Chapter 5

SHAME, EMOTIONS AND MILITARY MASCULINITIES

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The texts I have analysed so far emphasize the serious and often long-lasting physical and psychological effects of military service that result from the sedimentation of military ideals through the embodied performativity of NVA routines and disciplinary practices. However, in NVA, Krüger's highly emotional response to the harsh discipline of Schwedt suggests that the psychological effects of negotiating the military's masculine ideals also have introspective, emotional dimensions that cannot be accounted for solely by the performative nature of training. Many of the narratives analysed in my previous chapters have suggested that desires and emotions that are experienced as profoundly personal are in fact closely interrelated with more external aspects of military training and discipline. Therefore, in my final two chapters, I investigate more closely the representation of internal experiences of shame and desire, their relationship to military socialization and the extent to which they reveal subordinate aspects of military masculinities.

Such introspective experiences become particularly prominent in post-reunification representations of military service, indicating the ongoing importance of intense emotions and desires in ex-conscripts' articulations of selfhood and gender identity. Representations repeatedly return to the ineffability of experiences of desire and emotions, and the struggle to express feelings caused by military service continues to occupy writers for decades afterwards. For this reason, the remaining chapters move away from film and its emphasis on the visual, instead comparing fictional or semi-fictional narratives with autobiographical narratives. Autobiographies and memoirs

deal more explicitly with the difficulties in expressing certain aspects of self-hood, shedding light on fictional narratives and revealing striking similarities between fictional and autobiographical texts.

Military masculinities are not commonly considered 'emotional' and are more often associated with heroic stoicism, and yet emotions have long been central to accounts of military experience. The importance of emotions in military masculinities is exemplified by Erich Maria Remarque's novel Im Westen nichts Neues (All Quiet on the Western Front, 1929), which has become a paradigm for twentieth- and twenty-first-century military narratives across the world. Remarque's narrator, Paul, highlights the tension between soldiers' emotional experiences and the masculinity promoted by state institutions: 'while [our teachers] preached the service of the state as the greatest thing, we already knew that the fear of death is even greater'. Whereas fear dominates Paul's experiences at the front, his rejection of ideal military masculinity is experienced as shame when his sister sees him in uniform while on leave: 'For a moment I feel ashamed and hang my head; then I take off my helmet and look up.'3 Paul appears to see himself through his sister's eyes and is ashamed of the military figure she sees. The only explanation for his shame is the reference to the iconic helmet that had come to symbolize German military ideals, which suggests that Paul may be ashamed that his military appearance aligns him with this militarism.

Im Westen nichts Neues reflects a common trend in film and literature of describing military experiences in emotional terms, from combat and deployment to the home front, basic training and military service. Fear and anxiety are the most prominent emotions in Remarque's novel and in most other depictions of warfare, which perhaps explains the dominance of fear in scholarship on emotions in war and military service across disciplines. Like Remarque, most writers, filmmakers and theorists focus on the warzone as a context that elicits particularly intense emotions from soldiers. Even in the Cold War German context in which neither the NVA nor the Bundeswehr engaged in active combat, fear of nuclear war still dominates historical work on emotions during the remilitarization of both Germany states.⁵ Yet the emotions associated with military training are rarely discussed in scholarship. I have repeatedly referred to the central role of emotions during military service, which emerges strongly in the GDR context. Perhaps surprisingly, while GDR films and literature portray soldiers experiencing a complex range of emotions, fear is mentioned only occasionally. Emotions often evade description and interpretation; post-reunification narratives in particular are dominated by the difficulties with representing emotional experience. The power and elusiveness of emotions in these narratives, as well as the fraught focus on selfhood, suggest that writers are exploring shame, an emotion that goes to the heart of literary form. This shame stems in part from soldiers'

negotiations of military ideals and is a key factor in the ongoing nature of engagements with military service in film and literature.⁶

The NVA's masculine ideals generally aimed to suppress powerful negative emotions such as shame. However, just as for Paul visiting his family in Im Westen nichts Neues, NVA conscripts' shame often reflects an ambivalent relationship to the military's masculine ideal, albeit in several interrelated and even contradictory ways. I analyse shame in three post-reunification literary works: Einstrich-Keinstrich: NVA-Tagebuch (One Stripe No Stripe: NVA Diary, 2006), an autobiography of military service by Joerg Waehner (b. 1962); Tausend Tage (Thousand Days, 1997), a novel by Christoph D. Brumme (b. 1962); and *Der Turm* (*The Tower*, 2008), a bestselling novel by Uwe Tellkamp (b. 1968). Many difficulties exist when representing emotions in language, given that simple statements such as 'I feel ashamed' do not necessarily label shame correctly, nor do they adequately represent the experience itself.8 The texts therefore explore how to represent shame, depicting it in circumspect and elusive ways. These works reveal how the military provoked, exposed and exploited conscripts' emotions, suggesting that shame was central to experiences of the NVA and remains influential in retrospective negotiations of the military past.

Shame and GDR Military Masculinities

Military ideals often encourage recruits to suppress negative emotions such as shame, with insults and hazing rituals associating displays of emotions with feminization or homosexuality. In many military environments, misogynistic and homophobic insults do not simply discipline physical weakness, but ridicule men for revealing emotions. John Hockey has observed in British infantry regiments, for example, that 'women were caricatured as people who cried, broke down, and refused to go on'. 10 However, militaries cannot exclude expressions of emotion and even depend on them to train recruits and maintain hierarchies. Hockey describes how extreme events during training or deployment create 'subcultural spaces' for soldiers to express emotions and share empathy and intimacy. He uses an example from his participant observation in Northern Ireland of a soldier who breaks down after a comrade's death and is watched over by his superior. 11 Once soldiers return to their formation, Hockey argues, their ability to carry on reaffirms their masculinity. In such cases, emotional outbursts neither destabilize nor transgress military ideals. Rather, emotions reinforce men's loyalty and unite them in channelling their emotions against the enemy.

The pressure on soldiers to control their emotions is illustrated by Wilhelm Reich's military metaphor of a 'character armour' in his *Charakteranalyse*

(1933).¹² Reich describes how the ego protects itself from external threats and libidinal forces by constructing a protective armour of compliance with societal ideals and values that hides the ego's inadequacies. However, when the ego is weak, its armour can become restrictive as it is combined with an overactive, punitive superego.¹³ Many of Reich's patients become ashamed when they cannot live up to the ideals represented by their character armour, including one whose ideal appears in dreams as a fearless soldier.¹⁴ Applied to military contexts, Reich's analysis suggests that military training aims to develop soldiers' character armour, using punishment and discipline to suppress aspects of masculinity that violate military ideals, including excessive displays of emotion. Shame remains peripheral to Reich's analysis, as just one constituent of more complex neuroses, but his description of a self split between conformity to ideals and its own failures has been highly influential.

Silvan Tomkins's work further suggests the specific relevance of shame to military contexts. While Reich is concerned primarily with shame as a by-product of psychological phenomena, Tomkins emphasizes physiological aspects of shame: lowering the eyes or face, as in Im Westen nichts Neues, and blushing. He argues that although these symptoms originate in a desire to hide, the blush reflects the impossibility of hiding by drawing attention to the face and exposing one's shame. 15 Tomkins links this bodily exposure to an exposure of inadequacies of the self. Because of the importance of exposure, theorists have frequently associated shame with critical observation, although Stephen Pattison suggests that 'one can have the sense of audience or the critical other entirely on one's own and in private'. 16 In such cases, as in Reich's armoured ego, society's criticisms are internalized: as Didier Eribon has suggested, shame is 'produced by the social order and inscribed in the head and on the body of different or deviant individuals'. ¹⁷ In other words, shame marks individuals who deviate from societal norms. Tomkins focuses more explicitly on the body than Reich or Eribon, and his theories help conceptualize shame as a phenomenon caused by interplay between body, psyche and social ideals.

Tomkins describes the internalization of the ideals of a critical society as a splitting or dissolution of the self. He argues that shame results in a 'bifurcated self' where the individual holds herself in contempt for inadequacies.¹⁸ Tomkins illustrates this splitting with a military example:

the enemy within becomes as dangerous and terrifying as the enemy without. This is further heightened by the splitting of the self into a passive, victimized helpless self, [and] an evaluating, disgusted dissmelling, angry contemptuous self who cannot tolerate that inferior self when the evaluating self acts as an internalized representative of the adversarial culture's values.¹⁹

Tomkins is referring to militaries encouraging shame as they train soldiers to overcome fear by dismissing it as 'cowardice'. He points to shame playing an important role in military masculinities due to an opposition between the individual and 'the adversarial culture's values'. Not only does he implicitly relate shame to military gender ideals, then; military values are also shown in conflict with the soldier's sense of self.

Reich's and Tomkins's military examples suggest that the relationship between shame and societal norms has particular relevance in the military context. Tomkins primarily describes cases in which a subject identifies with certain ideals and is ashamed of failing to live up to them. This attitude has clear applications within the NVA context. For example, Sylka Scholz has investigated emotions in descriptions of violence by ex-NVA conscripts. One argues that superiors used violence to confront conscripts with their own vulnerability and to feminize them, resulting in shame at failing to live up to ideals of toughness. For some, hazing rituals prompted a desire for respect that led to increased compliance with masculine norms. Uncertainty Such acts of humiliation can produce a variety of emotions, but Scholz suggests that shame was a prominent result of humiliation, and that it was exploited to increase obedience. Failing to live up to masculine ideals may be the clearest source of shame during military service, as Scholz argues, but it cannot alone account for variation in attitudes to gender ideals or in representations of the NVA.

