators in the Weimar Republic. “Die behauptete besondere Affinität zwischen Jugend und Kommunismus,” he argues, “kann sich lediglich auf das dynamische Selbstbild der Partei stützen, auf ein propagandistisch geschaffenes Image also, keineswegs aber auf deren Organisationserfolge”²⁶ [The special affinity that is claimed between youth and Communism rests solely on the dynamic self-image of the Party, that is, on an image created through propaganda but in no way on its organisational successes]. In fact, he shows that “der KJVD dominant aus jenem kleinen Generationssegment bestand, das bereitwillig der Tradition ihrer autoritären Väter folgte und nicht gegen sie rebellierte”²⁷ [the KJVD consisted predominantly of that small generational segment that eagerly followed the tradition of their authoritarian fathers and did not rebel against them].

²⁶ Klaus-Michael Mallmann *Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik. Sozialgeschichte einer revolutionären Bewegung*, 183

²⁷ Mallmann 190

The experience of generational harmony between the KPD and its youth wing in the Weimar Republic is an important context for the creation of a united youth group open to all young people in the state in the postwar period. In discussing the development of youth policy in the SBZ/GDR, Erich Honecker stands out as a key figure. A member and later a leader of the KJVD, he was arrested for illegal activities with the proscribed Communist youth organisation in 1935 and sentenced to a ten-year jail term in 1937. Following his liberation in April 1945, he became youth secretary with the reforming KPD. In that role, he was instrumental in the founding of the FDJ in 1946 and served as its first (and only – the post became first secretary) general secretary until 1955. Thereafter, he continued to play a prominent role in the Party in a career that culminated in his serving as First Secretary of the SED and Central Committee (*Zentralkomitee*, ZK) of the SED, the supreme position of power in the GDR.

Given Honecker's experiences in the KJVD, it is unsurprising that, when he thought about influencing young people in postwar Germany, he thought about a youth group modelled on those of the Weimar period. Honecker considered reconstituting the KJVD, but this option was specifically rejected by the so-called Ulbricht Group of KPD activists who had returned from exile in Moscow and who wanted to present the new youth organisation as non-partisan. By avoiding overt Communist rhetoric, the Ulbricht Group were aiming at the creation of institutions on a broad antifascist platform but in such a way that they could allow for the later centralisation of all political institutions. Meeting in the SBZ in spring 1945, this group decided on the strategy summed up in the phrase "Es muß demokratisch aussehen, aber wir müssen

alles in der Hand haben”²⁸ [It must look democratic, but we must have everything in hand] The way in which control was acquired by KPD representatives in the area of youth policy is analogous to the way control was won in other institutions during what became known in GDR historiography as the “antifascist-democratic” period between 1945 and 1949

In creating the FDJ, the framers of youth policy consciously created an organisation that in its iconography, ideology, and material practices resembled the German youth movement, the *Jugendbewegung*, but that attempted to go beyond it. Speaking at the Second Parliament of the FDJ in Meißen in 1947, Erich Honecker discussed the independent youth movement of the Weimar Republic, admitting to its “good traditions.” He declared, however, that it had been a failure, »weil sie es nicht verstand, den gesunden Erlebnisdrang der Jugend mit der Erfüllung bestimmter notwendiger gesellschaftlicher Aufgaben zu verbinden«²⁹ [“because it did not understand to connect the healthy youth’s thirst for experience with the fulfilling of certain necessary social tasks”]

In the historiography of the FDJ, the new organization was placed in the context of the history of the youth movement but its unity was stressed

Erstmalig in der Geschichte der deutschen Jugendbewegung entstand eine einheitliche Jugendorganisation, in der junge Menschen verschiedener sozialer Herkunft und weltanschaulicher Überzeugung vereint sind. Die Gründung der FDJ beendete die jahrzehntelange Spaltung der deutschen Jugendbewegung und war ein Wendepunkt ihrer Geschichte. Auf ant imperialistisch-demokratischer Grundlage gegründet, ist die FDJ die politische Organisation der Jugend in ihrem Kampf um politische und soziale Rechte.³⁰

²⁸ From Wolfgang Leonhard’s report on the “Ulbricht Group” May 1945. Herman Weber (ed.) *DDR. Dokumente zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1945-1985*, 30.

²⁹ Winfried Ranke “Linke Unschuld? Unbefangener oder unbedachter Umgang mit fragwürdig gewordener Vergangenheit,” 103.

³⁰ *FDJ-Chronik* (Berlin/Ost, 1976) 16. Adapted from Arnold Freiburg and Christa Mahrud *FDJ. Der sozialistische Jugendverband der DDR*, 22 where it was quoted as follows: “Erstmalig in der Geschichte der deutschen Jugendbewegung” sei “eine einheitliche Jugendorganisation” entstanden, in

[For the first time in the history of the German youth movement a unified youth organisation emerged in which young people of differing social backgrounds and ideological persuasions are united. The founding of the FDJ ended the decades-long split in the German youth movement and was a turning point of its history. Established on anti-imperialistic-democratic principles the FDJ is the political organisation of youth in its struggle for political and social rights.]

The FDJ was an organisation that drew on the traditions of the *Jugendbewegung*, but its founders saw it as a conscious improvement on those traditions. The improvements that they made, however, removed key features that make the *Wandervogel* and the *bundische Jugend* understandable as a coherent movement. The FDJ continued such traditions of the *Jugendbewegung* as rambling, camping, and singing folksongs, but it was also deeply involved in the rebuilding of East Germany in the immediate aftermath of the war and later in other social projects. In the two decades after its founding, the “necessary social tasks” that the FDJ had to perform would become clearer. From the position in the immediate aftermath of the war in which the “Überparteilichkeit” [non-partisanship] of the new youth organisation was emphasised, the FDJ developed to a point where, in the 4th Statute of the SED of January 1963, it was described as “der aktive Helfer und Reserve der Partei” [the active helper and reserve of the Party]³¹. Eventually directly linked to the Party, the FDJ became a tool of conformity among young people. An exemplary record in the youth organisation was a prerequisite for party membership and for the many high positions. These reasons among others account for the fact that, during much of the history of the GDR, almost 100 percent of school and university students belonged to the FDJ but the figure was much lower among young workers, who had different rates

der junge Menschen verschiedener sozialer Herkunft und weltanschaulicher Überzeugung vereint sind“ Die Gründung der FDJ habe „die jahrzehntelange Spaltung der deutschen Jugendbewegung“ beendet und sei „ein Wendepunkt ihrer Geschichte. Auf antiimperialistisch-demokratischer Grundlage gegründet“, sei „die FDJ die politische Organisation der Jugend in ihrem Kampf um politische und soziale Rechte“

³¹ Freiburg and Mahrad 26-9

of membership depending on the industry in which they worked ³² Freiburg and Mahrad point out that in 1981, two-thirds of the young people between the relevant ages of 14 and 25 were members of the FDJ. Although it did play “a major role in political indoctrination, the selection of cadres, and leadership training,” the organisation was “not necessarily experienced as a one-sided instrument of coercion”³³ because it also allowed for camaraderie on outings and activities. The tasks that the FDJ came to perform for the SED, however, would ensure that all socially critical and rebellious elements of the organisation were removed as youth was seen as reserve of the Party rather than as redeemer of the nation.

³² Freiburg and Mahrad 11

³³ Mary Fulbrook Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989 60

2. Images of the *Aufbau*

2.1 Introduction: Consensus

Generational conflict was portrayed widely in East German film in the first 20 years after the war. Dominated in various ways by the word *Aufbau*¹ [construction], the years between 1945 and 1965 mark the period of greatest consensus between politicians and filmmakers in the SBZ/GDR. The very concrete demands of the rebuilding of the physical infrastructure ran parallel to the ideological re-education of a population that had largely, if tacitly, supported the Nazi regime. Generational conflict was, however, explained differently at different stages of the first 25 years of the GDR's development.

Given the importance of the issue of youth and generational conflict in German cultural history, it is unlikely that this trope would have disappeared from cultural works even if the Communist state that the KPD promised had come into being immediately after the war. The complete social harmony that it was imagined this Communist society would bring was never achieved in the GDR, and the filmic portrayal of generational conflict continued to be an important way of acknowledging wider conflict in the state.

¹ The immediate postwar years were primarily concerned with the reconstruction (*Wieder-Aufbau*) of the physical infrastructure of the state and thereafter with the construction (*Aufbau*) of a socialist society. See Elimar Schubbe (ed.) *Dokumente zur Kunst-, Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED*, 54. Schubbe reprints the officially sanctioned periodization of developments in both cultural policy and wider political events in the SBZ/GDR. In the periodization of wider political developments that was current when Schubbe published his book in 1972, the first four phases that form a context for this chapter are: the antifascist-democratic order (1945-1950), the creation of the basic structures of

The following chapter examines images of youth in films made in the GDR from 1946 to 1965. It shows that in attempting to account for conflict between the generations in the SBZ/GDR from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s, films offered different reasons at different time for this phenomenon. Films evinced a socialist viewpoint, but this was rarely the socialism that the SED promoted. “Die Geschichte der DDR,” writes Thomas Heimann, “läßt sich rückblickend als eine Geschichte des Scheiterns dieses Hegemoniestrebens der SED bewerten”² [The history of the GDR can be assessed in hindsight as the failure of this striving for hegemony by the SED]. During the period examined in this chapter, nonetheless, films actively contribute to the stability of the SBZ/GDR by showing that generational conflict can be resolved within the officially constructed culture and institutions, such as family, the workplace, or the classroom. They achieve this by offering different reasons for generational conflict during the GDR’s first 20 years.

This point is reflected in the division of the chapter that follows into three sections, which corresponds to what Harry Blunk calls the “drei große Themenkreise” [three large thematic concerns] of representations of youth in this period.³ The first section, 2.2, deals with the period from 1946 to 1949, roughly corresponding to the period of GDR history known as the antifascist-democratic period. It examines films that participate in the construction of broad-based generational alliances. The second section, 2.3, examines films that treat the division of postwar Germany into two states,

socialism (1951-1958), the developed construction of socialism and the victory of socialist forms of production (1958-1962), and the comprehensive construction of socialism (1963-1967).

² Thomas Heimann DEFA, *Künstler und SED Kulturpolitik*, 9.

³ Harry Blunk “Die Darstellung von Jugend- und Sozialisationsfragen im Gegenwartsspielfilm der DDR.” *Die DDR in ihrer Spielfilmen*, 294. The first of Blunk’s *Themenkreise* examines the “Konsequenzen [...] der politischen und moralischen Katastrophe des Nationalsozialismus” (294), the second “Fragen, die aus der Sicht der DDR durch das Nebeneinander unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsordnungen auf deutschem Boden aufgeworfen wurden” (298), and the third “pädagogische Fragen” (300).

at a time in the 1950s when the SED was still tactically manoeuvring for a possible reunification. The final film analysis section, 2.4, analyses films that, in the aftermath of the closing of the border between East and West Germany, a move prompted at least partly by the emigration of young educated workers from the East to the West, deal with the education system because it is here that the state and its value system engage most fully with young people. The chapter traces a developing narrative of increasing state control that was paralleled by a decreasing willingness of filmmakers to engage cultural issues on the state's terms.

2.2 The Construction of the Antifascist-Democratic Family

This section looks at two films that were made under the direction of left-wing filmmakers from the Weimar period, Gerhard Lamprecht's Irgendwo in Berlin (1946) and Slatan Dudow's Unser täglich Brot (1949), the last of which was seen as the GDR's first socialist film. They roughly span the period called the antifascist-democratic period from 1945 to the founding of the GDR in 1949. These films portray the creation of generational alliances within the family, a factor that aids in the rebuilding of the country in the aftermath of the war.

The physical ruination of the German urban landscape was the starkest sign of the destruction of a way of life, and these ruins needed to be cleared in order to construct a

new state. The physical work of rebuilding was a necessary step. In the work of rebuilding German culture in the SBZ/GDR, the use of such artistic techniques based on the modernist fragment as montage and collage, which had been common in the work of socialist artists in the Weimar Republic, was rejected in the context of the country's broken cityscapes. The cities had now to be literally rebuilt, and the aim of the Moscow-trained KPD of the Ulbricht group was to construct a unified state on the Soviet model. What they were aiming for was a whole society.

Many films of the period from both the East and the West, and both those considered here, share themes that Heinz Kersten enumerates with the following list: "Trümmer, Hunger, Kriegsheimkehrer, Umsiedler, Schwarzmarkt und vor diesem Hintergrund Propaganda für den Aufbau"⁴ [Rubble, hunger, war returnees, resettlers, the black market and, against this background, propaganda for the rebuilding]

2.2.1 *Irgendwo in Berlin* (1946)

Irgendwo in Berlin [*Somewhere in Berlin*] (directed by Gerhard Lamprecht) places the blame for conflict between the generations on fascism and war, which destroy the natural alliance between the generations, based on family, work, and community. It shows Gustav, a boy of about ten who has been partly socialised in Nazi Germany, unconsciously participating in fascist forms of play that link him to criminal behaviour and bring him to the attention of the police. Gustav lacks the guidance of his mechanic father who has not yet returned from the war. Because her husband is

⁴ Heinz Kersten: "Entwicklungslinien" Film in der DDR, 24

absent, Gustav's mother must work and is, therefore unable to give her son the parental attention that would, it is intimated, keep him out of trouble. When the soldier/father/worker does finally return, he must, with the help of his neighbours, reintegrate into the community that is in need of his fatherly qualities, his strength to clear the rubble, and his abilities as a worker in order to re-establish a coherent society. The film shows that in order to re-establish his relationship with his son, he must literally rebuild his garage business, despite the trauma he feels in the face of his wartime experiences and of what has been lost and destroyed at home. The *Aufbauphase* is portrayed as a period not only of rebuilding the physical structure of the father's garage business but also in the ideological reconstruction of the patriarchal family as the basis of a caring and effective community.

The young people on whom this film focuses are the fatherless, or in some cases parentless, children (almost exclusively boys) of school-going age who play unsupervised among the ruins of postwar Berlin. The focus is primarily on Gustav, a boy of about ten, on Gustav's friend Willi, and on the leader, the Kapitan, of the gang with which they associate. This gang organises elaborate war games in the rubble of their neighbourhood, using fireworks, which have been bartered for stolen food, as weapons. All the members of the gang are of an age that reveals that they grew up in Nazi Germany, but they are not old enough to have taken part in the HJ or the fighting for the city. They are, nevertheless, clearly influenced by the war-centred Nazi culture in which they grew up. The boys are shown to be open to doing the right thing, as shown by the efforts of Eckmann, a local artist, to end the war games (2d),⁵ but because of the absence of fathers, they lack suitable supervision and direction. The

⁵ The numbers and lower-case letters that appear in brackets after scene descriptions refer to the location of that scene in the analysis of the narrative in the appendix.

film charts the attempts of the members of the community outside the boys' immediate families to deal with this lack, but, by showing that these initial attempts are only partially successful, it ultimately privileges the 'richtige Zuhause' (61) [proper home], consisting of a strong and upright father figure at the head of the nuclear family

That the gang represents a threat to its community is underlined at a number of points in the narrative. The ideology of the gang can be seen to owe something to the HJ and related Nazi militarised organisations. In addition to the obvious militarism of its war games, it is a hierarchical structure with a *Kapitan* at its head. Its ethos seems to demand that courage be tested, for example, when Willi climbs the exterior wall of a bomb-gutted building. This unnecessarily dangerous act is approved of only by a shell-shocked soldier, and it results in Willi's death (7a). Similarly, when Willi clashes with the Kapitan, the latter sends him a note, the text of which suggests that insults must be answered by the giving of "satisfaction" "Du hast mich feige Memme geschimpft. Bist selber eine Memme, wenn du nicht sofort kommst" (7a) [You called me a cowardly sissy. You're a sissy yourself if you don't come immediately]. This kind of "duelling" may be seen as a legacy from the militarised Wilhelmine Germany, which Norbert Elias describes as a "satisfaktionsfähige Gesellschaft" ⁶

The gang most directly attacks a community viewed as consisting of interdependent nuclear families through its dealings with the blackmarketeer Birke, with whom they exchange food stolen from their families for stolen fireworks for their war games. The seriousness of this crime is stressed by many other incidents that show the scarcity of food. In the simplified life that the destruction of the city has brought, interaction

⁶ Norbert Elias *The Germans* ix

between people is mediated by the bare necessities of life that might be taken for granted in peacetime. Among these, food is of particular importance. Food, and the hunger that results from its lack, remains important in the symbolic interaction of Gustav's family. For example, Gustav steals the remainder of a sausage from his mother's cupboard to barter for fireworks for his war games, an incident that makes clear that blackmarketeering strikes directly at families (2a). It also shows the degree to which the lack of a father's controlling hand has facilitated the distortion of the boy's sense of right and wrong.

Gustav is not, however, completely warped. His pity for a hungry soldier prompts him unknowingly to lead his father home (3c), and the father's hunger remains a motif that justifies further turns in the narrative. Finally brought back together, the family group is split up even as it is reunited in an embrace by the spilling of a bag of onions (3d). Significantly, it is Gustav who knocks them with his elbow and who runs away from his parents to pick them up. After the joy of this reunion, it soon becomes apparent that the father is not the man he once was. He does not feel comfortable in his old clothes that are now too big for him (4a). Finding his way back into society, to resume his civilian clothes, necessitate an antidote to the physical attenuation that the war has wrought on his body. Gustav and Willi, unable to grasp the mental strains that the war and its aftermath have wrought on the returned soldier, decide that food is the sole cause of his problems in reintegrating. Willi aims to alleviate his friend's father's hunger by making up a parcel from the stolen food that Birke has stored in his room (5c). With this food, Gustav hopes to build up his father's appetite for rebuilding his business (5a).

The members of the gang, therefore, are not all bad, they merely lack proper guidance. That the paternal lack is detrimental is made clear from the outset by Gustav's falling into the company of the thief Waldemar and by the visit of a detective to Gustav's house in the opening sequences (1, 2) of the film. We learn that he has committed a number of misdemeanours, including playing truant from school and stealing food. He is, it is suggested, on a slippery slope that may deliver him into a criminal underground in which playing truant is considered, in Waldemar's word, *großartig* (1g) [wonderful]. Gustav is shown to be in danger of such a fate because of his misdemeanours and his fascination with Waldemar's legerdemain. The detective reveals that Gustav has also been involved with another criminal, the blackmarketeer Birke. Gustav's mother is naturally concerned by these developments. She explains to the detective that she must work because her husband has not returned from a prisoner-of-war camp, and it is for this reason that she is not able to look after Gustav properly (2c). She does scold Gustav (2e) and tell him to stop seeing Willi, but it is clear that a firmer hand is needed.

The ineffectiveness of Gustav's mother is just one illustration of how relationships between men are stressed at the expense of the relationships between the sexes. Male friendship is seen to be a powerful bond. The two most intimate scenes between husband and wife apart from the reunion are the one in which the wife removes her sleeping husband's shoe, obviously awestruck at the suffering at which it intimates, and the scene in a tailor's shop, where Gustav's father is fitted for new clothes. They are never shown alone. The restoration of order is dependent on the reunion of father and son, the reunion of husband and wife is seen to be largely unproblematic. Similarly, Gustav's father and Onkel Karle, like Willi and Gustav, share what they

have Karle gives him advice and shares his cigarette with him because “es reicht für uns beide” (6d) [“it’s enough for both of us”] Karle had also given the onions to Gustav’s mother and played the surrogate father role with Gustav In a later, intimate scene, Onkel Karle tells Gustav of the tragic loss of his son, but at no stage of the film does he discuss his wife (8c)

With the ineffectiveness of women and in the absence of the gang’s fathers, members of the community attempt to fill this gap Two men in particular in the neighbourhood attempt to play the fatherly role and take Gustav and his friends in hand The artist, Herr Eckmann, is well intentioned but largely unsuccessful as a strong surrogate father In an early scene, he explains his position to a neighbour

[] wenn ich so jung war hab’ ich auch nicht anders getrieben Man vergißt das nur wenn man älter wird [] Kinder sind Kinder, zu allen Zeiten immer dieselben Nur die Zeiten sind andere (1f)

[when I was that age I didn’t act any differently It’s just that you forget that when you get older () Children are children, the same at all times Only the times are different]

Eckmann is a sympathetic character, offering what help he can to his neighbours He stops the boys from playing war (2d) and reasons with them, and this seems to work for most of them, including Gustav and Willi, but the Kapitän is bored by everything apart from this war game Later we see that Gustav and Willi have also taken up the game with the fireworks again (3c) Eckmann also takes Willi in after he has been thrown out by Birke (5g), and he starts to teach him why stealing is wrong (6c) He undertakes to plea for Willi with Birke and to put things right, but he is ultimately unable to save the boy from death

The carpenter Karl Roper, a friend and neighbour of Gustav’s parents and the boy’s nominal uncle, plays a similar protective role for Gustav He takes a somewhat firmer

line, however, than Eckmann. He confronts the boy over his bad behaviour in the first scene in which he appears. "Schwindele nicht," Onkel Karle warns Gustav, "ich weiß alles. Du hast die Schule geschwanz't" (1g) ['Don't lie, I know everything. You skipped school']. A repeat of this behaviour will earn him a visit from Onkel Karle and a thrashing. He explains this seemingly harsh behaviour to a colleague: "Man darf doch nicht durchgehen lassen, wo der Vater nicht da ist" (1g) ["You certainly can't let things pass when the father isn't around"]

If Eckmann and Onkel Karle are, ultimately, inadequate father figures, their attempts are important to the narrative as examples of the closeness of their community. The film constructs the *Weltstadt* of Berlin as a community or, rather, a collection of contiguous communities. It attempts the ideological reconstruction of the families that will form the basis of communities that will be able to work together to rebuild the state. The action, the title suggests, is typical of the city. It takes place *irgendwo*, somewhere that could be anywhere within this urban space. Any instance of anonymity or alienation, characteristics that had been identified by artists and social thinkers of the Weimar period as endemic to city life, needs to be addressed to protect the community from such predators as thieves and blackmarketeers and to aid in the difficult reintegration of returned soldiers.

The efforts of Eckmann and Onkel Karle, well intentioned as they are, do not achieve their goal. The boys continue to play their war games. They are not, however, beyond redemption. Some of the qualities that Gustav and Willi display can be redirected for the good of the family and the community. They show loyalty to their gang, which is after all, a form of community, if a degenerate one. More importantly, they put great

emphasis on loyalty to each other as friends. When Gustav's mother tells him that "Willi ist kein Umgang für dich" (2e) ["Willi is no kind of company for you"], he replies that Willi is his friend. The phrase that they use to mediate this relationship is "im Stich lassen" [abandoning, leaving in the lurch]. "Also, du lässt mich im Stich" (2d) ["So, you're leaving me in the lurch"], Willi accuses Gustav when the latter refuses to take part in the war game, Gustav cannot refuse when it is put like that "Willi hat immer gesagt, er lässt mich nicht im Stich" (8b) ["Willi always said that he would leave me in the lurch"], Gustav tells one of his friends sadly after Willi's death. This kind of loyalty can be positive and useful to the community. It is in exactly these terms that Onkle Karle and Gustav's father talk about the responsibilities to his family (4c, 6f). It is also the phrase that Eckmann uses to tell Willi that the community of friends who have come together after the fall that fatally injures him will not abandon him (7c).

If there are positive qualities to be salvaged from the gang, it is, on balance, a negative influence that leads its members to criminality, a fact underlined when its leader, the Kapitan, joins forces with the crook, Waldemar (8b). If Gustav has learned his lesson about criminals from the physical abuse he receives from Waldemar (5d), he must still break the spell of violence cast by the war games, a very clear link to Nazi forms of play. As he waits for Willi to die, Gustav firmly rejects the militancy of this group. In response to the shell-shocked soldier's comments on Willi "Soldaten sterben Soldaten sterben" ["Soldiers die Soldiers die"], he recognises that Willi "ist doch kein Soldat. Er ist bloß ein kleiner Junge" (7e) ["is not a soldier. He's only a small boy"]

Similar to the way in which Eckmann and Onkel Karle act as mentors respectively for Willi and Gustav, parallels are drawn between Gustav's family and Willi's "family," whereby Willi's family are the antitype of Gustav's. They both contain the elements of father figure, mother figure, and son, but this structural similarity serves merely to point up their differences. The members of Gustav's family are biologically related, work hard, and are law abiding. Gustav's father returns a stolen wallet (4b), despite the temptation of the large sum of money inside to a man whose thinness and hunger are frequently noted. He is also aghast when he hears that the police have visited his house (4a). The family that Willi lives with – consisting of Willi, Birke, and Frau Schell – are not related and they all profit, either directly or indirectly, from Birke's blackmarketeering. Birke is the provider in this sense, but he is lazy when there is legitimate work to be done, refusing, for example, to help Frau Schell to stack the shelves of her shop (2b). In contrast to Onkel Karle's insistence that Gustav go to school, Birke has a philosophy that allies him with Waldemar and his favourable views on truancy: "Ich sage immer, Kinder, lernt nix, sonst muss't ihr arbeiten" (2b) ["I always say: Children, don't learn anything or else you'll have to work"]. Gustav has, as Frau Schell admits, "ein richtiges Zuhause" (6i) ["a proper home"]. Despite the problems that Gustav's family experiences after the father's absence of a year, they are a relatively "normal" family.

"Du bist doch nicht allein," Onkel Karle tells Gustav, "der Willi ist es gewesen. Darum musste er sterben" (8c) ["You are not alone. Willi was. That's why he had to die"]. Despite the semblance of a family, Willi is actually alone in the world, he has no "richtiges Zuhause." In Frau Schell's house he falls under the influence of Birke and resorts to deception and stealing. His sense of morality is warped and must be

corrected by Eckmann (6c) Despite his misdemeanours, Willi is “ein gutes Kerlchen” (7d) [“a good little chap”] who, through his action to help the father of his friend, sets in motion the train of events that crystallises the undisciplined boys into a working group For this Willi must be sacrificed It is in the scene in which he dies that the boys have come together collectively to perform an action that shows their potential to be part of the adult world mourning Willi The friendship of Gustav and Willi ends with the latter’s death and, after his period of mourning, the way is clear for Gustav to re-establish a firm bond with his father

Gustav’s father must also, however, undergo a transformation The father returns home, but the reality does not match the dreams he had had of home during his time as a prisoner of war The city is destroyed and “alles, was man so muhsam geschaffen hat, ist zerstört” (6f) [“everything that one had worked so hard to create is destroyed”] This has been a mighty blow to him “Du musst Geduld mit mir haben,” he gently admonishes Karle who is urging him to remember his responsibilities “Weiß ja gar nicht, was das ist, ein Mensch zu sein Ich will es schon wieder lernen” (6f) [You must have patience with me Don’t know any more what it means to be a human being I want to learn it again] Onkel Karle reminds his friend of his responsibilities to his son (4c, 6d) These coincide with the rebuilding of his business The father promised Gustav that he would come back and set up his garage business again This will be the resumption of normality, the fulfilment of promises

The film ends as it begins, with an image of rebuilding and a communal act of work The first scene of the film shows two builders working on top of a building and proceeds to the narrative without a cut, picking up the mob chasing Waldemar The

second shot bring us to ground level where Waldemar pick his way swiftly over the rubble. As the mob chases him, they pass by women engaged in clearing the rubble, the famous *Trummerfrauen* [the women who, in the absence of men, cleared the rubble of postwar Germany's cities]. The ruins have become the habitat for such predators and Waldemar is finally able to give the mob the slip by hiding in the ruined cellar. The film's final image shows collective action uninterrupted by such criminal action. All the children in the neighbourhood lend a hand to clear the rubble that offers a haven for those who would harm family and community. Now, the returned soldier and his son are united in their efforts. The *Aufbau*-potential of the boys who formerly ran riot in the ruins has been harnessed.

2.2.2 *Unser täglich Brot* (1949)

If *Irgendwo in Berlin* begins with a gap in the family, the absent father, *Unser täglich Brot* [Our Daily Bread] (directed by Slatan Dudow) opens with an excess of family. Because of the difficulties of the postwar period, the lower middle-class Webers are thrown back together under the roof of the parental home. Beginning in 1946, the film shows how over the course of the antifascist-democratic period from the end of the war to the founding of the GDR in 1949, one must choose which economic system to make a commitment to. It makes clear that the outcome of this choice will affect the cohesiveness of the patriarchal family. In the changing political situation of the postwar SBZ, the family disintegrates under the pressures of conflicting responses to these developments, but it is largely reconstructed under the leadership of the

committed Communist son to work harmoniously together under the roof that the bigger family of a *volkseigenen Betriebs* [‘people’s own’ enterprise] offers

Unser täglich Brot also deploys the motifs mentioned above – of rubble, hunger, war returnees, resettlers, and the black market as a context for propaganda for the rebuilding – that were common to many postwar German films. It deploys them, however, for a particular state and a particular ideology. Irgendwo in Berlin imagines the nuclear family in a coherent community as the agency for the reconstruction of Germany. Unser täglich Brot, “d[er] in der Filmgeschichtsschreibung der DDR als erster sozialistischer DEFA-Film gilt”⁷ [which was recognised in GDR film historiography as the first socialist DEFA film], takes a distinctly pro-socialist and anticapitalist viewpoint and welcomes the changes taking place in the new GDR, a state that had been established shortly before the film was released.⁸ Focusing on one family, it asks how bread is to be put on the table in the postwar world. It presents the movement towards a socialist state as one that the younger generation largely embraces as positive, while the father rejects it as ridiculous and unworkable.

The father, Karl Webers, is portrayed as a man attempting to maintain the position of the typical Wilhelmme patriarch in changed times in which the social structures that supported such figures are gone. As the head of the household, he expects and receives the “belegte Stulle” [buttered sliced of bread] for his breakfast when there was no butter for anyone else (2c, 5b), despite the fact that it is the younger people in the house who are going out to do, in some case, heavy work. While there are more pressing problems, chief among them being from where the next day’s bread is to

⁷ Kersten 24

⁸ Kersten 24

come, he insists on strict adherence to such minutiae of order in the house as his receiving his correct cup (4a) Attempting to maintain his position at the head of the household, he also remains deferential to the old hierarchies of the capitalist order The chief accountant with Renner und Kompanie for twenty years before its destruction in the war, he waits at home to receive instructions to return to work He is able to relive the days in which he controlled large sums of money only by relating them to an uninterested waiter in his local bar (3c) When he fails to be summoned by his old employer or the others to whom he writes, he undertakes a trip to the Renner mansion Here he finds his first concrete evidence of the changed times seemingly untouched, the mansion has been abandoned and wrecked (6d) Unwilling and seemingly unable to change with the times, he alienates himself from his adult children to the point that, one by one, they leave the parental home As the film progresses, his twin five-year-old daughters are used as an index of the father's retreat not only from the reality but also from the joys of life (8a, 8k)

The chief opposition is between this patriarchal father and his eldest son, the impetuous Ernst, a committed socialist who is working to rebuild the industrial works that formerly belonged to capitalist Renner und Kompanie as an enterprise owned by the workers (7b) Around this central and antagonistic generational conflict, the other members of the household hold variations on these positions Inge, Ernst's sister, joins the new socialised Renner to find the man to whom she has recently been attracted, Peter Strube, is now directing its operations (6a) Harry, Ernst's brother and the father's favourite son, follows his father in advocating a capitalist position, and he becomes involved with an entrepreneur called Furbringer, whose dealings include holding flour in reserve in order to create a false scarcity and maximise profits (6h)

Like Irgendwo in Berlin, in which relationships are mediated through food, Unser täglich Brot, as its title suggests, focuses on how the daily bread is to be provided for the family. This film differs from Irgendwo in Berlin in moving beyond the question of the immediate requirements to ask how these necessities can be supplied on a sustained basis. It charts the changes from the year 1946, with which the film opens, when Berliners must go out into the hinterland to get food, to the thriving city of 1949. In terms of competing economic systems, the film shows that socialism, if worked at in a determined way, will provide food for its people. It shows how those Renner workers who, in the difficult initial stages of getting the factory up and running, keep faith with the socialist idea of workers owning the means of production will be rewarded by free food once the production starts (8c). By contrast, those who choose the path of capitalism, may find themselves, like Harry Webers, eventually brought to the desperate point of mugging in order to be able to put bread on the table (9f).

