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Neuer Mensch or Hombre Nuevo?
Volker Braun’s Critical Solidarity with Latin America

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Volker Braun’s documentary drama Guevara oder der Sonnenstaat (1975) challenges political and literary-historical manifestations of East German humanist internationalism. In particular, his protagonists are embedded in debates on the political efficacy of Expressionist and Socialist Realist iterations of the New Man. With recourse to Ernesto "Che" Guevara’s hombre nuevo and biographical accounts of Tamara Bunke (a.k.a. Tania), he intervenes in those debates to articulate new, revolutionary subjectivities, anticipating more sophisticated articulations of the inter- and transnational German subjects that find literary expression beginning in the 1980s.

Ein neuer Mensch
Tötend den alten wirklich. [...] 
Seine Flucht töten mein Dasein.[...]
Seine Sätze töten meine Sätze.

Volker Braun's first engagement with Ernesto “Che” Guevara, “Material IV: Guevara,” was published only months after the revolutionary’s death in a collection of poems titled Provokation für mich.1 Questioning the efficacy of writing in a postrevolutionary situation marked by the life and death of a prototypical New Man, Braun's poem reflects on the subjective implications of Latin American revolution for the narrator's East German hopes, repeatedly asking: “Soll ich/ Bleiben, bei meinen Worten. Soll ich aufbrechen/ Aus meiner Hoffnung.” Although the poem makes clear that Braun was familiar with Guevara’s writings in general, Guevara reception in East Germany was hampered by the absence of translations, biographies, or any official position on the iconic revolutionary. (Braun relied on a poorly translated edition of the Bolivian diaries published in the West by Trikont-Verlag.) The SED was skeptical of Guevara’s popularity throughout the capitalist West and uneasy with his criticisms of the USSR. A symbol of resistance tout court, his voluntarism threatened orthodox socialists, who preferred to express solidarity with Cuba in more general anti-imperialist terms. Guevara presented a unique figure for socialist internationalism’s internal contradictions and challenges.2 In choosing him as a protagonist, Braun yokes the role of the critical intellectual to that of the critical revolutionary in a socialist state profoundly ambivalent about both.
In his 1975 play *Guevara oder der Sonnenstaat*, Braun returned to the "provocation" posed by the internationalist revolutionary. The play stages in reverse chronological order the failure of Guevara's 1966–67 attempt to foment revolution in Bolivia. Tamara Bunke, the Argentine born (East) German turned Cuban and later Bolivian guerrillera, eventually left her covert assignment in Bolivia to join the guerrilla prior to the events Braun stages. In addition to stylizing historical material drawn from Guevara's Bolivian diaries and biographies of Bunke, Braun invents fictional interactions between Guevara and Cuban leader Fidel Castro and with his (Guevara's) executioners to frame the drama. The reverse chronological flow of events is disrupted at intervals by the appearance of Bumholdt and Bedray, parodies of Alexander von Humboldt, humanist, scientist, and explorer of the Americas, and Regis Debray, French philosopher and popularizer of Latin American revolutionary theory in 1960s Europe. *Guevara*’s cast of characters thus evokes colonial-era and contemporary European, (East) German, and Latin American discourses on anti-imperialism that often overlap and interrupt one another. In the process, the play throws into relief conventional approaches to such questions as: Who can be a revolutionary? What kinds of relationships exist among revolutionaries? How does one feel in revolution? The play’s most compelling answer to these questions takes shape around the figure of Tania. Braun mobilizes her manifold legends to generate a new, positively fractured agent of socialist revolution.

*Guevara* represents a new critical solidarity in East German writing that expands the frame of socialist internationalism to include non-European, non-Soviet socialisms. It takes for granted the existence of international solidarity in one form or another, questioning not the sincerity of specific acts of solidarity, but rather the conditions for their success. It is directed at but not limited to the relation of subjective and objective conditions for revolution in Latin America; the relation of European revolutionaries to Latin American revolutionaries; and the social production of internationalist subjects in and through structures of feeling that exceed reasoned political solidarity narrowly construed.

Critical solidarity is not the prerogative of any single ideology. Arlene Teraoka rightly observes that East German authors from a range of political and aesthetic positions engaged explicitly Latin American themes, including authors from Claus Hammel and Peter Hacks (to whom she devotes most of her critical attention) to Volker Braun and Heiner Müller. Müller's *Der Auftrag* was more central in her earlier work, and has been subject to broader critical attention than either Hammel's *Humboldt und Bolivar oder der Neue Continent* or Hack's *Die Fische* (both 1975). Braun’s play receives remarkably short shrift in her appraisal of Latin American revolution in East German drama.

Teraoka’s contextualized readings of the plays illuminate dramatic constellations that feature European intellectuals, who are principally non-revolutionary, and Latin Americans, who appropriate European intellectual traditions for...
their own ends. At best, Europeans occupy supportive or secondary roles in the dramas, which turn on images of European science and scientists caught up in a dialectic of Enlightenment: “European Science, potentially emancipatory, is simultaneously an instrument of domination [...]. As plays of solidarity, all of these texts assert not the universal authority or desirability of European science or European politics but rather the limits of their relevance for the experience of the Third World.”

A closer reading of Braun yields another possibility: While European thought may be of limited relevance to Latin American revolution, Latin America is extremely relevant to Europe. Rather than stylize Latin America(ns) as (a) catalyst(s) for European self-questioning, Guevara foregrounds Latin American thought and shows its transformative impact on European socialist traditions. Most notably, Guevara demands that the reader/viewer reconsider Soviet inflected visions of a new humanity, which are shown to be incompatible with revolutionary subjectivity. It also revises literary historical narratives that since the 1930s had contrasted Expressionism’s radical subjectivism and irrationalism with humanist Erbe. In a society that prized the cultivation of Soviet ideology, the convergence (Annäherung) of socialist national cultures, and the articulation of their respective popular interests (Völksverbundenheit), Kulturpolitik and international solidarity were inherently related. Drawing attention instead to the specificity of national and regional socialisms and their respective intellectual traditions, Braun’s critical solidarity threatens to undermine both.