Shame need not entail identification with military ideals. Gabriele Taylor argues, for example, that when a subject rejects the ideals of a group, she becomes ashamed if she is associated with that group.²³ This may explain Paul's apparent shame in *Im Westen nichts Neues*: in military uniform, even a reluctant soldier appears to represent military ideals, which could be shameful if the soldier's self-understanding is based on resistance to military norms. Scholz's interviews suggest that this attitude was widespread, with most men seeing military service as an unpleasant but unavoidable obligation.²⁴ Few of Scholz's interviewees reject the NVA or its values entirely, but, for those who did, Taylor's analysis suggests that being associated with hated ideals could be a cause of shame. This could become particularly relevant after reunification: as the state's abuses have come to light, ex-citizens increasingly reject values associated with repressive institutions such as the NVA, meaning that conformity during military service, however passive, can become shameful.

Anthony Giddens offers a further way in which ambivalence towards military ideals could be shameful. He suggests that the proliferation of potential identities in modern societies causes a '[l]ack of coherence in ideals, or the difficulty of finding worthwhile ideals to pursue'. ²⁵ He argues that the inability to navigate conflicting and competing ideals can cause shame in societies that demand clear biographical narratives from individuals. Scholz's narrative interviews, like literature and film depicting the NVA, create a

complex picture, with soldiers drawing on various military and civilian ideals. Interviewees fondly remember a sense of community, while rejecting the NVA's brutality and emphasizing the continuity of their civilian identities. These retrospective attempts to narrate military service are part of ex-soldiers' attempts to construct coherent selves and, in Giddens's terms, when they cannot construct a coherent 'trajectory of self' from these conflicting ideals, shame is one possible response. ²⁷

The importance of internalized social ideals in feelings of shame suggests that emotions are indispensable to training and to soldiers' retrospective self-positioning with respect to the military's masculine ideals. As Tomkins has shown, and as I have suggested in earlier chapters, emotions demonstrate the profound effect of societal values and norms on the body as well as the psyche. Emotions illustrate the gendered physical and psychological effects of young men's negotiations of military service, because conscription made many soldiers suddenly aware of conflicts between different ideals of civilian and military masculinity. The potential causes, forms and effects of shame are diverse, complex and highly individual. Films and literature therefore offer a productive case study because their individual focus enables detailed analysis of specific cases and because shame influences the very form of the narratives.

Articulating Military Shame in the GDR

The diverse forms of shame outlined above share an anxiety regarding the display and articulation of selfhood. Tomkins describes a paradox in shame's effects on the ability to communicate: shame interrupts and impedes communication, while in many cases simultaneously displaying itself through the blush.²⁸ Tomkins's focus is on visual, bodily communication, but Scholz's interviewees also draw attention to difficulties in communicating shameful experiences in narrative. As one interviewee describes being punished during military service, he breaks off: 'You just can't find the words for it.' Scholz suggests that this difficulty in narrating the experience might be part of his response to shame.²⁹ Timothy Bewes goes further, suggesting that narrative disruption and inadequacy are defining features of shame. Shame appears, he argues, in moments of failed articulation and formal inadequacy that reflect the 'profound disorientation of the subject'. 30 In other words, the pressure on and even dissolution of the shamed subject impedes or destroys her ability to articulate an identity. Bewes draws particular attention to literature, where shame is overtly displayed 'as the text's experience of its own inadequacy'. 31 By drawing attention to shame being signalled by failures in communication, Bewes suggests how representations of military service can offer important insights into the place of emotions in military masculinities.

Official East German representations of military masculinity did not entirely repudiate emotions; rather, publications used them to encourage discipline and loyalty and reinforce the NVA's ideals. For example, Vom Sinn des Soldatseins acknowledges the importance of emotions in military training and calls for emotional control. The manual describes emotional confusion as a danger on a par with the weakening of the state itself: 'Significant imperialist forces continue trying to weaken our socialist state, to disrupt our progress, to confuse our thoughts and feelings.'32 To resist these dangers, conscripts are encouraged to restrain their emotions: the manual describes the ideal soldier as 'brave' and repeatedly calls for 'courage', qualities that imply a suppression of fear and other negative emotions.³³ As well as encouraging emotional suppression, Vom Sinn des Soldatseins appeals to conscripts' emotions. On the one hand, conscripts are indirectly reminded of their love for wives, girlfriends, colleagues, friends and relatives through references to the need to protect the happiness of the people. On the other hand, imperialist enemies are described planning 'their hate-filled [haßerfüllt] attacks'.34 Sara Ahmed has described how hate is generated when another person is constituted as hateful, suggesting that describing the enemy as 'hate-filled' is an attempt to encourage conscripts to feel hate.³⁵ Emotional control was thus not limited to suppressing emotions in order to appear brave; conscripts were encouraged to channel their emotions into support for the GDR and its military.

In line with this emphasis on control, limited expressions of emotions are important for maintaining the NVA's masculine ideals in the works analysed in the previous chapters, but shame is conspicuously absent in GDR-era films and literature. By contrast, shame is central to much post-reunification film and literature depicting the NVA. Drawing on Bewes's emphasis on the affinity between shame and formal inadequacies, this chapter analyses three post-reunification texts that present protagonists' shame and are shaped by the difficulties of representing it. These works indicate that the shattering of the self through shame is closely related to conscripts' attitudes to the military's ideals of masculinity. All three texts experiment formally with ways of representing shame, resulting in complex and elliptical narratives. Einstrich-Keinstrich demonstrates the difficulties in describing military service in retrospect as the author uses the text to work through and display the shame he experienced. By contrast, Tausend Tage and Der Turm use fiction to experiment with ways in which literary representations can do justice to shame. All three texts depict shame as a central feature of military service, despite the NVA's efforts to encourage emotional restraint.

Joerg Waehner, Einstrich-Keinstrich: NVA-Tagebuch (2006)

Waehner's memoir Einstrich-Keinstrich, named after the NVA's green- and brown-striped service uniforms, presents a collage of documentary forms from diary extracts to chronicle-style dates and transcriptions of Stasi documents.³⁶ Waehner presents his autobiography as a retrospective attempt to work through his military service and to reconcile his memories with, to quote Alison Lewis, the 'hostile, unauthorised biography' that he finds in the Stasi files.³⁷ In contrast to the bureaucratic tone of the Stasi documents that Waehner includes, his diary extracts evoke shame and other emotions. His depictions of shame are complex, rarely explicit, intertwined with other emotions and bound up with gaps, breaks and inadequacies in his autobiographical narrative. His collage style foregrounds such breaks, and its layers move between different temporalities in a refusal of any coherent narrating self. Often emotions are implied in the arrangement of material, in cuts between sources and in what remains unsaid. Although shame predominates, it is usually combined with a mixture of sadness, shock, frustration, fear, anxiety and outbursts of anger. Waehner fragments his experience and his emotions into layers of narrative, staging shame's effects on his ability to remember military service and articulate those memories.

The work opens with Waehner describing his interrogation by the Stasi soon after leaving school, which eventually leads to his conscription. The Stasi accuses him of 'agitating against the state', 'public vilification' and 'planned escape from the GDR' (12).38 When no proof can be found, the Stasi decides to isolate him by bringing forward his conscription. The book then alternates diary extracts describing Waehner's military service with documents of his surveillance, interspersed with reports of geopolitical events. Einstrich-Keinstrich was received positively in the press and praised in passing by academics and other writers.³⁹ However, with the exception of Andrew Plowman's discussion of Waehner's 'sinister reworking of the basic conscription narrative from [Fuchs's] Fassonschnitt', the text has received little detailed attention.⁴⁰ Praise for the autobiography centres on its honesty, particularly the narrative's sober tone and the absence of hate or anger. 41 In fact, Waehner does describe his emotions, including anger. Shame leaves the greatest mark on the narrative in the form of a narrating self split, as Tomkins describes, between a present evaluating self and an emotionally vulnerable past self. Waehner's inclusion of Stasi documents even presents a third self refracted through the Stasi's investigations.

Waehner first describes his emotions after his interrogation: 'At their mercy [Ausgeliefertsein]. They have looked into my innards. I struggle to concentrate, waves of heat when reading, panic attacks [Angstzustände] at night. Cannot speak of what happened' (12). Waehner refers explicitly to

fear or anxiety in the German word for panic attacks, 'Angstzustände', but his tone suggests a complex experience of which fear and anxiety is just part. Waehner powerfully describes his 'Ausgeliefertsein', a state of complete vulnerability, which he relates to a sense that his innermost nature has been exposed. His corporeal metaphor compounds this exposure by comparing the Stasi's scrutiny to physical violation, either invasively or as a disembowelling. 42 The intensity of his description of his exposure to the Stasi suggests that shame may be the cause of his anxiety and his difficulties discussing the events. His hot flushes are reminiscent of Tomkins's account of the blush and its potential to affect the body as a whole, rather than simply the face.⁴³ Even though Waehner writes about his emotional response after the fact, the fragmented narrative suggests that he still struggles to overcome the silencing he experienced at the time: 'I remain silent all day, not a word to anyone' (12–13). In line with Bewes's suggestion that shame is expressed primarily in inadequacies of form and language, Waehner's shame after his interrogation may well be the emotion with the most lasting effects on his ability to articulate his identity, long after his fear has subsided.