In terms of conflicting generations, the film demonstrates that it is the young who will lead the way into the socialist future. While Karl Webers attempts to recapture his previous life as an important employee in a large capitalist firm by talking about it in a local bar (3c), his children are out dealing with the realities of work in the postwar world. Ernst's socialist worldview means that he is already convinced of the long-term correctness of what looks to some of the workers at Renner like an unpromising process. His sister Inge, however, shows no evidence of socialist conviction. Her motivation in moving to Renner comes from the need of a job after she has been badly treated by a number of other employers. She is shown to be a pragmatic young woman who is prepared to stand up for her rights, for example, when she resigns from her job in an insurance company because her employer refuses to give her the raise in

salary that she has been due for some months (5e) Even if the job in Renner has the added attraction of bringing her closer to Peter, to whom she is attracted, the rhetoric of the film suggests that if this pragmatic and assertive woman is prepared to give this kind of workplace a chance, then such work must be worthwhile Harry, too, shows negatively, by his insistence on pursuing the path of capitalist work and by being badly treated and eventually abandoned by the corrupt Furbringer (6h, 8b), that socialism offers the best chance of rewarding work Harry is the working out in the postwar world of the principles to which his father adheres Karl Webers had been 20 years with Renner und Kompanie (7b) and is somewhat distanced from the unpleasant dealings of capitalist enterprise that Harry must face

It is the younger generation that provide the bread and the money to buy it The film begins with Nicki, a young woman who is a friend of the Webers, arriving back in Berlin from a forage trip to the country with a loaf of farmer's bread for the Webers' breakfast In the breakfast scene in the Webers household, Nicki's gift is very much appreciated because there is nothing else to eat (1d) This scene is mirrored by the later dinner scene to which the members of the younger generation, on payday, bring their contribution to the household budget (4a) Ernst is the only one of them who does not contribute anything because, as is shown in the previous scene, most of the workers in Renner agree to reinvest their wage in the production in order to keep the factory open (3d) Ernst argues that he is thinking in terms of the longer term

His father and Harry portray Ernst's inability to contribute to the household because of his commitment to the co-operative enterprise at Renner as proof of the worthlessness of such a way of running a business Ernst's persistence, however, is later rewarded,

when production at Renner begins and he is able to counter these claims. After production has begun at the “people’s own” Renner, Harry, Ernst, and Inge, although they have moved out of the family home, visit for their father’s birthday. Arriving first, Harry brings as gifts such luxury items as chocolate and cognac. “Bloß das wichtigste hat er vergessen” [“He’s only forgotten the most important thing”], Ernst comments, trumping him by placing a loaf of bread on the table (8d). After Ernst and his father quarrel over whether the modest production that has started in Renner provides the basis for growth, the father rejects socialism by rejecting the bread he has received as a present. “Ich esse kein Sozialistenbrot” (8d) [“I don’t eat the bread of socialists”]

Having quarrelled about the bread, Ernst and his father grab each other by the arm. “Das ist mein Sohn,” the father says bitterly of Ernst. “Der wäre fähig, seinen eigenen Vater unzubringen” (8d) [“That’s my son. He would be capable of killing his own father”]. This rhetorical reference to patricide prepares for the climactic scene of generational violence, which once again employs the motif of the daily bread. The ninth movement of the narrative⁹ focuses on the depths to which Harry has sunk. Left with nothing by the shady deals of Furbmger (8b), Harry quits his apartment without paying the rent (9b), and is unable to get black-market cigarettes on credit to sell at train stations (9a). In desperation, he lets himself into his parents’ apartment and eats the end of the bread that he finds in the bread bin (9c), a significant development because in two previous scenes, he had disdainfully rejected such leftovers (2e, 5b). Leaving the apartment, Harry encounters his mother, who, knowing nothing of his difficulties, asks him to buy some bread (9c). Intent on keeping up appearances, Harry

⁹ See the appendix.

lies in wait in a dark alley beside the bakery for a suitable victim from whom to steal a loaf of bread. Coincidentally, it is his own father that Harry knocks down and steals from (9f). Harry brings the loaf home and puts it on the table (9h). Shortly thereafter, his father is carried in by the police and, as it gradually dawns on father and son what has happened, the bread sits in the middle of the table like a reproach to the capitalists for their violent and dishonest methods of appropriating the goods of others. Apparently appalled at what he has done, Harry throws himself under a train (9i).

Dudow favoured a more polemical ending, in which Harry kills his father, but this was not accepted by SMAD [Soviet military administration] because the *Bundnispolitik* [policy of alliance] that was still being pursued by the authorities in the SBZ/GDR demanded integration of the bourgeoisie.¹⁰ Instead, the final act of the film shows the main members of the family, who remain reunited as workers in the *volkseigenen* Renner. It is the cathartic event of the mugging by Harry that convinces the father to join the thriving company (10b). By the end of the film, the immediate search for bread has been satisfied and the tractors that the factory produces become the means by which the future will be acquired, being ordered to “bring uns unser täglich Brot” (10h) [“bring us our daily bread”].

With Harry, the errant Webers sibling, dispatched by his own hand and Vater Webers brought to join the *volkseigenen Betrieb* of his own volition, it seems that the scene is set for the final sequence of the film, in which the motif of the daily bread is linked with the socialist production of tractors. There is one more reversal, however, more unexpected than the triumph of socialism or the conversion of the father. Ernst, who

¹⁰ Wolfgang Gersch “Film in der DDR,” 330

has become the *Betriebsleiter* [factory manager], assumes the position of privilege in the family. He becomes the symbolic father, that paterfamilias who must be dressed smartly by his wife, mother and father, taking over the position in the family in which his father used be given the “belegte Stulle” [buttered sliced of bread] when there was no butter for anyone else.

Focused as it is on those who play the leading positions in the factory, Ernst and Peter, the film does not end with the sense that hierarchy has been removed from socialist production to be replaced merely by a necessary division of labour. The film ends with a generational alliance within the Webers family and, as the members of the family who were in conflict are incorporated into the *volkseigenen Betrieb*, this alliance transfers into socialist production also. The young socialist production defeats the rump of old capitalism and institutes a new order. Young socialism could not, however, have succeeded without the help of old socialism. The intergenerational solidarity of the union, which is portrayed as a board of elderly men, comes at a crucial point. When approached by Peter, an elderly union official replies:

Ich weiß. Überall ist Not und wir haben nichts. Und doch müssen wir, selbst hungrig, den Hungrigen helfen. Nur so können wir aus dem Dreck herauskommen. (7e)

[I know. There is need everywhere and we have nothing. But of course we must, though hungry ourselves, help the hungry. Only in this way can we come out of this mess.]

Like *Irgendwo in Berlin*, *Unser täglich Brot* ends with generational alliance replacing conflict between the generations. It differs from the earlier film, however, in locating the agency that achieves this generational harmony not in a coherent local community, but in a commitment to socialism in an ideological struggle that pits the young socialists against the old adherents of capitalism.

2.3 Between Heroes and *Halbstarken* Socialist Realism and Film

The life-denying power of capitalism features prominently in the two mid-1950s “Berlin films” from the creative partnership of director Gerhard Klein and screenwriter Wolfgang Kohlhaase examined below. These films portray young people searching for and, in general, finding their place in East Berlin in the face of the attractions and distractions of the West. In particular, they highlight the problem of the *Halbstarken* [hooligans], youths whose involvement in criminal activity is a sign of their infection with the disease of capitalism.

These films were made in the context of an increasing insistence by the SED on a party-defined socialist realism, with its tenet of the positive hero, as a way of ensuring the ideological loyalty of filmmakers. The two film conferences that took place in the GDR in the 1950s are of particular importance to the position of filmmakers. The movement away from the alliance building of the immediate postwar period was, however, a long drawn-out process.

This process began with the criticism in September 1947 of Anton Ackermann’s theory of the “besonderen deutschen Weges zum Sozialismus” [special German way to socialism]. The stalinisation of the SED was first officially acknowledged with the change in the Party’s status to a “Party of the new type” in September 1948, despite considerable internal resistance to this move. In January of the following year, the decision was made to reorganise the Party along the lines of the Soviet Communist Party, and a politburo was formed along with a central committee [*Zentralkomitee*,

ZK] of the party elite Under the leadership of Walter Ulbricht, the ZK represented the real power in the state

At the same time, measures were being introduced to bring *Kulturschaffende* [artists and intellectuals] into line In the Soviet Union, Zhdanov had introduced the cultural policy of “re-ideologisation” in 1946 to reapply tighter controls that had been loosened during the Second World War Officials of SMAD and the SED now began to introduce a similar policy into the SBZ With the movement in the other three German zones of occupation towards the establishing of a separate state during 1948-49, the rhetoric of the Cold War took on a virulence that had not been strategically possible previously The Party presented Marxism as the only true inheritor of the German classical tradition, and the theory of Georg Lukacs was employed to place a particular emphasis of the “realist” nature of this tradition ¹¹

Realism remained something of a baggy term, allowing for the snatching away of the cultural jewels of the German past from under the noses of the “illegitimate” West German state and for the exclusion of those artists whose world-transforming ambitions might pose a threat to the avant-garde status of the Party ¹² Realism was defined as the positive, if nebulous, term in a binary opposition, in which the negative term was generally formalism The official campaign against formalism in the SBZ/GDR began in December 1948 when SMAD’s Alexander Dymschitz published a polemic “gegen die formalistische Richtung in der Malerei”¹³ [against the formalist trend in painting]

¹¹ Thomas Heermann DEFA, *Künstler und SED-Kulturpolitik*, 91

¹² See Boris Groys *The Total Art of Stalinism*, 12 and 23

¹³ Heermann 92

If the movements against formalism in the arts in the late 1940s focused on painting in particular, attention turned to film in the early 1950s. The second party conference of the SED in July 1952, which made the “Aufbau des Sozialismus zur grundlegenden Aufgabe” [the construction of socialism the fundamental task], criticised the lack of positive working-class heroes in DEFA films. “Aufgabe der Künstler ist es,” announced Walter Ulbricht,

dem Leben vorauszuweichen und durch ihr Schaffen Millionen Menschen für die großen Aufgaben des Aufbaus des Sozialismus zu begeistern. Nur ein Künstler, der konsequent für die Sache des Fortschritts Partei ergreift, der mit dem Volke fest verbunden ist, kann die Menschen im Geiste des Sozialismus erziehen. Das erfordert vom Künstler, daß er sich völlig frei macht vom Formalismus und anderen Kunstrichtungen der kapitalistischen Dekadenz und daß er lernt, seine Kunstwerke im Geiste des Sozialistischen Realismus zu gestalten.¹⁴

[It is the task of artists to get ahead of life and, through their works, to inspire millions of people for the great task of the construction of socialism. Only an artist who consistently advocates progress, who is closely connected to the people can educate people in the spirit of socialism. This demands that an artist fully free himself from formalism and other decadent capitalist artistic movements and that he learns how to create artistic works in the spirit of socialist realism.]

The film conference that followed it in September adopted Zhdanov’s socialist realism with its “simplistic assumption of a direct relationship between the depiction of heroic endeavours, didactically underlined by a partisan narrator, and the reader’s willingness to emulate them in the real world.”¹⁵ Six years later, in July 1958, a three-day film conference condemned the “revisionism” in films of the recent past. On the suggestion of the politburo, the filmmakers were criticised for having adopted “Unverbindlichkeit und Neutralität statt sozialistischer Parteilichkeit” [a lack of commitment and a neutrality instead of a partiality to socialism] and for having the politburo’s 1952 resolution “nur ungenügend ausgewertet”¹⁶ [insufficiently utilised]. In keeping with Zhdanov’s version of socialist realism, the politburo warned, “daß Naturalismus und kritischer Realismus völlig ungeeignet sind, die sozialistische

¹⁴ Ilse Spittmann and Gisela Helwig *DDR Lesebuch: Stalinisierung 1949-1955*, 87.

¹⁵ Dennis Tate “‘Breadth and Diversity’: Socialist Realism in the GDR,” 62.

¹⁶ *Deutsche Filmkunst*, 9/1958. Quoted Gersch 334.

Wirklichkeit darzustellen”¹⁷ [that naturalism and critical realism are completely unsuitable for portraying socialist reality] In the same year, Georg Lukacs published The Meaning of Contemporary Realism, a spirited, if somewhat guarded, defence of bourgeois or critical realism as a developmental stage towards a socialist realism that differed markedly from the Zhdanovian variant

The reiteration by the cultural authorities in the GDR of earlier, more restrictive cultural policies was not inevitable, and their imposition was carried out with a particular harshness In their account of film in the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, Mira and Antonin Liehm argue that it was the lack of political outlets in domestic and foreign policy in East Germany as a result of its special position within Europe that led to the particular interest politicians took in film ¹⁸ Whatever the reason for this, events in the Eastern block between 1952 and 1958 gave politicians much to think about Stalin died in March 1953, and there were uprisings in East Germany in June 1953 and in Hungary and Poland in 1956 Eine Berliner Romanze [A Berlin Romance] and Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser [Berlin – Schonhauser Corner] were made in the period of greater artistic freedom between these two film conferences, when the fallout from the East German uprising of June 17, 1953, had led to the Party’s abandonment of its *Neuen Kurs* [New Course] and a loosening of the cultural controls Both films evince thematic and formal innovations that were to receive criticism at the 1958 film conference

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Mira and Antonin Liehm The Most Important Art Soviet and Eastern European Film after 1945, 85

2.3 1 *Eine Berliner Romanze* (1956)

Eine Berliner Romanze treats the theme of the search for one's rightful place in the ideologically but not yet physically divided city in the early 1950s. Forming part of the trilogy of Berlin films from the filmmaking team of director Gerhard Klein and script-writer Wolfgang Kohlhaase, it comes between their 1953/4 *Alarm im Zirkus* [*Alarm in the Circus*] and their more famous 1957 *Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser*. It charts the love affair between Uschi and Hans, two young people of working-class backgrounds from separate sides of the border, who meet and play out their romance against the peculiarities of the city. Its formal innovation comes with its use of voiceover narration to place this love story within the framework of a documentary, constructing it as a case study, a document of its time. The rhetoric of the love story is designed to show that life in the West is uncertain, while that in the East offers work, love, and family that cares. The film constructs East Berlin as a place of promise, while in the West, it identifies a space of mere surface attractiveness, in which everything is reduced to its commercial value. This is done by charting Uschi's development from the young East Berliner who is initially dazzled by the excitement of the West to the one who comes to value the more homely benefits of steady employment and a family whom she can trust to look after her interests, both of which are available in the East. Uschi learns that the pursuit of individual goals that is promoted by the commercial youth culture of the West leaves one open to exploitation. One's place is, after all, with one's socialist family.

Eine Berliner Romanze addresses its young audience in East Germany and attempts to convince them of the superiority of life in their physical and ideological "hemisphere."

Like Unser täglich Brot, it advocates a socialist worldview and contrasts it with a predatory capitalism, but unlike the earlier film, socialism is now the orthodoxy in Uschi's working-class family. Brought up on sound socialist values in a prospering GDR, Uschi is portrayed as a young woman with a world of possibilities in career and personal relationships, but one opening available to her must be closed by the film narrative: the uncontrolled border between East and West Berlin. Uschi's attraction to the West causes dissent at home and leads her eventually to break away from her family and the East. A trainee shop assistant, she is given the opportunity to model and is captivated by the attention that she receives. As she goes on stage, one of her colleagues asks "Wurdest du lieber Mannequin werden als Verkäuferin?" (1c) ["Would you rather be a model than a shop assistant?"] Choose an uncertain and frivolous job above a steady and skilled position in a large state-run clothing store? She dismisses the suggestion. But she does this in such a way that it is clear that she has thought about a modelling career.

Uschi's increasing self-importance, which is linked to her desire for a career in modelling, is a cause of conflict with her family. In the first scene in the family apartment (1d), Uschi argues with Harald, her older brother, and her mother. Heim, her younger brother, defines the problem that will be expressed more seriously later on (in 6c and 9c, for example) "Ha, ha Sie denkt, sie ist schon erwachsen" ["She thinks she is grown up already"]. Having come from the fashion show where she has been the centre of attention, she complains to her mother for cooking a dinner she does not like, and refuses to darn the hole in Harald's jacket. "Ich stopfe deine Locher nicht" ["I won't darn your holes"], she tells him in the last exchange of the scene. "Meinste, so stell' ich mir das Leben vor?" [Do you think this is how I imagine my life?"] The

question is not allowed to linger for long before the voiceover answers “Wie Uschi sich das Leben wirklich vorstellt, weiß sie übrigens selbst noch nicht genau” (1e) [How Uschi herself actually imagines her life is not yet fully clear to her] Rejecting the role within the family that leaves her with such mundane tasks as darning, Uschi is beginning to believe that she is grown up enough to give up her place in her socialist family and pursue her own personal desires

Her naivety is made plain at a number of points in the narrative Uschi is very taken with the excitement and the range of choice available in West Berlin and “mochte auch im Westen wohnen” [“would also like to live in the West”] When asked why, she replies “Ich weiß nicht Ich find’ es interessanter Man hat viel mehr Möglichkeiten Ist alles viel moderner” (6b) [I don’t know I think it’s more interesting You have more possibilities Everything is more modern”] By contrast, in the East “sollst du immer nur arbeiten” [“you’re just supposed to work all the time”] There irony here is that she says this to Hans, the casual worker from the West who has just lost his job and is in need of work to support his family and to pay for the radio that he has given her

The appearance of Uschi’s picture in the newspaper (6a-b) encourages her in this independent frame of mind She is at war with her domestic world, seeing it as stifling her ambitions In the argument with her parents over the radio that she receives as a gift from Hans, she announces

Uschi Ich lasse nur keine Vorschriften machen

Father Wir werden gar nicht so viel Theater mit dir machen Ist ein West-Radio Es hort überhaupt auf, dass du im Westen umtreibst Nächste Woche bleibst du abends eben ein bißchen zuhause

Uschi Warum sperrt mich nicht gleich ganz ein Das ist doch die beste Erziehungsmethode (6c)

[Uschi I won’t be dictated to

Father We won't have so much carry-on from you It's a radio from the West There's to be an end to your hanging around in the West Next week you'll even stay in a bit in the evenings
Uschi Why not lock me up completely That definitely the best way to bring somebody up]

Contributing to the already difficult mixture of family and dreams of a new career is her budding relationship with Hans, a young man from the wrong side of town It is clear, nevertheless, that in eventually choosing Hans above his more suave but less honest friend, to whom she is initially attracted (2a-b), Uschi is capable of making some good decisions This choice also makes clear that the film is more nuanced in its portrayal of young people in the West, it does not see them all as irredeemable capitalists The film is interested in Hans mainly to the extent that he is in an exemplary position to show how much the life of a worker in the West is defined by money worries In an attempt not to lose Uschi, who he sees has a predilection for the good life as it is lived in the West, Hans hides the precariousness of his own financial situation As the narrative progresses, Hans becomes more deeply entangled in debt, partly as a result of further financial commitments that he takes on to please her In contrast to Uschi, his life is defined by lack of choice, he does not need to be convinced of the fundamental economic superiority of the East While she can, apparently, choose between a career as a shop assistant or as a model, this talented boxer is unable to follow his heart and is instead dependent on a series of dirty, badly paid, and dangerous jobs, in all of which his continued employment is dependent on the whim of an employer more interested in his own profits A scene, in which it is made clear that his family relies on his wage (5a), is followed by one in which he is let go from his valeting job, the first job in which he is shown, because business is bad (5b) After much fruitless searching, he gets a job demolishing war-damaged buildings This intrinsically dangerous job is made more so in this case by the lack of safety measures taken by the contractor This bad situation for the workers is

compounded when, after one of them is badly injured, the rest of the workers rather than the contractor are arrested by the *Baupolizei* [building control agency] for being “mitschuldig an dem Unglück” (9b) [“partly to blame for the accident”]. Hans next loses a prospective job in a night-club after he insults and almost gets into a fight with one of the club’s customers, the same negligent contractor (9f). Hans’s experiences offer a salutary reminder to workers in the East of the precarious nature of work for ordinary people in the West. In relation to Hans’s struggle for the necessities, Uschi’s problems are portrayed as minor.

The film rejects those elements of Western youth culture that Uschi and Hans participate in, but it does not offer any Eastern alternative. The particular forms of the capitalist consumer culture to which young people seem to have a particular attraction are radio culture, modelling, and cinemagoing.

The culture of the radio is portrayed chiefly as a part of the consumerism of the West, and there is very little radio listening as such. Where relationships in *Irgendwo in Berlin* and *Unser täglich Brot* are mediated through food, Uschi and Hans’s relationship and the conflict between the generations in this film are mediated through a consumer good, the *Kofferradio* [portable radio]. The fashion-accessory radio first appears around Hans’s friend’s neck (2a). Here it is a badge of sophistication, a part of his image as the man-about-town who is able to tune into stations from places that Uschi has only heard the names of in school. From later events, it is clear that he has bought it on the proceeds of blackmarketeering. “Ich sterbe nämlich für Kofferradios” [“I just die for portable radios”], Uschi tells Hans (3d), unaware of the sacrifices that will follow this remark. Hans procures one for their outing to Grunau, their first

outing alone together, and he makes a present of it to Uschi at the end of their first successful evening together. It not only causes problems with his mother, who only sees it as taking from their meagre household budget (5a, 7d), but is also the source of a row between Uschi and her parents (6c, quoted above). She plays it outside Hans's friend's flat, after she argues with her parents and runs to the West to live with Hans (9e). It is, finally, one of the objects that he must admit to not having paid for when Uschi does find him in the West, after she has discovered that their relationship is founded on a number of illusions, the most important in this case being the illusion that Hans can afford to participate in this consumer culture (9g). The *Kofferradio* is a chic accessory for the sophisticated young people around town, and for Hans and Uschi it is a token of their love. The difficulty that Hans has in paying for it is a sign of the precarious base on which Uschi's dreams of a life in the West are founded. For Uschi's father it is a *West-Radio* (6c), an example of the manufactured goods that were, on Western models, being produced in the Federal Republic of Germany, and it is evidence that his daughter has been hanging around on the other side of the ideological border. For Hans's mother, it is a *Dudelkasten* (5a), a noise-box on which her son squanders his wages in order to impress some girl (7d). This new consumer good does not make people happy.

That Western youth culture is largely a feminised culture, a shallow culture interested primarily in appearance(s), is shown by the film's focus on modelling and cinema-going. Modelling is central to the film's exploration of a consumer culture that is focused on surface. Ironically, it is because of the difficulties of life that the film constructs for Westerners that the shallow attractions of the West pose a particular danger to the youth of East Berlin. The ordinary, honest young West Berliners, it

would seem, cannot participate in capitalist consumerism. Hans has already reluctantly relinquished boxing as a career choice because of economic necessity, but Uschi, the girl from the East for whom all options are open, is still very much in thrall of a modelling career. The public spaces of the West allow her to indulge her desire and school her in how to integrate into the modelling culture. On her first trip to the West, she refuses to go to the cinema because she feels the film is too stupid, but she accepts the samples of cosmetics from the salesman who lures women with a Faustian pact: “Probieren Sie. Auch Sie werden unsere standige Kundin sein” (2a) [“Try it. You too will become a regular customer of ours”]. At a boxing match to which Hans brings her, Uschi watches a stylishly dressed woman with dark glasses in the crowd and copies the way she folds her coat over her knee (8d). That Uschi has not completely forgotten her solid upbringing, however, is shown when she makes fun of a vainglorious woman in the *stinkvornehm* [extremely posh] model school to which they are both applying (8a). Even her own first modest attempts at modelling are reproduced as images of her that are used for commercial purposes. Hans buys two copies of the Neue Berliner Illustrierte and she and Hans study a triple image of Uschi on the cover (6b). “Du,” comments Hans on the gap between the image and reality, “in Wirklichkeit sieht sie noch viel hubscher aus” [“She looks even more beautiful in reality”].

Western cinema going is criticised by means of the film within the film. In fact, the title of the Western film Lockende Sunde [Tempting Sin] might be considered the film’s view of young East Germans’ relation to Western youth culture in general – tempting but off limits. Similar to the film’s discourse on modelling as all surface and lacking in substance, Western films excel in superficiality and show. They generate

much publicity but little substance. Without having to go into the cinema, Uschi “kann [] jetzt schon sagen, was da vorkommt” (2a) [can tell already what will be in it]. She tells her friend Gisela, in fact, that Lockende Sunde “ist mir zu blod” (1e) [“is too stupid”]. Having declared her disdain for the stupidity and predictability of the film, Uschi wanders the streets around the cinema (i.e. in the West) and falls into the company of a young man. He invites her to see the film and this time, as she is somewhat attracted to him, she says she cannot because “ich hab’ selten Zeit” [“I don’t often have time”]. They look at the publicity photographs, and the young man asks archly “Ein Liebesfilm. Interessiert Sie das?” [A love story. Does that interest you?] “Ach Gott!” Uschi replies, seemingly on the brink of expressing her disdain, but she pauses and replies coyly, “vielleicht” [maybe]. It is this coy “vielleicht” that allows this film, also “ein Liebesfilm,” to proceed. With a whip-pan the scene changes to a fairground where the camera lingers over a ride called “Spinne” (2b) [spider], as if to comment on the story/lies that are about to be spun.

Uschi does finally accept the invitation to see Lockende Sunde, and in the fragments of it that are shown, its female lead is on show, wearing a translucent dress and striking poses that make her figure stand out against the strong light. In the publicity pictures outside the cinema, the actress is shown in a wild pose wearing a tight, spotted dress. When Uschi turns up at cinema to see the film (3d), she is also wearing a spotted dress, a fact that draws a visual link between her and the woman in the superficial film from the West. As in the case of her image in the newspaper, this visual link emphasises that Uschi is being turned into an object for consumption by a shallow visual culture.

Uschi eventually discovers that her relationship with Hans has been based on his attempt to cover up his precarious financial situation and that her dreams of what life is like in the West are naive. She finds that their dream has been built on appearance, and this revelation drives her back to her family. Once Uschi admits that she now knows where her place is, her relationship with Hans receives her mother's approval.

Mutter: Man muss doch wissen, wo man hingehört.
Uschi: Aber das weiß ich doch jetzt, Mama. (10b)

[Mother: One must know where one belongs.
Uschi: But I know it for sure now, Mama.]

Hans, the struggling young worker from the West, is finally accepted into Uschi's family as a kind of brother. Uschi tells her mother that Hans "mochte Autokonstrukteur werden, genau wie Harald" (10b) ["would like to be a car designer, just like Harald"]. This is, the film argues, good because Harald has just passed his engineering exams (6c). The implication is that, as the son of a worker, Harald would, in capitalist societies with their rigid class systems, have expected to get a job as a mechanic, but, in the new socialist society in the East, he is able to study engineering and follow his inclination to become a car designer. After Uschi's mother invites Hans to their apartment, the film makes clear that he has been accepted. Uschi is delighted and goes to tell him the good news. He and his friends are dismantling the fairground attractions we had seen them on in earlier scenes of the film. This *Rummelplatz* seems to represent a place of immaturity and play. Once it is dismantled, the voiceover announces that they are a real couple who are well on their way to finding their place in society.

Tja, nun sind die beiden ein richtiges Paar, eins von Tausenden in Berlin. Oder wie man bei uns sagt, sie gehen miteinander. Und miteinander werden sie auch ihren Platz finden, Uschi und Hans, mitten in unserem Leben, wo es Arbeit gibt, Kämpfe und Liebe" (10d)

[Now they're a proper couple – one of thousands in Berlin – Or as we say – they are going together
And together they also they will find their place, Uschi and Hans – in the middle of our lives,
where there is work, struggle, and love]

2.3.2 *Berlin – Eke Schonhauser (1957)*

Made a year later than Eine Berliner Romanze, Berlin – Eke Schonhauser focuses more directly on the issue of those who were derogatorily called the *Halbstarken* [hooligans]. Far from the naive young woman in danger of being seduced by a feminised Western youth culture that appeals to her vanity, the young people in this film consciously adopt elements of Western culture and adapt them to their own context to create their own youth subculture. Coming almost universally from troubled homes, including those with one or more parents absent, they create their own support structures through loyalty to friends. They demonstrate their deviation from the official view of youth through their refusal to get involved with the FDJ. The four main young people – Dieter, Angela, Kohle, and Karlheinz – on whom the film focuses all become known to a policeman, the Kommissar, who is the only one of his generation who is portrayed sympathetically.

Heinz Kersten points out that the *Halbstarke* phenomenon was the focus of films from a number of very different countries in the 1950s. As examples, he cites the Polish film The Five from Barska Street (1954), the United States' Blackboard Jungle (1955), and the FRG's Die Halbstarken (1956).¹⁹ One might add to this list James Dean in Rebel Without a Cause (1955), which give this subgenre its English title, and Marlon

¹⁹ Heinz Kersten "Entwicklungslinien," 35

Brando's seminal The Wild One (1953) That such figures as Dean and Brando provided role models for young people in the GDR is evidenced by Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser itself in an exchange between Dieter and Angela He asks her what the kind of men she likes should look like “Wie Marlon Brando,” she replies (2e) [“Like Marlon Brando”] As with his international counterparts, the *Halbstarke* in the GDR was generally a young man in his late teens or early twenties whose troubled relationship with his parents reflected disaffection with society at large The term did not usually refer to young women, who are frequently portrayed as spectators rather than participants in the more excessive behaviour of the *Halbstarken* Angela in this film, for example, is present at the smashing of a street light that leads to the young men's first encounter with the police, despite the fact that many of these had as little to do with the act as she She follows them to police station “aus Solidarität” (2d) [out of solidarity]

Not content to apply a blanket term of dismissal, the film looks more closely at these people who are called *Halbstarken* Like Irgendwo in Berlin, Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser focuses on a particular “gang” of young people Unlike that earlier film, however, no connection is made between Nazism and the behaviour of the group of young people who live and socialise in the vicinity of Schonhauser Ecke Similarly, it does not consider infection from the disease of capitalism to be sufficient explanation for the actions of these different people They are identified as a cohesive group, a “gang” in this sense, by the people who see them socialising together under the arches of the U-Bahn station The film, however, shows that the group lacks the cohesiveness and purpose of a gang The relationship between the individual and the group is far more casual As he lives locally, Karlheinz is a member of the group, but

neither Dieter (4b) nor Angela (6a) considers him a friend, and they both disassociate themselves from any complicity in his unmitigated criminal behaviour

While generational conflict is already an established fact in the relationship between three of the main young people – Angela, Kohle, and Karlheinz – and their parents, the causes of this conflict differ in each case. Dieter shares a flat with his brother because both of their parents were killed in the war. Angela must vacate the tiny apartment that she shares with her mother when the mother's lover, a married manager from her workplace, arrives, and she must stay out until midnight. Her father was killed during the war (2a), her mother complains to her lover, who tells her about the difficulties of divorcing his wife. "Ich will nicht mehr warten. Ich bin immer allein gewesen seit dem Krieg. Ich will nichts mehr, was weh tut." (2c) ["I don't want to wait anymore. I have been alone since the war. I don't want any more pain"]. She seems absorbed by her own problems and shows very little sympathetic understanding of, or even time for, her daughter. Angela's relationship with her mother reaches its nadir when she reveals that she is pregnant by Dieter, and her mother calls her a *Straßenmadchen* (6a) [prostitute]. Kohle's father was also killed during the war, and his mother's live-in lover beats him. When his mother intervenes to stop Kohle being abused, the man, who is also disliked by Kohle's sister, threatens to break up the flat if they try to throw him out. As in the case of Angela's mother, it is Kohle's mother's sexuality that makes her susceptible to this abusive man, who does not work. "Aber einmal am Tag hast du mich ganz gern" (5b) ["But once in the day you enjoy having me around"], he reminds her.