My reading of Guevara proceeds in two stages to elucidate the play’s multiple and complex references, the first organized around cultural and political histories, and the second around a close reading of the play. Following a sketch of Braun’s appropriation of literary-historical debates on the political efficacy of Expressionist and Socialist Realist subjectivities, I explore how his choice of form, evocative of Expressionist drama, speaks to an East German literary politics that equated Expressionism with formalism, decadence, and even proto-fascism. Historical debates beg the contemporary question of how to consider Braun’s work relative to both Soviet and Cuban concepts of humanity articulated around the figure of the New Man. As I explain, Braun relocates German and European debates on revolutionary subjectivity within a larger geocultural frame that includes Latin America to fracture and creatively rearticulate cultured and gendered subjects of revolution.

In the second stage, my close reading complicates and extends scholarship on the status of Latin America in East German theater in three ways: First, in reading the largely neglected Bumholdt and Bedray scenes, I argue that Braun’s play culminates in an uneven commingling of humanist and Marxist-Leninist imaginings of the Neuen Menschen with the Cuban revolutionary hombre nuevo. Despite Guevara’s similarity to Braun’s early protagonists, steadfastly and selflessly advancing socialist revolution, here Braun adopts a relatively closed, linear
form—the reverse chronological staging of the failed Bolivian guerrilla—that represents a departure from the playwright's penchant for more open dramatic structures. The openings that remain are the intra-play scenes: The most visible breaks in the revolutionary process are located in a European intellectual tradition that is not only structurally disruptive, but also strangely irrelevant to the primary plot and staged experiences of the guerrilla.

Second, I correct a tendency in the scholarly literature to overlook Tania as a dramatic and historical figure. My analysis of gender in socialist revolution reveals how Braun’s Tania anticipates the shift from a political internationalist to a transnational construction of the revolutionary subject in 1980s East and West German literature. Whereas scholars such as Frank Hörnigk focus on the fact of Latin American revolution (practice), my focus on love and betrayal in Braun's literary rendering of Guevara and Tania clarifies the influence of Latin American revolutionary theory—specifically Guevara’s hombre nuevo—on East German literature.

Third and finally, I show how revolutionary subjectivity is relocated in the play’s last scene from masculine productivist socialization in the factory to gendered, cultural reproduction in Guevara’s and Fidel Castro’s relation to the children of a new socialist society. In Braun’s most marked departure from the historical narrative, he synthesizes impossible, incompatible systems of thought from such disparate thinkers as Guevara, Cervantes, Bloch, and Lenin. The resulting exchange offers a dense network of possible relations within the fields of the utopian and the practical/revolutionary—all of them flawed, but none of them dispensable.

State Solidarity and Humanist Patrimony

Debates about East German Kulturpolitik in the 1970s occurred at a historical and political moment inflected by a revised and expanded understanding of socialist humanist internationalism. As Hans Magnus Enzensberger observed in the West German context, Europe found itself not at the center, but rather on the periphery of world revolution. Some East German authors were clearly conscious of the perceived shift in world revolutionary fronts, and they sought to address domestic policies that articulated—or failed to articulate—with international political movements. Specifically, they questioned the status of East Germany’s humanist patrimony and the author as heir/executor thereof. If concepts of Erbe and Erziehung invested the author with political power and putative authority, how should s/he craft a literary response to domestic and international issues? (How) should s/he reformulate the relation of the domestic and the international at a historical moment when revolution could no longer be located in the domestic or even European arena? In reference to these and other questions, expressions of international solidarity became both symptomatic and constitutive of critical assessments of European socialism that
sought to account for regional and national political hegemonies in the wake of Stalinism and continuing Soviet domination. In East Germany, literature that represented revolution increasingly turned to Latin American locales and struggles for subject-agency in the face of US imperialism.

The turn toward explicitly internationalist subjects and locales and away from logics of productivism and internally-oriented factory genres held the potential to revise complex cultural relationships domestically as well. Anti-imperialist political projects in Latin America had strong intellectual and affective appeal for East Germans and were supported by an array of long-standing political and cultural institutions in East Germany. The GDR was particularly interested in establishing formal relationships to Latin America, as a 1963 memo from the cultural division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs makes clear. Official organizations including the Schriftstellerbund, the Liga für Völkerfreundschaften, and the Deutsch-Lateinamerika Gesellschaft (DeuLaG) actively worked to compile, translate, and publish Latin American authors. DeuLaG's mission was to maintain, expand, and deepen German-Latin American relationships and to provide non-self-interested help to the people of Latin America. The qualification "non-self-interested" is undoubtedly a critique of West German development aid: DeuLaG explicitly and repeatedly criticized the FRG for misappropriating the legacy of Alexander von Humboldt in Latin America as a means to concealed imperialist economic ends.

Humanist patrimony remained a salient theme in East German internationalism long after the problem of diplomatic recognition was resolved in the early seventies. In the case of Latin America, Alexander von Humboldt continued to be an essential figure for articulating both Erbe and solidarity, and attempts to represent a genealogy of antifascism in GDR literature overlapped substantially with an official politics of international solidarity. If Alexander Abusch went so far as to claim that von Humboldt first attained meaning for Germans in Mexican exile, Braun embeds von Humboldt in a Latin American context quite apart from East Germany's concept of new socialist humanity.

Expressionist Redux:
The New Man and the Production of Socialism in Volker Braun

New sociopolitical orders envisioned by revolutionary movements are often accompanied by emplotments of new kinds of subjects; the New Man in German literature represents one such literary-political figuration of potential and change. To discuss the New Man invoked and articulated in the construction of a socialist literature in the GDR is to locate it in a longer series of ideologically divergent visions of ideal subjects from Expressionism through National Socialism. These visions share concerns for the New Man's capacity for action and for the relationship between the individual and the collective in modern society.

Braun's *Guevara* bears all the formal markings of an Expressionist drama.
Like Expressionist plays, it reduces character to roles or types and uses extensive declamatory dialogue to exaggerate the emotional intensity of those roles. Guevara inverts the traditional structure of the Expressionist Stationendrama, which typically focuses on progressive suffering and death punctuated by conflicts between traditional authorities and a resistant hero. The stakes of Stationendramen are high—not infrequently the fate of humanity itself. Through his choice of form, Braun engages Expressionism’s urgent and emphatic subjectivity. At the same time, however, his inversion of the Stationendrama implicitly rejects its “historical pessimism,” ending with unresolved possibility rather than death as a marker of opportunity foreclosed.