Waehner's initial impression of the NVA is a pervasive sadness: 'Wherever I look, grey-green sadness. Shock' (26). The colours refer to uniforms, but also evoke a dull melancholy, which is instantly contrasted with shock. His shock perhaps reflects his sudden alienation in his new environment, but the incongruous juxtaposition of sadness and shock encapsulates the emotional confusion that suffuses his account: 'The army confuses me with its strange customs [Gepflogenheiten], my emotions are all jumbled' (44). Despite attempts in Vom Sinn des Soldatseins to associate emotional confusion with the enemy's tactics, the strangeness of the NVA itself stirs up Waehner's confusion. He presents his disorientation as a response to being confronted with a world of 'strange customs', an ethnographic-sounding formulation that emphasizes the foreignness of this environment. He goes on to describe the desire to flee that accompanies this confusion: 'Feel like a hunted dog that is trying with all its strength to find a way out somewhere, an escape' (ibid.). Waehner's simile comparing himself to a dog evokes his emotional confusion, suggesting that shame is an important part of this reaction. For example, the passage recalls Tomkins's emphasis on shame causing a desire to hide, which Pattison has elaborated to include 'the *impetus to hide*, disappear or flee'.44 Furthermore, comparing himself to a dog highlights Waehner's helplessness. He reduces himself to a typically tame, obedient animal, suggesting an acceptance of his subordinated position in the military hierarchy that hunts him. Alongside these signs of shame, the dog's frantic attempts to escape imply fear and perhaps anger and frustration. Waehner again does not describe his shame directly, but it pervades his language and imagery. The place of shame within his emotional confusion might be understood in Giddens's terms as a response to the confusion of ideals on entry into the military and his sudden inability to articulate a coherent sense of self.

Waehner's confrontation with conflicting ideals and practices makes him feel that military training is changing him, and he is increasingly unable to dissociate himself from ideals that he rejects. Waehner writes: 'Language is decimated into a few formulaic phrases [Worte] ... That makes me furious. The worst is, though, that it is affecting me too [greift auch auf mich über]' (52). Waehner describes anger explicitly, caused by the alienating effect of the army's violent 'decimation' of language. However, he describes the feeling that his own language is being influenced by military slang as worse than anger. This feeling triggers fragmentation in the narrative: a cry of 'I want to get out' follows this passage, before the narrative cuts to an extract from Waehner's Stasi file and a chronicle-style report of Pope John Paul II's visit to Argentina during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, which relates Waehner's suffering during military service to victims of conflicts on a global scale. The narrative fragmentation reflects the profound disorientation of Waehner's sense of self as the military's language 'greift auf mich über': he is first and foremost a poet, which may explain the intensity of his reaction to being alienated from language. Waehner's alienation need not be purely a result of shame, as his emphasis on anger demonstrates, but combined with the fragmentation of his narrative and his apparent distance from himself as he assumes the military's language, it is impossible to ignore the links between these emotions. Waehner's anger at the inadequacies in language foreground his emotional confusion, while shame at his failure to resist the power of the military's symbolic codes is reproduced or amplified as he comes to write about his experiences.

Shame affects the form of Einstrich-Keinstrich more than the other emotions Waehner describes. When Waehner receives a letter from a friend, Friedo, a conscientious objector serving as an unarmed Bausoldat, Waehner is explicit about his shame and the feelings of inadequacy and failure that accompany it: 'Friedo's letter makes me ashamed. Didn't act as consistently as him. This burden weighs on me' (147). Elsewhere, Waehner describes his decision to revoke his declaration that he was a conscientious objector (32). Friedo's letter reminds Waehner that he failed to resist, highlighting the disjuncture between a dissident ideal self and his conformity to the NVA's requirements to avoid further punishment. 45 Waehner does not elaborate on his shame at Friedo's letter, instead quoting it at length and almost immediately moving onto another friend's letter about Friedo. This diary extract ends with a report on the arrest of a Red Army Faction terrorist in West Germany. The formal shifts and lack of explanation of the different sources suggest that ongoing shame at not having resisted military service continues to shape Waehner's attempts to represent his experiences.

Waehner's narrative suggests the dissolution of his sense of self by refracting the narrating voice into multiple temporal perspectives, alongside Stasi documents and chronicle-style dates that dispense with his first-person voice altogether. Waehner's narrative imitates an official GDR diary, with important anniversaries in the socialist calendar in italics (e.g. 146). His diary entries are supplemented with quotations from letters from friends, family and lovers, which once again suspend Waehner's first-person narrative. Some entries are followed by a news bulletin in a different font; these often relate to Waehner's narrative, but several are apparently unrelated:

+++ 6.6.83 SPIEGEL Cover "Deadly AIDS Epidemic – The Mysterious Disease" +++ (244)

These passages create connections between Waehner's diary and world events, and contribute to themes of persecution, violence and isolation in the narrative. In a third font, he reprints extracts from the Stasi investigation into him, Operation Stamp (*Stempel*), to which he gained access in 1993. A final layer of narrative is created by diary entries, which show signs of having been edited and expanded with hindsight. For example, when Waehner's girlfriend Inka is allowed to emigrate to the West in order to isolate him further, he begins the entry with 'Today Inka leaves the country', before beginning the subsequent paragraph 'Two months later' (50). After this entry, an undated comment in the present tense highlights his speechlessness after Inka's departure: 'For three days silence reigns within me' (ibid.). Although these examples make clear through temporal references that they were added later, most of Waehner's diary extracts move imperceptibly between original and retrospective comments.

The refraction of Waehner's narrative voice into so many layers performs the splitting of the self that Tomkins associates with experiences of shame. By juxtaposing diary entries with extracts from Stasi reports, Waehner creates a part-scathing, part-empathetic post-reunification editing persona, who exposes and mocks the naivety of his past self. For example, when he befriends another soldier, Leif Rheinsberg, he describes their open friendship: 'There seem to be no false inhibitions, pretences or lies between us' (165). Waehner follows this image of idealized comradeship with a transcription of the Stasi's assessment of their relationship, which ends sinisterly: 'Review and assessment of the person Rheinsberg, Leif for unofficial cooperation [inoffizielle Zusammenarbeit] with the MfS' (ibid.). Waehner does not divulge whether Rheinsberg became an informant, but the bureaucratic, emotionless Stasi texts lend bitter irony to Waehner's descriptions of comradeship and deride his attempts to form bonds with fellow conscripts. The frequent jumps between Stasi officialese and Waehner's more naive diary entries fragment

the narrative, denying any coherent voice and rejecting the reliability of his memories.

The juxtaposition of these texts suggests frustration with and even self-reproach for his earlier naivety and indiscretion. Waehner's mocking of his past self and rejection of his memories recall Tomkins's description of the 'bifurcated self' caused by shame. The Stasi files reveal how naive Waehner was, and their inclusion even suggests feelings of guilt for befriending Rheinsberg and exposing him to Stasi investigations. This guilt mingles with Waehner's shame over his naivety and sadness at betrayed friendships. Unlike Tomkins's description of a harsh evaluating self or Reich's overactive superego, Waehner's post-reunification narrative voice is empathetic despite its occasionally mocking tone, as if compiling the autobiography is helping him to work through shame at his naivety and conformity. He Bringing different elements of his fragmented sense of self together in Einstrich-Keinstrich could even be viewed as a productive reconciliation with himself, which retains the elusive quality of his shame without effacing it or forcing coherence on his identity.

The difficulties of communication associated with the ongoing effects of shame continue to influence his representation of events. He often reveals his disposition without describing emotions directly, instead allowing his or others' letters to suggest that he is more affected than the diary entries imply. For example, one girlfriend, Nicole, writes that 'on Saturday you were weird, somehow. As if you were devouring and bottling up [hineinfressen] everything happening around you' (77-78). Waehner leaves these remarks uncommented, so that his emotions can only be inferred, suggesting that certain memories are still affected by difficulties of communication. The above example relates to Waehner's confusion over how to display an affectionate, emotional masculinity after having been changed by military values during training. As Waehner remarks: 'Am I supposed to tell her all about tanks, or launch myself at her?' (77). His formulation recalls Reich's restrictive character armour – in German 'charakterliche Panzerung', where 'Panzer' means 'tank' - and connects the military's effects on his masculinity to sexual aggression. Of the two options appropriate to ideal military masculinity, neither seems suitable, causing the emotional disorientation that Nicole describes as 'weird', and once again presenting a confusion of masculine ideals. The gaps in the text are such that it is difficult to infer which emotions Waehner might be experiencing, but the episode shows that his text conceals, or 'bottles up', the full extent of the NVA's emotional effects.

Shame in Waehner's account is a complex phenomenon that frequently combines with other emotions and reveals itself through the fragmentation of the narrative. His collage technique mirrors and performs a profound disorientation when faced with conflicting ideals and the constant spectre

of Stasi surveillance. Shame is particularly reflected in the bitterly ironic juxtapositions of Stasi files with his memories, as he exposes his own prior naivety and conformity in opposition to the dissident identity that he built up before and since military service. The expression of emotions in the text bears traces of the difficulties of communication associated with shame, with some of his emotions implied so elusively as to frustrate any interpretation. Shame is initially shown as a response to the humiliation of interrogation and training, but Waehner increasingly appears preoccupied with shame for not resisting and for allowing military discipline and masculinity to encroach on his sense of self. Any coherent autobiographical self is fragmented, and yet the text explores ways of representing military service without effacing the profound effects of shame on his identity.

