

NOTES

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1. This figure appears in the Statistisches Bundesamt, *Fachserie A, Bevölkerung und Kultur, Volkszählung vom 6. Juni 1961, Vorbericht 8, Heimgekehrte Kriegsgefangene, Zivilinternierte und Zwivverschleppte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1961), 8. The actual number of returnees was slightly higher because this registration was based on the 1961 census and thus did not include former POWs who had died or who had left West Germany after their return.

2. On German soldiers on the Eastern front as perpetrators, see especially Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995). With the opening of Russian archives, an archivally based history of captivity in the Soviet Union is emerging; see Aleksandr E. Epifanov, *Die Tragödie der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in Sjaligrad von 1942 bis 1956 nach russischen Archivunterlagen* (Osnabrück: Zeller Verlag, 1996).

3. Those POWs who had been residents of former German territories in Eastern Europe could not return to their homeland at all and encountered a completely new postwar environment.

4. This essay does not focus on the experience of returning POWs themselves. On the POWs' own homecoming experiences, see chapter 4 of my Ph.D. dissertation, "The Protracted War: Returning POWs and the Making of East and West German Citizens, 1945–1955" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2000). On West German responses to returning POWs in general, see Arthur L. Smith, *Heimkehr aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Die Entlassung der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1985); Albrecht Lehmann, *Gefangenenschaft und Heimkehr* (Munich: Beck, 1986); Peter Steinbach, "Zur Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der Sowjetunion im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in der Frühgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ein Beitrag zum Problem historischer Kontinuität," *Zeitsgeschichte* 17 (1989): 1–18.

5. Historians of postwar Germany are only beginning to define the impact of the war on the Eastern front on both postwar societies as a central theme of inquiry; see Klaus Naumann, "Nachkrieg: Vernichtungskrieg, Wehrmacht, und Militär in der deutschen Wahrnehmung nach 1945," *Mittelweg* 36 7 (1997): 11–26.

6. My usage of the concept of "totalitarianism" derives from Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1951), as opposed to the social-scientific definition in Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (New York: Praeger 1956); see also Abbot Gleason, *The Concept of Totalitarianism: An Inner History of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

7. My notion of citizenship here is a cultural rather than a legal one. The "ideal citizen" is a person who is in accordance with the prevailing norms and values of a society.

8. This was the classic thesis of Alexander and Margerite Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967).

9. On these "selective" West German confrontations with the past, see for the realm of high politics Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS Vergangenheit* (Munich: Beck, 1996), on industrialists, see S. Jonathan Wiesen, "Big Business, Public Relations, and the Politics of Memory, 1945–1950," *Central European History* (29) 1996:



Figure 2.4: Movie poster, *Die Glocke von Friedland*. The experience of returning POWs was frequently portrayed as a moral counterweight to increasing American influences in postwar West Germany. This 1957 advertisement of a documentary film on the experience of POWs after their return to West Germany contrasts the figure of the returned POW with rock 'n' roll and jazz as icons of American popular culture. Courtesy of the Verband der Heimkehrer, Bonn.