Linking Expressionism and humanism in the dramatic space of Latin America threatens the East German doctrine of antifascist humanism as an antidote to Expressionism. A departure from Braun’s texts about factory production (and from a literary historical progression to Socialist Realism prescribed by GDR cultural policy), the Expressionist New Man stands resolutely outside of the productive sphere. The limits of factory genres (already apparent after Braun’s required revision of Kipper Paul Bauch and Heiner Müller’s ZEMENT debacle) prompted a turn away from dramatic models afforded by real existing socialism by the 1970s. The extent to which this change foregrounds the production of qualitatively different subjects of revolution only begins to unfurl in Braun’s Guevara. On the one hand, Braun elects a more interior, subjective aesthetic in selectively adopting Expressionist forms and figures. On the other hand, he turns concurrently toward an objective moment that inheres in documentary drama. In the process, Braun exploits the tension generated around competing concepts of individual subjectivity and collective action in real revolutionary situations internationally.

Expressionism’s initially more psychologically and aesthetically driven writing became unambiguously concerned with social and political themes as World War I wore on. The violent extremes to which prototypical New Men had previously been driven by familial conflict were replaced by more public social, technological, and industrial sites of conflict—and were no less violent for it. Expressionists cast individual transformations undergone by the New Man, whose development brings him into conflict with existing social orders, in a spiritual light; violent confrontations are both catalysts and outcomes of individual redemption. The sacralization of conflict in Expressionist drama consistently underwrites violence as a political imperative. Scholars such as Douglas Kellner have drawn attention to theatrical ritual as fundamental to Expressionists’ interest in political transformation, describing the theater as a space of “collective, ritualistic aesthetic experience.”

The rhetoric of redemption in Expressionist drama is thus curiously and simultaneously indebted to and reacts against technology and rapid industrialization. Authors such as Kaiser and Jünger highlighted the destructive capacity of
technology, but also the possibility of redemption emerging from the experience of violence or from the violent failure of industrial capitalism and a romantic return to the land. Brecht's *Mann ist Mann* (1926) presents a more ambivalent dramatization of Taylorist practices, their extension to socialization, and the production of human subjects.

Productivism, the dominant ideology to which all of these authors speak, focused on the challenges to and potential of the human subject. As Anson Rabinbach argues, social modernity and social rationalization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are articulated around the rationalization of the body itself. But, like Expressionism's New Man, productivism could—and did—accommodate "liberal, socialist, authoritarian, and even fascist solutions." Romantic anti-capitalist discourse sought to overcome increasing alienation in industrial society through a return to pre-industrial forms of community and a retreat from wage labor; socialists increasingly highlighted workers as leaders on the path toward a new society and a New Man. Laboring bodies were also to become the most enduring conceit of the socialist New Man, which envisioned labor itself as an instantiation of *comunitas*. The production process rather than revolutionary violence per se took on the aura of the sacred.

Expressionism's secularized religious narrative—correlate in Braun's text to Guevara qua Christian redemptive figure—troubles objective, productivist ideologies that underwrite East German socialism's reasoned political narrative. The reverse chronological structure of Braun's play reinforces Guevara's desire to create a "neue[n] Mensch[en], beginnend mit dem Ende/ Weil er getötet werden muss." In the play's dramatic progression, Guevara's death is the end with which Braun begins; the intellectual and revolutionary behind a Cuban formulation of *el hombre nuevo*, Guevara is but one possible figuration of the New Man in Braun's play. Described by the Bolivian rangers in Braun's opening scene as "Christus der Agitator," his body is burned and hidden, lest the site of his death become a site of pilgrimage. His untimely end is bound to the possibility of new life/resurrection and revolutionary hope.

The secularized religious elements of the Expressionist New Man complicate any narrowly political reading of Guevara's dramatic formation or destruction insofar as they call into question the sufficiency of reasoned political ideologies of production in revolution. If a productivist ideology ultimately requires a self-sacrificing redemptive figure—i.e. a voluntarist subject—what are the implications of adapting an Expressionist form to an anti-Expressionist cultural politics of socialist humanism and internationalism?

In the GDR, official representations of the New Man closely approximated a Soviet vision of ideal revolutionary subjects. Expressionist visions were understood to be irrelevant in a socialist society that had ostensibly overcome alienation and stood in a positive relation to history. The challenges of production instead were thought to provide exemplary historical opportunities for socialist workers.
to develop new and heroic traits. But a Soviet vision of the New Man posed unique questions in the East German context insofar as the process of forging the New Man could not be seen as identical with state formation per se. The executors of what Bernhard Greiner calls a “deformierte Revolution,” “von einer Siegermacht verordnet,” were confronted with a situation in which their claim to ideological legitimacy based in antifascism was incommensurate with the subjective positions of the majority of the population at the end of World War II.  

With their interests subordinated to those of the Soviet occupation, Germans in the Soviet Zone experienced an “insufficient identification . . .] with the processes of socialist revolution instituted by the SED.” Rather than address potentially contradictory, subjective elements of socialist revolution, party leaders focused on objective relationships in proclaiming the ongoing nature of the revolutionary process out of which a New Man would emerge. The role of productive activity and class solidarity were emphasized to the exclusion of the subjective constitution of individuals engaged in production.

Gerd Hennig argues that productivity becomes a typical measure of revolutionary success in “bureaucratically deformed societies.” Imitating Stalinist economic and political forms, East German socialism deliberately confined mass activities that might have allowed East Germans to understand themselves as subjects of social change. Instead, under Soviet occupation, mass cultural activity was eliminated in favor of administrative directives. The bureaucratic division and consequent division of state and society reinforced an anti-voluntarist cultural politics. Rather than encourage popular cultural expression, the state redirected social expression toward a quantitatively defined productive sphere: “Culture,” explains Hennig, “becomes a means for economic ends.”

Insofar as labor’s dominant metric was objective/quantitative, the individual was excluded from a subjective role in society. When production lagged, the bureaucratic state’s only recourse for self-legitimization was to ideology. Contradictions between the theoretical claims of ideology and real existing socialism turn back onto the state in culturally critical forms such as Braun’s pre-Guevara factory dramas.

By shifting the locus and metric of revolutionary success to a world stage, Braun side-steps productivism and Soviet Marxism to foreground subjective experiences of revolution. The primacy of the subjective in Latin American Marxism, underscored in Braun’s choice of form by the primacy of the subjective in German Expressionism, challenges the productivist logics with which both traditions (Latin American Marxism and German Expressionism) engage to render a critique that is simultaneously East German and emphatically internationalist.