Christoph D. Brumme, Tausend Tage (1997)

Brumme and Tellkamp use the novel form to evoke intense experiences of shame, without the explicit retrospective self-assessment of Waehner's account. Brumme's novel, one of the earliest post-reunification accounts of NVA service in any genre, explores shame in relation to the emotional suppression encouraged by the NVA's masculine ideals.⁴⁷ The novel's reception was mixed, with reviewers often praising Brumme for engaging with the NVA, but criticizing his naive or simplistic style.⁴⁸ Brumme presumably draws on his own three-year military service as an NCO, but unlike Waehner he has not written or spoken publicly about his personal experience of the NVA. He instead uses fiction to explore the NVA's masculine ideals, the requirement for conscripts to restrain their emotional expression and ways of representing shame in writing. The result is a stark and critical portrayal of increasing brutality and psychological deterioration as his protagonist, Kian, strives to suppress his emotions and emulate the masculinity expected of an NCO. Brumme's novel suggests that a desperate and self-destructive form of shame results from Kian's attempts to suppress his emotions, but this shame is rarely displayed directly until the novel's final sections.

Brumme's novel is written in the third person and its narrative remains close to Kian's perspective at all times. Brumme's language is generally simple, stark and matter-of-fact, which perhaps mirrors the imperative for conscripts to control their emotions, but which also heightens Kian's shame when Brumme's narrator allows a glimpse of it. In Tanja Nause's discussion of 'staged naivety', she has discussed the novel's naive perspective at length, but in attributing it too closely to Kian, she neglects the importance of the third-person narrator.⁴⁹ Their precise relationship is elusive. The narrator is unnamed and moves in and out of Kian's perspective, sometimes

imperceptibly, while simultaneously reproducing and mocking his naivety and apparent impassivity. Brumme uses the distance between the narrator and Kian to critique and ironize Kian's actions, with the narrator remaining emotionless as Kian becomes ever more brutal and psychologically troubled. The narrative at times both condemns and sympathizes with Kian. In places, the novel's lack of emotion appears to mirror Kian's brutalization and emotional suppression in his attempt to fit in with the military's ideal masculinity, while elsewhere the impassive tone seems to discipline Kian's emotions or critique his actions.

Kian volunteers for an extended three-year service as an NCO, apparently motivated by a desire to escape his unhappy family: 'Leaving his parents was not difficult for him. And he would survive the three years. Others had survived them, after all' (63). The perspective of this emotionless comment is unclear and exemplifies the dynamic between Kian and the narrator. It may express Kian's resigned acceptance and unsuspecting naivety about how difficult military service will be, or it may be the narrator's or the parents' voices dismissing Kian's unexpressed concerns. The narrative then describes Kian's thousand days in the NVA. As his responsibilities increase, Kian grows attuned to military expectations and practices, becoming increasingly brutal towards conscripts. The narrative describes his brutality starkly, distancing the reader while refusing to condemn or excuse his actions. Towards the end of the novel, Kian's emotions are revealed when he meets a girlfriend, who is never named. His letters to her express an emotional response to military service, which for the first time is not suppressed by Kian or the narrator. When his girlfriend breaks up with him, he invents a snowballing lie that she has died, and then that he helped her die, until finally he is forced to confess when his superior goes to report Kian to the military prosecutor. The novel's final episodes thus suggest that Tausend Tage has previously suppressed Kian's emotions, echoing the NVA's requirement for emotions to be controlled. While Kian's letters to his girlfriend reveal a connection between Kian's shame and his desire to conform, the narrative itself enacts a suppression of emotions until Kian's psychological deterioration at the end of the novel.

When Kian enters the NVA, he is struck by the military's jargon. In contrast with Waehner's shame and anger at realizing that he has unconsciously absorbed military language, Kian actively attempts to approximate the NVA's masculine ideals by internalizing its language. He studies newspapers to absorb set phrases: 'He immersed himself [steigerte sich hinein] in the slogans, first haltingly, then with enthusiasm. He even added his own comments, in language just like the articles' (84). The verb 'sich hineinsteigern', to immerse oneself intensively in something, resonates with 'hineinsteigen', to enter, indicating that Kian's mastery of the military's symbolic codes initiates him into its world. The NVA's language comes to represent Kian's desire to impress

his superiors and appears to leave little room for emotions. After basic training, the passage describing his specialization as a generator mechanic repeats the unwieldy German term 'Stromversorgungsaggregatemechaniker' almost robotically: 'As a generator mechanic, he was to service and repair generators. Generators generated power for temporary camps and, in case of war, maintained the power supply' (101).⁵⁰ The excessive repetition is humorous but enigmatic: it is unclear whether the narrator is satirizing the NVA's language, mocking Kian for his unquestioning pride in his job title, or a mixture of the two. Such passages therefore ironize Kian's eager internalization of the military's language without the visible traces of emotions that characterized Waehner's first encounter with the military's jargon.

The second stage in Kian's internalization of discipline comes when he begins training conscripts, when the narrator juxtaposes their visible emotions with Kian's impassivity. The narrative portrays Kian as oblivious to the conscripts' feelings as he exacts brutal and humiliating punishments, in order to impress his superiors and live up to the strictness expected of an NCO. Yet Kian cynically exploits his new conscripts' emotions, suggesting that he understands them from his own training: 'As they marched into the barracks, he could see how he had felt for the first few days. Once the barber had attended to them, at the latest, they hung on his every word' (111). The emotions that Kian and these new conscripts experience are not described explicitly, but the narrative emphasizes the haircut, a moment in which the military imposes an ideal appearance on new conscripts.⁵¹ The conscripts' susceptibility to manipulation implies that they are shocked by entering the NVA, and the imposition of a new masculine ideal through the haircut may even have resulted in shame that the narrative suppresses. Just as the narrative effaces the soldiers' emotions, Kian abruptly enforces emotional suppression when one soldier cries because he was conscripted on his wedding anniversary: 'We shall all congratulate you now, and then forget your wedding' (112). Kian's disbelief that the soldier can cry with his comrades watching him is the novel's first indication of shame: 'And what a way for the poor lad to expose himself' (ibid.). The fear of exposure is central to Tomkins's concept of shame, and in this comment, apparently in free indirect style, Kian may even be ashamed on the conscript's behalf for his uncontrolled display of sadness. This throwaway comment suggests that Kian's unfeeling response to the conscript's tears may reflect Kian's own fear of being exposed, perhaps even providing a glimpse of 'how he had felt for the first few days'. This impression suggests that an attempt to conform to the military's ideals may have caused Kian's desire to hide his shameful emotions, which the narrator further enacts by suppressing Kian's emotions in the text.

Kian's approach to discipline is not just emotionally manipulative but also increasingly brutal. In one instance, Kian singles out one soldier, Tsciscang,

for humiliation due to his Chinese name: 'With a name like his, he'd have done well to keep quiet' (116). The narrative describes Tsciscang's emotional response to Kian's harshness: 'this person exuded nothing but protest. At the slightest admonishment, he would blush, probably with outrage that he had been spoken to at all' (116). The tone of this passage suggests free indirect style, starkly presenting Kian's misinterpretation of Tsciscang's blushing as disgust or outrage. Blushing is not confined to experiences of shame, but Tsciscang's blush is more probably a mark of shame than outrage, given that Kian publicly exposes his inadequacies. After misreading Tsciscang's blush, Kian subjects him to humiliating punishments, listed euphemistically with the verb 'dürfen': 'the next evening, he had the privilege of occupying himself with the toilet' (ibid.).⁵² Tomkins suggests that shame is contagious and can provoke other emotions in the onlooker; Kian wields humiliation in response to what he perceives as arrogance, but it is also possible to interpret his assault on Tsciscang as a violent rejection of his own shame on seeing Tsciscang blush.53 Kian's severity seems calculating, vindictive and racist: 'Perhaps this Chinese guy [der Chinese] would think carefully in future about whether he wanted to spend every evening scrubbing away at the toilet bowl' (117). By repeatedly signalling free indirect style, the narrator portrays Kian as brutal and cynical in targeting Tsciscang and attempting to augment his shame at his inadequacies. Yet the narrator also suppresses Kian's emotions, making him seem more calculating, but also potentially justifying his actions through a disingenuous suggestion that he is simply emotionally illiterate.

However, towards the end of the novel, Kian's emotions begin to exceed their suppression in the narrative when he develops a relationship with an unnamed school friend. His letters to her display his emotions clearly for the first time in the novel. In the letters, Kian invents fairy tales that suggest feelings of shame. In one letter, Kian describes a world of feuding green and white men, with a black dwarf caught amidst the feud:

Sometimes he would change his colour, himself becoming green or white, but he was always very uncomfortable in these colours, even though he was otherwise teased by the others for his appearance.

The dwarf became smaller and smaller, because he hoped he could hide ... One day, he disappeared entirely and was never seen again, no matter how hard the little men looked for him. (188–89)

The black dwarf's disappearance recalls Tomkins's and Pattison's links between shame and the desire to hide or disappear, and apparently results from shame at his inability to conform. Kian's girlfriend emphasizes the dwarf's difference when she guesses the moral of the tale: 'You mustn't be different from the others, or it'll end badly for you' (189). The emotional intensity of this

dreamlike letter stands out from the narrative's previously impassive tone. The colours of the men – green and white – further suggest a link to military service as they are constituent colours of the NVA's uniforms. Alternatively, one might associate the two groups with conflicting masculine ideals, with the black dwarf unable to fit in with either. Kian's story is ambiguous, but the dwarf's desire to disappear may reflect his shame due to the others' rejection and his inability to live up to the ideals they represent. The emotions that Kian projects onto the dwarf reinforce the sense that Kian is less unfeeling than he has so far appeared, pointing to emotional suppression either by himself or the narrator.