The cause of conflict between Karlheinz and his parents differs fundamentally from that of Angela and Kohle. He is portrayed as the agent of a capitalism that is inevitably criminal in its dealings. His father, a tax consultant (5e), and his mother, who has inherited two houses (3c), are capitalists by conviction. They provide their son with access to money they have in a bank account in the West but admonish him for spending it conspicuously. He is anxious to settle in the West, but his father is confident about the collapse of socialism in the East and is sitting tight. Karlheinz becomes involved with blackmarketeers in West Berlin, and he is given the job of bludgeoning a business associate with a sand sack so that his employers can rob him. Unlike the other young people in the film who synthesise elements of Western youth to create their own subculture, Karlheinz embraces capitalism in its most unacceptable form. Karlheinz bears striking similarities to Harry Webers in Unser täglich Brot. Both come from a bourgeois family, they both, taking their fathers' capitalist leanings to their logical conclusion in the postwar world, get involved in the criminal dealings of the capitalist market, and they both resort to violence directed at their parents. If in Harry's case his attack on his father is accidental, Karlheinz very deliberately threatens his parents with a gun in order to make them give him full access to their Western bank account and so enable him to leave East Berlin.

Dieter's attitudes are of particular interest both in and to the film. He represents an early variant of what will be discussed in chapter two under the title of the *Nischengesellschaft*, public conformity matched by cultivation of a private authentic sphere. In Dieter's case, he keeps the conformity to a minimum. Despite the fact that the members of the FDJ consider him to be "ein prima Kumpel" (3e) ["a first-class work mate"], Dieter refuses to have anything to do with the FDJ either in the work

place or in his private life. When it is suggested to him that he may have problems that the FDJ can help him with, he replies “Probleme hab’ ich schon aber keine Zeit Tagesüber bin ich hier und abends hab’ ich Privatleben” (3e) [“I’ve got problems alright but no time. I’m here (at work) all day and, in the evenings, I have my private life”]. In a later scene, after he has fallen under the suspicion of having being complicit with Karlheinz in the stealing of an identity card, he more forcefully refuses to have the FDJ speak for him. “Mir braucht keiner zu helfen. Und ich helfe auch keinem. Und jeder macht seine Erfahrung am besten allein” (5a) [I don’t need anyone to help me. And I don’t help anyone. And everyone is best off learning from experience’]. He points out to the Kommissar in an early scene that, unlike Karlheinz or Kohle, he is actually well established in terms of employment and training (2d). This does not explain why he hangs around on street corners engaging in putatively antisocial behaviour. Asked by the Kommissar about what interests him, Dieter admits to liking motorcycles and football, and when pushed further, he responds “am besten Sie lassen uns überhaupt in Ruhe” (2d) [“the best thing would be if you left us in peace”].

Dieter confronts his policeman brother on the inflexibility of the system in its dealings with him and, by extension, with other young people who want space for self-fashioning.

Warum kann ich nicht reden wie ich will? Warum habt ihr lauter fertige Vorschriften? Wenn ich an der Ecke stehe, bin ich halbstark, wenn ich Boogie tanze, bin ich amerikanisch, und wenn ich die Hemde aus der Hose trage, bin ich politisch falsch. (6a)

[Why can’t I talk as I like? Why have you got all these ready-made regulations? When I stand on the corner, I’m a hooligan. When I dance the boogie, I’m American. When I wear my shirt outside my trousers, I’m making a political error.]

This statement is lent credibility by Dieter’s largely irreproachable status within the narrative, a fact that promotes audience identification with his point of view. The

statement strikes directly to the heart of a system that demands conformity and attacks alternative forms of youth culture. His brother tries to reduce the effectiveness of this statement by replying “Und wenn du redest, ist es Quatsch” [“And when you talk, it’s rubbish”]. Dieter accuses him of not listening to him when he tries to explain his position. Dieter’s brother and the FDJ secretary from Dieter’s workplace, both young representatives of the establishment, take this criticism seriously and try to make amends (6b).

With its strongly sympathetic portrayal and individuation of problem “youths” and its lack of positive parental role models, the film achieves its “consensual” status, such as it does, by means of its portrayal of the police, particularly the Kommissar, and its narrative structure. In his dealings with the young people from Schonhauser Ecke, the Kommissar recognises that they have difficulties in their lives such as lack of training and jobs. He insists that Kohle pays for the damage he has done to the streetlamp, but he also undertakes to find him an apprenticeship (2d). He does listen to them, telling Dieter that he is interested in finding out what he is interested in. At the end of the film, he allows Dieter to leave the station after telling his story, despite the fact that Dieter has committed the crime of *Republikflucht* [flight from the GDR]. Dieter’s policeman brother is also sympathetically portrayed. After Angela’s mother calls her a *Straßenmadchen* and she leaves her mother’s flat to wander alone through the streets, it is Dieter’s brother who recognises her and prepares a room for her in his and Dieter’s flat (6a-b). It would seem that it is the police, or more broadly, the state’s social services that are the basic unit of society, assuming the role that the dysfunctional family does not.

Eschewing linear narrative, the framing of the story is employed to influence interpretation of the narrative, playing a similar role to the voiceover in Eine Berliner Romanze. The film opens with Dieter running from the American sector, past a sign that announces the “Anfang des demokratischen Sektors von Gross-Berlin” [Beginning of the democratic sector of Greater Berlin], to the police station, where he begins telling the story. The story Dieter retells by beginning “ Sie erinnern sich doch ” (1b) [“you remember of course”] describes a circle to come back to the point where the story began. The story begins with him running from the American sector, and the story that he tells the Kommissar ends with him running from the American sector. The fabula (the events as they occurred chronologically) is shaped into a story (the events as they are related by the film) that is circular up to the point that Dieter finishes relating events (1a-6e). The final section of the story (7a-b) breaks out of this circle, providing authoritative interpretation of its events. The interpretation, however, does not come from Dieter, the apparent narrator of events, but from the Kommissar, in what becomes an instance of authoritative narration.

“Denk darüber nach,” he invites Dieter and the spectator, “wie das alles passieren konnte” (8a) [“Consider how all that can have happened”]. The nature of the interpretation that is allowed, however, is policed by the closure that is written into the official reports on the case. The files have been written up, an official version exists, the case is closed. The “crime” has been solved, the culprits identified. “Denn ich bin schuld, und du bist schuld,” the Kommissar tells Dieter and the spectator [“Because I’m to blame, and you’re to blame”]. As in a show trial, self-criticism, which should entail a general exoneration, allows, in fact, for the pronouncement of a general

culpability. Are we forced to repeat these mistakes? How should we proceed? “Fang neu an, Junge,” [“Start anew, young man”] the Kommissar advises.

Dieter’s new start, however, is a repetition of an earlier action. He walks into the inner courtyard of Angela’s apartment building and looks up to the window from which a woman catches sight of him. He then turns his back on this domestic space and walks out into the street (2a, 8b). Another circle closes.

The Kommissar offers one further statement in the final sequence that may allow us to break out of these closed circles and to describe a hermeneutic circle instead. “Wo wir nicht sind, sind unsere Feinde,” [“Where we are not, there are our enemies’] intones the Kommissar in what is now a voiceover, an instance of authoritative narration. But “was heißt wir, wir, wir?” [“what is we, we, we?”] as Dieter asks in another situation (6a). This seems like a clear statement of the rejection of the Other, but who are the Others, our enemies? The story offers a number of enemies: Karlheinz, the men from the transit house in West Berlin who interrogate Dieter and Kohle. This final orthodox interpretation, however, cannot distract from the strong statements of youthful independence and cultural autonomy.

2.4 Youth and Education in the Space Age

Der Beginn der sechziger Jahre machte deutlich, daß sich das internationale Kraftverhältnis zugunsten des Sozialismus gewandelt hatte [] Überzeugender Beweis der Potenzen der Sowjetunion war der erste Raumflug in der Menschheitsgeschichte, den J. A. Gagarin am 12. April 1961 unternahm.²⁰

[The start of the 1960s made clear that the international power relations had changed to the advantage of socialism () Telling proof of the potency of the Soviet Union was the first space flight in human history which Y. A. Gagarin undertook on April 12, 1961.]

Two developments in the early 1960s offered significant opportunities for concessions and consensus between filmmakers and the authorities in the GDR: the support that some *Kulturschaffende* gave to the building of the Berlin Wall and the necessity for highly qualified workers in the context of the ideological investment in the space race as one of the “high-tech” areas in which the Cold War was publicly fought.

One of the immediate reasons for the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 was the growing “brain drain” of young educated people out of the GDR in 1960-61. The hardline attitude of the Ulbricht regime to the post-Stalin reforms taking place in other communist states and the economic difficulties of the late 1950s led to a large increase in the numbers leaving the GDR for the West. Ulbricht saw the construction of the Wall as a way out of this crisis.

The closing of the border was accepted and assisted by some *Kulturschaffenden* because they thought that without interference from the West or the possibility of defection, people would reconcile themselves to the GDR system and set about establishing a viable socialist society. “Das Einvernehmen mit dem Terrorakt,” writes Wolfgang Gersch of the involvement of DEFA filmmakers in the closing of the border

²⁰ Heinz Heitzer *DDR: Geschichtlicher Überblick*, 148.

in August 1961, “war der Sundenfall der künstlerischen Intelligenz, des wohl größeren Teils von ihr”²¹ [The agreement with the act of terror was the fall from grace of the artistic intelligentsia, of the majority of them] He also makes it clear that this was no mere tacit acceptance of events

DEFA-Leute selbst stellten sich [der Republikflucht] am 13. August 1961 am Teltowkanal in einer Hundertschaft der Kampfgruppen entgegen, in der »viele Künstler«, auch Regisseure waren, die mit der Waffe in der Hand ihr eigenes Publikum einsperren.²²

[DEFA personnel themselves opposed (the flight from the GDR) on August 13, 1961, on the Teltow Canal, as part of a group of a hundred from the studio militia that included “many artists’ directors among them who with weapons in their hands kept their own public in]

In an article in the party daily, Neues Deutschland (15 August 1961), film director Konrad Wolf explains his participation in these events

Wer fragt, was ein Künstler mit der Kampfgruppe zu tun hat, dem muß gesagt werden, daß es da keinen Unterschied gibt. Wir müssen Künstler und Kämpfer zugleich sein, und viele haben schon mit ihren Filmen demonstriert, daß sie es sind.

[Those who ask what an artist has to do in the militia must be told that there is no difference. We must be artists and fighters at the same time, and many have already shown with their films that they are such.]

The building of the Wall, it was widely hoped, by blocking off the option of migration to the West, would focus people’s minds on the difficult but ultimately rewarding task of improving socialism in the GDR.

The quid pro quo that *Kulturschaffende* expected was greater artistic freedom, and this actually was forthcoming for a time after the closing of the border. Having made their decisive contribution to the securing of the state either in word or deed, artists felt entitled to greater freedom in their work, and the beginnings of a critical *Auseinandersetzung* [debate] on the realities of life in the GDR started to appear. A critical wave that drew on the theoretical arguments at the Kafka conference that took place in Liblice, Czechoslovakia, in 1963, engulfed artists, including filmmakers, in

²¹ Gersch 339

²² Gersch 339

the GDR and opened up a discussion that centred on the issue of *Weltoffenheit*²³

[openness to a wide range of ideas]

In the area of youth policy also, two progressive measures that followed one another closely gave hope for greater personal freedom for young people. The

Jugendkommunique [Youth Communiqué] of September 17, 1963, and the

Jugendgesetz [Youth Law] of May 4, 1964, sought to guarantee the undistorted

portrayal of the problems of youth and honest dealings with young people

Es geht nicht langer an »unbequeme« Fragen von Jugendlichen als lastig oder gar als Provokation abzutun, da durch solche Praktiken Jugendliche auf den Weg der Heuchelei abgedrängt werden [] Solche jungen Menschen, die aus Angst vor einer »übergeordneten« Meinung unehrlich und heuchlerisch geworden sind, die ihr eigenes Denken zurückhalten und stets auf Anweisungen von oben warten, sich äußerlich anpassen, werden ebenfalls in der Praxis kaum Großes leisten können, weil dort schöpferische und kämpferische Sozialisten, aber keine kleinmütigen Seelen, Streber und Karrieristen gebraucht werden.²⁴

[It is no longer acceptable to dismiss "uncomfortable" questions from young people as annoying or as provocation because through such practices young people are forced onto the path of hypocrisy () Such young people, who from fear of an opinion from above have become dishonest and hypocritical, who hold back their own ideas and always wait on the instructions from above, conform externally, will be unable to achieve anything of significance because creative and combative socialists are required here but no timid souls, self-seekers, or careerists.]

These principles, as they applied to cultural production, were enshrined in §21(3) of

the *Jugendgesetz*

Die staatlichen Organe wirken darauf hin, daß in Büchern, Filmen, Theaterstücken, Kompositionen, Werken der bildenden Kunst und in Rundfunk- und Fernsehprogrammen und in der Presse die Gegenwartsprobleme der Jugend gestaltet werden.²⁵

[The organs of the state work to ensure that the contemporary problems of young people are portrayed in books, films, stage plays, musical compositions, and works of fine art, as well as in radio and television programmes and in the press.]

Changes were also taking place in other areas. The rise of the Beatles generation had

²³ Christiane Muckenberger *Prädikat. Besonders schädlich*, 9-15

²⁴ *Jugendkommunique der SED* (September 17, 1963). Quoted from Hermann Weber (ed.) *DDR. Dokumente zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1945-1985*, 276-7

²⁵ Gesetz über die Teilnahme der Jugend der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik am Kampf um den umfassenden Aufbau des Sozialismus und die allseitige Förderung ihrer Initiative bei der Leitung der Volkswirtschaft und des Staates in Beruf und Schule, bei Kultur und Sport (May 4, 1964). Quoted from Schubbe 992-3

effects on young people in the GDR who were now becoming more vocal on their problems and needs. The government acted in September 1963 with the communique “Der Jugend Vertrauen und Verantwortung” [Trust and Responsibility to the Young] and a year later with a “Jugendförderungsgesetz” [Youth Support Law] and the establishment of a youth commission attached to the ZK of the SED.

While these issues were in the public sphere, a number of films attempted to confront precisely those issues that had been identified by official youth policy. Focusing on the education system, they identify the behaviour that leads to problems with young people, that is, to generational conflict. Writing of the fundamental changes that were taking place in the education system, Siegfried Baske contends that in terms of content and organisation, the period 1962-63 marks the beginning of a new phase of the socialist reorganisation of the education system.²⁶ He points out that the trend towards “frühzeitige[r] Professionalisierung und Spezialisierung” [early professionalisation and specialisation] in third level education was also part of the SED’s programme that was adopted at its sixth Party Day in January 1963. While professionalisation and specialisation had particular relevance for students in technical fields, this document makes clear that these principles were to be applied to all forms of higher education.

Die Hoch- und Fachschule wird zugleich Ausbildungsstätte und Stätte der wissenschaftlich-produktiven Tätigkeit der Studenten. Diese Prinzipien gelten auch für die Gesellschaftswissenschaften und besonders die Lehrerbildung.²⁷

[The university and college will become a place of training and a place of the academic-productive activity of students. These principles apply equally to the arts and particularly to the training of teachers.]

In the early 1960s, the space race offered an exciting new metaphor for the ideological

²⁶ Siegfried Baske Bildungspolitik in der DDR 1963-1976. Dokumente, 19

²⁷ Baske 30

division of the cold-war world, and it appears in various forms in many cultural works of the period. The title of Christa Wolf's 1961 novel Der geteilte Himmel [The Divided Heaven] originates in the realisation of a couple who come to live on opposite sides of the ideological divide that "[d]er Himmel teilt sich zuallererst" ["The heavens are the first of all things to be divided"]. In Konrad Wolf's 1964 film adaptation of the novel, the testing of a new train is juxtaposed with the first successful manned space flight by Yuri Gagarin. When the train is stopped in the middle of the countryside to test its brakes, a farmer working in a field shouts to the workers on the tram "Die Russen haben einen Mann im Kosmos" ["The Russians have a man in space"]. One of the other films banned in 1965, originally called Unterwegs zu den Sternen [On the Way to the Stars] but finally entitled Denk bloß nicht, ich heule [Just don't think I'm crying] tells the story of Peter, a student who was studying for the *Abitur* [final exam in secondary school] but who has been expelled for the attitudes he expresses in an essay. "In Physik muss ich denken," he argues, "in Stabu darf ich nicht" [In physics, I have to think, in civics, I'm not allowed to]. Peter wants to study science in order eventually to become a cosmonaut. In contrast to the farming community in which Peter finally comes to find his place, for him and his girlfriend, Anna, "[d]er Himmel ist nicht bloß für's Wetter da" [The heavens are not just there for the weather]. They represent the dream of a future career, of unimagined possibilities.

2.4.1 *Karla* (1965)

Karla (directed by Hermann Zschoche) tells the story of a newly graduated, reform-minded teacher who takes up a teaching post in a provincial secondary school where she finds her eagerness for change is not welcomed by an elderly headteacher. Karla examines the hierarchical relationship that exists between students and teachers in schools in the GDR and suggests that this be changed to a relationship based on honesty and an open exchange of ideas. Karla herself embodies generational alliance. She attempts to get the headmaster, Alfred Hirte, and the students talking on equal terms, to get the school management, headed by Hirte and School Inspector Janson, to give up their paternalistic attitudes towards the students and the students to abandon their cynicism about the expectations of the system. Where Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser attempts to limit its radicalness by means of authorial narration and an orthodox binary opposition between the good East and the bad West, Karla proceeds confidently in its critique of the education system without resorting to the corrupting influence of the Nazi past or the decadent capitalist West as an explanation of this error. It does this by making Karla a radical advocate of reform in the education system, and it lends official sanction to her position by showing that it is supported by a delegation from the Party's Youth Commission who visit the provincial school in which Karla works. The film is particularly interesting because it pits its young heroine against a conservative old guard that is shown to be out of touch with young people and in need of change.

The film's interest in the process of reform is shown in its preoccupation with fresh starts at both a structural and a thematic level, in its favouring of Karla's teaching style

above that of Principal Hirte, and in its portrayal of the Youth Commission's championing of Karla's relationship with her students. It is somewhat unsure of the viability of reform, as demonstrated in the old guard's successful defence of its authoritarian methods through the eventual transfer of Karla to another school, but it holds out the hope that the old guard will finally recognise the need for change.

The film's structure shows its concern with how to make a good start and, once mistakes have been made, how to start anew. It opens, in a pre-credits sequence, with speeches at Karla's graduation from the college of education that discuss reforms in the education system and the difficulties that these new teachers will face. Called to speak, Karla finishes her speech with the exhortation to her fellow graduand teachers "Fangen wir an!" (1a) ["Let's start!"] This introductory sequence ends and the opening credits roll. The film's most obvious structural feature is its division into two time periods. The first period encompasses both the graduation sequence (1a) and Karla's initial teaching experiences (2c-7d), which makes up the bulk of the film. The second period (8a-10d) follows the first after what an intertitle (8a) announces has been a half-year gap. The graduation sequence defines a state, allowing the spectators to witness Karla's enthusiasm, hopes, and aspirations. The subsequent sections are more dynamic, charting a development. In the first section, this is the testing and blunting, after a number of conflicts with the school management, of Karla's enthusiasm for a less authoritarian kind of teaching. The second section (8a-10d) shows the renewal of her enthusiasm after she realises that her conformity to the authoritarian model has been a mistake. In a clear parallel to the graduation scene (1a), this section opens with a prize-giving (8b), at which Karla is praised for having overcome her initial problems but is not allowed to make a speech. She tells her lover,

Kaspar, of the mistakes she has made and of her intention to change “Mit einem Wort,” he sums up, “der ganze Film beginnt vom vorne” (8d) [“In a word, the whole film begins over again”]

The film actually begins with talk of an unspecified change, with the words “Dies erfordert eine aktive Mitarbeit von uns an” [“This demands our active participation”]

Like the argument at the beginning of a literary or dramatic work, the speaker of these words, the professor of the *padagogischen Hochschule* [college of education], goes on to outlines the course of the drama that is to follow. His speech proceeds as follows

[] wir an der Hochschule stehen im Augenblick vor demselben Problem vor dem Sie als Lehrer eines Tages stehen werden, nämlich, das richtige Maß zwischen den Erfordernissen einer reinen Wissensvermittlung und der Schulung des Denkvermögens zu finden. Wir sind uns darüber klar dass es wie bei jeder Veränderung manche Widerstände geben wird. Aber wer wenn nicht die padagogische Jugend, konnte diesen Gedanken Ziel und Richtung verleihen?

[We at the college are at the moment, faced with the same problem with which you as teachers will one day be faced, namely how to find the correct balance between the requirements of a pure impartation of knowledge and the training of the capacity for thought. We are well aware of the fact that, as with every change, there will be some resistance. But who if not the young educationists (padagogische Jugend) could give these concepts aim and direction?]

Amongst the *padagogischen Jugend* that is his audience, a process of selection, a kind of pass the parcel, is taking place. A note is being passed around calling on a particular student to speak. The initial request is for Gerhard to make a speech, but he amends the note by crossing out his own name and substituting the name Klaus, and passes it on. Klaus makes a further amendment and passes the note to Karla. She protests, but the professor's speech has drawn to a close and it is now necessary for one of the students to approach the podium before the moment passes. Thus Karla is thrust reluctantly into the limelight to become the heroine of the eponymous film that might just as easily have been called Gerhard or Klaus. The film explicitly shows the process by which this character is chosen to be representative of the hundreds of assembled graduand teachers both in the making of a speech at their graduation and in

the film that follows. Karla is not, it seems, exceptional, she is not the first or second choice of the student body to make a speech at their graduation, and she is possibly only the third choice because of her proximity to the more popular Klaus. What makes her literally stand out from the assembled students and their more popular representatives, however, is her willingness to actually accept responsibility for the task that requires doing

The guiding metaphor of the film comes in Karla's speech, which itself focuses on *Ziel und Richtung* [aim and direction]

[D]ieses Wissen erweitert sich auf allen Gebieten mit ungeheurer Schnelligkeit. Was heute ausreicht, ist morgen zu wenig. Deshalb müssen wir vor allem lehren, wie man lernt. Wir müssen das Weiterdenken lehren. Verzichtet wir auf die Breite, wo sie unerreichbar ist, gehen wir in die Tiefe oder in die Höhe.' (1a)

[This knowledge is expanding in all areas with tremendous speed. What is sufficient today is too little tomorrow. We must, therefore, teach first how one learns. We must teach how to think things out. We will do without breadth (Breite), where it is unattainable, we will go deep or high.]

This spatial metaphor is suggestive in the dual context of the Berlin Wall and the space race. *Breite*, with its connotations of wide-ranging knowledge and geographical latitude, is unattainable, but depth, or specialisation in an area of knowledge, and height, with its knowing reference to the altitudes that had recently been attained in the space race, are less problematic. With the construction of the Berlin Wall, the citizens of the GDR, and particularly the young well-educated ones who were of importance to the economy, were denied free movement "across." They were, however, allowed to go "deep," to find a career in a specialist field of knowledge that early professionalisation and specialisation in education eased. Young people could also go "high," and the highest anyone had gone in 1965 was Yuri Gagarin on his space flight in earth's orbit. If they really were on the way to the stars, why should young people

care if they can travel to the West or not? Or, for a walled-in population, where else is there to go?

Although personal relationships are shown to be important, Karla does not focus on the personal as a realm of fulfilment that compensates for limited career outlets. Somewhat unusually in relation to the films that portray youth of this period, Karla's romantic relationship with Kaspar takes very much second place to the issues and energies that are the main focus of the film. The film is more concerned with Karla as a teacher, as one of the *padagogischen Jugend* and less with her as a lover. Even their many witty exchanges and their citing of such literary classics as Schiller's Don Carlos seem only to emphasise the presence of the classroom in their relationship. Similarly, the story of Kaspar's principled abandonment of his journalistic career draws on the same themes as the scenes in which students in the school, rather than try to change the system, give it what it demands.

As one of the GDR's qualified young people, Karla herself goes "deep." She reinvests her energies in the education system in the belief that change is possible. Her main work in the film is to mediate between the teaching generation and the students. Karla forms a part of the teaching generation, but only just. Because of her youth and her disharmonious link with the school management, represented by Hirte and Janson, and with her fellow teachers, she stands between the teaching body and the students. As a recent graduate of a *padagogischen Hochschule* in the early 1960s, Karla would have received her socialisation in the GDR of the immediate postwar period. She represents, then, the first GDR generation grown to early adulthood. A number of features, however, distinguish her from her students. She insists on thinking critically

and speaking honestly. Her brightest students, by contrast, keep quiet when they know they possess better knowledge than their teachers do and are content to feed the paternalistic system that believes it knows better than they the platitudes they have learned it requires. Karla cultivates an open relationship with her students that allows her both to transmit knowledge and to encourage critical thinking. This relationship contrasts with the correct student-teacher relationship that Principal Hirte insists that she learn.

The principal's "correct" relationship with the students is shown in most detail and clearly criticised in a scene in which he begins by discussing the Soviet space programme and ends by browbeating most of the students into publicly stating that they do not listen to broadcasts from the West. He fails to fulfil both of the tasks of the teacher set out by the professor of the college of education and by Karla in the opening scene (1a). He fails to transmit knowledge that is the most up to date, and he fails to train his students' capacity to think.

In a civics class, Hirte gives a lecture on the advances of the Soviets in the space race to demonstrate the ideological superiority of dialectical materialism. He concludes:

Was ich jedoch damit sagen wollte, ist, dass der Treibstoff der sowjetischen Raketen gewissermaßen ideologischer Natur ist. Er besteht in der Anwendung der Lehre des dialektischen Materialismus auf die Naturwissenschaften. (5a)

[What I want to convey with this is that the fuel of the Soviet rockets, so to speak, is more of an ideological nature. It consists of the use of the teachings of dialectic materialism in the sciences.]

Erna, a student who absorbs what she is taught thoroughly but uncritically, attempts to confirm this: "Man kann also sagen, dass ohne das Bestehen des dialektischen Materialismus wäre die Weltraumfahrt undenkbar" ["One could say, then, that without the existence of dialectical materialism, space travel would be unthinkable"]. When

the principal confirms this, another student suggests that despite the stated connection between dialectical materialism and superiority in space travel, the Americans look like being the first on the moon. At this point, having seemingly exhausted his knowledge of space affairs, the principal accuses the student of having obtained this information by listening to a Western broadcast, and he asks the class to confirm who among them, against their written undertaking not to do so, had listened to Western media. Telling the principal what he wants to hear rather than the truth, they all reluctantly claim not to listen to Western broadcasts.

In what leads to her first major conflict with Hirte, Karla encourages Rudi, a student with a particular aptitude for mathematics, to explain his more extensive knowledge of the space race to the principal in front of the class, regardless of the source of the knowledge. In a literature class in which she has just praised Fontane's honesty and unique perspective, she challenges the class but Rudi in particular: "[...] es ist hier und heute geradezu verwerflich, mit der Wahrheit hinterm Berg zu halten. Alles andere ist feige, wenn nicht Heuchelei" (5d) ["it is here and now frankly reprehensible to keep the truth to oneself. Everything else is cowardly, if not hypocrisy"]. Prompted by this speech, Rudi does get up in front of the class, the principal, and two other teachers who are in the room to monitor Karla's teaching.

Hirte is not happy and accompanies Karla on her walk home. She explains that she is not interested in authority but in teaching her students to think. He is unimpressed; he has heard such ideas before:

Ich will dir sagen: ich hab' es allemal mit den Idealen. Aber mindestens ebensoviel mit der Vernunft und den Tatsachen. Und die sind an der Schule nun mal so, dass es eine Art Front gibt zwischen Schülern und Lehrern. Und wenn du das ignorierst, kommst du nicht weit. (5e)

[I tell you I have lots of time for ideals But at least as much for reason and facts And in school these are such that there exists a kind of front between pupils and teachers And if you ignore it, you won't get very far]

The principal also links himself in this exchange to the Party, a fact that emphasises its wider political implications He discusses how he is seen for not supporting her way of teaching

Nur ich bin so ein Unmensch So ein Uraltkommunist der es immer mit dem Klassenkampf hat Oder noch besser ein Opportunist Hat die Ideale seiner Jugend zu den Akten gelegt In der Praxis verschimmelt Der Jugend im Wege

[It's only me who's a monster Such an ancient Communist who's always on about the class struggle Or better an opportunist Filed away the ideals of this youth Gone fusty in practice In the way of the young]

The metaphor is made very clear here It identifies Principal Hirte, the old Communist in the position of authority, with the government of old Communists It could hardly be more explicit The film in no way portrays him as a monster, however, a local newspaperman tells Hirte that Karla has complimented his human qualities "Als Mensch lasst du mit dir reden, sagt sie" (7b) ["You can be approached on a human level, she says"] He does, nevertheless, defend the authoritarian system that he has instituted at the school to the point of playing a major part in the unjust removal of Karla from her teaching post there

The story progresses, structured in this section (2c-7d) by the three major flash points on issues of principle between Karla and Hirte After the second incident, in which, having seen a photograph of him in a SA uniform, she suspects, wrongly, that he may have been a Nazi, she tells Kaspar that she must be more careful (7a) On the third occasion, the principal asks Karla to bring him compliant students who will give a local newspaperman suitable answers to a question about their idols After initially refusing, she relents and sends the students to him There is a fade to black and the intertitle 'Ein halbes Jahr später' (8a) [A half year later] Her compromising of her

principles is a turning point in the narrative, but this is not shown because the film is not interested in Karla's compromises so much as her new start

The reward for her compromises comes to Karla in the prize-giving (8b) that follows the intertitle. Explaining that he is delighted to be able to give her a prize, the principal explains to those gathered that once Karla had overcome her "Fehlstart" ["false start"], she was able, "sich dem festen Kollektiv unseres Kollegium einzufügen" ["to adapt to the tight collective of the teaching staff"] and "das richtige Verhältnis zu den Schülern zu finden" ["to find the right relationship to the pupils"]. She is now, he sums up, "in Ordnung" (8b). This scene parallels the opening graduation scene, but in this case, when she reaches the podium, Karla is not allowed to speak. This fact, as well as the shots of her surprised and embarrassed facial expressions, stresses that everything is not as "in Ordnung" as Hirte maintains. The narrative is, in any case, working against his version of the story. Those parts of Karla's teaching experiences that he calls a false start are the ones that form the first part of the story, and those experiences he most approves of are merely denoted by an intertitle.

The prize-giving provides Karla with an insight for another new start that makes Kaspar playfully announce that "der ganze Film beginnt von vorne" (8d) ["the whole film begins over again"]. Two further major incidents follow this insight. The first is Karla's triumph. As she is returning to her class their final essay before the *Abitur*, on the theme "Was mir die Schule gegeben hat" (9a) [What School Has Given Me], Hirte and Janson arrive in the class with a delegation from the Youth Commission to observe a class in progress. Karla gives all of her students a low grade. As

consternation reigns among the students, Karla explains “abgesehen von einigen [], schreibt der überwiegende Teil nach der Überlegung, je mehr ich Schule und Lehrer lobe, desto mehr loben sie mich” (9a) [“apart for a few, the majority wrote with the thought in mind that the more I praise the school and teachers, the more they will praise me”] She admits that the essays are “nur eine Quittung für mein eigenes Verhalten” [“merely repayment for my own behaviour”] She goes on to define her own incorrect behaviour more exactly “Ich habe mich am Anfang bemüht, in Ihnen die Lust und den Mut und das Bedürfnis zu einer eigenen Meinung zu wecken, und sie Ihnen der Reihe nach wieder genommen” [At the start I tried to awaken in you the desire and the courage and the need for your own opinion, and then I took them back one by one”] She undertakes to pick up from where she one day left off

Both the students and the delegation from Berlin are impressed with Karla’s performance, but Hirte and Janson are furious The leader of the delegation leaves wishing her continued success Officials of the youth/educational establishment who outrank the inspector have vindicated Karla in her application of the new teaching methods There seems to be a discourse on provincialism that pits the reformers from Berlin, i.e., Karla and the delegation from Youth Commission, against those “provincials” who are unprepared for change Karla comes “freiwillig” [voluntarily] to this small town from her studies in Berlin, there is a strong sense of a mission in which she, as one of the vessels of the *pädagogischer Hochschule* at the centre of power, will carry the seed of change to this peripheral backwaters

The final major event in the film is Karla’s trip alone with her student Rudi to see the sea The discovery of this lapse gives Hirte and Janson the excuse they need to

immediately move her to another school. Karla admits that she has made a mistake in going with Rudi, but she insists that her open teaching methods are sound. This angers Hirte, who, when she refuses to admit that she was from the very start “auf dem Holzweg” (9g) [“on the wrong track”], sides with Janson in moving her from his school. It seems that Karla has lost the battle. The young reformer, however, will at least remain a teacher. The system is still capable of accommodating her.