Productive Contradictions with Latin American Marxisms
In citing not just German Expressionism, but also the Cuban revolution and Guevara, Braun offers a related but substantially different model of thinking about the New Man that is rooted in the type of subjective forms neglected and
even suppressed in GDR Kulturpolitik. Guevara does not see material relations of production as constitutive for revolutionary change. Thus, he warns against productivism as a continuation of prerevolutionary capitalism.27 For him, making the New Man entails unmaking and revalorizing old categories of individual and collective motivation at the same time as it requires the redistribution of wealth and a new division of labor. Rather than assume a predisposition toward communism (in the way that East German models suggest a predisposition toward antifascism—and by extension anti-capitalism), Guevara emphasizes how active choices by individuals create subjective conditions that favor revolution. Cuban leaders necessarily emphasized subjective conditions in order to explain the possibility of revolution in a country dominated by semi-feudal agricultural relations. Guevara’s New Man is born of the desire of individuals no longer fettered by old systems of educational and material privilege to measure up to the revolution’s achievements, goals, and social values.

Guevara’s commitment to proletarianization through revolutionary education rather than any reliance on presumed proletarian class identifications also foregrounds subjective rather than objective categories. In his model, revolutionary education comprises processual self-development, conscious adjustment to a new society, and the self-reflexive revision of relationships between the individual and the collective. Guevara’s notion of education emphasizes the popular generation of knowledge by and for the Cuban people, and closely resembles independence-era revolutionary and author José Martí’s concept of the hombre natural. Martí’s emphasis on creation in opposition to the imitation or reproduction of European thought in the Americas is itself key to the development of heterodox Marxist traditions in Hispanic America.

Braun’s dramatic rendering of identifiable Latin American subjects incorporates vectors of internationalist solidarity outside traditional Marxism-Leninism to revise socialist Erbe. Unlike official articulations of international solidarity, the guerrilla’s historical specificity in Guevara destabilizes the New Man’s role as universal revolutionary subject and, with it, the role of the East German state and humanist tradition in world socialist revolution. Removed from the industrial centers that dominate Braun’s earlier work as sites of ongoing revolution, Guevara draws attention to external loci of struggle and underscores (unsuccessful) internationalism in Latin America. As even this cursory account of competing socialist traditions shows, the relationship of German socialism to Latin American revolution, frequently read as allegorical of domestic politics, in fact renders visible relationships between European industrial centers and sites and subjects of revolution located firmly outside the purview of real existing socialism.

**Transcontextual Interruptions**

Braun’s documentary and anti-productivist aesthetics suspend hegemonic East German cultural narratives and their underlying ideologies. The disintegrat-
ing figures of Bumholdt and Bedray interrupt genealogies of humanist Erbe and international solidarity, revealing their indebtedness to the Enlightenment conceit of an intact, universal subject. Braun’s critical representation of Alexander von Humboldt in the parodic figure of Bumholdt especially complicates official narratives of internationalism and the legacy of socialist humanism.

In order to recognize the cultural-political reach of reference and parody central to Braun’s intra-play, a brief overview of the GDR’s official commitment to von Humboldt’s legacy is instructive. Significantly, both the Liga and DeuLaG positioned themselves in a cultural line that extended back to von Humboldt. Speeches, treaties, and cultural initiatives described him as the embodiment of German humanism and anti-imperialism. His person stood for the cultural and political legitimacy that East Germany sought to consolidate in the face of the Hallstein doctrine. Braun’s dramatic reinvention of von Humboldt highlights the latter’s relationships to leaders of Latin American independence movements and positions him as a precursor to scientific socialism’s profound contemporary solidarity with Latin American struggles for autonomy.28 Guevara selectively appropriates an image of von Humboldt consonant with DeuLaG educational and cultural materials, but uses it to provide an incisive and potentially inflammatory parody of von Humboldt and, by extension, East German solidarity itself.

Parody, according to Bakhtin, both evokes and displaces its referent. Transcontextual repetition is a specific mode of parody in which exact repetition serves an ironic function.29 This is particularly evident in documentary drama, which by its very nature trades more frequently in repetition than most genres, often citing historical documents verbatim. In Guevara, the citational contexts traversed are multiple. Transcontextual movements occur across historical contexts (e.g. Independence era and anti-neocolonial struggles) and disparate, place-specific political philosophies; they include genre-specific traversals of the sites of a primary textual utterance, its dramatic re-formation, and its theatrical performance. The characters reference specific political and theoretical positions expressed by their historical counterparts, but, stripped of their original contexts and juxtaposed to one another and to the guerrilla, they displace the broader systems of thought, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity in which those positions would otherwise have been communicable. In this fashion, Braun’s parody highlights the potential pitfalls of a solidarity that attends insufficiently to transnational and transhistorical dimensions of communication.

The intra-play capitalizes on this series of displacements to underscore a failed or incomplete communication of German and Latin American utopias among European revolutionary subjects in the figures of Bumholdt and Bedray, anti-colonial humanist and contemporary Marxist theorist. The examples of failed communication are many. From their earliest appearances on stage, the two figures advance competing notions of progress that inform their stage positions and ideological positions in each of their three scenes. Bumholdt measures his
progress by the excavation of the past, repeatedly countering Bedray’s insistence that they climb “hinauf” with his own forceful “Hinab zur Menschlichkeit!” As Bumholdt descends ever deeper, Bedray moves upward and out of view of the public. Linguistic missteps reveal the characters’ inability to communicate about their respective investigations. Bumholdt “corrects” Bedray’s question “Ist jemand passiert?”—assuming that Bedray confuses the French passer and the German passieren:

    BEDRAY: Hallo, Hugo, ist jemand passiert?
    BUMHOLDT: starrt in das Loch, gereizt: Ist etwas passiert. Denis, es heißt—blickt binauf: Was soll denn passiert sein?
    BEDRAY: Wieso passiert?
    BUMHOLDT: Sie fragen, ob etwas—
    BEDRAY: Wieso was? Wer!
    BUMHOLDT: Wieso wer?
    BEDRAY resigniert: Es passiert rein gar nichts.

Apparently unable to fathom Bedray’s formulation as deliberate, Bumholdt’s interest lies with historical transactions and artifacts (was). Bedray’s, by contrast, lies with contemporary agents in and of themselves (wer) as he waits for New Humanity to appear before him in the shape of Guevara’s guerrilla.