Kian's emotions become more excessive when his unnamed girlfriend ends their relationship. He is visibly upset, skipping dinner and confining himself to bed. His sadness quickly turns to anger, as he slams the door when a commanding officer refuses him leave to see his girlfriend. These emotions give way to depression, as Kian neglects his duties and refuses to engage with comrades: 'He didn't talk anymore' (199). The narrative retains its simplicity and distance, but abandons its previous irony, producing a stark portrayal that highlights Kian's emotions. Although the military's masculine ideals do make space for expressions of emotions, particularly when it comes to love for wives and girlfriends, as in Härtetest and Es gibt kein Niemandsland, Kian's are excessive and even pathological. They are linked to an apparent psychological deterioration, as Kian begins to lie rather than admit the break-up, announcing that his girlfriend is suffering from cancer. Kian's superiors sympathetically give him leave to visit her, but when she refuses to speak to him, Kian's emotions overwhelm him and he goes to hang himself: 'The future was a black hole into which all desires vanished' (201). In a darkly comic reversal of the end of Georg Kaiser's expressionist play Von morgens bis mitternachts (1912), a power cut means that Kian does not go through with his suicide.⁵⁴

Kian's sadness and self-hatred in this episode are intense. These emotions seem to be accompanied by shame, with the black hole recalling the black dwarf's desire to disappear. Kian further suggests shame by relating his suicide plan to insults he has received: 'In any case, no one would insult him anymore. He had insulted others too and he regretted it. It was like being on a carousel: you were thrown around and could not get off' (202). The image of getting caught up in a carousel seems to absolve Kian of responsibility for his brutality, depicting it as a result of his own injury by other people's insults. Eribon has argued that, for queer subjects, insults establish a 'wounded consciousness, ashamed of itself', based on their difference from societal norms. If Eribon's analysis is extended to other subjects whose difference results in insults and rejection, then Kian's emotional breakdown, his attempted suicide and even his previous brutality might be understood in relation to shame at feelings of inadequacy caused by others' insults.

When Kian returns to barracks, the narrative sardonically suggests that inventing a dying girlfriend allows Kian to revel in sadness in a way that a mere break-up would not: 'In the barracks he once again acted the depressive. It did not require much in the way of deception' (202). However, he soon feels uncomfortable with the sympathy, so in order to avoid further special treatment, he pretends that she has died. When an officer then offers emotional support, Kian becomes scared of being found out: 'All it needed was for someone to be conscripted from his hometown and he would be exposed' (207). His comrades' sympathy demonstrates a tolerance of displays of emotion in extreme situations, in line with Hockey's suggestion that militaries create 'subcultural spaces' where emotional expression is permitted. However, Kian is overcome by fear of being discovered and exposed, which suggests that his fear is partially a fear of shame. He goes to confess his lie to the sympathetic officer, but instead lies that he assisted his girlfriend to die. His compulsive lying is presented through increased use of dialogue, uncommented by other narration, which starkly displays Kian's awkward attempts to save face. The irony that has pervaded the novel disappears as the dominant narrative voice is disrupted. When the officer reports Kian to the military prosecutor, Kian shields his head in his hands and cries out: 'Kian shouted out incomprehensible sounds' (210). His uncontrollable outburst combines the desire to hide and the disruption of language associated with shame with the 'cry of terror' that Tomkins connects with fear.⁵⁶ Only after this release does Kian confess his lie and return to his troops, where he flouts military discipline for the remainder of his military service. His lies demonstrate a range of emotions, including frustration, fear of punishment and even pleasure in expressing his sadness. However, shame is perhaps the most constant, beginning with Kian's shame at his sadness, which motivates the first lie, and turning into a fear of further shame if his lies are exposed.

The centrality of shame to Kian's story is supported by analysis of his name. Kian is a common name in Irish and Welsh, meaning 'ancient', and the choice of a foreign name perhaps underlines his outsider status in GDR society. However, the name's resonances in German are more instructive. Nause has pointed out that 'Kian' resonates with 'kein', which she connects to the narrative's emptiness and distance, as well as with Cain (German: *Kain*), comparing Kian's lie about killing his girlfriend with Cain's fratricide.⁵⁷ However, these resonances can also be read as signs of a shame that defines Kian's self: the mark of Cain is a common metaphor for shame, and 'kein' could also be understood as evoking the dissolution of identity that shame can cause.⁵⁸ The emptiness and dissolution of Kian's self is further suggested by the 'black hole' that represents his future (201) and in his feeling when his parents move him out of his bedroom that 'he was a nothing' (90).

Kian's status as 'a nothing' is also visible in the narrative itself. The narrator oscillates between criticizing and absolving Kian, and one of his primary goals appears to be the suppression of Kian's emotions. The effects of this suppression vary between presenting Kian as an ideal soldier with control over his emotions and presenting him as vindictive and calculating. Yet the narrative also suggests that Kian is brutalized by the military system and at the mercy of an elusive, critical and unpredictable narrator. The narrative offers no explanation for the sudden revelation of Kian's emotions in letters and after their separation, but these passages reveal a shamed, victimized self dreaming of disappearing into nothingness. Shame thus emerges as the key emotion in *Tausend Tage*, partly due to Kian's instrumentalization of shame to assert power over his subordinates, but also because the NVA's requirement that conscripts control their emotions makes Kian and Tsciscang ashamed to show evidence of emotions.

Uwe Tellkamp, Der Turm: Geschichte aus einem versunkenen Land (2008)

The title of *Der Turm* is taken from the nickname of an area of Tellkamp's fictionalized Dresden, home to a cultured, bourgeois community that initially seems insulated from the reality of decline in the GDR of the 1980s.⁵⁹ The narrative is focalized through three characters, usually in the third person: Christian Hoffmann, his father Richard and uncle Meno Rohde. Tellkamp gradually shows the privileged, sheltered freedom of the 'Tower' to be illusory, revealing residents' involvement with GDR power structures. Richard is approached and blackmailed by the Stasi, Meno realizes that his work as an editor is harming authors' self-expression rather than facilitating it, and even Christian's girlfriend, Reina, is suspected of being an informant. Christian's military service is the novel's lengthiest and most striking example of the residents' entanglement in negotiations of GDR institutions. Under pressure from a schoolteacher, Christian volunteers for three years instead of the compulsory eighteen months. Christian's first encounter with the military is at a 'Wehrlager', a premilitary camp for young men in their last years at school, where he is punished for reading the autobiography of a Nazi U-boat commander. The family procures a lawyer and Christian still obtains a place at medical school, but first he is conscripted to a tank regiment. During this time, he has two major accidents, first while driving a tank onto a transporter and then during an amphibious crossing of the Elbe. When a comrade, Jan Burre, is killed in the second accident, Christian goes to attack his commander and is imprisoned for saying: 'This could only happen in this fucking country' (799). He serves his sentence first at the military prison in Schwedt and then in a carbide factory. His military service is extended until the autumn of 1989, when he is deployed for riot control in Dresden and comes face to face with his mother protesting. His military service ends shortly before the fall of the Berlin Wall, at which point the novel ends with a colon, opening onto the future.

Der Turm is among the most influential post-reunification novels dealing with the GDR. It topped bestseller lists, won the German Book Prize in 2008 and was adapted into a television drama. Tellkamp's writing is dense, poetic and saturated with descriptive details, thematic motifs and intertextual references, with nods to E.T.A. Hoffmann, Thomas Mann, Marcel Proust, Wolfgang Hilbig and many others. In addition to this intertextuality, scholars have also focused on Tellkamp's use of space and time. The NVA has not been overlooked; critics have argued that the narration is most intense in descriptions of Christian's military service, arrest and imprisonment. However, this intensity depends on Tellkamp's evocation of Christian's emotions, particularly shame, which has not been discussed as a structuring force in the novel. Military passages in Der Turm are dominated by shame that threatens to dissolve Christian's sense of self. Tellkamp foregrounds emotions in Christian's military service and explores how narrative can acknowledge the limitations involved in representing shame while still depicting its intensity.

The novel emphasizes Christian's feelings by focalizing the narration through his perspective. When he first dons an NVA uniform before attending the 'Wehrlager', free indirect style highlights Christian's complex emotional response: 'He was not wearing this uniform out of pride, but because he wanted people to pity him' (435). His self-pity is mixed with defiance and with sadness at leaving his parents:

to himself, he said: I am wearing these clothes, I even have short hair, I am doing more than required, and you [the NVA] still have no power over me. He passed over the real reason: to make leaving more bearable, he started wearing the uniform beforehand. (ibid.)

The narrative depicts Christian, like Waehner and Fuchs's narrator in *Fassonschnitt*, in a state of emotional confusion when confronted with the uniform. He gains pleasure from being pitied, while defiantly convincing himself that his excessive obedience preserves his own identity. However, he also conceals his sadness at leaving his family, even from himself. This episode demonstrates Christian's disorientation amongst conflicting ideals. He is desperate to resist, but his defiant dignity is entirely commensurate with the stoicism valued by the military and even his family: "He has to persevere with the military camp, that's what we told him ... If he wants the university place, he will pull himself together for these two weeks", said Richard' (448).

Even Christian's father leaves little room for emotions and prescribes the same suppression as the military out of concern for Christian's studies.