Her final meeting with Hirte brings her some further compensation. He visits her in her flat as she packs to leave for she-is-not-sure-which school. Having succeeded in protecting his authoritarian system of teaching, Hirte makes the surprising announcement that he is going to retire. “Ich bin krank. Ich mach Schluss. [] Macht ihr mal weiter. Ihr seid daran” (10a) [I’m sick. I’m finishing up () You (pl) continue on. It’s your turn”]. It appears that the old Communist is prepared to hand over to the young reformers. And despite the fact he has struggled against her methods from the start, he now encourages her to carry them through in her new posting. “Wie du es auch triffst, bleib so” (10a) [“However you find it, stay as you are”]. The old guard is just about ready to hand over to the young and dynamic new GDR generation that will set about dismantling the authoritarian aspects of the state.

2.5 Conclusion

The films of the *Aufbau* period that are discussed in this chapter address some of the very immediate and some more long-term goals of the KPD/SED. One of the most urgent requirements in the postwar period was the need to house and to feed people. This necessitated that people who were themselves physically and/or emotionally damaged by their wartime experiences take up tools to rebuild houses and clear roads to allow for the movement of people and food. Irgendwo in Berlin shows how a returned soldier must once again learn how to be human before he can contribute to his family and his community. To achieve this, he requires the emotional support of his friends and neighbours. Once he has been reintegrated into society, he can reassume his role as a strong father who is well capable of galvanising not only his son but also the other idle boys of the neighbour into working for the rebuilding of his business. Strong patriarchal authority, the film suggests, is needed to guide young people to the correct path.

Looking back on 1946 from 1949, Unser täglich Brot celebrates people who persisted in the task of clearing the rubble that covered their factory and who are now reaping the rewards of their efforts. It is those young dynamic people who put their trust in socialism, either out of prior conviction (Ernst) or for the pragmatic reason that it provides jobs (Inge), who receive the most praise. Even the old bourgeois capitalists such as Karl Webers, however, can be part of the extended socialist family if they see the benefits of socialism and participate.

By the mid-1950s a new generation of young people were coming of age who were children during the period of physical rebuilding and who were beginning to question the achievements of socialism. To foster their loyalty to socialism, Eine Berliner Romanze demonstrates that the solid bond of a financially secure socialist family is the place for the smart boys and girls who are not taken in by the intangibles of a skin-deep and predatory Western commercial culture. Although Dieter and Angela in Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser want to have as little as possible to do with official culture, their tacit loyalty to the state is gained by knowing that, if they need them, support systems exist outside what may be difficult family situations. Viewed from the perspective of consensus and the need to win over young workers for the GDR, Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser, because it may have appealed to an oppositional youth, may be the most effective of the films so far mentioned in attempting to recuperate those whom the authorities did not think they wanted.

Made after the construction of the Berlin Wall, Karla supports socialism in the GDR but argues that reform is required to ensure the active participation of the up-coming generations. Acknowledging that there are problems in the education system and advocating the application of a critical honesty to solve them, it also offers a defence for the centralist state by blaming mistakes on old rogue elements located on the periphery (Principal Hirte, Inspector Janson). The central authority, it suggests, contains forward-looking and dynamic young representatives, such as Karla and the leader of the delegation from the Youth Commission, but their reforms are being hindered. It suggests that it is worth continuing to fight for change, however, because the old guard (Hirte) cannot go on much longer and are possibly even now considering handing over to those young fighters whom they secretly admire.

The imminent hand-over of power by the old guard to the young that Karla imagines, however, did not take place in the GDR. The old Communists held on to power and ruled from above with a more or less repressive Stalinism. Karla and the other DEFA films that were made in 1964/65 were not seen by the public to whom they were addressed. The ousting of Khrushchev on October 14, 1965, led to a reversal of the modest moves towards liberalisation in the GDR. Two months after Khrushchev's departure, in December 1965, the 11th plenary session of the ZK of the SED took place, at which those films that had been completed in 1965 or were still in production were banned from exhibition. Referring to films, plays and literary works of the preceding months, Erich Honecker noted

Tendenzen der Verabsolutierung der Widersprüche der Mißachtung der Dialektik der Entwicklung konstruierte Konfliktsituationen, die in einen ausgedachten Rahmen gepreßt sind. Die Wahrheit der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung wird nicht erfaßt.²⁸

[trends towards making contradictions absolute and disregarding the dialect of development, set-up conflict situations that are forced into made-up frameworks. The truth of the social development is not registered.]

In the worst single act of film censorship in GDR history, 12 *Keller-* or *Regalfilme* [cellar or shelved films], including Karla, were confined to the archives. The 11th Plenum, in Elmar Schubbe's words,

wurde zu einer einzigartigen Demonstration der Intoleranz, der Ignoranz und eines nicht mehr überbietbaren engstirnigen Dogmatismus. Selbst während der Zeit des Stalinismus hatte es in der DDR kein solches kulturpolitisches Scherbengericht gegeben, das einer totalen Bankrotterklärung der Kunstpolitik der SED gleichkam.²⁹

[became a unique demonstration of intolerance, ignorance, and an unsurpassable narrow-minded dogmatism. Even during the Stalinist period there had been no such cultural-political ostracism in the GDR that amounted to a declaration of the bankruptcy of the cultural policy of the SED.]

²⁸ 'Bericht des Politburos an das 11. Plenum des ZK der SED' vorgetragen von Erich Honecker'' Schubbe 1077

²⁹ Schubbe 53

The Plenum was an irrecoverable blow to the confidence of filmmakers in the cultural authorities and marked the end of the consensus between these two groups that has been the focus of this chapter

The films dealing with the theme of youth from the 1940s to the 1960s examined in this chapter evince a strong commitment to the “real-existing” socialism that was the official national politics of the GDR. In this fundamental sense they can be said to have contributed to a national consensus. As has been pointed out, however, developments in both cultural policy and wider political developments influenced the degree to which films could be said to reflect the party line and the way in which they communicated that line. It is no simple, single thread from the call in Irgendwo in Berlin for the reestablishment of the patriarchal family damaged by war to the realisation by the authoritarian father figure in Karla that it is time to hand over the reins to the younger generation. As the juxtaposition of these two films also makes clear, “young people” are far from a homogenous group, and their relationship to an older generation and the state differs according to such factors as their age, gender, socio-economic background, and demonstrated political loyalties.

The portrayal of young people in film is crucially dependent on the relationship of those who do the portraying, the filmmakers, to the SED’s cultural officials. Seen in the context of cultural policy, it is clear that socialist filmmakers during this period struggled against repressive measures to produce work that offered some challenging portrayals of young people. The support that some *Kulturschaffenden* gave to the building of the Berlin Wall and the GDR’s need for highly qualified workers offered significant opportunities for concessions and consensus between filmmakers and the authorities in the GDR in the early 1960s. The 11th Plenum, however, changed

irrevocably the conditions under which films and other cultural works were produced
in the GDR

3. Images of the *Nischengesellschaft*

3.1 Introduction Withdrawal

In the aftermath of the mass act of film censorship at the 11th plenary session of the ZK (Central Committee) of the SED in December 1965, a policy of rigorous control of artistic expression was pursued. The Plenum marked a turning point in relations between the policy makers and the filmmakers. Despite or because of the precedents in self-criticism at previous party sessions and despite the self-criticism of the minister in charge of the film industry, Gunter Witt, no artist of any standing felt ready to criticise him- or herself in front of the gathering.¹ The leadership of the Party persisted in this policy, without succeeding in ensuring that *Kulturschaffende* [artists and intellectuals] unconditionally toed the party line, until after Walter Ulbricht's replacement by Erich Honecker in 1971.²

The Party attempted to conceal the large gap that had opened up between it and *Kulturschaffenden* by publicly reiterating the great cultural advance that was supposed to form the basis for artistic production in the GDR. As part of the preparations for the celebrations for the 20th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, *Neues Deutschland*, the party daily, published an article on January 16, 1969 whose title announced "In der DDR ist der alte Traum der Einheit von Geist und Macht verwirklicht. Wir leben in einem Staat der modernen Wissenschaft und einer aufblühenden sozialistischen

¹ Elmar Schubbe (ed.) *Dokumente zur Kunst-, Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED* 53

² Schubbe 54

Nationalkultur”³ [In the GDR, the old dream of the union of intellect and power has been realised. We live in a state with a modern science and a blossoming socialist national culture] This rhetoric could not, however, cover the lack of challenging cultural works being produced in a repressive environment. The political repression that followed in the period between the 11th Plenum and Honecker’s rise to power in 1971 meant that very few films of importance were released.⁴

The early 1970s, however, saw a new openness and optimism in the GDR as the Party, on the prompting of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), changed direction. This new direction was signalled by the enforced retirement of Ulbricht and his replacement by Honecker in May 1971. This move in itself was no guarantee of a more liberal cultural policy, Honecker was the one who had announced the bannings at the 11th Plenum. Nevertheless, at the Eight Party Congress in June 1971, he indicated the Party’s change of tack by declaring that the state had achieved the status of a “developed socialist society” for which it had long striven. In the cultural arena, he implicitly promised an end to censorship by announcing that there could be “no taboos” for socialist artists.

As recent work has shown, this was no volte-face by the Party, and any discussion of a liberalisation must be cognisant of the fact that this was merely relative. The Party remained the arbiter of who would or would not qualify as a socialist artist. It was, as Ian Wallace argues, a “period of conflicting signals.”⁵ A new climate was, nonetheless, created in the early 1970s, and work that was both popular with its

³ Thesis VII of the “XI Thesen des Komitees zum 20. Jahrestag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.” Quoted in Schubbe 1420.

⁴ Wolfgang Gersch “Film in der DDR: Die verlorene Alternative,” 345.

⁵ Ian Wallace “The Politics of Confrontation: The Biermann Affair and Its Consequences,” 69.

audience and subsequently perceived to be important was produced during this period. A definitive end to this “thaw” came with the expatriation of the protest singer Wolf Biermann in 1976, an event that was for many artists who had remained at least tacitly loyal to the state, in the sense of continuing to carry on a dialogue with cultural officials, the end of that loyalty.

During the thaw, there was a shift in the way in which youth was portrayed in a number of GDR films. This shift reflects wider changes of perceptions in GDR society that led to a compartmentalising of public and private life to form what has been called the *Nischengesellschaft* [niche society]. The *Nischengesellschaft* is a term that was used frequently by commentators to describe a certain type of reaction by citizens of a number of Eastern block countries to the total claims of their states. It describes a form of double life, in which there is an outward conformity to the system through the participation in the required behaviour at school or work, but alongside this a private realm is cultivated that is not regulated by the state. This private realm can take many forms, from the enthusiasm for a garden allotment to participation in church groups, but the uniting factor is the cultivating of a realm in which there is space for self-expression.

The shift in the filmmakers’ relationship to the cultural authorities can be traced through the different constructions of the private realms that young people attempt to carve out for themselves in two films from the 1970s. In Die Legende von Paul und Paula (1973), made during the thaw of the early 1970s, and in Solo Sunny (1979/80), made after the expatriation of Wolf Biermann in 1976, there is a discernible shift in the way in which young people in the GDR are portrayed. In all of the films

considered in the previous chapter, the principal young protagonists are (re)integrated into the existing socialist order. In this, they differ from the films considered here and in the following chapter. This chapter examines films in which young people search for satisfaction outside the official dominant society, in which personal fulfilment does not entail absorption into that society. The shift is precisely one away from concerns about one's place in society towards the personal, which is portrayed as incapable of being reduced to the social. This does not assume that these films are explicitly critical of the GDR. Rather, the guiding notion is that the people that they portray have in some way withdrawn from engagement with official society.

These two films portray the construction of alternative cultures within the dominant culture of the GDR. In Die Legende von Paul und Paula, a troubled relationship exists between traditional ways of life and an institutional societal structure. Adherence to traditional cultures offers an imaginative escape from the difficulties of everyday life, and this is accessible to the cinema audience who are represented in the film. In Solo Sunny, popular music offers both an escape from the drudgery of everyday existence and the possibility of establishing a self-made identity. This film, however, made in the wake of the Biermann affair, is less optimistic about the possibility of community, a fact that is reflected in its quite different portrayal of audiences. Both films explore the relationships between the public and the private, but they do this in different ways. Taking advantage of the freedom of the early Honecker years, Die Legende von Paul und Paula offers the audience a cinematic escape from the everyday. A far more serious affair, Solo Sunny addresses the fraught issue of self-expression and the individual's relationship to the collective in the years after Biermann's expatriation.

3.2 *Die Legende von Paul und Paula* (1973)

Die Legende von Paul und Paula (directed by Heiner Carow) relates the story of the love affair between Paul, a bureaucrat, and Paula, a supermarket assistant. Unmarried and having just given birth to her second child, Paula is reluctantly contemplating a marriage of convenience until she meets Paul, who is unhappily married to the beautiful but unfaithful Ines. Their torrid affair allows them to escape from difficult realities by constructing fantasies, which imaginatively climax in a scene in which Paula's bed transforms into a barge and they float away to a traditional wedding banquet. Citing his responsibilities, Paul breaks up with her, but after the accidental death of Paula's son, he abandons all his responsibilities to win her back. Finally reunited with Paul, Paula becomes pregnant but dies during childbirth. Paul sets up house with the surviving children.

The film offers a fantasy of escape from the drudgery of life as part of an urban nuclear family to the imaginative possibilities of membership of a traditional nomadic extended family. It sets up a dichotomy between two modes of living that its eponymous heroine and hero must negotiate. The terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, the first denoting a traditional social structure based largely on kinship bonds, the second a relationship defined by formal rules, have considerable explanatory power in an analysis of the film. These terms are also useful for examining the concept of the GDR's *Nischengesellschaft* itself. Founded on communitarian principles, the GDR saw itself as a *Gemeinschaft*. This film, however, clearly constructs the East German state as a *Gesellschaft* and shows the existence of *gemeinschaftliche* modes of living to be threatened by the state.

A number of recurrent motifs mark significant stages and transitions in the struggle between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in the narrative. Of particular importance here are the implosion of *alter Mietshauser* [old tenement blocks] by demolition teams clearing the way for new buildings and the appearance of an antique oval picture frame, which sometimes contains a photograph of Paul and Paula and at other times a photograph of Paula's grandparents. Both these motifs have clear signifying power in the discussion of the relationship between past and present and are, as is explored below, employed to suggest a certain relationship between tradition and modernity in the GDR of the 1970s.

It is important to trace why these motifs occur when they do in the film text because the narrative is not completely linear. The film is framed by an introduction and conclusion, both of which occur chronologically after the events of the affair between Paul and Paula that makes up the bulk of the film. As will be seen below, these framing sequences not only show us how things turn out in the end but also attempt to construct the film's own audience and to turn the motif of the antique photo frame into a structuring device. The framing sequences might be seen as a way of containing the energies produced by the story of the affair.

The relevance of the analytical terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* begins with the generic designation offered by the title. In contravention of tenets of socialist realism, the officially sanctioned aesthetic theory of the GDR, the narrative of the love affair between Paul and Paula announces itself as a legend. The opposition is significant. In the face of the Party's insistence on a scientific Marxism-Leninism as the basis of society and on an engineering of the soul as the basis of all art, this film declares itself

to be a form of personal narrative (that of Paul and Paula) that is not based on rationality (it is a legend). The word “legend” has connotations of long ago, of a past only semi-historical, of tradition, of the great deeds of those who went before. It presents a world that has gone, a more heroic age. Historically, the word was used to denote the lives of saints and their deeds told in a more or less freely rendered style, stories which form a pillar of the tradition of many religions.

This designation offers a number of possible entries into the film. In perhaps the most widely used sense of the term, a legend is a story about somebody or something in which the elements are broadly accepted by a cultural group but are not necessarily true. In a similar way, what might be called the public ownership of the narrative is shown in Paul und Paula at a number of points – primarily, at the beginning and the end of the film and during the scene of sexual play in which their bed turns into a barge (6e). In the opening sequence of the film, builders and passers-by watch as Paul holds up the framed photograph of himself and Paula that is such an important motif in the film (1a). This scene motivates the storytelling that follows and establishes the narration of the film as belonging to these “ordinary” spectators. In the climactic scene of the film (9a), Paula’s neighbours watch as Paul breaks down Paula’s door and one of them takes the photograph that motivates the narration in the opening sequence.

The film aims for the construction of an alternative community that is identified with the neighbours, builders, and other onlookers, the ordinary people who are the representatives within the film of the cinema audience and who are witnesses to Paul and Paula’s affair. By linking the ordinary spectators in the film to the community represented by Paula’s grandparents, the film aims to offer the cinema audience entry

to the fantasy world to which Paul and Paula have access through her familial link to the barging tradition. The mundane difficulties of Paula's life as a supermarket worker who must haul her own coal up the stairs to her flat and who is close to the unappetising compromise of a *Vernunftehe* [marriage of convenience] to a much older man is alleviated by a vitalising affair that at its best allows fantasy to replace the tawdry everyday world. To employ the terminology with which this section began, the film provides its spectators, primarily citizens of the GDR embedded in mainly *gesellschaftlichen* relationships, not only with images of a *gemeinschaftlichen* alternative but also imaginative membership of such a structure.

The cinema is explicitly referred to as a realm of escape in the film. In a self-referential sequence, the fantasy world of the cinema is contrasted to Paula's mundane existence (4c and 4e). In the first of these scenes, groups of people, happily chatting among themselves, walk past Paula on their way to the cinema as she repeatedly fills two buckets with coal by hand and carries these up the stairs to her flat. This connection between the escapism enacted in the affair and the cinema audience is strengthened by the fact that Paul and Paula see each other for the first time in front of the Electra cinema (1b).

The *Gesellschaft-Gemeinschaft* dichotomy is replicated in the developing relationship between Paul and Paula. As Paula says, "Paul ist anders als Paula" ["Paul is different from Paula"], but this is not just, as she goes on to claim, "besonders an bestimmten Stellen" (6e) ["particularly in certain places"]. While they are presented, to some extent at least, as soul mates, Paul and Paula differ considerably in their desires, their outlooks, and their backgrounds. Partly these differences are a consequence of the fact

that Paula is the character to whose thoughts the viewer is allowed access. In a soliloquy, she discusses her dissatisfaction with her present life, her desire for companionship, and her anxieties about a marriage of convenience with the much older Herr Saft (4e). The viewer is also, significantly, given considerable insight into her family background, while Paul is portrayed as rootless, without family worth mentioning. Paula is more exactly defined in relation to such *gemeinschaftliche* structures as family and community than Paul.

Paul, by contrast, is identified with societal structures rather than communal ones. For example, unlike Paula's commonplace supermarket job, he has a responsible government position that he appears to treat seriously. It is in his struggles to limit the influence of his wife, Ines, and his in-laws over his son, Michael, that Paul begins to make the break with the *gesellschaftlichen* world that he inhabits. As fairground workers, Ines's parents are in an interesting position between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Both Ines's and Paula's families are proletarian property owners involved in itinerant employments that placed them on the margins of settled society. Both fairground people and barging people formed separate nomadic communities that derived their livelihoods from the larger settled societies but retained a relative autonomy because of their itinerant lifestyle. Both of these forms of employment could be described as traditional, but Ines and her parents have undergone a process of *Ver gesellschaftung* [socialisation].

For Ines's parents, this socialisation has not been successful. In their attempt to advance socially, they had acquired many fairground apparatuses (carousels, ghost trains), but they lost all these because they failed to pay their taxes. In the case of Ines,

however, the process of *Vergesellschaftung* has been more successful. This is clear in her first encounter with Paul. Although she is initially attracted to him (2d), Ines is finally seduced less by his personal charms than by his earning potential (2f). In his later commitment to his job, Paul displays a similar desire for enhanced social status that may be seen as the basis of his relationship with Ines.

The film offers an intensely gendered narrative, associating the *Gemeinschaft* model of social groupings largely with women (Paula and all the previous Paulas) and the *Gesellschaft* model largely with men (Paul and his colleagues, the gynaecologist). The fantasy sequence in which Paula's bed turns into a barge (6e) shows most explicitly the barging world that offers imaginative escape from reality for Paula and Paul. Early in this scene, Paula tells Paul that the connection between her family and barging is dying out because there are only women remaining in the family, and she suggests that they buy a barge. As the fantasy begins, Paula introduces Paul to her barging relatives and tells them that she also has a son. Paula has reinvigorated the family line by introducing new males. Paul and Paula are feted, in a scene that resembles a wedding, as the continuation of an extended barging family, but this scene ends when one of Paul's colleagues, an agent of *Gesellschaft*, sets fire to Paul and Paula's bed/barge.

Paula's name is a central element in her family's barging tradition because all girls and barges are called Paula. The family's traditional lifestyle is dying out, however, because it has become feminised: there are now only Paulas and no Pauls. The photograph in the antique oval frame acts as a motif throughout the film, linking Paula and Paul to this family tradition. The portrait of Paula's grandparents that first occupies the frame differs considerably from the image of Paul and Paula that replaces

it in the barge fantasy scene and subsequently, but it does place the two protagonists in the same framework as previous generations. Through his desire for Paula, Paul allows himself to become imaginatively absorbed into the barging family, a connection signalled by the closeness of his name to Paula's, and in turn to the barging women and the barges. The connection is explicitly shown in the last image of the film, in which he lies in Paula's bed, which had earlier transformed into a barge, with the three children and the antique-framed picture hangs on the wall behind them.

Paula's sexuality is very firmly linked to reproduction. This is seen, for example, in her reluctance to take the contraceptive pill (9b) and in her reluctance to marry Saft because he will be unable to get her pregnant (7d). Despite her gynaecologist's warning that she is "einfach nicht eingerichtet für ein Dutzend Kinder" (3b) ["simply not built for a dozen children"], she seems to be driven by an imperative to have (male) children to revivify her family line. It is in the state of pregnancy and in its aftermath that she glows visibly. "Sie sehen blendend aus," declares Herr Saft, recognising this brilliance, which she also sees in herself, when she arrives back from the hospital with her newly born son (3d) ["You're glowing"]. In her ecstasy at the end of the film when she again consults her gynaecologist (9b), she does have a blissful expression and decides, even if there is only a slim chance that she will survive, to proceed with the pregnancy. This will be her and Paul's love child, a tangible and growing manifestation of their love, and one who can potentially carry on the family tradition.

Both the gynaecologist and Paul tell Paula that her dream of having things the way she wants them is impossible (6g and 9b). "Hor mal," Paul tells her after she has

gatecrashed an important business party to see him:

Es gibt Verpflichtungen, denen muss man nachkommen. Keiner kann immer nur das tun, was er will. Vorläufig jedenfalls ist das so.

Paula: Aber einfach glücklich sein? (6g)

[Paul: Listen, there are responsibilities that one has to take notice of. Nobody can just do what he likes. At least that's the way things are at the moment.

Paula: But what about simply being happy?]

The distinction here between “responsibilities” and “happiness” gives a very clear sense of what is at stake in the *Gesellschaft/Gemeinschaft* split. On the one hand, one has one's duties and responsibilities, while on the other, one wishes to follow one's heart, to do what makes one happy. This opposition is mapped very firmly onto the opposition between the communal and the societal such that following one's heart involves finding a connection, at least imaginatively, to a kin-based social structure.

The film is not interested in a synthesis between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. It charts Paul's absorption into Paula's fantasy of traditional community. This movement is effected when Paul, having settled his affair in his workplace and having said goodbye to his wife, transforms into a fantasy prince as he crosses the street to Paula's tenement and chops down her door with an axe (8a-9a). In what amounts to the emotional climax of the film, Paul has physically and metaphorically crossed over to the *Gemeinschaft* side of the street.

From the point when Paul tergiversates, the film works to contain the energies it has invoked. It does this by killing Paula, by the way it announces her death, and by raising the motif of the frame to the structural level.

Paula's final encounter with the gynaecologist makes the cost of personal happiness explicit. As a member of a profession founded on scientific rationalism, the

gynaecologist is the main representative of the state in the film. He performs this role by instructing Paula to use the contraceptive pill and not to have any more children (3b). This seems a necessary and helpful piece of medical advice given the fact that Paula is in danger of dying in childbirth. He appears to be appropriately concerned about the health of his patient. This man appears in two other scenes in the film. He bumps into Paula in the street as she contemplates marriage to the ironically named Herr Saft [Mr. Juice] and asks if she is taking the pill (7d). His questioning allows Paula to point out that sexual passion will be lacking in the proposed union with Saft. More importantly, however, he is able to stress again the personal danger pregnancy poses to Paula in a film that seems to privilege sexuality and fertility. This danger is realised in the final scene in which the gynaecologist appears. Paula again consults him when she is pregnant with Paul's child. He gives a speech about the gap between *Ideal* [ideal] and *Wirklichkeit* [reality]:

Du bist doch kein Kind mehr, Paula. Es gibt eben Dinge, die nicht gehen. Du kannst nicht alles haben. Wenn du was von Philosophie verstehen würdest, dann würde ich jetzt sagen: Ideal und Wirklichkeit gehen nicht übereinander; ein Rest bleibt immer. (9b)

[You are not a child anymore, Paula. There are things that just aren't possible. You can't have everything. If you understood anything about philosophy, I'd say to you that the ideal and reality don't fit exactly together; there is always something left out.]

Paula reply's to this condescending speech is very much in keeping with the trajectory of the narrative at this point. In the scene that precedes it (9a), Paul finally breaks out of the world of responsibilities that his work and his life with Ines represents and, entering Paula's building dressed as a fairytale prince, he breaks down her door with an axe. Paula's insistence to the gynaecologist that she will proceed with the pregnancy despite the danger represents a similar preference for the imaginative over the real, for simple happiness over social responsibilities. Having made her choice, Paula skips happily out of the gynaecologist's office. As she descends the steps to an underground pedestrian tunnel, a voiceover announces that Paula did not survive the

birth of the child (9c) This is the only incidence in the film when this device of authoritative commentary is used Coming so soon after the words of the gynaecologist on the gap between the ideal and reality, this scene offers a rhetorical “proof” of his warning In this film, such a gap does exist and those who insist on embarking on the path of individual fulfilment risk everything

The film ends with a conclusion that returns from the relating of the legend of Paul and Paula to the present tense “reality” of the film’s introduction The conclusion repeats the film’s two main motifs the imploding building and the antique-framed photograph of Paul and Paula The motif of the imploding building draws on the binary opposition between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to reflect most explicitly on the negative impact of a specific programme of modernisation in the GDR, namely, the building programme that was a flagship of the Honecker regime in the early 1970s

The implosion motif is repeated three times (1a, 4a, 10a) in the film Its importance is stressed by the fact that it is the first image in the film, and it occurs again in the opening sequence just before Paul displays the portrait of himself and Paula The events of these scenes (1a and 10a-b) form the present-tense frame within which the legend of Paul and Paula is related As it is the first image of the film, the opening implosion occurs without a context, it is merely the tearing down of an old building in a street With the second implosion, a pattern establishes itself that allows for contextualization As part of Honecker’s building programme, the *alte Mietshauser*, such as the one in which Paula lives, are being torn down to make room for *Neubauwohnungen* [newly constructed apartments], such as the one in which Paul and Ines live

The next instance of implosion occurs when Paul and Ines make plans to embrace the consumer drive of Honecker's GDR, to sell or throw out everything old, to redecorate the whole flat, and to go out (3e) "Jetzt fängt alles erst richtig an" ["Now for the first time everything begins properly"], Paul declares, and in imitation of the opening of the film, an old building implodes (4a) As the camera pans across the skyline, it is clear that *Neubauwohnungen*, including those facing the *alte Mietshauser* on Paul and Paula's street, have taken its place It is out of these two types of dwelling, the old and the new, that Paula and Paul respectively come on their different ways to work

The third instance of implosion comes in the film's conclusion, which follows the announcement of Paula's death Paula's apartment is the place where their affair is carried on The film associates the affair that is its focus with the old houses, and Ines, and her lack of meaningful contact with Paul, with the new buildings Following Paul, the film describes a trajectory away from the socialised Ines in a place that has become sterile for him, from the socialised to the communal He eventually rejects the life that is associated with the modern but sterile apartment that he shares with Ines in favour of a vision of society that is associated with imagination, sexuality, and tradition

If the first image in the film is of an imploding building, the final image is of the antique photo frame With the warning of the gynaecologist and the subsequent death of Paula, the film ends with a process of containment of the imaginative energies that had been unleashed by Paul and Paula's affair The introductory and concluding sequences act as a narrative frame that turns the motif of the antique photo frame into a structuring device The photo frame becomes a metaphor for the film, containing, in both senses of the term, an image/images of Paul and Paula's affair

The conclusion is not, however, unambiguously repressive of the passion of the affair. It shows Paul who has apparently not bought a barge but who, even in Paula's absence, has set up a household with the surviving children: Paul's son, Paula's daughter, and another boy, presumably the child whom they had together.

3.3 *Solo Sunny* (1979/80)

Rather than attempting the recuperation of a traditional community as does Die Legende von Paul und Paula, Solo Sunny (directed by Konrad Wolf) explores the possibility of communication outside the official rhetoric of the GDR. It portrays a young woman, Sunny, who attempts to establish herself within the popular music subculture of Berlin. Sunny is actually the stage name that Ingrid Sommer assumes in her attempt to break away from the dominant official culture in the GDR and in her search for an independent, self-fashioned identity. Solo Sunny charts this search, focusing on her personal relationships and her experiences as a singer. Sunny is "solo" not only in the sense that she seeks recognition as a solo singer but also in the fact that she lives alone, without ties to family or partner. Unlike Paula the state-employed supermarket worker, Sunny does not have an officially recognised job because she has followed her inclinations and left her factory job in her attempt to make her own living as a singer. Furthermore, because she has no family, she is not tied to official culture through the involvement of relations. She considers herself an

orphan (11e), and has been living alone for as long as anyone can remember (11c) It is from this unusually independent position that Sunny tries to communicate with a GDR audience Unlike the generally positive portrayal of audience in Die Legende von Paul und Paula, however, Sunny's relationship with her "public" is far less happy

In her sexual relationships, as in her music career, Sunny is not content to settle for the easily available options, who in this case are the persistent taxi driver Harry and the abusive saxophone player Norbert Instead, she attempts to establish a viable relationship with Ralph, the amateur musician and "Diplom-Philosoph" [qualified philosopher], despite the fact that her astonishment that his identity card describes him as a philosopher (3c, this is later confirmed at 7c) hints from an early stage at the differences between them Following the considerable disappointments she suffers in both her music career and her relationships, it is, finally, her female friend and former co-worker Christine who is able to provide her with the encouragement to continue searching for success

Ingrid Sommer's new identity as Sunny must be publicly acknowledged, but this acknowledgement must come in the unofficial space of the music club, by an audience Sunny seeks the attention of an audience to acknowledge her self-expression, she wants people to look at and listen to her Unfettered by family or workplace, the foundations of dominant culture and official control, she attempts to address "the people," as represented by her audience, unmediated by the state

Sunny, however, is not a protest singer like Wolf Biermann, who was expatriated in 1976 for his critical stance on life in the GDR When she does finally get to sing her

“solo,” the song she performs, which she has worked throughout the film to perfect, turns out to be a bland love song that contains only two lines of wider significance to the thematics of the film. These concern her achievement of recognition: “It’s Sunny they will say / Some day” (11a). The way in which this line acknowledges that public recognition will be postponed for Sunny, however, does suggest the problems that the individual act of self-expression may encounter in the GDR’s public sphere.