Never content with a single referent, Braun ups the interpretive ante via allusion to the Sun State described in Tommaso Campanella’s utopian depiction of the Incan Empire, Civitas solis (1602). He thereby evokes Ernst Bloch’s utopian opposition of Campanella and Thomas Moore.30 What does it mean that Bumholdt/von Humboldt, a “wirkendes Vorbild für Fortschritt und Befreiung der Menschheit,” according to official documents,31 is intent on excavating a model of ordered utopia (Campanella) that is the opposite of Bloch’s utopia of freedom (Moore)? The play’s title suggests that the options available to the audience are either Guevara’s impossible struggle or the Sun State excavated by the archeologist Bumholdt, thereby presenting the problem of potentially choosing Latin American revolution over German humanism(s).

At the same time, Guevara’s affinity for the Incan site allows for reading the titular or as linking rather than strictly demarcating utopian visions. Guevara visited the site of the Incan Sun Temple near Lake Titicaca on his 1952 trip across the South American continent. Braun was aware of Guevara’s fascination with Incan culture, and Karl Georg Kayser, director of the play’s Leipzig premiere, included an excerpt from Soviet historian Josef Lawrezki’s biography of Guevara—which contained a description of Incan society—in the production materials distributed to actors and in the play’s program.32

Excavating the Sun State, Bumholdt and Bedray underscore the connections between European discourses past and present on Latin America, and link traditional intellectual work to the work of theorizing revolution. And yet, their
immaterial and nonsensical language contrasts sharply with real East German cultural politics relative to Latin America and with Braun's extensive use of documentary material. Bumholdt interrupts his own pompous archaeological discoursing with tongue-twisting children's rhymes. Instead of modeling solidarity and his expansive notion of humanity, he steals Bedray's provisions and blames it on the natives. All too willing to accept Bumholdt's version of events, Bedray advocates violent retaliation. In the end, he resumes his waiting for the already decimated guerrilla, more distracted than dissuaded by Bumholdt's reproaches.

From an apparent aversion to violence in the first scene, Bumholdt's increasingly physical violence culminates in Bedray's murder and cannibalization. Bumholdt's concern for the excavation of humanity, nature, and a more complete understanding of past violence (notably Incan and Aztec human sacrifice) contrasts with his own lack of humanity. Bedray's intellectual pursuits are no less contradictory: Hoping to interview the guerrilleros, he waits pointlessly for them rather than seeking them out. An addled dilettante, he cites Castro speeches, Eichendorf, and Brecht, but cannot synthesize their ideas coherently or assess their relevance to different historical contexts for revolutionary thought and action. Braun could hardly have conveyed this more aptly than with Bedray's remark: "»Wir haben eine Revolution gemacht, die größer ist als wir selbst« sagte Fidel eines Tages unter anderen Umständen." Ideas are evacuated from their contexts even as they are repeated by the European theorist of revolution.

With figures like Bumholdt and Bedray, the intra-play prompts the audience to consider how an old humanist representing past German relations to Latin America can produce or even relate to a New Man. Bumholdt may correctly diagnose Bedray as suffering from Eurocentrism, but he also sees no need for the changed humanity Bedray so desperately expects will arrive. Bumholdt not only contradicts, but ultimately cannibalizes Bedray, a (Western) European Marxist also theorizing the New Man and cannibalizing Latin American revolutionary movements in his own way in the process.

Directors' and critics' difficulty relating these scenes to the main narrative is symptomatic of a failed relation of two historical concepts that correlate roughly to Bumholdt's and Bedray's incomplete communication: the creation of the Neuen Menschen and of the hombre nuevo.33 Theater der Zeit's review of the Leipzig premiere is revealing in this respect; comments on the intra-play are not even integrated into the review proper, appearing instead as a postscript: "Postscriptum: Für die schon im Stück problematischen Zwischenspiele mit den clownesken Figuren Bumholdt und Bedray fand auch die Leipziger Inszenierung keine Lösung, die den Zuschauer von der Notwendigkeit dieser Szene hätte überzeugen können."34 Approaching the "problematic" scenes as transnational, transcontextual interruptions whose relation to the dramatic narrative
as a whole is contingent and incomplete rather than reasoned renders them necessary in both dramatic and historical terms. As breaks in a *Stationendrama* already strained by its inversion, they underscore the tendency of a German Expressionist New Man to self-destruct and of a Soviet-inspired New Man to deny the social conditions for destruction/alienation under socialism. Parodying humanist and Marxist inflections of ideal revolutionary types, the scenes interrupt not only Braun's primary dramatic narrative, but interrupt and work at cross-purposes with one another in the shadow of Guevara's *hombre nuevo* and its attendant revolutionary context.

**Unforgettable guerrillera**

As rendered by Braun, the universalist presuppositions of von Humboldt's humanism contrast starkly with documentary literature's radically particularist representation of historical-political subjects and practice of aesthetic generalization. The figure of Tania provides an important and consistently overlooked example in this respect, of note both because of Braun's excessive attention to biographical detail and Tania's role as the most developed of the guerrilleros in the play.

Exceptional in her cultural, political, and military achievements, as well as in her prominence as an international and internationalist subject, Tania represents a longer tradition of German emigration, international solidarity, and commitment to the idea that German and Latin American political developments are related. Born in Buenos Aires to antifascist exiles, her family returned to the Soviet Zone after World War II. In 1961, Tania illegally left the GDR for Cuba. After years of political and cultural work, she assumed a series of aliases that culminated in her assignment to Bolivia under the identity Laura Gutiérrez Bauer. Laying the groundwork for the operation that would end in her death, Tania provided intelligence and contacts for Guevara's *guerrilla*.

Highly esteemed in Latin America, it is surprising that Tania is not accorded more attention as an apocryphal figure in German dramas about Latin America. In Rojas and Rodríguez Calderón's wildly popular biography, *Tania la guerrillera inolvidable*, Tania's appropriation as a model of revolutionary Cuban womanhood elides her national particularity:

[In Tania the intention was to stress the importance of individual sacrifice on the part of internationalists who did revolutionary work in the Third World. More specifically, Tania responded to the need to present her to the Cuban woman as a martyr of the internationalist cause with whom she could identify.]

East German accounts, by contrast, emphasize only Tania's *Klasseauftrag* and identify her not as German or as international, but as a Latin American revolutionary. Eberhard Panitz's semi-official biography, reinforced by a party
afterward, repeatedly points to revolutionary success as collective, never an individual, heroic action. Like Guevara, Tania’s decision to leave the GDR and become a revolutionary raised the specter of voluntarism.