Once Christian enters the 'Wehrlager', his emotional confusion gives way to shame when he is exposed to mockery in the shower. Unteroffizier Hantsch expresses his disgust at Christian's acne, already a source of shame earlier in the novel, which is exacerbated in the enforced exposure of the communal shower. In this scene, the military strips the young men down and Hantsch enforces through insult the military's ideal of the masculine body. Christian's shame is so acute that his whole body blushes, as Hantsch jeeringly points out: 'now he's so red that the spots are almost invisible' (439-40). Christian's most intense reaction to the 'Wehrlager' comes when he is caught reading the U-boat commander's book. He is initially paralysed with fear, which mingles with shame when castigated by his father: 'Christian cowered, made himself small, pulled his head and arms into his body; he was determined to say nothing' (451). Cowering is a symptom of fear, while Christian's desire to shrink into himself and hide his face recall Tomkins's and Pattison's descriptions of shame, and he further suppresses any response to his father's tirade. Christian's 'Wehrlager' episode establishes shame as a theme that runs throughout Christian's military service.

Der Turm shares with Einstrich-Keinstrich an interest in how emotions can be represented. Passages describing Christian's military service perform the crisis of communication associated with experiences of shame. Tellkamp's narrative style is generally described as heterogeneous, compiling styles from different literary models and distinct perspectives. Andrea Jäger, though, has also commented that these different styles and voices are subordinate to a remarkably homogeneous narrative instance. However, chapters describing Christian's military service are significantly more heterogeneous than the rest of the novel, even sidelining the narrative instance altogether. These chapters each have an epigraph from Vom Sinn des Soldatseins, which, as Plowman observes, 'emphasizes the discrepancy between the ideal and the reality of soldiering'. The epigraphs interject the NVA's official language into the narrative, emphasizing Christian's struggle to articulate a sense of self in an environment where official norms were so rigidly promoted and enforced.

The construction of the chapters further reflects Christian's struggle to articulate himself. For example, Chapter 55, which describes Christian's two tank accidents, is a collage of orders and insults, letters and free indirect style. The stylistic shifts highlight Christian's difficulty processing events. In his first accident, as the tank slowly tips after he fails to guide it onto the train, the narrative cuts to Richard's perspective before returning to Christian's narrative (760–61). In the second, the chapter does not describe Burre's death or Christian's outburst directly: it ends with a short letter to Reina, mentioning Burre's death and Christian's attack on his superior without

explanation (777–78). This narrative fragmentation contrasts with chapters describing Christian's visits to Dresden on leave, in which the more uniform third-person narration returns (594–623). The disjointed narrative therefore becomes associated solely with Christian's military service. The narrative's previously unified perspective fragments into shifting and elliptical voices, which perform Christian's shame as his sense of self is disrupted by military service.

In light of these difficulties of communication, Tellkamp explores ways of representing shame empathetically without diminishing its intensity. As with many of the novel's themes, Der Turm uses spatial metaphors to evoke Christian's shame. Anne Fuchs has investigated how the novel's spaces 'represent their inhabitants' emotional and psychological worlds'.66 Fuchs and other critics limit their discussion to Tellkamp's symbolically charged, fictionalized Dresden. However, spaces during Christian's military service are also imbued with emotional significance. Plowman has drawn a comparison between Christian being caught reading the U-boat commander's book and his later solitary confinement in Schwedt, in the prison called the 'U-Boot'. Plowman convincingly relates these submarine references to Jules Verne's Vingt mille lieues sous les mers (Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea, 1870), whose protagonist is a submariner. He also highlights a further parallel: early on in Christian's military service, he is nicknamed 'Nemo', which is also the name of Verne's submariner.⁶⁷ Tellkamp's connections between Christian's military service and submarines merit further investigation: the submarine motif can be read in particular as a spatial motif for Christian's experiences of shame.

The submarine's armoured shell recalls Reich's concept of 'character armour', particularly in Klaus Theweleit's interpretation of the armour as a corporeal and psychological barrier against disruptive fluidities associated with femininity and homosexuality.⁶⁸ Theweleit's analogy suggests how the submarine metaphor might emphasize the importance of Christian's body in the shame experience, in contrast to Waehner and Brumme's accounts, where shame appears largely in psychological and narrative guises. Just as Reich describes the armour of neurotic subjects as overly restrictive, the submarine is a stifling, confined space, which evokes the shamed self turning in on itself. Moreover, a submariner's communication with the outside world is impeded and disrupted, a key feature of shame: there is no possibility of venturing outside, and even seeing outside is virtually impossible in the dark underwater. The submarine's dive suggests an investigation of the depths of the self more generally, but also echoes the desire to disappear associated more specifically with shame. The submarine motif anchors Christian's shame in the military context, and Tellkamp associates it with moments when Christian's emotions exceed the limits of ideal military masculinity.

Christian gains the nickname 'Nemo' as part of a so-called baptism after beginning his military service: older soldiers wrap him in bedclothes to immobilize him and drive a tank over him (651-52). Christian remains passive during this terrifying ritual, observing the tank's underside in slow motion: 'Popov started up the engine and rolled over Christian as he lay immobile on the ground. He saw the hull rolling over him, saw screws, the emergency escape hatch' (652). This episode connects the tank with the oppressive Reichian 'Panzerung': instead of being protected in battle by the tank and psychologically by character armour, Christian is in danger of being crushed by the tank and the military ideals it represents. Yet his perspective illuminates and exposes the tank's underbelly, emphasizing the vulnerability of conscripts who superficially appear to embody the military ideal.⁶⁹ Christian's matter-of-fact perspective does not betray emotions, but his nickname, which is Latin for 'nobody', suggests vulnerability and subordination. His nickname is imposed on him by older soldiers and symbolizes the slow, violent dissolution of his identity. The nickname's reference to Verne's submariner even links the initiation to Christian's shame after being caught reading the U-boat commander's autobiography. This reference sets up a comparison between the tanks in Christian's unit and the submarine as a spatial metaphor for shame: like the submarine, Christian's tanks are confined, armoured spaces, which represent the military's masculine ideals that he rejects. Even more explicitly than the resonances of 'Kian' with 'kein', Christian's nickname, Nemo, emphasizes the military's assault on his identity, turning him into a nobody, which he comes to accept as his shame increases and his sense of self is shattered.

The comparison between tanks and submarines is made explicit during an amphibious crossing of the Elbe, which leads to Christian's imprisonment. He remarks, as the tank is underwater: 'Strange that a tank had similarities with a submarine' (775). During the crossing, the tank's pump, unlike a watertight submarine, cannot cope with the increasing volume of water. Christian even compares the tank to himself, likening the water trickling in to his own sweating: 'Oh good, it's sweating too, it's so hot in here' (774). In light of this comparison, the leak suggests the breakdown of Christian's defences and anticipates his emotional response to the impending accident. His comment recalls Theweleit's metaphorical 'armour', protecting the self against fluid femininities. Christian's emotions are difficult to interpret: the narrative shows no signs of panic, but it twice breaks off and skips to one of Christian's letters. His letter to Reina, which ends the chapter, is the only indication at this point of what happens: 'My driver was injured in an exercise and died in hospital. I did something stupid, attacked my company commander' (777-78). The break in the narrative and matter-of-fact letter conceal Christian's outburst, perhaps reflecting his inability to process the

intense emotions of the situation. Only later is the extent of Christian's anger and frustration revealed: he threatens his commander with an axe and shouts 'This could only happen in this fucking country' (799), the line that results in his arrest and imprisonment.

Because of Burre's death and Christian's outburst, the tank becomes a site of emotion, but Christian's response to the accident is concealed until a later chapter. When Reina visits, Christian shows signs of shame, with a desire to hide and a paralysed speechlessness: 'It was as if he was paralysed; he would have had the words, but they had to get over his tongue, which was steep and lumpy, the words refused to climb over it' (786). This shame is mixed with anger with Reina, described with powerful metaphors of electricity:

An attack of anger was an eruption, the explosion of a hard crust, heat fizzed through the blood, a dark electricity seemed to flood into the finger tips from a generator, loaded them with power and madness, sharpened the vision onto a single goal to be achieved with a stab or a punch or a blow of an axe. (791)

The axe implies that Christian is re-experiencing his anger from his attack on his commander, with a sudden rush of heat and energy that corresponds with Tomkins's description of anger increasing circulation and heart rate. Tellkamp's image of anger is embodied, with Christian feeling electricity surging through his body and into his fingertips, focusing on a target that conflates Reina and his commander. The image of an 'explosion of a hard crust' once more resonates with Reich's 'character armour', with Christian's emotions breaking through his attempts to remain calm and stoical.

Christian is consumed by anger and attacks Reina, perhaps even raping her. Tellkamp's portrayal of domestic violence is stark and moving, but he neglects Reina's perspective as a victim and writes her out of the novel from this point. The incident is presented as a stage in Christian's emotional deterioration rather than an act with physical and emotional consequences for Reina. Christian's anger gives way not to remorse or guilt, but to shame and exposure: 'He saw himself looking at himself naked in the mirror: the sickening, pustule-covered skin that longed for a touch and feared it' (792). His focus turns on himself with disgust, his self-contempt once again directed at his acne. His emotions appear to combine remorse for Burre's death, shame at his own failure as a tank commander and for his attack on Reina, more abstract shame and self-hatred symbolized by his body in the mirror, and a recurring anger.