Sunny’s relationship with her audience is certainly a problematic one. She tells Christine that sometimes she fears the audience and has to take something to drink to relax herself before a performance (5b). The anxiety she feels before a performance revolves around her uncertainty about the image that she projects. Around her dressing-room mirror hang pictures of her with different hairstyles and in various types of clothes. She is no longer Ingrid Sommer but Sunny, a woman consciously creating a new identity for herself. The photographs surrounding her show her many attempts to fix on a particular identity. She continues to search because she has not found what she was looking for: the rapt attention of an audience.

In contrast to the positive portrayal of spectatorship in Die Legende von Paul und Paula, the act of looking takes on sinister connotations in Solo Sunny. Potentially a mode of communication, looking is portrayed as an act of surveillance and as being capable of denying identity. In contrast to Sunny’s unappreciative audience who are distinguished by their lack of attention, by their unwillingness to look, her neighbours are distinguished by their unpleasant attentions, by their intrusive looks. Frau Pfeiffer, an old woman who lives in her block, watches Sunny’s comings and goings and complains to the police about Sunny’s lifestyle. Apart from this official spy in the

house, a voyeur, who lives in an apartment directly across the courtyard from her, also watches Sunny. When answering a complaint to the police made against her by Frau Pfeiffer, Sunny alludes cryptically to a man who lived opposite her who watched her and masturbated (2d). The scenes in which this voyeur is shown appear to draw certain parallels between him and Sunny (5a, 11f). They both stare across the courtyard of the run-down apartment block from where they stand alone in their separate worlds. The focus of both of these scenes is her gaze in what seems by her neutral expression to be an attempt to communicate with the man on his own terms. In the second scene (11f), she opens the window to clear the path of the gaze, but whether this is an act of confrontation or communication, the man disappears.

The act of looking is also thematised in Sunny's relationship with Ralph, showing how his looking at her threatens her identity. Looking appears to be one of the ways in which he and Sunny fail to communicate effectively. "Du siehst mich an, wie durch ein Fenster" (7a) ["You look at me as though through a window"], she tells him as the camera lingers on his gaze, which may be described as penetrating, but, by this very act of penetration, fails to register what is most important to Sunny. This is not some essential core that requires deep investigation but her various acts of self-presentation. Ralph's gaze, the gaze of the professional philosopher, bypasses her self-creation.

It is plain from its different relationship with official culture that Solo Sunny represents a later portrayal of the *Nischengesellschaft*, and it evinces certain features that prefigure the opposition that will be discussed in the following chapter. The most obvious formal difference between the two films in this chapter is the eschewing by Solo Sunny of any appeal to fantasy in its negotiation of a space for personal

expression in the GDR of the beginning 1980s. It insists on a strict realism without any glossing over of unattractive details. It shows, for example, that in what the M.C. of the band calls the “doch sehr hutschen Haus” (1a) [“certainly very beautiful house”] in which they play the gig that opens the film there is no toilet for the performers, and Monika, the other singer, must squat over a bucket in the corner while Sunny hides her with a towel. Similarly, the members of the Tornados, the band with which Sunny and Monika sing, are only in the rhetoric of the M.C. and not in reality “einige der schönsten Männer der Welt” (1a, 3d) [“some of the most attractive men in the world”]

The film begins with Sunny singing with the Tornados and ends with her applying to join another band. The narrative is chronologically linear, in keeping with the film’s realism, but conceptually somewhat circular, as if after a number of traumatic experiences, her success in managing to sing the song she strives to write throughout the film (her solo), and a suicide attempt, Sunny’s situation has advanced very little. As in Karla, the important quality that is attributed to young people in Solo Sunny is perseverance. The film suggests that if one perseveres, one can make progress in a hostile environment. While Karla does have support, however remote, within official culture, Sunny must make her own way.

Like Karla, Sunny must speak out. Unlike Karla, who asks “[w]ie kann denn Ehrlichkeit schaden?” (Karla 3a) [“What damage can honesty do?”], however, Sunny expresses not an honesty closely linked to “die Wahrheit,” objective truth, but rather “die Meinung,” her own personal opinion. When asked of what, for her, success consists, Sunny replies that on one occasion people stopped what they were doing and

stood listening to her sing. But she has not experienced any particular success and the only time she actually feels like she has achieved success is “wenn ich jemand’ die Meinung sage” (11c) [“when I tell somebody what I think ”]. She must express herself and this self-expression takes many forms. In the final scene of the film her confidence in her own opinions becomes her identity. “Ich schlafe mit jemand’, wenn es mir Spaß macht. Ich nenne einen Eckenpinkler einen Eckenpinkler [] Ich heiße Sunny” (12a) [“I sleep with somebody, if I feel like it. I call a prick a prick [] I’m Sunny ”]

Sunny is the dynamic figure in the film, constantly in motion in cars, vans, and trains, attempting to achieve personal happiness by having her song written and played and by establishing and developing a loving relationship. Sunny is portrayed as constantly attempting to reach out to other people, and this reaching out takes many forms. She strives to write a song that is meaningful and to project a look that is acceptable to her audience, she attempts to establish a relationship with Ralph, and she helps her friend Christine redecorate her new apartment (5b). In her troubled relationships with her neighbours, in particular Frau Pfeiffer, she is not content to ignore the complaint made against her but tries to get the other people in her apartment block to support her (2e).

In contrast to the dynamism and restlessness associated with Sunny, Ralph is associated with stasis and death. In his tiny apartment, the “professional” philosopher, who prides himself on the fact that he is so described on his identity card, sits and writes about “Gesellschaft und Tod” [Society and Death], seemingly entombed between walls covered with books. He brings Sunny to the place where he goes to walk – the graveyard. He never manages to make any expression of affection for

Sunny above a simple “Ja” to her question as to whether he enjoys it when she visits him. Ralph’s stultifying intellectualism is identified with official party doctrine. In the first scene in the graveyard (7b), a space associated with Ralph, a shot lingers on a gravestone dedicated “[d]em tapferen Vorkämpfer für das arbeitende Volk, Carl Schulze” [“to the brave champion of the working people, Carl Schulze”]. In a later scene, Ralph explains his writings using party rhetoric. He has been educated “auf Kosten der Arbeiterklasse” (9b) [“at the expense of the working class”] and what he owes in return he intends to repay with an uncommissioned written work. While Sunny adapts herself and her song in order to reach an audience, Ralph writes for a readership that he does not have to confront and gives them what he thinks they should want. Like Sunny, he too listens to music in his apartment but, in contrast to the melody that she is attempting to shape into a song to express herself, Ralph listens to old Indian music, which he describes as “[z]ur Trauer und zur Freude [] gemacht” (7d) [“created for grief and joy”]. This music is played in several of the scenes in Ralph’s apartment (4f, 7a, 7d), and it seems to put in him in a trance.

Sunny disrupts Ralph’s enclosed world with its set patterns, a fact that is reflected in visual motifs. She paints over the graffiti on the door of his apartment left by a previous resident and tells him “Ich hab’ alte Spuren verwischt” (3g) [“I’ve covered up old tracks”]. During the sex that follows, she leaves her own tracks, covering his genitals in the paint with which she had covered the door. Despite her assertion that “Friedhöfe stimmen mich friedlich” (7b) [“Graveyards make me feel at peace”], when they are in graveyard where Ralph goes to walk, she talks and sings and images and sounds of aeroplanes disrupt the peace (7b, 9b). She astounds him, leaving the typically uncommunicative Ralph visibly lost for words, with her question about

whether he wants to have a child with her or not (9b)

Following their apparent reconciliation after he has been unfaithful to her, Sunny comments on what might be called Ralph's vampiric qualities "Leute wie du lutschen Leute wie ich ganz schon aus" (10d) ["People like you suck people like me completely dry"] The complaint is general in its implications, concerning people like Ralph and people like Sunny People who do not engage in their relationships with all their emotions, and who are connected to a moribund party rhetoric prey on those who are open in their dealings and with their emotions And it is partly this predatory relationship that pushes Sunny to attempt suicide

The lack of contact between officialdom and the music subculture is mirrored by an avoidance of contact with the authorities in the wider community Sunny is summoned to the police station after one of her neighbours complains that she is disturbed by Sunny's lifestyle (2d) Sunny obliquely mentions the voyeur who lives opposite her but refuses to file a complaint against him She phrases this in such a way as to suggest that the refusal to make a complaint on this issue is merely an instance of a wider commitment not to make complaints to the police "Ich erstatte keine Anzeigen" (2d) ["I don't make official complaints"] This refusal to participate in this form of informing on neighbours is echoed in the next scene of the film when Sunny asks one of her other neighbours to sign a petition to say that he does not feel disturbed by her lifestyle, he answers "Ich unterschreibe prinzipiell nichts" (2e) ["On principle, I don't sign anything"] His refusal on principle to sign anything suggests that this is motivated by a wish not to be drawn into the official life of the state, whatever the cause

What the film does not show is the extent of official hostility to people who attempted to lead their own lives outside official control “So groß war die

Aussteigerbewegung,” writes Annette Simon,

daß sich die Führenden der DDR bemußigt fühlten. 1979 den Paragraphen 249 (, Gefährdung der öffentlichen Ordnung durch asoziales Verhalten“) zu erweitern. Asozial war nun, keiner geregelten Arbeit nachzugehen. 1980 wurden 10 714 Menschen nach diesem Paragraphen verurteilt.”⁶

[The movement of those who were opting out of society was so large that the authorities of the GDR felt compelled in 1979 to widen Paragraph 249 (‘ Endangering of Public Order Through Antisocial Behaviour’) Failing to pursue regular work was now considered antisocial. In 1980 10,714 people were convicted under this paragraph.]

The film’s message that perseverance in a repressive society brings rewards to the individual, even if these are small, is shown by such statistics from the “real-existing” GDR to have been a false hope.

Solo Sunny ends with Sunny expressing her opinion, telling a new band that the expression of her own strongly held opinions is what constitutes Sunny. To this the leader of the group answers “In Ordnung. Morgen um zehn ist Probe” (12a) [“Okay. Tomorrow at ten is rehearsals”]. Sunny has once more found position as a singer, but, more importantly, she has received recognition of her self-made identity.

⁶ Annette Simon “„Kluge Kinder sterben früh.“” 16

3 4 Conclusion

The concept of *Nischengesellschaft* suggests a society in which the citizens show outward conformity to a repressive regime but preserve their main aspirations for relationships or activities in a private sphere untouched by official culture. Two films made after Erich Honecker became First Secretary of the ZK of the SED in 1971, Die Legende von Paul und Paula (1973) and Solo Sunny (1979/80), offer images of the *Nischengesellschaft*, relating attempts at different times and under different political conditions to construct alternatives to the invasive official culture of the GDR.

Made in the cultural thaw that followed Honecker's announcement that, for artists with a firm socialist perspective, there could be no taboos, Die Legende von Paul und Paula foregoes many of the conventions of realism to focus on the hopes and dreams inspired by the love affair between Paul and Paula. The film itself can be seen to represent a withdrawal from official culture by its playful refusal of realism, and this refusal is signposted from the outset by its title's declaration that the film is a legend. It shows that its protagonists also withdraw from official culture, a fact most clearly shown in Paul's neglect of his responsible government job to focus on his affair with Paula. The film narrates how, by creatively adapting the motifs in Paula's bedroom that relate to her barging family, they imagine for themselves a retreat from the modernising GDR to a private realm of the traditional extended family, love, and sexuality.

The cultural thaw of the early Honecker years ended most publicly in the expatriation of the protest singer Wolf Biermann in 1976. For many creative artists, this was the

event that confirmed the unviability of life and work in the GDR and led to their decision to emigrate. In this more fraught atmosphere, Solo Sunny offers a starkly realistic portrayal of a young woman who is attempting to assert herself as a singer in Berlin. Sunny lives alone, without contact with even immediate family, and she has given up her factory job to make a living in the barely legal world of the popular music subculture of Berlin. The film assesses the viability of her lifestyle independent of the officially regulated structures of both family and workplace. It unsparingly shows how she is preyed upon by men of various degrees of unsavouriness, perhaps the most unpleasant of whom is Ralph, an emotionally stunted “philosopher” with whom she considers having a baby but who is unfaithful to her. Her inability to make meaningful contact with her audience and set-backs in her personal life drive Sunny to attempt suicide. With the help of a female friend, however, she finds the emotional resources to make a fresh start at searching for success on her own terms.

Both films conclude that these alternative realms are attainable but that they come at a price. Paula must die, but she does succeed in giving birth to a son with Paul. For Sunny, it seems that she will have to forego a meaningful romantic relationship and rely on her female friend Christine in her ongoing struggle to assert her own identity and her right to be creative.

4. Images of the *Wende*

4.1 Introduction Opposition

In searching for filmic images of the *Wende* [turn, turnabout, refers to the fall of the Berlin Wall and associated events in autumn 1989] in DEFA feature films, it must be recognised that there are two distinct stages in this representation – before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The effectiveness of expressions of dissent in films during the first period is reduced by restriction on artistic expression before the opening of the border and, in the second period, the suddenness and the speed of the change contributed to the apparent irrelevance of much of the most daring social criticism released after the fall of the Wall. Belonging to the first of these periods, Einer trage des anderen Last (1988) [Bearing the Other's Burden] confronts the ideological antagonism between the church and the state in the early GDR, supporting the call by an ageing chief doctor for tolerance between two warring young ideologues in a TB sanatorium. DEFA continued to make films after unification, and as revelations of the activities of the *Stasi* [*Staatssicherheitsdienst*, state security service] appeared in the media, two films released in 1991 – Jana und Jan and Der Verdacht [The Suspicion] – explore the surveillance of young people in the GDR, drawing a parallel between the actions of adults and those of the repressive state.

In the mid-1980s, filmmakers, along with the rest of the population of the GDR, had to come to terms with an external change that was to affect the state fundamentally, including having a decisive influence on the way in which dissent was expressed. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the leadership of the Soviet Union with a

programme of reform summed up in the terms perestroika and glasnost. Gorbachev's policies presented challenges to all the states of the Eastern bloc, and in the GDR they gave added impetus to the active opposition to the SED that had been growing throughout the 1980s in the forum provided by the churches. The policy of glasnost ["openness", literally, "publicity"], with its emphasis on freedoms for the media, created particular expectations for frank discussion of problems.

The old guard of the ZK of the SED under Honecker dismissed the relevance of Gorbachev's reforms for the GDR. The fact that Honecker did head an old leadership, however, already raised the question of succession. As Gorbachev assumed power in March 1985, Erich Honecker (born August 25, 1912) was 72 years of age, but he was not by any means the oldest member of the politburo. The hard-line Egon Krenz (born March 19, 1937) was widely tipped to take over from Honecker, but Gorbachev's example added the further question to the succession issue of whether the leader who replaced Honecker would be a reformer in this new Soviet mould.

It is in the context of a projected change of leadership from an older SED generation to a younger SED generation that portrayals of GDR history and interpretation of some of its main myths in Einer trage des anderen Last receive extra resonance.

4.2 *Einer trage des anderen Last...* (1988)

Climaxing in the celebrations of the New Year 1951, *Einer trage des anderen Last...* (directed by Lothar Warneke) is set in the period in which, in the reckoning of the SED, the GDR's antifascist-democratic phase changed into the second phase of the development of the state, the creation of the basis of socialism.¹ It charts the consequences of the friction between an ardent young Communist policeman, Josef (Jupp) Heiliger, and a young Protestant minister, Hubertus Koschenz, both of whom are suffering from tuberculosis and are forced to attend a sanatorium in a remote mountain location in the GDR. Here these committed young men are ordered by the *Chefarzt* [head doctor] to set aside their differences in the interests of their health and that of their fellow patients. Largely unheeding of this call for tolerance, they continue to invest their energies in both pursuing and eventually bridging their ideological difference. Their absorption in this ideological struggle, however, results in their failure to effect a timely acceptance of the appeal for love that Sonja, a young woman who knows that she is irrecoverably ill, makes to each of them.

The film was a popular hit in the GDR, but critical reception of it has been mixed. Positively reviewing the film, Hans Günter Pflaum suggests that it is its "possibility of contrary readings"² that has led to its diverging critical fortunes. Harry Blunk writes that the huge resonance that *Einer trage des anderen Last...* received from the filmgoing public in the GDR hints at the importance of questions of death and the role of Christianity for a large number of people.³ Wolfgang Gersch deplores the film's

¹ Elimar Schubbe *Dokumente zur Kunst-, Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED*, 54.

² Hans Günter Pflaum *Cinema in the Federal Republic of Germany*, 161.

³ Harry Blunk "Zur Rezeption von Gegenwartsspielfilmen der DEFA im Westen Deutschlands." *Filmland DDR*, 116.

promotion of an unhistorical alliance between a Christian and a Communist:

Die Illusionen, die der Film bei vielen im Osten wie im Westen weckte, ließen nicht nur die desaströse Lage der DDR übersehen, die auch durch eine ›Koalition der Vernunft‹ nicht mehr zu retten war, sondern auch, daß der Film selbst auf den tönernen Füßen des Wunschdenkens stand.⁴

[The illusions that the film created for many both in the East and in the West allowed one to overlook not only the disastrous state of the GDR, which even with a “coalition of reason” was beyond saving, but also the fact that the film itself stood on the shaky foundation of wishful thinking.]

The film, he continues in the same place, “leugnet [...] den Terror der Diktatur, die an echten Koalitionen mit Andersdenkenden nie interessiert war” [denies the terror of the dictatorship, which was never interested in real coalitions with those who thought differently]. That the SED regime had no time for alternative ways of thinking is undeniable. It is, however, its reproach of both ideologues for their focus on ideology at the expense of actual human beings that gives the film its particular critical power and is perhaps one of the reasons for its popularity in the GDR. It does reproach church and state, but its unequal distribution of blame recognises the unequal distribution of power between the two institutions.

In terms of the language of generational conflict that is the focus of this study, Einer trage des anderen Last... reverses the privileging of the position of young people that has been discussed above in the films from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The privileging of the young is abandoned in favour of a narrative that appears to privilege the older, “ruling” generation. The call by the ageing *Chefarzt* for tolerance between ideological positions is borne out by developments in the narrative. The focus on ideological struggle at the expense of the human consequences is shown to be damaging to others and potentially self-destructive, and is acknowledged as such by the momentary reconciliation between Jupp and Hubertus, the representatives of

⁴ Wolfgang Gersch “Film in der DDR: Die verlorene Alternative,” 362.

competing ideological positions.

The dynamism of youth is seen as potentially dangerous in its intolerance and unwillingness to compromise. This is of particular importance because the way in which this story is presented by the filmic text privileges the young policeman Jupp, and this implies a direct criticism of the official mythology of the GDR. Jupp is portrayed as a paragon of young Communist activity in the opening “historical” introduction (1b): he has worked on FDJ rubble-clearing and construction projects, and he has patrolled the border, providing protection “gegen Haß und Bosheit” [against hate and malice], as the voiceover has it, and watching as one of his colleagues is shot while patrolling beside him. Employing such generic codes of documentary as voiceover, hand-held camera, and lack of ambient sound, shots of Jupp taking part in activities long inscribed in the mythology of the *Aufbau* are seamlessly added to what seems to be actual documentary footage of the clearing of the ruins of postwar Germany. He has, it is suggested, participated in the historical events that are portrayed in the opening sequence. He presents the classical party image of politically engaged youth as the *Hoffnungsträger* [person on whom hopes are pinned], and it is against this image that the film raises its criticisms.

The extended historical opening sequence presents an elaborate context for the story. The opening voiceover announces that the film narrates “die Begegnung zweier jungen Menschen,” a story “zu unbedeutend für das Buch der Geschichte” but, nevertheless, “eng verflochten mit dem Geschehen jener bewegten Jahre” (1b) [the encounter between two young people, (a story) too insignificant for the book of history (but) closely interwoven with the events of that emotional year]. The weaving metaphor is

apt, ironically drawing attention to the deception that is being fabricated and hinting at the editing in of the obviously fictional with the apparently documentary

Having shown how Jupp's personal narrative is closely linked with the events of the *Aufbau* years (1c), the film maintains this link in the more openly fictional portion of the narrative. Jupp is identified with the "documentary" events and with the new state through his insistence on wearing his police uniform. The sacrifices made during the *Aufbau* and the comradeship associated with it are kept before spectators' eyes, when Jupp remembers both the death of a fellow border guard (2e) and the simple meals he had enjoyed with his FDJ comrades during their breaks from work (6c).

As with the attention, so the bulk of the criticism of the young ideologues falls on Jupp. He arrives from and continues to act as a part of the *Aufbau* world that is portrayed in the introduction. Hubertus is the alien in the room in the sanatorium they share, in which Jupp has already established himself, and the intruder into the narrative that has charted something of Jupp's personal history. Hubertus's history is not shown, he is allowed to relate the stories of unpleasant encounters between members of his family and the new state merely to establish his antagonism towards Jupp from the beginning. The narrative depends for its development on the perspective or, more exactly, the external and internal focalisation of Jupp than on that of any other character.⁵ The assertion of the introductory voiceover that the film narrates "die Begegnung zweier jungen Menschen" (1b) [the encounter between two young people] suggests a certain equivalence of focalisation between Jupp and Hubertus, but Jupp is privileged by all forms of narrative representation.

⁵ Celestino Deleyto 'Focalization in Film Narrative,' 217-233

The “old order” against which they are rebelling, that of Dr Stulpmann’s sanatorium, is shown to be well regulated and efficient. The first encounter spectators have with the *Chefarzt* is when he tells the elderly Sister Inge that she will retain her job for as long as the institution remains in private hands. Gersch argues that the film evinces a “Zauberberg-Milieu” [an atmosphere like that of Thomas Mann’s novel The Magic Mountain], but the relationship between the sanatorium and the state in the context of the early GDR society is very different. While the state was heralding the movement from the antifascist-democratic phase to the phase of the creation of the basis of socialism, the sanatorium is an enclave of private ownership in the encroaching public-ownership orthodoxy.

The chief doctor’s area of authority is clearly delimited by his distance from the new order. Partly this is a physical distance. The narrative is played out in a remote location. Hohenfels, the sanatorium, is a part of but apart from its society, “hinter dem Berg” [“on the other side of the mountain”], and inviting only to those who are sick. Partly this is a distance imposed by the focus on the curing of sickness. This requires a disengagement from the outside world, with rest, quiet, and inaction as essential features. “Sie müssen innere Ruhe finden,” the Chefarzt tells Jupp. “Denken Sie immer, das geht Sie nichts an. Was auch geschieht, das geht Sie nichts an.” Chefarzt (2d) [“You must find inner peace. Think always that it doesn’t concern you. Whatever happens, it doesn’t concern you”]. And partly it is the political unorthodoxy of the sanatorium in the new GDR. “Die Politik ist nicht die Stärke dieses Hauses” (7d) [“Politics is not this institution’s strength”], as one of the SED supporters opines.

A further limit to the *Chefarzt*'s influence is his own political past – he was a member of the Nazi party. This comes as a shocking revelation in the context of the new GDR that based much of its legitimacy on its avowed antifascist credentials. Jupp and Hubertus learn this from another patient, but the doctor volunteers the information to Jupp at a later consultation. “Für mich war und ist Hohenfels eine Lebensaufgabe,” he explains. “Und wenn es dazu gehört, hier Chefarzt zu bleiben, dann trete ich in jede Partei ein, auch in ihre, Herr Heiliger” (10a) [“Hohenfels was and is my life’s work. And if was necessary to remain head doctor here, I’d join any party, yours included, Herr Heiliger”]. He stresses the lack of importance of ideology in the face of the life-and-death issues that the sanatorium represents.

At an earlier point in the narrative, the *Chefarzt* emphasised the danger to both Jupp and Hubertus of exerting themselves by getting excited and calls for them to live together peacefully.

Daraußen im Leben können sie auch keinen Bogen um einander machen. Sie müssen mit einander auskommen, meine Herren. Und wenn Sie das nicht können, dann taugt Ihr Sozialismus. Herr Heiliger, genauso wenig wie Ihr Christentum, Herr Koschenz. Wir leben nämlich auf einer Erde, und wenn es für junge intelligente Männer mit verschiedenen Weltanschauungen nicht einmal um den Preis der Gesundheit, um den Preis ihres Lebens sogar für ein Paar Monate in einem Haus und einem Zimmer wie zivilisierte Menschen mit einander umgehen können, dann sieht es ganz beschissen aus mit der Menschheit, ja! (7c)

[Out there in the real world, you won’t be able to avoid each other. You must get along with each other, gentlemen. And if you can’t do that, then your socialism, Herr Heiliger, amounts to exactly as little as your Christianity, Herr Koschenz. After all, we live on one earth, and if two young, intelligent men with differing world views can’t get along with each other like civilised people for a few months in the same house and the same room for the sake of your health, for the sake of your lives even, then the outlook for mankind is bloody awful.]

Christianity and Communism are not the only ideologies that are strongly represented in the film. The capitalism of Herr Truffelknecht becomes part of the basis on which the alliance between Jupp and Hubertus is built. Truffelknecht is an unrepentant capitalist, who changes the radio station from one playing music to one broadcasting

an anticommunist polemic (7d) and who organises an occupation of the reading room to prevent the SED party members from having a meeting (9a) Inviting Hubertus and Jupp for a drink in his room, he tells them to stop their ideological conflict for the good of their fellow patients, adding that the *Chefarzt* could not be as forthright as him because he had been a Nazi When Jupp argues with him on an ideological point, Truffelknecht tries to form an alliance of “Kirche und Kapital” [church and capital] with Hubertus Hubertus, however, takes exception to Truffelknecht’s belittling of the genuine efforts of the Communist authorities “Und [die Kirche] wird Leute, die soziale Gerechtigkeit hier herzustellen versuchen, nicht verdammen, sondern als Gotteswerkzeug ansehen, seien sie nun gottlos oder fromm ” (8e) [“And (the church) won’t condemn people who are trying to create social justice here but rather will see them as God’s instrument, regardless of whether they are godless or devout”] This encounter serves to show Hubertus’s views and to point a way to a potential alliance This alliance, when it does come, is brief but significant, climaxing in the scene in which Hubertus dictates his New Year’s sermon and Jupp types it out

What the two young men forget in their ideological struggle and in their ideological alliance is the lives of the people around them The criticism is that they are absorbed in abstract ideological struggle, while those around them die without the consolation of a final human contact Fittingly, the room that Jupp and Hubertus occupy is above all others in the sanatorium, resembling an ivory tower The focus of this criticism is their mutual neglect of Sonja, a young woman who has been told that the TB is not responding to treatment Sonja tries to make contact with both of them, focusing principally on Jupp but also approaching Hubertus (9c) Sonja tries a number of times to attract Jupp’s attention, eventually finding that feigning an interest in Communist

literature works best (10c) He eventually takes her for a walk in the woods and they connect to such a degree that they kiss (11c) In discussing the plans for the new state, he unknowingly causes her distress, showing his lack of attention to the present and her inability to escape what she knows to be some of her last moments “Wer nicht arbeitet, soll auch nicht essen So wird das sein Und dann in 10, 20 Jahren, jeder nach seinen Bedürfnissen Wir werden es erleben Da bin ich ganz sicher ” (11c) [“Anyone who doesn’t work, shouldn’t eat either That’s the way it’ll be And then in 10, 20 years, everyone according to his needs We’ll experience it I’m totally certain of that ”]

The climax of Jupp and Hubertus’s ignoring of Sonja’s need for companionship comes in the same sequence in which they achieve the height of their ideological alliance (13a-d) Failing to return to the New Year’s party where Sonja is waiting to dance with him for the final time, Jupp returns to his room to settle his differences with Hubertus and help him to finish his sermon As they work through the night, Sonja haemorrhages and dies On discovering what has happened, Jupp sets the ideological struggle in motion again by running to the church where Hubertus has given his sermon and denying the minister’s God in the strongest terms

The film ends without resolving many of the issues it raises Jupp and Hubertus survive to visit Sonja’s grave, but they are rendered speechless by the grave marker that displays her name and the span of her short life

4.3 The Watchtower of Babel

A number of films were released by DEFA in the period between the appointment of trustees to oversee its privatisation in 1990 and its sale to the French conglomerate CGE in 1992. Among these are two – Der Verdacht and Jana und Jan – that portray youth in conflict with the parental generation. These films about the agency of young people, their ability to make changes in their own lives and in the lives of others, also deal with uncertainties thrown up by the *Wende*, specifically the revelations about the extent of the *Stasi*'s surveillance of GDR citizens and the physical and ideological abandonment of the GDR.

Made during a period of tumultuous change in Germany, the themes of these films that reflect on the GDR might be summarised under the title of an earlier film by Jana und Jan director Helmut Dziuba Verbotene Liebe [forbidden love]. There is a sense in which all love is forbidden, as it is for the young people in the *Jugendwerkhof* [an institution for older children taken into state care on a long term basis] in Jana und Jan, and, particularly in Der Verdacht, that whatever love is not subordinated to party loyalty is suspect and justifies intervention. The films show children being used by the authorities to manipulate parents, being employed, for example, in Der Verdacht as hostages to ensure that Karin's long-distance lorry-driving brother-in-law will return to the GDR (3d).

The issue of *Republikflucht* [flight from the GDR] also surfaces in Jana und Jan. "Zwei sind abgehauen" ["Two have taken off"] shouts the warder Bulling down the phone (9a), using a word that rings ominously through many DEFA films – *Abhauen*, *Imstichlassen*, *Rubergehen* [taking off, abandoning, going over]. For these films made

“jenseits der DDR’ [after the GDR], the value of these words, and others that defined the relationship between the authorities and citizenry of the GDR, was undergoing rapid change “Und unverständlich wird mein ganzer Text” [“and my whole text becomes incomprehensible”], writes Volker Braun in the poem “Nachruf” in the context of the upheaval that resulted from the collapse of the Wall and the regime that maintained not only it but also the system that made the works of such writers comprehensible⁶

These films portray an abdication of responsibility by adults, including parents, guardians, and party officials, that then leads to an assumption of responsibility by the younger generation. The young people that are portrayed in these films are those that are in various ways victims of parents and/or the state. In Jana and Jan, the young people live in the *Jugendwerkhof* because they have been let down by their parents, and in Der Verdacht, Frank has spent time in a similar institution and Karin is betrayed by her own parents who put party loyalty before parental loyalty. Although both films were made in the immediate post-1989 period and have similar thematic interests, the young people they focus on and the period in which they are set account for significant differences of outlook.

4.3.1 *Der Verdacht* (1991)

The adaptation of a novella banned in the GDR, Der Verdacht (directed by Frank

⁶ Anna Chiarlani and Helga Pankoke (eds.) Grenzfallgedichte, 109

Beyer) strongly condemns the intrusion of the state security services into the privacy of the love affair of a young couple, but its historical location in the GDR of the mid-1970s precludes images of justice except in its dream sequences. In fact, the film closes with a scene that suggests the successful implanting of the silent complicity of Karin, the film's main protagonist, with the *Stasi*. Reflecting on the *Nischengesellschaft*, which in Die Legende von Paul und Paula and Solo Sunny is portrayed as a society in which the individual can, at least, aim for the achievement of limited private goals, the film appears to say that the state has stormed the battlements of the realm of personal authenticity.