Braun, however, ventures to read Tania’s position in the Cuban context against a set of ideal political subjects described in East German literature of the 1970s. In so doing, he highlights contradictions between materially embodied and desired internationalist subjectivities. The range of positions Tania occupied makes her a useful figure of geographic, cultural, political, and gender mobility. She offers a counter-figure to the East German subject imagined to act in solidarity with a similarly localizable Latin American subject. Braun’s staging of Tania takes advantage of the historical Tania’s rich biography to advance an alternate revolutionary subjectivity that uncouples national identity and agency. Further, he lends Tania dramatic focus by placing her at the play’s mid-point, a scene titled “DIE FRAU,” although she plays no substantive role in the rest of the play. The scene’s central position in the play demands a corresponding focus on gender difference in the socialist internationalism Braun elaborates.

Braun’s Tania tells us that she is “eingeborn von deutschen Eltern,” but native to where is never specified: The closest referent seems to suggest only that Tania is born herself, Tamara (“[...] Tamara/ War ich auch, eingeborn von deutschen Eltern”), and yet “Tamara” is given no priority in the list of lives that accrue in her monologue. An East German, Tamara has paramilitary training, but Tania is forbidden to use it at the site of revolution, where she (like the historical Tania) is not welcomed by Guevara. His reaction prompts her to consider her rapidly disintegrating legend as a revolutionary subject. Tania’s lines suggest that the resulting biographical fissures and concealment constitute her life as much as they disrupt or obscure it:

In meinem Kopf
Ein Film der reift und reift, der Riss der Welt
Mein Lebenslauf. Ich lernte schießen
Im deutschen Friedensstaat und liege wehrlos
In dieser Schlachtschüssel, Bolivien
Und kann nicht kämpfen.

A series of allusions to un/masking and betrayal in Brecht’s Die Maßnahme, wherein the revealed identity of the young comrade threatens the Party’s work, complements the language of performance and concealment. Tania’s resulting alienation both motivates and is produced by her participation in the revolution: “Nichts ist mir fremd mehr außer ich mir selber” and: “[...] unbekannt war ich doch etwas/ Unter den vielen Masken, jetzt bekannt/ Bin ich nichts mehr. Schweigen. Ich stürz mich in die Schlucht.” Is “Bin ich nichts mehr” a statement, or a question? Is Guevara’s lack of reply an affirmation, even a tentative
assent to suicide?

Only later on does he reanimate Tania, recognize her past, and offer her a name. He calls Tania la guerrillera into existence as he hangs his gun around her neck. In answer to her desperate assertion, "Ich kann nicht kämpfen, wenn es mich nicht gibt," Guevara affirms her present and eternal life: "Es wird dich geben." Willing to renounce her name and her existence as a singular subject in favor of collective struggle, Tamara is reborn as Tania in a striking reversal of gender roles. She exclaims:

Genosse, du
Zitterst ja vor Begier, bricht dir der Schweif aus
Weil du dir so Gewalt antust, was siehst du
Mich an wie ein Gewächs, das du dir ausreißt
Aus deinen Lenden, bist du bleich geworden
Bei der Operation....

Guevara's pallor suggests the pains of birthing the New Man, who is, in fact, a Woman. Tania is Adam's/Guevara's rib: the Christological dimensions of her creation and his self-sacrifice, evidenced in stage directions and dialogue from the outset of the play, resonate with prototypical Expressionist dramas and emphatically advance the sacralization of conflict as a necessary complement to political ideology.

Before her recreation and renunciation of individualized love, Braun's Tania angrily reminds Guevara of the most famous passage of his "El socialismo y el hombre nuevo." The historical Guevara's formulation is as follows:

Let me say, at the risk of appearing ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by strong feelings of love. It is impossible to think of an authentic revolutionary without this quality. This is perhaps one of the greatest dramas of a leader; he must combine an impassioned spirit with a cold mind and make painful decisions without flinching one muscle.38

Tania's self-recognition is closely linked to the historical recognition Guevara promises, and to the love and desire she subordinates to participation in collective struggle. Guevara's desire—"Genosse, du/ Zitterst ja vor Begier"—no longer matters to her: Love may move two, she explains, but revolutionary struggle moves the world. Here, Tania suggests that Guevara's actions are not (as she initially asserts) in contradiction with his statements about love and revolution, but constitute their necessary extension. In her final assessment, the repression of personal love and desire marks the limit of freedom for those accountable to world revolution. Tania's self-denial in the name of a greater love is part of the process of proletarianization in violent struggle.

But the proper relationship between love and revolution remains unclear. Guevara's ultimate articulation of physical need breaks his self-imposed emo-
tional silence, prompting Tania la guerrillera to cry out against his touch. Tania’s move to control material practices of love—specifically her refusal of touch and her critical evaluation of Guevara’s birthing pains—is in keeping with the refusal of many guerrilleras to bear children in a time of war and their assumption or refusal of other “reproductive” labors in the home or camp. In Latin American women’s political writings, love also represents a postrevolutionary refusal to comply with new bureaucratic orders, changes in gender relations following the revolution’s military phase, and the devaluation of love’s revolutionary potential. His cry, “Wir haben uns verraten,” (cfr. Brecht: “Schweig! Du verrätst uns!”) could refer to the betrayal of their location to the enemy when Tania screams in response to his touch, of their love, or of their commitment to revolution. “Unser Gefühl/Getarnt im Hinterhalt, das Schweigen im Walde” is related to the guerrilla fighting from the ambush, but begs the question of whether feeling may itself be a site or structure of revolutionary tactics. A mobile site of revolution would significantly revise East German concepts of revolutionary subjectivity insofar as it would enable self-positioning within structures of feeling as much as in production or the state as expressions of solidarity and revolutionary commitment. It could also justify feeling in and through literature as a revolutionary act.

Braun’s Tania is not a self-evidently revolutionary subject. Her presence is not wanted, but becomes necessary because she breaks cover and cannot resume clandestine work. She allows her name to be “gelöscht” for a revolutionary cause, but its (possibly deliberate) revelation becomes a liability; she does not even know whether to throw herself into a pit where her body, Guevara soberly observes, would betray the guerrilla (none of Die Maßnahme’s lime handy in this play) or whether to die might paradoxically be to live in the guerrilla. And yet Tania is also the only possible model of a revolutionary (German) internationalist subject: She is not the parody of Europe that is Bumholdt or Bedray, but a complex figure whose occupation of multiple and shifting subject positions both enables and potentially unsettles her ability to contribute to the guerrilla.