Christian's shame culminates during his imprisonment in solitary confinement, known as the 'U-Boot'. In the darkness of solitary, he is struck by his layers of imprisonment and a sense that 'he must have arrived in the system's innermost realm':

He was in the GDR, which had fortified borders and a wall. He was in the NVA, which had barracks walls and checkpoints. He was an inmate at Schwedt Military Penitentiary, behind a wall and barbed wire. And in the penitentiary he was sitting in solitary [*im U-Boot*], behind windowless walls. (827)

At the centre of the GDR's repressive apparatus, Christian feels reduced to a naked self: 'It must be more than just having arrived: He must, Christian thought, be himself. He must be naked, a stripped, bare self' (ibid.). On its own, this description could be read in an affirmative light, but Tellkamp describes Christian's imprisonment in desperate and corporeal terms, denying any higher meaning and describing only his sensations of cold, hunger and thirst. He is reduced to increasingly disoriented sensations, noticing 'that the ear then starts producing noises for itself, that the eye keeps trying to light flames' (ibid.). His self is stripped bare, disconnected from external meaning and metaphorically submerged in an 'U-Boot' at the centre of the GDR, itself the 'sunken land' of the novel's subtitle.

The submarine metaphor and Christian's layers of imprisonment show him submerged and subsumed by the state's power, a situation that exposes his own essence and the essence of the disciplinary regime. This moment represents Christian's final loss of self, as he accepts his nickname: 'Now, Christian thought, I really am Nemo. *Nobody*' (ibid.). The exposure and interiority of this passage powerfully evoke the intensity of Christian's shame experience. By accepting his powerlessness and shame, Christian surrenders to self-dissolution. He returns to his unit unable to express thoughts or emotions, in part because his alienation from language reduces the narrative to platitudes that are poignant in their simplicity and lack of emotion: 'Speaking became strange to him. When it was unavoidable, he restricted himself to essentials ... The bread tasted good. His comrades were nice, especially the goldsmith. The tanks were good. The sun was nice' (877). The internalization of military discipline seen in NVA when Krüger returns from Schwedt is here depicted from Christian's internal perspective, thereby providing a more profound sense of his shame.

By using spatial metaphors for Christian's emotions, Tellkamp explores means of depicting shame without neglecting the difficulties of communication it causes. Unlike *Tausend Tage*, in which Kian's emotions are largely suppressed by the narrative, Tellkamp's narrative heightens Christian's emotions during military service. Passages in the NVA are the most stylistically varied in the novel, with the dominant third-person narrative frequently disrupted by shifts in perspective. This disjointed narrative performs the difficulties of communication associated with shame and emphasizes Christian's struggle to maintain his sense of self. Simultaneously, the narrative portrays Christian's increasing shame from the 'Wehrlager' to his imprisonment in Schwedt using

the emotionally defined spatial metaphors of the submarine. More than Waehner and Brumme, Tellkamp depicts shame as a bodily phenomenon by associating it with images of tanks and submarines, metaphors for Christian's body and for the inability of conscripts' hardened exteriors to protect them from their emotions.

Emotions, Military Service and Representation

These texts offer different approaches to the representation of shame. The elusive nature of this powerful emotion is in stark contrast to the theatrical performances of ideal military masculinity discussed in the last chapter. Just as the theatricality of Zum Teufel mit Harbolla and NVA attempted to subvert the socialist soldier personality, so too does the focus on shame counteract the NVA's ideals, which attempted to suppress soldiers' emotions. These texts present shame as a result of soldiers' negotiations of the military's ideals and expectations, but this shame can also violate these ideals when even brash, conformist soldiers like Kian are unable to control their emotions. In contrast to the retro films, which aimed to reveal the nonessential nature of the military's ideals, Einstrich-Keinstrich, Tausend Tage and Der Turm appear more interested in the profound emotional effects of conscripts' initiation into the NVA as their bodies and identities are changed performatively by military service. The texts analysed here offer particularly vivid accounts, but their emotionally charged approaches are broadly representative of wider post-reunification literature and film depicting the NVA.

The shift in interpretations of the NVA after reunification may present an important reason for the prevalence of shame, despite its absence from GDR-era films and literature depicting military service. Since reunification, the NVA has been largely discredited, and depictions of military service must therefore come to terms with moments of even limited conformity.⁷¹ Many conscripts like Waehner and Christian chose the path of least resistance to evade punishment, but having complied with military requirements may, in retrospect, cause or amplify shame at having participated in and therefore partially supported the regime. This post-reunification reassessment of military service is clearest in Waehner's memoir, which includes a self-critical narrative voice in the present that is absent from either novel.

Waehner, Brumme and Tellkamp show shame playing an important part in imposing military masculine ideals. In particular, Kian's relationships with his subordinates and Christian's 'baptism' present attempts to cause and manipulate shame that are built into the disciplinary apparatus. All three texts use the military's imposition of ideal masculinity to foreground emotions in their depictions of conscription. Only Kian deliberately internalizes

the ideal, which results in a desire to suppress his emotions. *Tausend Tage* suggests his inability to overcome his emotions or his feeling of difference, resulting in shame at failing to emulate the NVA's unachievable ideals. Waehner internalizes the ideal unwillingly, and the autobiographical genre enables him to show himself realizing in retrospect his partial absorption of military ideals. While Waehner explicitly rejects military gender ideals, Tellkamp shows Christian longing to fit in despite his rejection of military values. As Giddens suggests, his shame may therefore result from a loss of confidence in his ability to construct a coherent masculine narrative from the diverse ideals he is faced with. The many forms of shame discussed by theorists and represented in these three works therefore appear united by a troubled and self-critical relationship to social ideals.

Shame takes a range of forms, even within a single text, and is extremely elusive. These works reinforce Bewes's insistence that shame is associated with the inadequacy of form and language, but they also reveal the complications and uncertainties involved in interpreting representations of shame. Shame is more difficult to define or describe than is suggested by Tomkins's reliance on physiological symptoms or Bewes's elucidation of instabilities of form. The embodied and narrative qualities of shame are combined in the texts' attempts to display it in their form, on the body of the text. Waehner and Brumme generally do not make analogies between text and the human body in shame. By contrast, the intensity of Tellkamp's representation is achieved through spatial metaphors that evoke shame's complexity as an embodied emotion as well as a narrative and psychological phenomenon. The submarine metaphor shows how restrictive masculine ideals can damage, disorientate and even dissolve the subject through shame. Yet Tellkamp also uses the submarine as an analogy for conscripts' bodies, with Christian's shame related to his disgust at his own body and the water pouring into the tank representing the breakdown in his self-control and identity.

Waehner, Brumme and Tellkamp present emotions as an important and complex part of conscripts' adaptation to military service and their attempts to reconcile conscription with closely held ideals and identities. *Fassonschnitt* and the two retro films analysed in the previous chapter have already suggested that these negotiations of military ideals do not end with military service, but become central to future representations of the military. Aleida Assmann has suggested that emotional experiences are among the most easily remembered, and the intensity of emotions depicted in *Einstrich-Keinstrich*, *Tausend Tage* and *Der Turm* may be an important reason for men's continued engagements with military service.⁷² Yet these texts suggest that intense emotional experiences are also among the most difficult to represent. The intensity of shame undoubtedly changes with time and circumstances, and

Waehner's memoir suggests that over time shame may develop into a productive impulse to write about and remember experiences.

Most importantly, these works demonstrate that participation in the state's systems of repression did not, or not only, take the form of knowing, cynical or theatrical actions without longer-term consequences. For millions of NVA conscripts and perhaps many other citizens besides, negotiations of institutions could be emotional and involve relations of identification and disidentification. Assmann's theory suggests that even when emotional relationships to GDR institutions were shameful and negative, they can account for the continuing urgency with which ambivalent relationships to the GDR are negotiated. Furthermore, given the highly gendered nature of expressions of emotion, these accounts of military service suggest that negotiations of GDR institutions, even retrospectively, are inseparable from the gender ideals promoted by those institutions. The case of shame demonstrates that even when ideals of masculinity or femininity are entirely rejected, the emotions associated with this rejection are an important factor in individuals' continuing, retrospective engagements with the GDR's institutions.

Notes

- 1. See B. Murdoch, 'Introduction', in *German Literature and the First World War: The Antiwar Tradition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 1–21.
- E.M. Remarque, Im Westen nichts Neues (Berlin: Ullstein, 1929; repr. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1998), 18. Translation from E.M. Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front, trans. by B. Murdoch (London: Vintage, 1996), 9.
- 3. Remarque, Im Westen, 111. Translation from Remarque, All Quiet, 113.
- 4. See Bourke's wide-ranging analysis: Fear: A Cultural History (London: Virago, 2005). For a range of national perspectives, see J. Plamper, 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology', Slavic Review 68 (2009), 259–83; C.H. Hamner, Enduring Battle: American Soldiers in Three Wars, 1776–1945 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 66–94; V. Wilcox, "Weeping Tears of Blood": Exploring Italian Soldiers' Emotions in the First World War', Modern Italy 17 (2012), 171–84.
- F. Biess, "Everybody Has a Chance": Nuclear Angst, Civil Defence, and the History of Emotions in Postwar West Germany', German History 27 (2009), 215–43; C.T. Müller, 'Im Bann der Bombe: Überlegungen zu Luftschutz und Zivilverteidigung in der DDR', in B. Greiner et al. (eds), Angst im Kalten Krieg (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2009), 94–122.
- 6. On shame in literature about the NVA, see also Plowman, 'Experience'.
- J. Waehner, Einstrich-Keinstrich: NVA-Tagebuch (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2006); C.D. Brumme, Tausend Tage (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1997); Tellkamp, Der Turm.
- See William Reddy's discussion of statements of emotion: The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 99–108.