Set in the mid-1970s, Der Verdacht tells of the hindrances that the Party puts in the way of the relationship between Karin, the daughter of a party official, and Frank, a young man with several black marks against him in the eyes of the Party. The film focuses more closely on Karin, whose family background and exemplary personal record qualify her for the career of her choice in journalism. Despite insisting that her personal relationship is her own business, she initially obeys her father when he forbids her to see Frank because he says that he has received official information that Frank has "something special" planned. She later resumes her relationship with Frank after hearing from him that he is not planning anything illegal, but she again succumbs when pressure is put on her by both her parents and the *Stasi*, who warn her of the consequences of her relationship with Frank for her own future career. His desperation at her abandonment drives Frank to attempt suicide. This suicide attempt, her realisation of the extent of the Party's interference in her private life, and her parents' placing of loyalty to the Party before that to family lead her to reject her parents and Party for an uncertain future with Frank. To this uncertainty in the

conclusion is added the suggestion that Karin remains complicit with the culture of secrecy on which the power of the Party is based

The film is an adaptation of Volker Braun's Unvollendete Geschichte [Incomplete Story], a novella that was pioneering stylistically and in the extent of its social criticism. It was published in the literary periodical Sinn und Form in 1975, but because of the unprecedentedly critical nature of its subject matter, unsold copies of that issue of Sinn und Form were bought up, and the novella was not allowed publication in book form in the GDR until 1988. Braun's work met with disfavour because of both the details of the narrative text as they were adapted by the film, described above, and the novella's narrative form, which includes official slogans and citations of a number of German authors, from Buchner to Plenzdorf, on the power of the state and the fulfilment of personal dreams.

Despite, or, perhaps, because of, the fact that it was recognised as a largely faithful adaptation, the film was not well received by a number of scholars. "Bloß mechanisch," writes Wolfgang Gersch, "adaptierte Ulrich Plenzdorf die einst so brisante Unvollendete Geschichte Volker Brauns für den Film Der Verdacht (1991), den Frank Beyer ohne polemische Lust inszenierte" [Ulrich Plenzdorf adapted Volker Braun's once-so-explosive Unvollendete Geschichte merely mechanically for the film Der Verdacht (1991), which Frank Beyer realised without polemical drive"]⁷ Hans Gunther Pflaum draws similar conclusions, commenting that the film "was made with few traces of interest or inspiration. Any Stasi story in "Der Spiegel" was by then

⁷ Gersch 323

more dramatic than this film ”⁸

Part of the problem is the film’s faithfulness to a literary predecessor that was seen as unacceptably critical by the authorities in the mid-1970s but that based its social criticism on the unjustified pursuit of two young people whom the narrative shows to be politically reliable. Karin and Frank are committed to world socialism and the GDR, and it is the actions of the *Stasi* that finally alienates them from the system in the GDR. The notion that young people were politically reliable may have been a necessary device for Braun writing the novella at a time when a firm socialist viewpoint was demanded from artists, but in the post-*Wende* world, this idea was seen as unsustainable. Pflaum is right to locate the film in the context of the *Stasi* revelations of the *Wende* period, but, as will be shown below, the film’s conclusion deviates from its literary source to offer a more radical critique of GDR society.

Like the novella, the film strongly condemns the culture of surveillance in the GDR that here intrudes on the intimate relationship between two young people. In setting out the relationship between the state and film in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, Mira and Antonin Liehm describe the way by which the Party became the ultimate spectator of the films produced:

The more concentrated political power became, the more a handful of its representatives at the top level of the Communist Party and government - and sometimes a single representative - became the prime and supreme “Spectator.”⁹

In the same way the state, through the agency and activities of the “Ministerium für Staatssicherheit” [Ministry for State Security], is here shown to be the spectator of its citizens. It is the *Besserwisser* [know-it-all] that can interpret the course that its

⁸ Pflaum 166

⁹ Mira and Antonin Liehm The Most Important Art: Soviet and Eastern European Film After 1945 1

citizens will take because it has blocked information that would allow the citizen to understand his/her actions better

The film's title indicates its focus on suspicion and surveillance, and as "was liegt immer gegen [Frank] vor" (3b) [(Frank) is always being accused of something], the dramatic narrative concentrates on Karin, on whom suspicion falls for the first time in her life. Focusing on the daughter of a respected party official who has accepted the party doctrine and wishes to work in the system, the film is able to show somebody who moves from a position of idealism and loyalty to a critical stance on account of the actions of the state. Furthermore, by having young people as the viewpoint characters, the reproduction of the authoritarian stance of the state in the family is shown from the perspective of those who are its victims.

The state demands that its citizens trust its actions, even if they seem unjust, because those in the Party are in a position of superior knowledge. "Ich hab' immer auf dich verlassen können," Karin's father tells her, "das war auch die Basis" (1d) ["I've always been able to trust you. This was also the basis"]. This trust that her father has in Karin is the understanding that she will do what she is told, and this obeying of authority is the "basis" both of the smooth running of the GDR and of Karin's smooth assumption of a place within the system. As his daughter, "für wen [er] alles garantiert ha[t]" (1d) ["for whom he has guaranteed everything"], Karin has every opportunity to make progress in her chosen career of journalism as she embarks on her *Volontariat* [position as a trainee] in the newspaper in the nearby town. The price that her father and the Party demands for this is that she show her loyalty by ending her relationship with the politically undesirable Frank. This "request," of which Karin

feels the injustice, given that she is convinced of Frank's commitment both to her and to the GDR, tests this "basis" and requires more explanation. "Man hat mich informiert," he tells her with finality, "du weißt, was das bedeutet" (1d) ["I have been informed. You know what that means"]. As a man in the trust of the Party, he is one, "der kennt und der weiß von Dingen, von den' jeder nicht informiert wird" (5a) ["who knows about things that others aren't informed about"]

The Party makes the personal, Karin and Frank's relationship, political. She is shown to be irreproachable in her political attitudes, but it is her involvement with the politically tainted Frank that attracts the unwelcome attention of the "Ministerium für Staatssicherheit" to her. "Das ist doch wohl meine Sache," she protests to her father's instruction to end the relationship ["That is surely my business"]. "Ja. Ja und nein," he replies, "du geratst da in was rein, was nicht wieder gut zu machen ist. Und wir mit" (1d) ["Yes. Yes and no. You're getting into something that can't be put right again. And us with you"]. Her parents perform on the familial level what the Party does on a societal level. Karin's parents meddle in her personal affairs, chiefly, of course, in her relationship with Frank. When made to account for his actions in one of Karin's dreams, her father claims to have acted out of *Wachsamkeit* [vigilance] and this is reproduced at a societal level in the campaign of *Wachsamkeit* that is practised against Frank and his family, including the fact that his post is read and confiscated and his mother's apartment is bugged.

The revelation of the extent of the surveillance campaign against Karin and Frank, and the way this is shown to be part of an ongoing campaign of vigilance against quite ordinary citizens who dissent in minor ways, is complemented by examination of the

dynamics of how the public is “informed” by the socialist press Karin chooses a quotation to appear in the newspaper for which she works from a speech that reveals the difficulties experienced by a group of workers Her choice is rejected, however, because the speech fails to reveal how the situation is to be improved (2c) The public must be provided with solutions to problem situations, and if none exists in some cases, they are not to be informed about the situation at all

Because the film chooses to offer a realistic portrayal of social relations in the GDR of the 1970s, it is only in Karin’s dreams that those in authority are in some measure brought to account for their actions in public In her second dream (8d), they must stand in front of the people and explain why they had driven Frank to suicide The newspaper’s *Kaderleiter* [personnel officer] admits that Frank has acted “aus verständlicher Verzweiflung” [“out of understandable desperation”], that his suicide attempt is a considered reaction to the hounding he has received by the Party and its agents Characteristically, although the *Stasi* agent Schafer is present at this gathering, he slips away when attention is called to him Even in a dream he escapes the public calling to account that those party members who are in the public gaze must eventually go through He is the representative of the *Stasi* who are above suspicion in this time and place because they administer the suspicion

By pointing these things out, the film lets the burden of blame fall on those who escape this process of facing the public in Karin’s dream Schafer, and by extension the *Stasi* system he represents, and Karin’s mother, representing those who have been desensitised by their loyalty to the Party They are the villains of the piece While Karin’s father must ultimately stand accused with his party colleagues in Karin’s

dream of being responsible for robbing Frank of his consciousness, his plea of having acted out of *Wachsamkeit* and his admission of blindness in relation to Karin and Frank lead to his freedom to go home to guard his wife, who is seen as the greater threat to this dream of a more open society

Provisional as it is, this calling to account is only accomplished in Karin's dream. At the end of the film, Karin has moved out of her parents' house and has been alienated from the system in which she had expected to find her place. As she attempts to find a job with which to help feed the child she is expecting, the film ends with Frank's recovery from the coma to which his suicide attempt had reduced him. The final scene, as in its literary source, shows Frank leaving the hospital. In the final shot of the film, much as in Braun's novella, they embrace and walk away from the camera to, it seems, an uncertain future in a hostile society but at least together.

This image fits well with the discussion of the *Nischengesellschaft*, in which there is a retreat to a place of private authenticity. The film, however, casts doubt on the viability of this private authenticity. Made in the context of the *Stasi* stories in the German press during and after the *Wende* and the discussion of complicity that centred in artistic circles on debates over Christa Wolf's *Was bleibt?* [*What Remains?*],¹⁰ the film chooses to end with an image that draws attention to the extent to which Karin is complicit with the system. Frank's suicide attempt leaves him with memory loss, and although the medical personnel are able to explain to him the details of how he went about trying to kill himself, they are not able to give him the reasons for his actions. "Weiß du was ich die bloß gefragt hab'?" he asks Karin in the film's penultimate shot,

¹⁰ For a discussion of these debates see Thomas Anz (ed.) '*Es geht nicht um Christa Wolf*'

“Warum? Warum ich das gemacht haben soll? Das haben sie nicht gewußt Das haben sie nicht gewußt ” (8f) [“Do you know what I asked them? Why? Why should I have done this? They didn’t know They didn’t know ”] This unambiguous call for explanation is the film’s final utterance The final shot begins as a close up of Karin as she hears these words, is moved, but does not speak The camera tracks back as Frank and Karin walk away They walk into an uncertain future in the mid-1970s GDR, in which even the closest friends may be performing, perhaps unwittingly, betrayal to an oppressive regime The unanswered call for explanation and the silence of complicity that greets it had a wider significance for citizens of the former GDR in post-unification Germany

4.3.1 *Jana und Jan* (1991)

Set at the time of the *Wende*, *Jana und Jan* (directed by Helmut Dziuba) appears to answer affirmatively the question posed by *Der Verdacht* about whether young people can successfully bring about changes in their own circumstances Under the difficult conditions of the strict regime that exists in an institution for troubled young people, 17-year-old Jana and 16-year-old Jan take responsibility for the child they have conceived and reject the help offered by the institution Taking their fate in their own hands in a state in transition, they flee to the West Initially seeming like a display of

the agency of young people, their actions are shown to be naive by the final image of the film

The narrative of Jana und Jan runs parallel to the historic events of the *Wende*. As the events of 1989 unfold on the television news reports, it tells the story of the love affair between Jana and Jan, inhabitants of a *Jugendwerkhof*, an institution for teenagers in the care of the state. It relates how these two teenagers, who have in different ways been let down by their parents, take responsibility for their relationship when Jana becomes pregnant. The narrative shows that their difficult upbringings, however, have a negative effect on their relationship. It shows how, once Jana becomes pregnant and tells Jan that she is considering having an abortion, he gives her a beating that causes her serious injuries because he believes she is trying to take away the one thing that gives him an identity. Against the advice of the staff of the *Werkhof*, particularly *Erzieherin* [female social worker in the *Werkhof*, the word has educative connotations] Natter, Jana decides to go ahead with the pregnancy. Jan is brought to a *geschlossenen Werkhof* [a youth detention centre] for his act of violence, and while he is away the young women in the *Jugendwerkhof*, led by Lady, the head girl, mistreat Jana for daring to be different. When Jan returns, he and Jana flee from the *Jugendwerkhof* and head for former West Germany through a GDR in difficult transition. The film ends as Jana apparently gives birth in an abandoned watchtower that once formed part of the border between the two Germanies.

Like the portrayal of the sanatorium in Einer trage des anderen Last __, the portrayal of the *Jugendwerkhof* in Jana und Jan negotiates the trope of the group of people removed from society forming a microcosm of wider social relations. Unlike Einer

trage des anderen Last, in which the simple equivalence between medical staff/government and patients/people is undermined by the peculiarities of the institution, this metaphor is used to suggest that the inmates of the institution receive the same treatment from the staff as the people do from the Party. The connection between events in the *Jugendwerkhof* and events in the world outside is stressed at a number of points. As demonstrators in a television report chant “Wir sind das Volk” [“We are the people”], this chant is taken up by several of the teenagers in the audience in the institution (4c). A shot of the boys being marched out of the gate of the castle is followed by television footage of demonstrators marching in front of the Brandenburg Gate (4e, 4f). The positions of the adults in the institution are linked to the regime, which is in danger from the demonstrations they are watching, and they are portrayed as anxiously watching the television news reports at several points. *Erzieher* Bulling changes the channel from the news to a children’s programme. While the connections it makes between events in the *Jugendwerkhof* and the events of the *Wende* are quite explicit, most of the young people are passive observers of the events on the television and in the institution, and it is Jana and Jan, who often slip away when the television is on, who are creating their own future.

The teenagers must, however, practise a more integrated form of communal living than exists in the wider GDR, having everything given to them from a central authority and being subject to inspection and control at the whim of the *Erzieher*. They must literally stand naked before the officials (1a), before each other (3c, 6h), and before the viewer. While the figures of authority do not generally abuse their positions, the power they wield is intrusive, disallowing privacy and independence. They also turn a blind eye to the actions of those they appoint to lesser positions of

power, for example, Bulling's studied lack of intervention in the face of the vicious behaviour that Sir, the head boy, shows towards Jan (2b, 2c, 4b). The regime in the *Jugendwerkhof* is paternalist in much the same way the GDR state itself was.

This regime is also militarised. In contradiction of their rhetoric of peace, the authorities in the GDR had reinstituted all the trappings of a militaristic society as the Cold War hotbed up and supported this with a rhetoric of stemming the tide of imperialistic capitalism. As Hans Mayer describes the lessons the regime learned from the Nazis:

Um so mehr, als die unsinnige und wirklichkeitsblinde Ansicht der Leute vom Politbüro ernsthaft davon ausging, den Deutschen müsse, damit ihnen ein Regime wirklich gefällt, militärisch-militaristisches Zeremonial von neuem verordnet werden.¹¹

[For the Germans to really like a regime, as the absurd and unfounded view of the people from the politburo seriously assumed, military-militaristic ceremonial must be ordered anew.]

The way that such militarism has been absorbed into the *Alltag* [everyday] of the institution is shown in the scene in which the boys must march "im Gleichschritt" ["in step"] out of the courtyard on Sir's shouted orders (4e) and in the one in which the teenagers line up in file for the raising of the flag (3b). Flags flank the socialist slogan in the hallway of the *Jugendwerkhof* (4c), the GDR flag on the roof that is the first object we are shown from the *Jugendwerkhof* disappears (4h) to be replaced later by the FRG flag (6a), and demonstrators fight with police over the GDR flag in the town that Jana and Jan pass through (9d).

For the transitional period in which a flag is missing from the flagpole the "Wir sind ein Volk!" [We are one people] banner replaces it (5a-j). This section of the film begins with the discovery of Jana's pregnancy and ends when she decides not to

¹¹ Hans Mayer *Der Turm von Babel*, 67.

proceed with the abortion. The wider uncertainty about what will replace the GDR regime is mirrored in Jana's fluctuating attitude to her physical state and her future. This movement of the film also contains the scenes in which *Silvester* [New Year's Eve] is celebrated with acts of Bakhtinian carnival (5d). Order has been suspended and the inmates of the institution parade through the corridors, dancing and playing instruments while wearing grotesque costumes. Bulling peers around a door during this sequence, observes the proceedings, and ducks back out of the way.

There is an obvious analogy drawn between Jana's pregnancy and the changes taking place in the GDR, but it seems that the film more explicitly suggests the emergence of a grassroots democracy. The time frame of the film is the nine months between Jana's conceiving shortly after she meets Jan and her arrival in hospital to give birth. Parallel to this difficult gestation period, the political events are played out and represented by television news reports, the changes in staffing in the *Werkhof*, and the appearance of election posters. The only explicit date mentioned in the film is June 17, 1990 (9b), the date on which they leave the *Werkhof*, and, some unspecified time afterwards, Jana gives birth. If this is a particularly significant date, the beginning of Jana's pregnancy would have been around September 10, 1989, the date on which *Neues Forum* [New Forum], an association that aimed to open up political debate in the GDR, was founded. The growing movement for political openness is paralleled by the growth of Jana and Jan's baby. It is the baby that provides them with the consciousness of a self-fashioned future and that lends them the impetus to escape from the tightly controlled regime of the *Jugendwerkhof*.

The young people of the *Jugendwerkhof* are a group that have been abandoned,

betrayed and damaged in various ways by the adult world. Jan's only material link to his parents is a scrap of newspaper that carries a photograph of him as a baby with the headline "Zurückgelassen Eltern flohen" [Left Behind Parent fled] written under it, suggesting that he was abandoned when his parents fled to the West (2a, 4g). The newspaper cutting also suggests that his case has been publicised and used in the propaganda war against the *Republikfluchtlinge* [refugees from the GDR]. Jana alludes to the fact that her stepfather sexually abused her. Julia has been left by her glamorous mother, who, from comments Julia makes to Jana, seems to have left Julia with the impression that a child would limit her mother's ability to have her own life (6a). Having been failed in various ways by their parents, these children are sent to an institution that limits their personal freedom and creativity. Jana refuses to have an abortion, although this is her initial impulse, and she is prepared to go against the advice of the *Erzieherin* and to put up with the hardships imposed on her by her fellow inmates. She rails against the girls for hating anything different (6h), a fact that renders them complicit with the regime that controls them. She sees motherhood as part of a normal life beyond the confines of the institution and persists in her decision to have the baby despite the world-weary comments of Natter (6a).

Like Dziuba's *Verbotene Liebe*, this film represents the sexual experiences of people who are considered by the law to be too young to engage in sexual activity. The sex, after perhaps the voyeuristic encounter in which Jana "mach[t] ihn zu Mann" (3d) ["makes him a man"], is shown to be consensual and mutually rewarding. Despite both the legal prohibition and the intrusiveness of the regime under which they live, Jana and Jan are able to find a space in the institution in which to conduct their relationship. While other members of the household are engaged in watching their

futures unfolding in the political events on the television screen, Jana and Jan are in the attic creating their own futures (4d, 4g, 5e) Their bare but warm place under the rafters is removed from the rest of the house, allowing the space for their relationship to grow They are physically above and out of the gaze of both the regime and their fellow inmates, in a cut-off space similar to the abandoned watchtower in which they shelter near the end of the film (9f)

Jana's discovery that she is pregnant takes their relationship to a new level When she announced the fact to Jan, he is immediately pleased

Jetzt begreif ich erst, weil ich da bin, auf der Welt Ich bin Vater und vielleicht später ein Opa
vielleicht Jetzt hat es einen allerersten Sinn, mein Leben (5e)

[Now I understand for the first time why I exist I'll be a father and maybe later a grandpa,
maybe Now my life has its first meaning ever]

Jana herself, however, is less sure that this is a positive development and resents that he sees it only in terms of himself She tells him that she is planning to have an abortion At this point their isolated place becomes dangerously removed from the rest of the house Unable to see things in any other than selfish ways, Jan beats Jana for suggesting that she get rid of "his" child (5e) Their seemingly loving relationship is breached, and symbolically, Jana is knocked down the steep staircase to what had been their sanctuary, and she sustains "schwere Korpverletzung" (5h) ["serious injury"]

Given this violence from Jan, Jana's subsequent decision not to have an abortion, to have the child, and to stay with him requires some explanation When Natter comes to see Jana in hospital, where she is recovering from the beating and fall down the stairs, the woman who had been sharing the hospital room gives Jana some baby clothes (5g) As she waits in line to go to the operating theatre for the abortion and when she

gets into the theatre itself, the mechanical and impersonal aspects of the operation are stressed. Instruments are brought in, buckets are lined with white plastic bags. For the medical staff, Jana's decision not to go ahead with the operation merely means that they can have a slightly earlier *Feierabend* (51) [end to work]. For her the decision is momentous. On her arrival back in the *Werkhof*, Julia asks her if it is for love of Jan she decides to keep the child Jan. She replies, echoing Jan's statement on the power of the child to give him an independent identity: "Um mich zu lieben, glaub' ich. Ich kann ma' Oma wer'n, oder Uroma vielleicht" (6a) [For love of myself, I think I could be a granny sometime, of a great-granny maybe].

Erzieherin Natter has some stronger arguments against the course on which Jana has embarked. "In vier Monaten bin ich achtzehn," Jana explains to Natter, "dann komm' ich raus hier, und dann bin ich frei" (6a) ["In four months, I'll be 18. Then I get out of here and I'll be free"]. Natter counters by pointing the difficulties that Jana will face

Schöne Freiheit. Und dann? Hausbesetzen oder Wohnen bei der Oma? Und ihre Rente, das reicht, denkst du? Und wann deine Oma nicht mehr kann oder will? Ha? Und der Jan. Sechzehn ist er. Willst du das Erziehungsrecht für ihn beanspruchen? (6a)

[Great freedom. And then? Squatting or living with your granny? And her pension, do you think that will be enough? And when your granny can't handle it any more or has enough? Eh? And Jan. He's 16. Do you want to be his legal guardian?]

Against all Natter's objections Jana persists in her decision. "Muttersein bedeutet etwas mehr, Kind," Natter concludes ["Being a mother requires something more, child"]. "Ich will es versuchen trotzdem," Jana insists ["I want to try it anyway"]. She has decided to found a family, to keep her child, and to stay with the child's father despite his previous act of violence. She is assuming the responsibility that has been shown to be lacking in the parents of the previous generation.

For Julia, Jana's decision to keep her baby and accept responsibility for it reflects

negatively on her mother's decision to abandon her to the state's social services in pursuit of her own career "Und du selber, dein eigenes Leben," she asks Jana, "das reicht dir aber nicht?" (6a) ["And you yourself, your own life, that's not enough for you?"] Julia's attraction to Lady and the possibility of a lesbian relationship between them is the other close relationship in which Julia is involved Jana's loyalty for her unborn child shatters Julia's illusion that her mother was right to abandon her for her own life This blow is compounded when Lady betrays her by starting an open heterosexual relationship with Sir Julia offers the only other portrayal of a possible intimate relationship within the *Werkhof* Her suicide (7a) stresses that within this system love is impossible

As political events develop, the "regime" in the *Werkhof* changes The changes, however, do not benefit the institution's inmates Those members of staff who were more caring towards the teenagers are rewarded on the change of regime with demotion or redundancy The director, *Chef*, is not fired but is given the lesser job of *Erzieher*, while Natter seems to have been removed altogether Bulling, the *Erzieher* who showed the least attentiveness towards his young charges, is promoted to the job of director of the institution In following Jana and Jan on their journey westwards and in its pessimism about the efficacy of change in the leadership of the regime, the film seems to call for a radical rejection of all that the GDR had become

In a twist similar to that at the end of Der Verdacht, however, doubt is cast by the final scene of the film (9g) on Jana and Jan's gesture of rejection of institutional assistance and of the apparently transformed former GDR Following the scene in which Jana cries out Jan's name as she appears to be about to give birth in an abandoned

watchtower on the defunct border between the two Germanies, there is a cut to a pile of discarded clothes on a hospital trolley. The next shot is a close-up of Jana in a hospital bed, as she arches back and cries out in pain once more. There is then a fade to a similar close up of Jana, who is quieter now, as she slowly turns her head until the fade out. This final short scene is not completely contextualized, but what is striking is that neither Jan nor the baby are shown. The pile of clothes and the scream appear to link it to the watchtower scene that precedes it, but the absence of Jan and the baby and the lack of any explanation of how or why she ended up in a hospital make this link ambiguous. This ambiguity opens up the possibility that some of what comes before the closing scene, most likely the escape from the *Werkhof*, may have been a dream. It is also possible, returning to Jana's last visit to a hospital and explaining the absence of Jan and the baby, that she did go ahead with the abortion (51), and that the details of the escape are part of a regretful fantasy.

It may simply be that Jana ends up in hospital of her own volition or that of somebody else (Jan or a passer-by who hears her screams), either before or after she gives birth, and Jan and/or the baby are in another room. However the scene is to be linked to the narrative flow, it does represent a kind of return to the motifs of the institution and loneliness that so marked the earlier part of the film. This return severely qualifies what could otherwise be seen as a celebration of the agency of disadvantaged young people. Jana may be safely in a hospital, but for a young woman who had set out to assert her own independence, this return must be perceived as a regression.

4.4 Conclusion

The extraordinary events of autumn 1989 were greeted at the time as a “peaceful revolution from below,” but already in early 1990, this superlative was being replaced by the more neutral and less hopeful term *Wende*¹² [turn, turnabout]. The revolution is not portrayed in the films presented here, in so far as they imagine change, it is of the more measured variety that is connoted by the word *Wende*. Released in 1988, only a year before these events, Einer trage des anderen Last can have no inkling of the tumultuous change soon to occur, and it focuses its opposition to the state on existing ideological divisions between church and state. Released in 1991, both Der Verdacht and Jana und Jan were made during the *Wende* and bear the marks of the uncertainty of those times in the form of endings that cast doubt on what had seemed to be the thrust of the narrative. They do, nevertheless, level severe criticism at relations between individuals and the Party at a time when socialism in Germany had ceased to be real and existing.

Reflecting the growing public influence of the church in the GDR during the 1980s, Einer trage des anderen Last portrays conflict and a temporary alliance between young representatives of the institutions of Christianity and Marxism-Leninism. The film shows this alliance to be short lived, but it ends with each side having gained a greater understanding of and respect for the other. It tends towards a vision of GDR society in which church and Party can co-exist. The film is interesting for the taboos that it breaks, prominent among them being its presentation of a chief doctor of a TB sanatorium who had been a member of the Nazi party as the voice of reason and

¹² Dirk Philipsen We Were the People 5-6

workable compromise. Most significant for the present study, however, is that it goes back the *Aufbau* years of 1950-51 to cast doubt on the official presentation of party youth as the builders and saviours of the nation. Seemingly attributing the blame for a lack of humanity equally to the two young men, the film actually focuses its criticisms on Jupp, the member of the FDJ and SED, active participant in the rebuilding, and border guard who is the paragon of all that the official view of youth in the GDR was based

Also focusing on a character who apparently meets all the high standards expected of a young person in the GDR, *Der Verdacht* shows how the Party's intrusive surveillance of the citizens of the GDR leads to the rejection of official culture. The largely faithful adaptation of a novella that was refused publication in the early 1970s because of its socially critical content, the film reinterprets its literary source for its post-*Wende* audience by choosing to end by highlighting the complicity of its young protagonist with the system of secrecy that she believes that she has rejected. This focus on complicity suggests that the tendency of the young people of the GDR *Nischengesellschaft* to retreat into the private sphere may have represented silent support for the regime. The issue of complicity also had particular resonance for the post-*Wende* audiences for whom the film was made.

It is relevant to note that this reading of *Der Verdacht* puts much stress on the film's final scene, which represents something of a reversal. The same thing can be said of *Jana und Jan*, a film made during the same period of transition, some of whose uncertainties it shows. Played out against the background of the unfolding *Wende* *Jana und Jan* offers no portrayals of model young GDR citizens. Instead, it examines

the GDR's claim of being a "Staat der Jugend" [state of the young] by showing how the state treats those young people who have been institutionalised because they have in various ways been failed by their parents. As the "quiet revolution" gains momentum outside the *Jugendwerkhof*, the film locates the agency for change with two young people inside the institution. This assumption of personal responsibility for her pregnancy by Jana is shown to be of particular significance in the *Jugendwerkhof*, in which when one makes a decision for one's own future, one is maltreated for trying to be an *Ausnahme* [exception]. Her steadfastness within the institution gives her the courage to escape with Jan. Faced alone with Jana's impending delivery and the realities of a troubled land beyond the *Jugendwerkhof*, however, their lack of experience becomes obvious.

In contrast to the films that portray youth in the *Nischengesellschaft*, all three films in this chapter locate young people firmly in dialogue with official culture. In focusing on young people's dealings with the political system, they reverse the affirmation of the private, and even suggest that silence in the face of official wrongdoing represents complicity. The two films released after the *Wende* offer narratives that demonstrate a fundamental polarisation between the individual and the state. They might be seen as a radicalisation of the affirmation of the private sphere that surfaced in the 1970s by demonstrating the opposition between the party-dominated public sphere and the private as the realm of individual action. They end, however, by casting doubt on the display of agency by young people. These reversals perhaps represent a questioning of the initial hope that had greeted the *Wende*. For *Der Verdacht*, this questioning takes the form of raising the issue of complicity with the *Stasi*. In the context of the

dismantling of a system based, at least theoretically, on communitarian principles,
Jana und Jan finally shows the unviability of Jana and Jan's radical independence

5. Conclusion

This study has examined the portrayal of youth rebellion in DEFA films, focusing on the causes of conflict between young people and the parental generation. It has shown that generational conflict was a phenomenon that appeared frequently in GDR feature films. It has claimed that the filmic portrayal of young people in the GDR had to contend with deeply embedded and so largely unexamined notions about what youth is and does. Calling these deeply embedded ideas a discourse, it traces the history of the discourse on youth and generational conflict and its fate in the GDR.

Proposing that certain broad developments are discernible in the way in which youth rebellion is portrayed, it suggests a three-stage periodization of the method by which generational conflict in film is resolved or fails to be resolved. It relates this periodization to wider social and political developments in the GDR, focusing in particular on the relationship between artists and the cultural authorities of the SED.

Viewed as a narrative, this periodization describes the imaginative erosion of political consensus in the GDR. For generational conflicts in films of the early postwar years, a strong didactic element “imposes” a resolution. Such narrative features as the use of voiceover and strong closure combine with a thematic focus on finding one’s place within the GDR, the latter characterised perhaps most succinctly in the phrase from Eine Berliner Romanze “man muss doch wissen, wo man hingehört” [“one must certainly know where one belongs”]

In later films, the polarisation of the private and the social/political remains largely unmediated, leading to withdrawal, resignation, and, finally, opposition and/or exodus. During the period of withdrawal, called the *Nischengesellschaft*, the focus is firmly on the private sphere. While conformity is maintained in the public sphere, fulfilment is achieved in personal goals, the family, or small groups with no connections to official culture. The cohesiveness of the GDR as a state based on communitarian principles is questioned in films of this period, shown above in the different ways Die Legende von Paul und Paula and Solo Sunny treat audience(s). In the period of opposition, private and public spheres collide in ways that show the unwillingness or inability of official culture to allow personal freedom. Youth films made by DEFA filmmakers during and after the collapse of the GDR engage themes that are strongly critical of the GDR regime. They are marked, however, by reversals in their conclusions that also suggest uncertainty about the reunification of Germany.

If, as has been argued here, the discourse of youth and generational conflict is rooted in German romantic idealism, it is hardly surprising that it could only be negotiated with care in a state that presented itself as founded on the principles of dialectical materialism. Such features of the discourse as its antiauthoritarianism, antimodernism, and belief in the superiority of youth over age represented as much of a challenge to the SED regime in the GDR as they had to the regimes in previous authoritarian German states. It also potentially represented a growing threat as the GDR became more of a gerontocracy with the ageing of the leaders of the SED.