Masculine, reasoned political narrative—already destabilized in the figures of Bumholdt and Bedray and dependent on Guevara as a charismatic supplement to internationalist ideology—is ultimately superseded by Tania la guerrillera. Gender difference is constitutive for Tania’s experience of revolutionary love and as a marker of shifting personal, interpersonal, and social boundaries. As “DIE FRAU,” Tania’s subjectivity is both particular and generalizable within the drama of guerrilla struggle and revolutionary transformation. If the historical Guevara identified love as one of the greatest dramas of revolutionary leadership, Braun leaves it to Tania to invoke, interpret, and act out that drama.
Authoring the New Man

Guevara's identification with Don Quixote in his Bolivian diaries and his use of Cervantes' novel in guerrilla literacy classes provide documentary and historical touchstones for the play's final, fictional scene. In the East German context, Quixote is redolent, too, with Ernst Bloch's famous recourse to the literary in general and to Cervantes and Campanella in particular in his writings on the ideal subjects of hope. Multiplying documentary, philosophical, and literary referents, Braun's citations of Guevara's, Cervantes', and Bloch's respective Quixotes coincide to undo any straightforward opposition of intellectual and revolutionary labor. As real historical conflict precipitated Braun's move away from factory genres in favor of a more expansive treatment of sites and subjects of revolution in Guevara, so, too, does Guevara's self-reflexive engagement with literary thinking, exemplified by Cervantes' Don Quixote, reaffirm Braun's rich, allusive style and commitment to literature as a form of thoughtful provocation.

Braun's final scene affirms an active political role for literary thinking in revolution. While Guevara criticizes some forms and sites of intellectual labor as bureaucratic, asking Castro, "Ist das der Schreibtisch, der/ Mich bürokratisiert oder ich ihn" and "Willst du ein Finanzwesen haben oder ein/ Neues menschliches Wesen," a younger generation waits anxiously outside. Guevara and Castro ultimately let them in to their room and play out Quixote's windmill scene. The children's admission could signal a naturalized trajectory of development toward a mature, postrevolutionary Cuba; their playful interaction with the leaders part of a new socialization of imagination, hope, and orientation toward the future. In this reading, men's relationship to gendered social reproduction again displaces a traditionally gendered division of productive and reproductive labor.

A tandem allusion is to Lenin's "'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty Bourgeois Mentality" (1918). Lenin's question as to who is served by anti-imperialist war and under what conditions is highly relevant to the Cuban situation:

until the world socialist revolution breaks out, until it embraces several countries and is strong enough to overcome international imperialism, it is the direct duty of the socialists who have conquered in one country (especially a backward one) not to accept the battle against the giants of imperialism. Their duty is to try to avoid battle, to wait until the conflicts between the imperialists weaken them even more, and bring the revolution in other countries even nearer.

Under other circumstances, Lenin argues, war helps the imperialists rather than the anti-imperialist forces. Revolutionary action constitutes destructive naïveté.

A more sinister reading of Braun's final scene and how the leaders relate to the children emerges as the literary leftist child's play is followed to its dramatic
end: Guevara (unlike Quixote, unlike Lenin's Left-Socialist Revolutionaries) recognizes the children as windmills rather than "giants of imperialism." Still, he attacks them. Are the children objects of Guevara and Castro's misguided vision? What alternatives are available if Guevara is correct in stating: "Ja, es ist so unmöglich/ Kämpfen, dass man nur kämpfen kann. Es ist/ So sinnlos, dass nichts andres Sinn hat." The tragedy of the untimely revolutionary—Guevara muses: "Wie verfahrt man/ Mit den zu früh schlau Gewesenen noch/ In allen Revolutionen"—is that s/he is compelled to fight a quixotically necessary and impossible struggle.

Guevara's self-critique employs the language of East German cultural politics and points to the nature of the provocation Braun saw in the historical Guevara. The idea of an "arrival" at the everyday expressed in the final scene by Braun's Castro ("Nach uns der Kommunismus. Aber/ Vor uns der Alltag") echoes the Ankunftsliteratur of the early 1960s. But Guevara is not content to have arrived in an era of international anti-imperialist struggle. While Vietnam bleeds, he finds insufficient:

Unsre stolze Bahn  
Des Wohlstands in dem sogenannten Frieden  
Ost und West, das aber ist allein.  
Dicht neben unserer Feigheit, fast verlassen  
Und Gleichgültigkeit, mit der wir schwatzen  
Von Solidarität. Der Widersinn  
Schnurt mir die Kehle zu. Es wird keinen  
Sozialismus geben, wenn wir uns nicht  
CASTRO: ... ändern

Guevara's remarks seem to address both Cuba and the GDR. He shows how certain anti-imperialist struggles (i.e. Vietnam) are left out of an equation that seeks primarily to balance East-West relations, and suggests that the language of solidarity is empty so long as it is mediated by a politics of ideological expansion. Cuba cannot fit neatly into the East, even as it is aligned with communist ideologies that place it in direct opposition to the West. If peace brings prosperity, a solidarity that is more than rhetorical requires a commitment to peace that extends beyond any one nation-state. For an East Germany that professes a politics of peace over and against Western militarist provocation, the changes such a solidarity might require could fundamentally revise the self-understanding of its revolutionary subjects.

Conclusions

With recourse to the contentious tradition of Expressionist drama and secularized religiosity; heterodox Latin American Marxisms; "German" biographies not easily located in a single territorial, linguistic, or cultural tradition (Tania,
von Humboldt); and the production of gender difference in the (failed) constitution of revolutionary subjectivity, Braun's *Guevara* ultimately precipitates a three-fold fracturing of reasoned political narratives of socialist internationalism. The visibly incomplete work of political ideology; the transcontextual interruption of historical narrative; and the social and cultural difference of gender introduce a differential, transnational alternative to the presumptive universal subjects of socialist internationalism. Their performance prompts the public to consider how the redemptive figure of a New Man relied on culture- and gender-specific assumptions to mask a more generalized lack of faith in ideologies of reasoned political action in the GDR.