- Psychological research in the Anglo-American context suggests that suppression of emotion is widespread in military environments; see e.g. G. Green et al., 'Exploring the Ambiguities of Masculinity in Accounts of Emotional Distress in the Military among Young Ex-servicemen', Social Science and Medicine 71 (2010), 1480–88 (at 1484).
- 10. Kubrick, *Full Metal Jacket*; J. Hockey, 'No More Heroes: Masculinity in the Infantry', in Higate, *Military Masculinities*, 15–25 (at 17).
- 11. Hockey, 'No More Heroes', 23–24. See also Das, *Touch and Intimacy*; Crouthamel, *An Intimate History*.
- 12. Reich, Charakteranalyse.
- 13. Ibid., 180-96.
- 14. Ibid., 259–60.
- 15. S.S. Tomkins, Affect Imagery Consciousness: The Complete Edition (New York: Springer, 2008), 352.
- 16. S. Pattison, *Shame: Theory, Therapy, Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 72.
- 17. D. Eribon, Une morale du minoritaire: Variations sur un thème de Jean Genet (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 294.
- 18. Tomkins, Affect, 369.
- 19. Ibid., 960, original punctuation. 'Dissmell' is Tomkins's neologism for a form of contempt: 'If disgust is an appropriate word signifying a bad taste, dissmell is its analog for a bad smell' (629).
- 20. S. Scholz, 'Gewaltgefühle: Überlegungen zum Zusammenhang von Männlichkeit, Gewalt und Emotionen', Feministische Studien: Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Frauenund Geschlechterforschung 26 (2008), 106–21.
- 21. Christian Müller highlights the prevalence of bodily exposure and sexual abuse of junior conscripts: 'Die "EK-Bewegung", 568.
- 22. On humiliation, see P. Leask, 'Humiliation as a Weapon within the Party: Fictional and Personal Accounts', in M. Fulbrook and A.I. Port (eds), *Becoming East German: Socialist Structures and Sensibilities after Hitler* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 237–56.
- 23. G. Taylor, *Pride, Shame, and Guilt: Emotions of Self-Assessment* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 63–64.
- 24. Scholz, Männlichkeit, 189.
- 25. A. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 69.
- S. Scholz, 'Wehrdienst und die Konstruktion m\u00e4nnlicher Identit\u00e4t', in J.-R. Ahrens, M. Apelt and C. Bender (eds), Frauen im Milit\u00e4r: Empirische Befunde und Perspektiven zur Integration von Frauen in die Streitkr\u00e4fte (Wiesbaden: Verlag f\u00fcr Sozialwissenschaften, 2005), 173-91.
- 27. Giddens, Modernity, 70.
- 28. Tomkins, Affect, 360.
- 29. Scholz, 'Gewaltgefühle', 115.
- 30. T. Bewes, *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2–3.
- 31. Ibid., 3.
- 32. Vom Sinn des Soldatseins, 9.
- 33. Ibid., e.g. 15 and 75.
- 34. Ibid., 20 and 52.
- 35. S. Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 13.

- 36. Waehner, Einstrich-Keinstrich: hereinafter referenced in the text.
- 37. A. Lewis, 'Reading and Writing the Stasi File: On the Uses and Abuses of the File as Autobiography', *German Life and Letters* 56 (2003), 377–97 (at 383).
- 38. Waehner echoes the GDR's officialese: 'staatsfeindliche Hetze', 'öffentliche Herabwürdigung' and 'geplante Republikflucht'.
- 39. E.g. U. Seidler, 'Picknick mit Spitzeln', Berliner Zeitung, 24 July 2006; F.T. Grub, "... unliebsame, aber immer noch wichtige Erinnerungen": Autobiographische Texte von Wehrpflichtigen in Ost und West', in Autobiographisches Schreiben in der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur, 3 vols (Munich: Iudicum, 2006–9), vol. 2: C. Parry and E. Platen (eds), Grenzen der Fiktionalität und der Erinnerung (2007), 318–33 (at 321); S. Nadolny and J. Sparschuh, Putz- und Flickstunde: Zwei Kalte Krieger erinnern sich (Munich: Piper, 2009), 50.
- 40. A. Plowman, "Eine Armee wie jede andere auch"? Writers and Filmmakers Remember the Nationale Volksarmee', in R. Rechtien and D. Tate (eds), *Twenty Years on: Competing Memories of the GDR in Postunification German Culture* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 114–25 (at 119).
- 41. See e.g. F. Meyer, 'Biografisches Dokument einer Grenzerfahrung', *Deutschlandradio Kultur*, 2 June 2006. Retrieved 30 May 2019 from http://www.deutschlandradiokultur. de/biografisches-dokument-einer-grenzerfahrung.950.de.html?dram:article_id=134050.
- 42. The potential for a literal interpretation may be intentional; the Stasi's investigation techniques do take physically invasive forms in some portrayals, e.g. C. Petzold (dir.), *Barbara* (Piffl, 2012).
- 43. Tomkins, Affect, 352.
- 44. Pattison, Shame, 75.
- See J. Waehner, 'Ich fühlte mich dreifach isoliert', interview with E. Aretz, *Tagesschau. de*, 30 July 2010. Retrieved 30 May 2019 from http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/meldung130908.html.
- 46. This more sympathetic evaluating self is similar to that described by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in 'Shame and Performativity: Henry James's New York Edition Prefaces', in D. McWhirter (ed.), *Henry James's New York Edition: The Construction of Authorship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 206–39.
- 47. Brumme, Tausend Tage: hereinafter referenced in the text.
- 48. E.g. H. Steinert, 'Das brennende Ei', *Die Zeit*, 2 October 1997; E. Rathgeb, 'Tausendmal ist nichts passiert: Christoph D. Brumme dient', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 November 1997, L5.
- T. Nause, Inszenierung von Naivität: Tendenzen und Ausprägungen einer Erzählstrategie der Nachwendeliteratur (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002), especially 87–113.
- 50. 'Als Stormversorgungsaggregatemechaniker [sic] hatte er Stromversorgungsaggregate zu warten und zu bedienen. Stromversorgungsaggregate versorgten Feldlager mit Strom und hielten im Kriegsfall die Stromversorgung aufrecht.'
- 51. See my discussion of the haircut in Chapter 3.
- 52. 'Am nächsten Abend durfte er sich mit der Toilette beschäftigen.'
- 53. Tomkins, Affect, 402–4.
- 54. G. Kaiser, Von morgens bis mitternachts (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996).
- 55. D. Eribon, Réflexions sur la question gay (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 31.
- 56. Tomkins, *Affect*, 932.
- 57. Nause, Inszenierung, 93.
- 58. K. von Kellenbach, *The Mark of Cain: Guilt and Denial in the Post-war Lives of Nazi Perpetrators* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 14.

- 59. Tellkamp, Der Turm: hereinafter referenced in the text.
- 60. BLK, 'Bestseller: Uwe Tellkamps "Der Turm" auf Platz eins: Bestsellerlisten vom 27. Oktober 2008', *Berliner Literaturkritik*, 27 October 2008. Retrieved 30 May 2019 from http://www.berlinerliteraturkritik.de/detailseite/artikel/bestseller-uwe-tellkamps-derturm-auf-platz-eins.html; C. Schwochow (dir.), *Der Turm* (Universum, 2012).
- 61. See e.g. D. Clarke, 'Space, Time and Power: The Chronotopes of Uwe Tellkamp's *Der Turm*', *German Life and Letters* 63 (2010), 490–503; A. Fuchs, 'Psychotopography and Ethnopoetic Realism in Uwe Tellkamp's *Der Turm*', *New German Critique* 116 (2012), 119–32; S. Horstkotte, 'Von Ostrom nach Atlantis: Utopisches in Uwe Tellkamps *Der Turm*', in N.O. Eke (ed.), "Nach der Mauer der Abgrund"? (Wieder-)Annäherungen an die DDR-Literatur', special issue, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* 83 (2013), 323–41.
- 62. C. Breger, 'On a Twenty-First-Century Quest for Authoritative Narration: The Drama of Voice in Uwe Tellkamp's *Der Turm'*, *Germanic Review* 86 (2011), 185–200 (at 198); J. Hell, 'Demolition Artists: Icono-Graphy, Tanks, and Scenarios of (Post-)Communist Subjectivity in Works by Neo Rauch, Heiner Müller, Durs Grünbein, and Uwe Tellkamp', *Germanic Review* 89 (2014), 131–70 (at 164).
- 63. Horstkotte, 'Von Ostrom nach Atlantis', 334–35; Hell, 'Demolition Artists', 158–60.
- 64. A. Jäger, 'Die Wiederbelebung des Historismus in der literarischen Geschichtsschreibung über die DDR: Bemerkung zu Uwe Tellkamps *Der Turm*', in Eke, "Nach der Mauer der Abgrund"?', 343–55 (at 347).
- 65. Plowman, "Eine Armee", 121.
- 66. Fuchs, 'Psychotopography', 121.
- 67. Plowman, "Eine Armee", 121–22.
- 68. Theweleit, Männerphantasien; see also Chapter 2.
- 69. Julia Hell describes Tellkamp's descriptions of the undersides and interiors of tanks as a 'demolition' of symbols of Soviet imperialism: 'Demolition Artists', 165–68.
- 70. Tomkins, Affect, 688.
- 71. On the discrediting of the NVA in the post-reunification public sphere, see Bickford, *Fallen Elites*.
- 72. A. Assmann, 'Stabilisatoren der Erinnerung: Affekt, Symbol, Trauma', in J. Rüsen and J. Straub (eds), *Die dunkle Spur der Vergangenheit: Psychoanalytische Zugänge zum Geschichtsbewußtsein* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), 131–52.