Although claiming to draw on the traditions of the youth movement, the GDR's official discourse of youth as the helper and reserve of the Party, propagated chiefly

through the FDJ, carefully excised the socially critical elements of the discourse of youth and generational conflict. Essentially, it severed the link between youth and generational conflict. For different reasons at different times, this officially sanctioned portrayal of youth did not find its way into DEFA films that were considered of high artistic quality both within and without the GDR. One notes, for example, the telling absence of portrayals of the FDJ in most of the films studied here and the equivocal portrayals in those films in which the youth organisation is shown. In Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser, members of the FDJ, despite their good intentions, are portrayed as being out of step with the young people who are the film's focus, and Einer trage des anderen Last uses the paragon of official youth to criticise the state's discourse on youth.

The SED's inability to impose its ideal image of youth on feature films was symptomatic of its wider inability to impose its cultural policies, a fact revealed in the ongoing debate on socialist realism. Partly this failure was the result of the influence of the Weimar generation of *Kulturschaffenden*, particularly Bertolt Brecht, whose writings on socialist realism and involvement in cultural affairs in the GDR offered a link with more radical leftist traditions of the interwar period. It was also partly the result of the SED's own use of the relaxation of cultural policy as a way of distracting from such political difficulties as the failure of economic planning. On this basis, one might amend Thomas Heermann's argument that the history of the GDR can be seen in hindsight as the failure of the SED to achieve hegemony¹ by arguing that the SED sacrificed hegemony in cultural affairs to maintain what was a remarkably stable hegemony in wider political affairs.

¹ Thomas Heermann DEFA. Künstler und SED Kulturpolitik, 9. See page 32 above.

Given the historical tradition in Germany on which the discourse of youth and generational conflict drew, it is not surprising that the strong cultural energies to which it gave shape could not be repressed in the GDR. Movements against authoritarian regimes in modern German history were popularly identified with the dynamic energies of youth. The pitting of youth against age gave rise to cultural tropes that had proved themselves to be dramatically powerful. Filmmakers' use of the discourse also drew legitimacy from international movements of youth, both inside and outside the Eastern Bloc, such as the rebels without a cause of the 1950s and the rebels with a cause of the 1960s in the West, and the Prague Spring.

The struggle to build a new socialist society in postwar East Germany, then, can be traced in contrasting filmic images of youth integration and marginalisation.

Occupying a range of positions in GDR society, the protagonists of the films discussed here represent the youth that had to be won over. Over the decades, the basis of consensus in the GDR, however, became eroded. It became less a case of how to build the new socialist society and more a case of what kind of socialism was to be built. Even when outright opposition is not possible, films themselves demonstrate tensions that cannot be reconciled.

Finally, it might be argued that the very fact that GDR films so frequently raised fundamental questions about the order and system of a socialist state shows the permanent insecurity of East German society. By contrast, West German films, in general, explore issues of youth through fictions that are only indirectly concerned with socio-political systems.

Appendix

Irgendwo in Berlin (1946)

Director Gerhard Lamprecht

Camera Werner Krien

Editor Lena Neumann

Music Erich Einegg

Scriptwriter Gerhard Lamprecht

Cast Charles Knetschke, Hans Trinkaus, Siegfried Utecht, Harry Hindemith Hedda Sarnow, Hans Liebelt, Paul Bildt, Fritz Rasp, Walter Bluhm

1 Life in ruins

- a Titles
- b Mob chase Waldemar over ruins
- c Gustav lets Waldemar out of cellar
- d The mob tells policeman of the robbery
- e Gustav invites Waldemar to his house but Waldemar disappears as Gustav talks to Willi
- f Frau Stadel talks to Herr Eckmann about her shell-shocked son
- g Waldemar meets Gustav again, Onkel Karle reprimands him from skipping school
- h Waldemar is invited in and given soup by Gustav's mother
- i Eckmann undertakes to visit Frau Stadel's son
- j Frau Stadel's son has dream of war stands at window saluting
- k Frau Stadel and Eckmann see him at window

2 Gustav's run in with the law

- a Detective arrives to question Gustav, Waldemar hides wallet
- b Detective questions Birke about fireworks, Willi hides evidence
- c Gustav's mother tells detective that she cannot supervise Gustav because she has to work
- d Boys playing soldiers with fireworks promise Eckmann to halt war game but the Kapitan wants to continue
- e Mother tells Gustav to stop seeing Willi
- f Birke tells Willi to stop seeing Gustav

3 Gustav's father returns

- a Gustav's father wanders through ruined city
- b Eckmann visits shell-shocked son who spots Gustav's father out of window
- c Gustav brings home hungry soldier
- d Father has tearful reunion with wife Gustav, Karle
- e Despite excitement of mother and Gustav father falls into dead sleep

4 Father has difficulties reintegrating

- a Father joins family and Karle in ill-fitting suit, destroys toy tank, Gustav finds wallet
- b Father returns wallet to greedy cabaret-bar owners (Timmels)
- c Karle angrily reminds father of his fatherly duties
- d Gustav and the Kapitan, then Willi and the Kapitan fight
- e Father and mother at tailors

5 Willi steals food for Gustav's father

- a Gustav tells Willi that his father is hungry
- b Birke is interviewed by the Kommissar
- c Willi takes Birke's blackmarket food to Gustav's house
- d Looking for wallet, Waldemar is interrupted stealing food but tells Gustav's parents that food is stolen
- e Birke throws Willi out
- f Gustav tells his story mother tells him to stay away from Willi
- g Eckmann takes Willi in

6 The search for Willi

- a Birke warns Frau Schell not to go to the police
- b Frau Schell goes to Gustav's mother searching for Willi
- c Eckmann tells Willi that stealing is wrong

- d Karl and father talk and share a cigarette
 - e Mother gives Frau Schell back the stolen food
 - f Father tells Karl that he wants to learn to be human again
 - g Gustav undertakes to help Frau Schell find Willi
 - h Willi tells Eckmann about his dog
 - i Frau Schell tells mother she has 'ein richtiges Zuhause'
 - j Birke and Timmel talk about black market
 - k Gustav arrives in newsagent's to help find Willi
 - l Birke and Timmel are arrested
- 7 Willi falls
- a Willi climbs wall to prove he is not a coward
 - b Eckmann and Gustav call Willi down, shell-shocked soldier call him "ein Held" – he falls
 - c Eckmann tells Gustav that they won't abandon Willi
 - d Father visits Willi, thanks him, and tells him that he will reopen the garage
 - e Eckmann and boys visit Willi – he dies
- 8 Work replaces loss
- a Wall is demolished
 - b Children won't follow Kapitän he teams up with Waldemar
 - c Karl tells Gustav of saving power of work
 - d Gustav mobilizes boys
 - e Karl brings father to ruined garage where boys are clearing rubble

Unser täglich Brot (1949)

Director Slatan Dudow

Camera Robert Baberske

Editor Margarete Steinborn

Music Hanns Eisler

Scriptwriter Slatan Dudow Hans-Joachim Beyer Ludwig Turek

Cast Paul Bildt Siegmund Schneider, Harry Hindemuth Paul Edwin Roth Viktoria v. Ballasko Inge Landgut, Ina Halley, Angelika Hurwicz

- 1 Bread for breakfast
 - a Title and credits over cityscapes
 - b Cityscapes, title 1946 Ruined Markthalle being opened
 - c Heavily laden crowd disembarks from train, camera eventually picks out Nicki
 - d Webers's Kitchen – scant bread for enlarged family until Nicki calls with Bauernbrot
- 2 The late risers
 - a Inge commutes to work – has playful exchange with Peter
 - b Webers's Kitchen – Mary in satin dressing gown picks up her breakfast and leaves
 - c Webers's Study – Father writing job application, Mother brings him refreshment
 - d Mary leaves for hairdresser, Harry appears in dressing gown
 - e Webers's Kitchen – Harry asks if "Logiergäste" are gone, refuses end of bread because there is no butter
- 3 The company
 - a Harry watches train from his bedroom window
 - b Mother at Backerei
 - c Father at pub – reminisces on time at Renner & Kompanie
 - d Most of workers at Renner agree to stay on and to put their wages into the production (Clowns)
- 4 Dinner at Webers
 - a Webers's Kitchen – Dinner and handing over of wages argument about working for oneself or the common good
- 5 The hunt for work
 - a Inge commutes and has pleasant reunion with Peter
 - b Harry restless at home – wants more than what he is being given
 - c Harry discusses job with Furbringer
 - d Harry moves out of home
 - e Inge is fired from her insurance job and from icecream parlour she walks the streets
 - f At home father makes unkind remark to Inge about Trummerfrauen, Ernst tells him his world is gone
- 6 The family breaks up
 - a Inge gets job at Renner
 - b Engineers are open to the offers of the capitalist
 - c Inge argues with father over her new job, and she moves out of home
 - d Father visits ruined Renner mansion
 - e Dispute over Milchkarte leads to argument over socialism and Ernst moves out Trummerfrau-cousin also leaves
 - f Ernst fixes up shack for his family
 - g Bergstetter moves into Ernst's room
 - h Harry has working dinner with dodgy Furbringer
- 7 The new director
 - a Peter's straight talking at factory works on workers but not on engineers
 - b Peter visits father who refuses *Kassenverwalter* job
 - c Inge discusses Peter's distant treatment of her with Nicki
 - d Mother has argument with dissolute Mary, who moves out
 - e Peter succeeds in getting help from union
 - f Pots are made at the factory
- 8 The birthday party
 - a Father losing interest in life – won't even look at cute kids goes to pub instead
 - b Harry promises mother to visit father After she is gone Furbringer announces that his business is finished

- c Workers in factory are given free food but engineers have disappeared
- d Ernst, Inge and Harry turn up for father's birthday Ernst leaves after argument over socialism
- e Bergstetter reveals that his Jewish family were all killed
- f Harry walks the streets
- g Bergstetter reveals that he is an engineer
- h Mary and friend and two other women are attempting to pick up soldiers
- i Father picks up bread that Ernst had brought to party
- j Bergstetter takes up job in factory
- k Father has discovered that all businesses are becoming 'die selbe wie da'

9 The prodigal son

- a Harry refused cigarettes on credit from dealer
- b Father visits Harry's former landlady and pays his back rent
- c Harry lets himself into empty Webers's house and takes end of bread from bread bin He meets mother and she asks him to get some bread
- d Father looks at Renner factory from which sounds of production come A "volkseigener Betrieb" banner over the gates
- e Production meeting in the factory shows preparedness to start production of tractors
- f Harry attempts to rob bread from girl but instead attacks father and robs loaf that has been given to him by Nicki
- g Mary's friend leaves her to take up work she picks up fat old drunk man
- h Harry brings back bread. father is carried in by police but doesn't give away the fact that Harry has done it
- i Harry it appears, throws himself under a train

10 The family reunited

- a The city prospers
- b Father is offered and accepts a job at Renner, Ernst is Betriebsleiter
- c Ernst, Peter, and Bergstetter happily discuss work in bustling factory
- d Father leaves factory among other workers
- e Mother and Gerda dress Ernst in suit father gives him advice about his position
- f Peter and Bergstetter in flower-bedecked boardroom Inge fetches Peter, and they kiss
- g Clowns attempt (finally successfully) to crank up engine of tractor (similar to 3d)
- h Crowds in factory applaud as first tractors are driven out

Eine Berliner Romanze (1955/6)

Direction Gerhard Klein

Camera Wolf Gothe

Editor Ursula Kahlbaum

Dramaturg Lil Kahler

Music Gunter Kluck

Scriptwriter Wolfgang Kohlhaase

Cast Annetkatrin Burger Ulrich Thein, Uwe-Jens Pape Erika Dunkelmann, Marga Legal, Erich Franz,
Horst Kube Karl Weber, Hartmut Reck Paul Pfinst, Hermann Wagmann Eckart Friedrichson

- 1 Uschi meets Hans
 - a Titles
 - b Voice-over introduces story
 - c Uschi models
 - d Uschi argues with her family
 - e (Voice-over on Uschi's uncertainty) Uschi goes to West with Gisela
- 2 Uschi goes West
 - a (Voice-over and border sign) Uschi refuses to go to cinema but she meets the Opportunist
 - b Uschi and the Opportunist go to a fairground
 - c Hans gets on Ferris wheel instead of the Opportunist
 - d The Opportunist makes a date to go to the cinema
- 3 Lockende Sunde
 - a Hans goes to work at garage
 - b The Opportunist confers with blackmarketeers
 - c The Opportunist tells Hans he can come to pictures too
 - d Hans drops icecream in Uschi's lap in cinema
 - e Hans gets benzine from the pharmacy
 - f The Opportunist takes benzine and rubs stain from Uschi's leg
 - g The Opportunist tells Hans he can meet Uschi alone
- 4 Bei Langem See
 - a Hans greets Uschi outside station, tells her the Opportunist is gone to Hamburg
 - b Uschi throws coffee on Hans in beer garden
 - c Uschi cleans off stain at ferry booth
 - d Uschi and Hans throw stones into lake, they kiss
 - e Back in Berlin Hans and Uschi kiss, say "du" to one another he gives her the radio
- 5 Hans's money troubles
 - a (Border sign) Mother gives out to Hans for buying radio
 - b Hans is let go from garage
 - c Hans and friend look unsuccessfully for work
- 6 Uschi's success
 - a Uschi's work mates admire her picture on cover of newspaper
 - b Uschi and Hans meet after her work and spend the evening together
 - c Uschi fights with parents over radio
 - d Uschi tells Hans that she is being held back by her parents
- 7 The Hunt for Work
 - a Voice-over Hans is refused work in a number of places
 - b Hans meets Nase in the street
 - c Hans and friend begin dangerous demolition work
 - d A bill arrives for the radio
 - e Hans looks for job in bar
- 8 They spend the night together
 - a Hans insists on paying for modelling school for Uschi
 - b Hans brings Uschi to a boxing match
 - c At break, coach talks to Hans, friend offers Hans his flat
 - d Uschi and Hans kiss in audience
 - e Hans pretends flat is his
 - f Friend tells Harald that she has not seen her
 - g Uschi stays overnight with Hans in flat
- 9 Uschi's flight to and from the West

- a Uschi tells her mother that she spent the night with Karen
- b Hans is injured in accident on unsafe demolition site
- c Parents give out to Uschi, she leaves for the West
- d Uschi's brother tries to stop her at station
- e Uschi finds that Hans does not live in flat
- f Hans calls the contractor a *Lump* and is thrown out of club
- g Hans tells Uschi about money situation and she goes back home

10 A proper couple

- a The Opportunist comes back from Hamburg
- b Uschi makes up with her mother
- c Uschi invites Hans to her house
- d Voice-over announces that they are a "proper couple"

Berlin – Ecke Schonhauser (1957)

Direction Gerhard Klein

Camera Wolf Gothe

Editor Eveyln Carow

Music Gunter Kluck

Scriptwriter Wolfgang Kohlhaase

Cast Ekkehard Schall Ilse Page Harry Engel, Ernst Schwill Helga Goring Raimund Schlechter, Erika Dunkelmann, Maximilian Larsen Ingeborg Beeske, Siegfried Weiss Manfred Borges

- 1 The story begins
 - a Title and credits over track and pan around Schonhauser Allee at Eberswalder U-Bahn station
 - b Dieter runs from American sector into police station in Ost-Berlin announces Kohle's death and explains that the girl had nothing to do with it all
- 2 The fabula begins
 - a Angela leaves her mother's one-room apartment as the mother's lover arrives
 - b Under the U-Bahn station the local youths congregate, Kohle smashes street lamp and all are arrested
 - c Angela's mother's lover reluctant to divorce his wife, she doesn't want any more pain
 - d Kommissar asks the group of boys and Angela about their situations, promises apprenticeship for Kohle
 - e Angela, Dieter Kohle and Karlheinz hang around outside Angela's building until after midnight. Karlheinz attempts to get Dieter interested in a "job" in West Berlin
- 3 Work East and West
 - a In West Berlin Karlheinz deals in currency and discusses identity cards
 - b On building site, Dieter asks what a new identity card costs, then saves a driver who is about to hit an excavated bomb
 - c Karlheinz is told off by his bourgeois parents for his conspicuous consumption
 - d Kohle invites Angela to pictures Karlheinz invites her to the Prater-Garten
 - e Dieter tells FDJ members that he has no time to get involved with them
- 4 The trade in identities
 - a Angela is preparing to go out, her mother tries to stop her but she goes in any case
 - b At dance bar, Dieter tells Karlheinz that he is not going to help him steal the identity cards but Karlheinz does it anyway and Dieter is arrested
 - c At police station, Dieter denies all involvement in robbery, gives no information
 - d Dieter and Angela hit it off big time
 - e Karlheinz sells stolen *Ausweis* in West
 - f Dieter and Angela say good night
- 5 The "killing" of Karlheinz
 - a FDJ secretary tries to talk to Dieter about identity card incident, but Dieter won't discuss it
 - b His stepfather hits Kohle because of fine for street lamp his sister plans to move out
 - c Coming out of cinema in French sector, Kohle meets Karlheinz who is working with currency dealers
 - d Kohle tells Dieter he has seen Karlheinz Kohle's stepfather beats him in street
 - e Karlheinz hits blackmarketeer with sandbag, tries to get money from parents, pulls a pistol
 - f Dieter tells his policeman brother that he has had enough
 - g Dieter and Kohle confront Karlheinz. Kohle throws something at him and thinks he has killed him
 - h Karlheinz is carried to parents flat but leaves before the police arrive
 - i Dieter and Kohle flee to the West where Dieter is interrogated in a transit house
- 6 Imminent birth and immediate death
 - a Angela tells police that she is pregnant by Dieter, her mother calls her a whore
 - b Dieter's brother and the FDJ secretary prepare room for Angela
 - c Dieter is unhappy in transit house and is interrogated again because he seems to be thinking of going back Kohle drinks coffee and tobacco mixture to induce fever
 - d Angela's mother ends relationship with her boss
 - e Kohle is declared dead, Dieter leaves transit house
- 7 Back to the present

- a Back in police station, Dieter finishes telling story to Kommissar, is allowed to go to Angela
- b Dieter looks up to figure at Angela s window goes back out to street

Karla (1965/1990)

Director Hermann Zschoche

Camera Gunter Ost

Editor Brigitte Krev

Dramaturg Manfred Fritzsche and Manfred Kieseler

Music Karl-Ernst Sasse

Scriptwriter Ulrich Plenzdorf and Hermann Zschoche

Cast Jutta Hoffmann, Jurgen Hentsch, Hans Hardt-Hardtloff, Inge Keller, Giesla Morgen, Herwart Grosse, Rolf Hoppe, Jorg Knochee, Peter Pleaow, Jurgen Krumrev, Heidemarie Schneider

1 Graduation

- a Karla makes enthusiastic speech

2 Arrival in town

- a Rural landscape from window of train
- b Title and credits
- c Karla walks through town to school but there is only a janitor there
- d She meets Kasper and he puts her up in boathouse
- e Kasper brings her fishing, she reprimands him for stealing eels, he sings to her

3 Introductions

- a Karla meets Principal Hirte and Inspector Janson
- b She dances with Uwe Wennendorf, who will soon be her pupil
- c He tells others that she will be their teacher
- d She walks home with Kasper and is living in same house
- e She spies on Kasper as he works in sawmill
- f Kasper finds note in his door, he goes to her room

4 First day at school

- a Karla and Kasper in her bed
- b Hirte brings her to class, Rudi passes them
- c She makes impression on class with her willingness to do Fontane
- d Over afterwork drink, Hirte tells Karla to stick to class schedule
- e Kasper fishes, she sunbathes

5 First run-in with the principal - Space Race

- a Karla urges students to tell Hirte the new information they have on space race
- b Karla tells Hirte they are wary of approaching him
- c Kasper tells her about his journalistic studies, she reproaches him for shirking his real job
- d Rudi follows Karla's urging to explain about space race
- e Teachers won't shake Karla's hand, Hirte reprimands her for her relationship with students
- f Frau Wennendorf reprimands Karla for her impulsiveness
- g Kasper takes Karla sailing, she reproaches his cynicism

6 Second run-in with the principal - Nazi Uniform

- a Rudi meets Karla in street, shows her picture of Hirte in Nazi uniform, she undertakes to talk to him
- b Karla is worried, refuses to talk to Kasper
- c Students paint swastika on teacher's desk, Hirte explains photo is from a play
- d Karla tells Hirte she knew about photo and had believed it to be real
- e At teachers' meeting, Janson wants her out, Hirte says Karla should stay

7 Third run-in with the principal - Idols of Youth

- a Karla and Kasper talk, "Mit dem Kopf kommt man nicht durch die Wand"
- b Newspaper man goes into Karla's class to ask about their idols, is angered by responses and Karla's attitude
- c Newspaper man complains to Hirte who asks Karla to bring compliant students for individual interviews
- d After consideration, Karla sends students to the principal

8 Ein halbes Jahr später

- a Intertitle: Ein halbes Jahr später
- b Karla praised and given prize by Hirte, but she is not allowed to make a speech
- c She gets drunk with Hirte, tells him she is only a corpse
- d She wakes Kasper up

9 The Rudi Affair - Karla moved

- a Karla reasserts her critical attitude in front of class, Hirte Janson, and approving delegation of school inspectors from Berlin
 - b Hirte tells Janson he will get rid of Karla at next opportunity
 - c Karla is excited because of development, but Kasper remains unimpressed
 - d Karla goes to Rudi's parents' pharmacy joins in student party
 - e Instead of driving her home Rudi takes her to sea where he kisses her
 - f Hirte confiscates Barbara's note that reveals Karla's indiscretion
 - g Meeting between Hirte Janson and Karla Karla is to be moved to another school
- 10 Karla leaves
- a Hirte visits Karla in her apartment and tells her to stay as she is
 - b Kasper sails off as Karla tries to talk to him
 - c Rudi waits for Karla, carries her case to station
 - d Kasper arrives at station with his case as train is pulling out

Die Legende von Paul und Paula (1973)

Director Heiner Carow

Camera Jurgen Brauer

Editor Evelyn Carow

Dramaturg Anne Paeffer

Music Peter Godthardt Played by the DEFA Symphony Orchestra and Die Puhdys

Scriptwriter Ulrich Plenzdorf

Cast Angelika Domrose Wilfrid Glatzeder, Heidemarie Wenzel Fred Delmare Rolf Ludwig Hans
Hardt-Hardtloff Käthe Reichel, Christian Steyer Jurgen Frohriep, Eva-Maria Hagen, Hertha
Thiele

1 Opening framing sequence

- a Building implodes Credits – Rubbish out window – Implosion – Picture frame (public event) – Title

2 Rummelplatz

- a Paul and Paula see each other – Herr Saft invites Paula out
- b Paula puts daughter to bed, gets ready to go out
- c With girlfriends – sees carousel operator
- d Paul at shooting gallery – carries off daughter
- e Paula takes carousel operator into caravan
- f Paul “seduces” Ines with talk of medical career

3 Paul and Paula betrayed

- a Paul and Ines get married they have a child, he goes to military service
- b Gynaecologist tells Paula not to get pregnant again – dangerous
- c Gets lift back from Saft to find carousel man with other woman
- d Paul finds Ines in bed with other man
- e Paul and Ines make up, his plans for new start

4 Paula’s appeal for something different

- a Building implodes Paul and Paula go to work – she with Saft
- b Paula under pressure at work
- c Paula carrying coal – people going to cinema (Angelique)
- d Paul loses temper with Ines and her parents
- e Paula cleans herself up - soliloquy on marriage of convenience

5 The affair begins

- a Paula and Paul at disco
- b They have sex in Paul’s garage – they decide to let it last as long as it lasts
- c Paula, sees Paul, refuses lift to work from Saft – runs with kids
- d She works in underwear and sings at the till with infectious good humour

6 Paul’s refusal to give up everything

- a Paula calls Paul from window of flat – Ines at window opposite
- b Paul repairs car in garage – she cries refuses to listen to his personal problems – they make up
- c Music in the park – she undresses him – he refuses public show of affection – she applauds music
- d Paula in transport of passion as he kisses her – he breaks off – excuse of son (can’t leave him with those people) – can’t come tomorrow
- e Flower bedecked Paula, uniformed Paul – barge fantasy – musicians
- f Her kids come in next morning and identify Paul as Michael-from-over-the-road’s father - Paul leaves in temper
- g Party with Africans – they split up

7 Paula decides on compromise, Paul has made up his mind

- a Paula’s son killed by car
- b Paula mourning at work
- c Paul comes knocking but she won’t speak to him
- d Paula meets gynaecologist in street – plan to marry Saft
- e Saft brings Paula and daughter on tour of his premises
- f Paul camps on her doorstep - declares his love – she still refuses to talk to him
- g Trip to Saft’s house and the beach

8 Paul tidies up loose ends

- a Paul's colleagues fetch him
 - b Paul comes home to Ines with presents – finds colleague in wardrobe
- 9 No more compromises
 - a Paul breaks down Paula's door with an axe – they kiss watched by neighbours
 - b Paula meets gynaecologist – he warns her of danger of going through with pregnancy – she will do it anyway
 - c She walks into underpass – voiceover tells that she didn't survive pregnancy
- 10 Back to the present
 - a Imploding building – Paul in bed with three kids

Solo Sunny (1978/79)

Director Konrad Wolf

Camera Eberhard Geick

Editor Evelyn Carow

Music Gunther Fischer

Scriptwriter (and co-director) Wolfgang Kohlhaase

Cast Renate Krossner, Alexander Lang, Heide Kipp, Dieter Montag, Klaus Brausch, Ullrich Anschutz

Ursula Braun, Michael Christian, Regine Doreen, Fred Duren, Klaus Handel

1 Sunny and the Tornados

- a Cabaret Hall introducing members of Die Tornados finishes with Sunny singing (audience not shown)
- b Titles Sunny's song continues for a time and is replaced by piano theme Shots of old apartment buildings

2 Sunny and her neighbours

- a Sunny's flat – she argues with Frau Pfeiffer She dismiss man who has stayed for the night
- b Police station – complaint against her from neighbours
- c Hallway of apartment building – she pins up her own petition
- d Stairs – she stands on Frau Pfeiffer's hand
- e Courtyard – Frau Pfeiffer shows hand to young couple
- f Sunny's flat – she plays song surrounded by her image in mirror and photos
- g Sunny leaves building with Harry – man of couple asks her about incident with Frau Pfeiffer

3 Sunny meets Ralph

- a On road to gig with band and M C
- b Bar – Sunny refuses to sleep with Norbert, he gets his lip split
- c Ralph tries out – she gives him eggs
- d Ralph plays at gig – Sunny "Schon verknallt" – audience shown
- e S-Bahn – she says she has left her key behind
- f Ralph's flat – Indian music he reads, they sleep
- g Ralph's flat – Sunny redecorates, they have sex
- h Sunny's flat – picture of former work mates
- i Ralph's flat – they talk at window

5 Christine

- a (Voyeur) Harry brings her to Christine's Neubauwohnung – he declares his love
- b Christine's flat – they clean it

6 Tensions within band

- a After gig drink
- b Hotel room – Norbert attacks Sunny – she hits him with shoe
- c Hotel room – Sunny revives MC with cabbage leaves
- d Outdoor stage – Sunny walks off after MC's comments – she calls him an "Eckenpinkler"

7 Development of Sunny/Ralph relationship

- a Ralph's flat – Sunny "merkt alles" "Du siehst mich an, wie durch ein Fenster"
- b (Plane) Graveyard – she asks him to write lyrics for song
- c Cafe – Ralph philosophizes
- d Ralph's flat – he writes lyrics in English
- e Ralph's flat – "Freust du dich, wann ich komme?" "Ja"

8 Relationships within the band

- a Hubert's wife and child arrive – Monica leaves his room
- b Sunny in van with Bernd – he will write notes of melody (his wife a teacher)
- c The band jams
- d Sunny makes herself up – mirrors and photo (Hubert "Du schminkst dich und schminkst dich wie eine Nutte")

9 Positive developments in relationships with Frau Pfeiffer and Ralph

- a Courtyard – Sunny picks up can for Frau Pfeiffer
- b Sunny goes to Ralph's flat – talk about his job(s) – she asks him if he wants a child – they go to graveyard (sound of plane)

10 Break with band and Ralph

- a Norbert's new girlfriend – Sunny loses temper and walks out
- b She finds Ralph in bed with other woman
- c (Plane with music) Harry rings and wakes her up – she calls him an idiot
- d Ralph apologises - they sleep together – the knife in the bed – he listens to her song

11 SOLO SUNNY

- a Sunny sings theme song in club – Harry applauds
- b Doesn't go home with Harry – Christine's flat – she takes overdose
- c Sunny in hospital ("Es muss alles an mir liegen")
- d Sunny working in factory – aspiring singer
- e She goes to hotel with Harry – watches show – they don't sleep together
- f (Voyeur) She plays song for Christine – they cry together

12 Sunny tries again

- a Sunny introduces herself to younger band – snowy rooftops to fade-out

Einer trage des anderen Last... (1988)

Director: Lothar Warneke

Camera: Peter Ziersche

Editor: Erika Lehmphul

Dramaturg: Dieter Wolf

Music: Günther Fischer

Scriptwriter: Wolfgang Held

Cast: Jörg Pose, Manfred Möck, Karin Gregorek, Heinz Dieter Knaup, Susanne Lüning, Johanna Clas, Doris Thalmer

1. The historical introduction

- a. Shots of racing clouds that mass to brooding sky. Title
- b. (b/w) Documentary footage of clearing of rubble, founding ceremony of GDR, FDJ building projects
- c. (b/w) Josef Heiliger (J.) working on FDJ projects, on border duty, collapses coughing up blood (blood is red)
- d. Bus wends along forest road. Credits

2. The rules of the house

- a. J. in uniform disembarks from bus, Oberschwester Walburga insists on carrying his bag
- b. Chefarzt Stülpmann assures Schwester Inge of place at sanatorium as long as it remains in private hands
- c. J. and Oberschwester arrive on milk cart, pass Sonja (S.) sitting on bench
- d. Chefarzt's office – he prescribes lots of rest against J.'s protestations
- e. (b/w) J. remembers death of fellow border guard
- f. Oberschwester tells him about rules of the house, they pass Sonja

3. Confined to bed

- a. J. hangs up picture of Stalin, Oberschwester takes his beer and orders three days in bed but promises "Abwechslung"
- b. Nurse arrives and takes blood sample. J. is reading Lenin as Oberschwester arrives with meal and announces that Hubertus Koschenz (H.) is to share room, nurses make him swallow tube
- c. Jochen comes with the promise that he can supply anything – J. orders two bottles of beer

4. Hubertus arrives

- a. (b/w) J. dreams of ruined Hohenfels, throws stones at speakers
- b. H. wakes him, they discover their differences and agree on "Waffenstillstand"

6. Ideological differences

- a. Liegekur – S. distracted by arrival of J., he angered by Western radio programme
- b. J. has Frau Gottenbast, H. has S. as Tischdame
- c. At dinner, J. thinks of meals with FDJ work party and invites all "Genossen" to a meeting. H. invites company to a Bible class

7. The call for tolerance

- a. Morning – people sneak back to their assigned rooms
- b. J. and H. sing their different songs at one another, Oberschwester orders them to Chefarzt
- c. Chefarzt demands that J. and H. live harmoniously together
- d. Liegekur – Radio programme against the bolshevization of Germany
- e. J.'s mother comes with typewriter and dog fat

8. Capitalism

- a. S. comes out of Chefarzt's office with bad news, Oberschwester comforts her
- b. J. is impressed by Bible, they decide to exchange dog fat for butter and beer
- c. Jochen has difficulty shifting dog fat
- d. S. goes to call on J. but finds the room empty
- e. Trüffelknecht tells H. and J. that Oberarzt was a Nazi, both leave his room on bad terms with him

9. Sonja's last fling

- a. Trüffelknecht leads occupation of Leseraum, SED-Versammlung must go elsewhere
- b. S. links J.'s arm, but he tells her that he is not on a walk
- c. S. visits H., she puts his hand on her breast, he pulls away gently
- d. SED-Versammlung in woods, J. sees S. walking with H.
- e. S. says she feels hot, but H. says he must go to his Bible study