Like the USSR, East Germany rejected what it perceived as a dangerous and unwieldy individualism in the cult status of Che Guevara. East German political leaders were awkwardly positioned between expressing solidarity with the Cuban revolution and mistrust of the revolution's popular face in the form of el Che. Tania might have been a more palatable hero not just because she could be read in a tradition of anti-fascist internationalism, but also because she could be read in a supportive, solidary role rather than as an individual leader. Officially sanctioned biographies such as Panitz's *Der Weg zum Rio Grande* invoke a kind of anthropological complementarity to narrate Tania's “feminine” role relative to the male *guerrilleros*. By contrast, Braun—and certainly Karl Georg Kayser, director of *Guevara's* Leipzig premiere—preserve the tensions that arise from highly gendered and sexualized accounts of the historical Tania and the ambiguity of her political and personal relationship to Guevara. DIE FRAU was one of the most commented upon scenes in the Leipzig production, and images of Tania in a sheer white gown and heels on a swing in the jungle are among the most dissonant the production had to offer.

The implications of an analysis that accounts for relationships among German and Latin American revolutionary subjects extends well beyond the literature on Braun. His critical deployment of historical subjects, including von Humboldt, Guevara, and Tania, destabilizes strong conceptual lines of German and Soviet revolutionary subjectivity rooted in productivism. With recourse to what I have termed transnational and transcontextual citation, Braun foregrounds incomplete and possibly incommensurate modes of relating European and Latin American socialisms, calling into question the very existence of a universal socialist humanist subject of history. The role of utopian thinking in social reproduction and revolutionary change is shown to be similarly contradictory in the play's final, fictional scene with Castro, Guevara, and the children of a revolutionary socialism.

Finally, the play's main intervention lies in its attention to how gendered dimensions of the *Neuen Menschen*, which emerge through the neglected figure of Tania, contribute to creating a layered, positively fractured, transnational model of revolutionary subjectivity. The linguistic tension between East Ger-
man/Soviet and Latin American visions of the New Man underscores one dimension of socialist solidarity’s incompleteness with reference to gender. The *Neue Mensch* is ostensibly gender neutral, even if other, specific permutations of the New Woman leave its practical neutrality open to question. To confront it with the masculine *hombre nuevo* and advance Tania as the New Man generates the productively jarring assertion: “The New Man is a woman.” Difference is not overcome, but embraced—literally—by the male revolutionary; it is left to Tania *la guerrillera* as the primary subject of revolution to decide if and under what circumstances she is willing to accept that embrace. In Tania, Guevara’s “greatest drama of the revolutionary leader” is actualized as a labor of love not reducible to masculine, productive labor.

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4 See also Arlene A. Teraoka, *East, West and Others: The Third World in Postwar German Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 104.
5 Ibid., 85.
7 Teraoka, *East, West and Others*, 101, 103.
8 Ibid., 100, 102.
12 Stiftung Archiv des Schriftstellerverbands, Akademie der Künste, SV969. Many examples of friendship treaties can be found in SAPMO-BArch DY13/2844, “Arbeitsvereinbarungen mit Hauptpartnern.”
13 The Liga für Völkerfreundschaften (1961–1990) was the umbrella organization for national friendship societies and a coordinator of foreign cultural policy. Anna Seghers served as the organization’s president. For a description of the organization’s functions, see “Liga für Völkerfreundschaften,” in *Sofunktionierte die DDR* ed. Andreas Herbst, Winfried Ranke, and Jürgen Winkler, vol. 1 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1994), 600–7.
On the role of friendship treaties in increasing the international content of GDR literature, see Archiv des Schriftstellerverbands, Akademie der Künste, SV969, "Zusammenarbeit mit dem Ausland, 1959–1965." Although many publishing house catalogues were lost or destroyed around the time of reunification, Jens Kirsten has documented at least 450 Latin American titles published between 1947 and 1990 by the East German Verlag Volk und Welt, Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., and Verlag Neues Leben. Kirsten, Lateinamerikanische Literatur in der DDR. Publikations- und Wirkungsgeschichte (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2004), 14.


Alexander Abusch, "Alexander von Humboldt," 12–18; See also SAPMO-BArch DY13/1887.


Kellner terms this phenomenon "secularized religiosity," (169). Riedel analyzes the Christian elements of the New Man's dramatic conflict with the existing social order (3–4).


Anson Rabinbach defines productivism as "the belief that human society and nature are linked by the primacy and identity of all productive activity, whether of laborers, of machines, or of natural forces." He highlights the utopian appeal of productivist ideology: "The dynamic language of energy was also central to many utopian social and political ideologies of the early twentieth century: Taylorism, bolshevism, and fascism. All of these movements, though in different ways, viewed the worker as a machine capable of infinite productivity and, if possessed with true consciousness, resistant to fatigue. They conceived of the body both as a productive force and as a political instrument whose energies could be subjugated to scientifically designed systems of organization." Anson Rabinbach, The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 3.

Ibid., 272.


Ibid., 40–48.

Ibid., 42.


See also "Alexander von Humboldt. Gelehrter-Humanist-Freund der Völker," in
Tradition und Gegenwart des sozialistischen Humanismus (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1971), 12f and 18f.


30 Verena Kirchner, Im Bahne der Utopie. Ernst Blochs Hoffnungspolitik in der DDR Literatur (Heidelberg: Winter, 2002), 115f.

31 SAPMO-Barch DY31887, Festschrift “Alexander von Humboldt-Wirkendes Vorbild für Fortschritt und Befreiung der Menschheit.”

32 Institut Stiftung Theaterdokumentation an der Akademie der Künste ID453.

33 See Theaterdokumentation an der Akademie der Künste ID453, Dokumentation zur 1984 Aufführung Volker Brauns Guevara oder der Sonnenstaat.


35 Ulla Hahn coins the term aesthetic generalization to describe how an author represents a specific event or series of events in a new, aestheticized context in order to elicit partisan solidarity with a role that is no longer identical with a historical agent. Ulla Hahn, Literatur in der Aktion. Zur Entwicklung operativer Literaturformen in der Bundesrepublik (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1987), 49.


40 See especially Guevara’s final letter to his father, in which he describes himself as a Quixote about to do battle with giants.

41 See Guevara, “Contra el burocratismo,” in Aricó El socialismo y el hombre nuevo, 173–79.


43 Institut Stiftung Theaterdokumentation an der Akademie der Künste ID453 esp. pp. 63–64.