- 10 Political opportunism
 - a Chefarzt tells J about his medical options and of his own political outlook
 - b The SED members hang flag banners on sanatorium and Wandzeitung in hallway
Oberschwester complains to Oberarzt who shows her the rewards of playing along
 - c At Liegekur, S gets J's attention by getting him to explain party material
- 11 The cure
 - a At dinner, J announces that Herr Siebius will have choice of radio programme
 - b Oberschwester finds H reading Lenin and J reading Bible
 - c S and J take walk in woods discuss sex lives of Marxists kiss
 - d J visits sanatorium with medicine but can't take cure from other deserving cases
 - e H will give service for Christmas in local church. J lends him typewriter but won't tell him why he is upset
 - f J has dream of disease branching in lungs and he caught in large room with S's voice
- 12 Hubertus's passions
 - a J walks around sanatorium in cold while H's fiancée visits him
 - b H's fiancée, and J share meal
 - c Oberarzt gives J medicine
 - d At Liegekur, S tries to discuss dancing J is disturbed by H's sermon
 - e J and H argue over sermon, both of them begin to cough, J takes back typewriter
- 13 The New Year's party
 - a Silvester party – J and S dance but he goes when he hears H is working on sermon
 - b H has changed sermon, J types from dictation
 - c S left alone at midnight Oberarzt makes toast to 1951
 - d H and J finish sermon as body is brought to morgue
- 14 Death and life
 - a On H's way to church a hearse passes him
 - b J finds S's bed empty
 - c J walks through snowy woods to church to tell H J denies all reality of religion
 - d Oberschwester tells J that H has arranged for medicine
 - e H tells J that he has no fear of death himself he is in God's hands
- 15 Life resumed for some
 - a Spring, J takes his leave of the Sanatorium
 - b He stops off at churchyard where H is visiting S's grave

Der Verdacht (1991)

Director Frank Beyer

Camera Peter Ziesche

Editor Lotti Mehnert

Dramaturg Peter Jakubert

Music Gunther Fischer

Scriptwriter Ulrich Plenzdorf, from Volker Braun's novella Unvollendete Geschichte

Cast Christiane Heinrich, Michael Nikolaus Gröbe Michael Gwisdek Christina Schorn, Marie-Anne Fliegel, Ulrike Krumbiegel Viet Schubert, Thomas Neumann, Hans-Jürgen Silbermann

1 Christmas with Karin's family

- a Car drives from countryside to city (credits), stops in front of suburban house where Karin and mother decorate tree
- b Father takes tree from roof of car, tells wife of trouble with Karin's "Kumpel", family cut base of tree together
- c Exchange of presents, father does not confront Karin
- d Father tells Karin that she is not to see Frank anymore because he has "was Bestimmtes vor"
- e Mother fields call from Frank Karin writes letter to him but tears it up
- f Karin says she has sent letter, they celebrate New Year's

2 Karin goes to newspaper

- a Karin takes train to town, she telephones Frank and makes an arrangement to meet him
- b She goes to newspaper, meets Parteisekretär, Kaderleiter, and Redakteur, and is given editing task
- c Parteisekretär discusses her choice, calls her a "Kämpferin"

3 Karin meets Frank and her sister's family

- a Karin meets sister in salon, goes to her house and takes out violent video that her children are watching
- b Karin meets Frank by river, she explains recent events
- c They have unsatisfactory sex in Frank's mother's apartment, mother sees Karin leave
- d Karin is welcomed by her brother-in-law, but he attacks her sister for being out late
- e She helps sister to clean up Later she cannot sleep with the sound of their lovemaking
- f Parteisekretär tells Karin that her choice of sections from the speech was a test

4 Karin moves in with Frank

- a Karin and Frank reject rundown apartment
- b At tea, Frank's mother shows her critical view of authorities assuming that the flat is bugged Frank and Karin go to his room
- c Father collects Karin from outside Frank's house
- d Parents say she has betrayed their trust but do not say how they found out where she was
- e Karin goes to see Die neuen Leiden des jungen W. with Frank he understands feelings of suicidal main character
- f She tells him she is going to stay with sister they have sex in cellar of sister's apartment block

5 Stasi intervention

- a Karin is called to party room where Schäfer of the Stasi and Parteisekretär tell her to split up with Frank
- b Searching for her, Frank finds her on the station platform but she will not explain what is going on
- c She tells parents that Stasi have told her break with Frank father advises her to take a holiday
- d Parents drive her to Frank's house to collect things Frank looks sick, declares his love begs her to stay She leaves

6 Frank's suicide attempt

- a Frank takes pills and turns on gas taps on cooker
- b Back at home parents console Karin put her to bed
- c Karin's first dream
- d Karin wakes up, given news of Frank
- e Karin and parents go to hospital and see Frank on respirator

7 Reaping the whirlwind

- a At Irene's house parents are under attack Karin tells them she is pregnant
 - b Karin avoids meeting Frank's mother in hospital grounds
 - c Doctor tells her about Frank's condition, questions Karin on her negligence
 - d Karin wanders dazed through the streets, goes to Frank's mother's house and has heart-to-heart with her
 - e Karin and Frank's mother at his bedside
 - f Karin's father consults with the Bezirkssekretär
 - g Karin and parents in restaurant
 - h Karin and parents in party room in newspaper consult with Parteisekretär and Schäfer father calls mother a cow
 - i Karin looks for job in salon, in butcher's and in kindergarten She goes to the Arbeitsamt
- 8 Frank's recovery
- a Frank (with beard) is sitting up in bed talks gibberish
 - b Karin meets Irene in salon, is sick
 - c Karin comes home to Frank's mother's house mother has made her cakes but Karin falls into dead sleep
 - d Karin's second dream
 - e Karin awakes mother tells her good news
 - f Karin and Frank reunited, he can't comprehend why he did it they go off together

Jana und Jan (1991)

Director: Helmut Dziuba

Camera: Helmut Bergmann

Editor: Rita Reinhardt

Dramaturg: Peter Jakubeit

Music: Christian Steyer

Scriptwriter: Helmut Dziuba

Cast: Kristin Scheffer, René Guß, Julia Brendler, Corinna Stockmann, Dirk Müller, Marco Neumann, Karin Gregorek, Peter Sodann, Harald Warmbrunn

1. Jana and Jan first see each other
 - a. Jan leaves geschlossenen Werkhof (title sequence), driven by Bulling to castle
 - b. Car arrives in courtyard and Jan observes and is observed by others
 - c. Jana calls him "suß," makes bet that she will make him a man
2. Jan rejects the hierarchy
 - a. Interview with the Chef, Jan refuses to shake his hand
 - b. Sir asserts his authority by tripping up Jan in dining hall
 - c. Jan rejects boys' initiation rites
3. Jan becomes a man
 - a. Jana's bet announced to girls in bathroom
 - b. Flag raising
 - c. Boy leaves boys' shower room, Jana goes in
 - d. Jana initiates Jan into the pleasures of love
 - e. Others look on
 - f. Jana beats up Sir
 - g. Jan alone in shower room
4. Demonstrations and other marching
 - a. Jana toasted by girls, Natter interrupts
 - b. Jan attacks Sir, is given a hiding in dining room
 - c. Demonstrations on television, Jana and Jan leave TV room
 - d. Jana and Jan in loft
 - e. Boys going to work, march out of courtyard watched by girls
 - f. Demonstrations shown in TV room, Jana and Jan slip away, Julia watches Sir and Lady get close
 - g. Jan gives Jana the clipping of him in newspaper as child
 - h. Boys marching, flag gone, "Wir sind ein Volk!" banner
5. Wir sind ein Volk!
 - a. Julia tells Lady that Jana is pregnant, they kiss, Natter finds them together
 - b. Lady confronts Jana with the cotton wool she finds in her locker
 - c. Jana and Jan celebrate New Year together in attic
 - d. Others parade with masks and instruments through house
 - e. Sir and Lady kiss
 - f. Jana tells Jan that she is pregnant, he beats her when she suggests she will get rid of it, she falls down stairs
 - g. Jana sent to hospital, Jan put in cell
 - h. Natter brings Jana picture of Jan, woman gives her baby clothes
 - i. Jan is questioned by staff
 - j. Jana refuses abortion in operating theatre
 - k. Jan brought to geschlossenem Werkhof
6. Jana and the chickens
 - a. FRG flag. Jana back in Werkhof, gets support from Julia, tells Natter her plans
 - b. Crowd watching coverage in TV room turn to stare at Jana at back of room, Sir and Lady
 - c. Jana got out of bed for early shift, penis drawn in her locker
 - d. Jana looks sick pulling the innards from chickens in factory, she is jeered by others
 - e. Jana does not mix with others after work, smokes alone
 - f. Jana working on early shift, stops work feeling sick, is shouted at, has offal thrown at her
 - g. On bus home, Jana is abused for sitting on Julia's lap, she jumps off bus
 - h. Lady makes Julia and others shave off Jana's pubic hair
 - i. Doll in baby clothes hangs inside Jana's locker; she hugs it, sinks to floor

7 Julia commits suicide

- a While cleaning toilet Jana finds Julia with slit wrists
- b Coffin is loaded into van, Lady reads letter found with body

8 Jan arrives back

- a Jan in Bulling's office Chef is now Erzieher, Jan shakes his hand
- b Jan and Jana are reunited kiss in courtyard, and plan to escape

9 Jan and Jana on the road

- a Bulling is informed of escape assembles search party
- b Jana and Jan on motor bike it runs out of fuel they abandon it
- c They meet Russian soldier, eat potatoes
- d They walk into town in barefeet police fight with demonstrators
- e In runs, Jana can go no further, Jan pulls her in trolley
- f They take shelter in watchtower Jana has contractions
- g Jana in hospital bed

Bibliography

- Albersmeier, Franz-Josef and Roloff, Volker (eds) Literaturverfilmungen Frankfurt am Main Suhrkamp, 1989
- Allan, Sean and Sandford, John (eds) DEFA East German Cinema, 1946-1992 New York, Oxford Berghahn, 1999
- Alter, Peter (ed) Im Banne der Metropolen Berlin und London in den zwanziger Jahren Göttingen und Zürich Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993
- Anderson, Benedict Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised Edition London Verso, 1991
- Anz, Thomas (ed) 'Es geht nicht um Christa Wolf' Der Literaturstreit im vereinten Deutschland München edition spangenberg, 1991
- Baacke, Dieter "Jugendkultur in Ost und West Lebensgefühl und Identitätsproblematik " Was bleibt – was wird Der kulturelle Umbruch in den neuen Bundesländern Hermann Glaser (ed) Bonn Inter Nationes, 1994 169-175
- Baske, Siegfried Bildungspolitik in der DDR 1963-1976 Dokumente Berlin (West) Freie Universität, Osteuropa-Institut, 1979
- Benjamin, Walter Sprache und Geschichte Philosophische Essays Stuttgart Reclam, 1995
- Understanding Brecht Anna Bostock (trans) London, NLB, 1977
- Berghahn, Volker Rolf Imperial Germany, 1871-1914 Economy, Society, Culture, and Politics Providence, RI, and Oxford Berghahn, 1994
- Bessel, Richard "Die Heimkehr der Soldaten Das Bild der Frontsoldaten in der Öffentlichkeit der Weimarer Republik " Hirschfeld 260-82
- Bessen, Ursula Trümmer und Traume Nachkriegszeit und fünfziger Jahre auf Zelluloid Deutsche Spielfilme als Zeugnisse ihrer Zeit Eine Dokumentation Bochum Brockmeyer, 1989
- Bloch, Ernst, et al Aesthetics and Politics Ronald Taylor (translation ed) London NLB, 1977
- Blunk, Harry Die DDR in ihren Spielfilmen Reproduktion and Konzeption der DDR-Gesellschaft im neueren DEFA Gegenwartsspielfilm München Profil, 1984
- "Alltagsprobleme der Jugend in Spielfilmen der DDR " Deutsche Studien 19 76 (1987) 373-81

- Blunk, Harry and Jungnickel, Dirk (eds.). Filmland DDR: Ein Reader zu Geschichte, Funktion und Wirkung der DEFA. Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1990.
- Boberach, Heinz. Jugend unter Hitler. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1982.
- Bordwell, David and Thompson, Kristin. Film Art: An Introduction. New York, etc.: McGraw-Hill, 1993.
- Brake, Michael. Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada. London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Braun, Volker. Unvollendete Geschichte. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989.
- Brecht, Bertolt. Gesammelte Werke 18: Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst 1. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967.
- . Über Realismus. Werner Hecht (ed.). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971.
- . Kuhle Wampe: Protokoll des Films und Materialien. Wolfgang Gersch and Werner Hecht (eds.). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973.
- Brozat, Martin. Hitler and the Collapse of Weimar Germany. Providence, RI and Oxford: Berg, 1993.
- Buddrus, Michael. "A Generation Twice Betrayed: Youth Policy in the Transition from the Third Reich to the Soviet Zone of Occupation (1945-1946)." Roseman 247-68.
- Burns, Rob (ed.). German Cultural Studies: An Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.
- Büscher, Wolfgang and Wensierski, Peter. Null Bock auf DDR: Aussteigerjugend im anderen Deutschland. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1984.
- Bussiek, Hendrik. Die real existierende DDR: Neue Notizen aus der unbekannten deutschen Republik. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1984.
- Chiarlioni, Anna and Pankoke, Helga (eds.). Grenzfallgedichte: Eine deutsche Anthologie. Berlin: Aufbau, 1991.
- Dahn, Daniela. Kunst und Kohle: Die »Szene« am Prenzlauer Berg: Berlin, DDR. Darmstadt und Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1987.
- Dann, Otto (ed.). Die deutsche Nation: Geschichte – Probleme – Perspektiven. Vietrow bei Greifswald: SH-Verlag, 1994.
- De Bruyn, Günter. Zwischenbilanz: Ein Jugend in Berlin. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1992.
- Deleyto, Celestino. "Focalization in Film Narrative." Narratology: An Introduction.

Susana Onega and Jose Angel Garcia Landa (eds) London and New York
Longman, 1996 217-233

Die DDR stellt sich vor Berlin (East) Panorama DDR, 1986

Dorpalen, Andreas German History in Marxist Perspective The East German Approach I B Tauris London, 1985

Durrani, Osman, Good, Colin, and Hilliard, Kevin (eds) The New Germany Literature and Society after Unification Sheffield Sheffield Academic Press, 1995

Elias, Norbert The Germans Power Struggles and the Development of the Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Michael Schroter (ed) Eric Dunning and Stephen Mennell (trans) Cambridge Polity, 1996

Elkar, Rainer S "Young Germans and Young Germany Some Remarks on the History of Germany Youth in the Late Eighteenth and in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century " Roseman 69-91

Emmerich, Wolfgang Kleine Literaturgeschichte der DDR Erweiterte Neuauflage Leipzig Kiepenheuer, 1996

Evans, Richard J (ed) Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany London Croom Helm, 1978

Filme in der DDR 1945-86 Kritische Notizen aus 42 Kinojahren Koln Verlag Katholisches Institut für Medieninformation E V , 1987

Foucault, Michel The Archaeology of Knowledge A M Sheridan (trans) London Travistock, 1972

Freiburg, Arnold and Mahrad, Christa FDJ Der sozialistische Jugendverband der DDR Opladen Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982

Frieden, Sandra, McCormick, Richard W , Petersen Vibeke R , and Vogelsang, Laurie Melissa (eds) Gender and German Cinema Feminist Interventions Volume 1 Gender and Representation in New German Cinema Providence and Oxford Berg, 1993

Fulbrook, Mary The Fontana History of Germany 1918-1990 The Divided Nation London Fontana, 1991

--- Anatomy of a Dictatorship Inside the GDR 1949-1989 Oxford Oxford UP, 1995

Gaus, Gunter, Wo Deutschland liegt Eine Ortsbestimmung Hamburg Hoffmann und Campe, 1983

Gersch, Wolfgang "Film in der DDR Die verlorene Alternative " Jacobsen 323-64

Gill, Graeme Stalinism Basingstoke and London Macmillan, 1990

- Gillis, John R. Youth and History Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present Expanded Student Edition New York, London, etc Academic Press, 1981
- Glaser, Hermann Deutsche Kultur 1945-2000 Munchen, Wien Hanser, 1997
- Goodbody, Axel and Tate, Dennis (eds) Geist und Macht Writers and the State in the GDR Amsterdam and Atlanta Rodopi, 1992
- Gotschlich, Helga, et al „Das neue Leben muß anders werden “ Studien zur Grundung der FDJ Berlin Metropol, 1996
- Gotschlich, Helga “Auf dem Weg zur »Einheitsjugend« – Die Anfänge der »Freien Deutschen Jugend« in der SBZ ” Vorsteher 256-66
- Graham, Helen and Preston, Paul (eds) The Popular Front in Europe London Macmillian, 1987
- Gregor, Ulrich und Patalas, Enno Geschichte des Films 1 1895-1939 Hamburg Rowohlt, 1976
- Gries, Sabine Mißlungene Kindheiten Zum unsozialistischen Aufwachsen von Kindern in der DDR Munster, Hamburg Lit, 1994
- Groth, Joachim-Rudiger Widerspruche Literatur und Politik in der DDR 1949-1989 Zusammenhange, Werke, Dokumente Frankfurt am Main, etc Peter Lang, 1994
- Groys, Boris The Total Art of Stalinism Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond Charles Rougle (trans) Princeton Princeton UP, 1992
- Hedges, Inez “Always Just Over the Horizon The East German Intellectual and the Elusive Public Sphere ” Marxism in the Postmodern Age Confronting the New World Order Antonio Callari, Stephen Cullenberg, and Carole Biewener (eds) New York, London Guilford, 1995 106-114
- Heimann, Thomas DEFA, Kunstler und SED-Kulturpolitik Zum Verhältnis von Kulturpolitik und Filmproduktion in der SBZ/DDR 1945 bis 1959 Berlin VISTAS, 1994
- Hein, Christoph Der Tangospieler Frankfurt am Main Luchterhand, 1991
- Heitzer, Heinz DDR Geschichtlicher Überblick Berlin (East) Dietz, 1987
- Henne, Helmut Jugend und ihre Sprache Darstellung, Materialien, Kritik Berlin (West), New York Walter de Gruyter, 1986
- Herf, Jeffrey Reactionary Modernism Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich Cambridge, etc Cambridge UP 1984
- Hermund, Jost und Trommler, Frank Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik Frankfurt am Main Fischer, 1988

- Hille, Barbara and Jaide, Walter (eds) DDR-Jugend Politisches Bewußtsein und Lebensalltag Opladen Leske + Budrich, 1990
- Hirschfeld, Gerhard, Krumeich, Gerd, and Renz, Irina (eds) »Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als Mensch « Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkriegs Frankfurt am Main Fischer, 1996
- Honecker, Erich From My Life Oxford, etc Pergamon, 1981
- Horton, Andrew and Magretta, Joan (eds) Modern European Filmmakers and the Art of Adaptation New York Ungar, 1981
- Huppauf, Bernd "Schlachtenmythen und die Konstruktion des »Neuen Menschen« " Hirschfeld 53-103
- Jacobson, Wolfgang, Kaes, Anton, Prinzler, Hans Helmut (eds) Geschichte des deutschen Films Stuttgart Metzler, 1993
- Jegensdorf, Lothar "Jugend als Thema in der politischen Dichtung der DDR " Deutsche Studien 19 76 (1987) 382-403
- Jones, Gareth Stedman, et al Western Marxism A Critical Reader London Verso, 1978
- Jordan, Gunther "DEFA's 'Der Augenzeuge' The Newsreel in East Germany, 1946-1949 " Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television 13 1 (1993) 63-7
- Kaes, Anton Kino-Debatte Texte zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Film 1909-1929 Tübingen Niemeyer, 1978
- From Hitler to Heimat The Return of History as Film Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London Harvard UP, 1989
- Kaes, Anton, Jay, Martin and Dimendberg, Edward (eds) The Weimar Republic Sourcebook Berkley, etc U of California P, 1994
- Kane, Martin "The Tribulations of GDR Youth Dieter Eue's Novel *Ketzers Jugend* " German Life and Letters 38 3 (April 1985) 272-83
- (ed) Socialism and the Literary Imagination Essays on East German Writers New York and Oxford Berg, 1991
- Kersten, Heinz, et al Film in der DDR München, Wien Hanser, 1977
- Kindt, Werner (ed) Grundschriften der deutschen Jugendbewegung Düsseldorf, Köln Eugen Diederich, 1963
- Klier, Freya Lug Vaterland Erziehung in der DDR Kindler München, 1990
- Klose, Werner Generation im Gleichschritt Die Hitlerjugend Ein Dokumentarbericht Oldenburg, Hamburg, München Stalling, 1982

- Koch, H W The Hitler Youth Origins and Development 1922-45 London MacDonald and Jane's, 1975
- Koebner, Thomas (ed) "Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit" Der Mythos Jugend Frankfurt am Main Suhrkamp, 1985
- Kosing, Alfred Worterbuch der Marxistisch-Leninistischen Philosophie Berlin (East) Dietz, 1986
- Kracauer, Siegfried From Caligari to Hitler A Psychological History of the German Film Princeton Princeton UP, 1974
- Kraushaar, Wolfgang "1968, das Jahr der Rebellion Der Aufschrei der Jugend " Der Spiegel 29 March 1999 171-188
- Laffan, Michael (ed) The Burden of German History 1919-45 London Methuen, 1988
- Laqueur, Walter Young Germany A History of the German Youth Movement New Brunswick and London Transaction, 1984
- Levine-Meyer, Rosa Inside German Communism Memoirs of Party Life in the Weimar Republic London Pluto, 1977
- Leyda, Jay Kino A History of Russian and Soviet Film London George Allen and Unwin, 1983
- Liehm, Mira and Antonin J The Most Important Art Soviet and Eastern European Film after 1945 Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press, 1977
- Lukacs, Georg The Meaning of Contemporary Realism John and Necke Mander (trans) London Merlin, 1972
- Mallmann, Klaus-Michael Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik Sozialgeschichte einer revolutionären Bewegung Darmstadt Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996
- Mann, Heinrich Essays Hamburg Claassen, 1960
- Marschak, Marianne Parent-Child Interaction and Youth Rebellion New York Gardner, 1980
- Mayer, Hans Der Turm von Babel Erinnerungen an eine Deutsche Demokratische Republik Frankfurt am Main Suhrkamp, 1991
- McDermott, Kevin and Agnew, Jeremy The Comintern A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin Basingstoke and London Macmillan, 1996
- McElvoy, Anne The Saddled Cow East Germany's Life and Legacy London and Boston Faber and Faber, 1993

- Metz, Christian. Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaninary Signifier. Celia Britton, et al. (trans.). Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Milfull, John (ed.). The Attractions of Fascism: Social Psychology and Aesthetics of the "Triumph of the Right". New York, Oxford, Munich: Berg, 1990.
- Mommsen, Hans. From Weimar to Auschwitz: Essays in German History. Philip O'Connor (trans.). Cambridge, England: Polity, 1991.
- Monaco, James. How to Read a Film: The Art, Technology, Language, History, and Theory of Film and Media. Revised Edition. New York, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1981.
- Mosse, George L. Die völkische Revolution: Über die geistigen Wurzeln des Nationalsozialismus. Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1991.
- Mückenberger, Christiane (ed.). Prädikat: Besonders schädlich. Filmtexte: *Das Kaninchen bin ich* und *Denk bloß nicht, ich heule*. Berlin: Henschel, 1990.
- Murray, Bruce. Film and the German Left in the Weimar Republic: From Caligari to Kuhle Wampe. Austin: U of Texas P, 1990.
- Naimark, Norman M. The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Belknap, 1995.
- Nickel, Inge. Die Rolle der Freien Deutschen Jugend und der Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft bei der Erziehung der Studenten zur aktiven Teilnahme an der antifaschistisch-demokratischen Umgestaltung des Hochschulwesens und zur Freundschaft mit der Sowjetunion (1945-1949): Teil 1. Berlin (East): Institut für Hochschulbildung, 1977.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918. Erster Band: Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist. München: Beck, 1994.
- Ottwalt, Ernst. Ruhe und Ordnung: Roman aus dem Leben der nationalgesinnten Jugend. Berlin: Guhl, 1929.
- Paech, Joachim. Literatur und Film. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1988.
- Peukert, Detlev J. K. Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989.
- . "«Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit...» Jugend zwischen Diziplinierung und Revolte." Jahrhundertwende: Der Aufbruch in die Moderne, 1880-1930. August Nitschke, et al. (eds.). Vol. 1. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt: 1990. 176-202.
- . The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classic Modernity. Richard Deveson (trans.). Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.
- Pflaum, Hans Gunther (with Prinzler, Hans Helmut). Cinema in the Federal Republic of Germany: The New German Film Origins and Present Situation: With a

- Section on GDR Cinema. Timothy Neville (trans.). Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1993.
- Phelan, Anthony (ed.). The Weimar Dilemma: Intellectuals in the Weimar Republic. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1985.
- Philipsen, Dirk. We Were the People: Voices from East Germany's Revolutionary Autumn of 1989. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1993.
- Plenzdorf, Ulrich. Die Legende von Paul & Paula: Filmerzählung. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974.
- . Die neuen Leiden des jungen W. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976.
- . Karla, Der alte Mann, das Pferde, die Straße: Texte zu Filmen. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980.
- Plummer, Thomas, et al. Film and Politics in the Weimar Republic. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 1982.
- Poßner, Wilfried. Immer bereit! Parteauftrag: kämpfen, spielen, fröhlich sein. edition ost: Berlin, 1995.
- Pracht, Erwin and Neubert, Werner (eds.). Sozialistischer Realismus - Positionen, Probleme, Perspektiven: Eine Einführung. Berlin (East): Dietz, 1970.
- Pross, Harry. Jugend, Eros, Politik: Die Geschichte der deutschen Jugendverbände. Berm, München, Wien: Scherz, 1964.
- Ranke, Winfried. "Linke Unschuld? Unbefangener oder unbedachter Umgang mit fragwürdig gewordener Vergangenheit." *Vorsteher* 94-112.
- Reid, J. H. Writing Without Taboos: The New East German Literature. New York, Oxford, Munich: Berg, 1990.
- Rempel, Gerhard. Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS. Chapel Hill and London: U of North Carolina P, 1989.
- Rentschler, Eric (ed.). German Film and Literature: Adaptations and Transformations. New York and London: Methuen, 1986.
- . The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard UP, 1996.
- Riordan, Jim (ed.). Soviet Youth Culture. London: Macmillan, 1989.
- Rollka, Bodo and Spiess, Volker (eds.). Leben am Prenzlauer Berg. Berlin: Haude & Spenersche, 1990.
- Roseman, Mark (ed.). Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany 1770-1968. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995

- Ruegg, Walter (ed) Kulturkritik und Jugendkult Frankfurt am Main Klostermann, 1974
- Schmitt, Hans-Jürgen (ed) Einführung in die Theorie, Geschichte und Funktion der DDR-Literatur Stuttgart Metzler, 1975
- (ed) Die Expressionismusdebatte Materialien zu einer marxistischen Realismuskonzeption Frankfurt am Main Suhrkamp, 1973
- Schneider, Eberhard The G D R The History, Politics, Economy and Society of East Germany Hannes Adomeit and Robert Clarke (trans) London Hurst, 1978
- Schnell, Ralf Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur seit 1945 Stuttgart, Weimar Metzler, 1995
- Schubbe, Elmar (ed) Dokumente zur Kunst-, Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED Stuttgart Seewald, 1972
- Schwartz, Manfred "Jugendpolitik in der DDR " Recht der Jugend und des Bildungswesens 29 4 (1981) 278-87
- Silberman, Marc German Cinema Texts in Context Detroit Wayne State UP, 1995
- Sim, Stuart Georg Lukacs Hemel Hempstead Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994
- Simon, Annette "„Kluge Kinder sterben früh “ Die Achtundsechziger der DDR Was verbindet, was trennt sie von jenen der Bundesrepublik?" Die Zeit 13 June 1997 16
- Sontag, Susan On Photography Harmondsworth Penguin, 1979
- Spittmann, Ilse and Helwig, Gisela (eds) DDR Lesebuch Stalinisierung 1949-1955 Köln Von Nottbeck, 1991
- Stachura, Peter D Nazi Youth in the Weimar Republic Santa Barbara and Oxford Clio, 1975
- Stanzel, F K A Theory of Narrative Charlotte Goedsche (trans) Cambridge Cambridge UP, 1984
- Stern, Fritz The Politics of Cultural Despair A Study of the Rise of the Germanic Ideology Berkeley, Los Angeles, London U of California P, 1974
- Stoos, Toni, et al (eds) Erobert den Film! Proletariat und Film in der Weimarer Republik Berlin (West) Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst, 1977
- Tate, Dennis "“Breadth and Diversity’ Socialist Realism in the GDR " European Socialist Realism Michael Scriven and Dennis Tate (eds) Oxford Berg, 1988 60-78
- Todorov, Tzvetan "Letter from Paris The Communist Archives " Salmagundi 114-5 (Spring/Summer 1997) 3-11

- Toeplitz, Jerzy Geschichte des Films Band 1-3 Henschel Berlin (East), 1975-1979
- Tonnies, Ferdinand Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie Darmstadt Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988
- Treue, Wolfgang Deutsche Parteiprogramme 1861-1954 Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte Göttingen Musterschmidt, 1956
- Voigt, Dieter, Voß, Werner, and Meck, Sabine Sozialstruktur der DDR Eine Einführung Darmstadt Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987
- Vorsteher, Dieter (ed) Parteiauftrag Ein neues Deutschland Bilder, Rituale und Symbole der frühen DDR München, Berlin Koehler + Amelang, 1997
- Wallace, Ian "The Politics of Confrontation The Biermann Affair and Its Consequences" Goodbody and Tate 68-80
- Walsh, Martin The Brechtian Aspects of Radical Cinema Essays by Martin Walsh Keith M Griffiths (ed) London BFI, 1981
- Watson, Martin Norman The Literary Presentation of "Youth" in GDR Fiction 1971-1980 Stuttgart Hans-Dieter Heinz Akademischer Verlag, 1987
- Weber, Hermann DDR Grundriß der Geschichte 1945-1976 Hannover Fackelträger, 1976
- Kommunismus in Deutschland 1918-1945 Darmstadt Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983
- (ed) DDR Dokumente zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1945-1985 3rd ed München DTV, 1987
- Geschichte der DDR 3rd ed München DTV, 1989
- Weber, Richard (ed) Film und Volk Organ des Volksfilmverbandes Februar 1928 - März 1930, Vollständige Ausgabe 2nd ed Köln Prometh, 1978
- Wehling, Hans-Georg (ed) Politische Kultur in der DDR Stuttgart, Berlin (West), Köln Kohlhammer, 1989
- Weidenfeld, Werner (ed) Politische Kultur und deutsche Frage Materialien zum Staats- und Nationalbewußtsein in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Köln Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1989
- Weidig, Rudi (ed) Sozialstruktur der DDR Berlin (East) Dietz, 1988
- Whaley, Joachim "Youth in Eighteenth-Century Germany" Roseman 47-68
- Willett, John Art and Politics in the Weimar Period The New Sobriety, 1917-33 London Thames and Hudson, 1978

- Brecht in Context Comparative Approaches London and New York Methuen, 1984
- Williams, Christopher (ed) Realism and the Cinema A Reader London Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980
- Wohl, Robert The Generation of 1914 Cambridge, Massachusetts Harvard UP, 1979
- Wolf, Christa Der geteilte Himmel 2nd Ed Berlin (East) and Weimar Aufbau, 1985
- Wolf, Friedrich Professor Mamlock Ein Schauspiel Leipzig Reclam, 1985
- Wolff, Jürgen (ed) Materialien Ulrich Plenzdorf »Die neuen Leiden des jungen W« Stuttgart Klett, 1980
- Zimmermann, Peter (ed) Deutschlandbilder Ost Dokumentarfilme der DEFA von der Nachkriegszeit bis zur Wiedervereinigung Konstanz UVK-Medien/Olschlager, 1995