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UNFORGOTTEN LANDSCAPES

Radio and the Reconstruction of Germany's European Mission
in the East in the 1950s

Inge Marszolek

Cultural Studies, Universität Bremen

ABSTRACT

Using the example of the audio series *Unforgotten Landscapes* (*Unvergessene Landschaften*) aired on Radio Bremen in 1955, this article addresses the important role that radio played in the complex border-negotiation processes in Germany after World War II. For many years, the agency of radio as an interlocutor and discursive tool in the process of renationalization has been more or less neglected in historical research. Indeed, visual and auditory representation of the Eastern borders was a highly contaminated field in Western Germany until the 1970s. Even today, the relations between Poland and Germany are still affected by these issues. By using the German notion of *Heimat* as an umbrella concept, this article shows how these radio programs tried to shift the understanding of existing territorial borders, as having resulted from World War II and the atrocities of Nazi Germany to being a part of the imaginary construction of Germany as a *Kulturnation*. The audio series depicted the history of these landscapes as German since medieval times, with no human beings living there in the present, but also claiming that the voices of death still can be heard. Thus, the territories could be lost, but by anchoring these landscapes in cultural memory, they would still be part of Germanness. Moreover, the programs reinforce West Germany's European mission to connect the east with the west beyond continuities with the *völkisch* "blood-and-soil ideology" underlying the concept of *Heimat*.

KEYWORDS

radio; *Heimat*; heterotopia; reconstruction of Eastern borders; European mission; renationalization

Introduction

In November 1961, only a few months after the construction of the Berlin Wall, the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* published the title story "The Great Taboo."¹ Visible on the front cover was a map with thin red lines showing two eastern borders of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Inserted into the right half of the image was the face of the Polish leader, Władysław Gomułka. The article began with a description of the border:

For sixteen years, there has hardly been a border in Europe that is so tightly guarded, appears so often in the world press headlines, and is as difficult to negotiate as the 456 kilometer-long boundary on the Oder and Neisse. Barbed-wire fences, guard towers, and heavily-armed border police secure every line behind which lie the former eastern provinces of the German Reich, destroyed in 1945; it begins on the Baltic Sea, near Swinemünde, reaches the Oder south of Stettin, halves the cities of Frankfurt, Guben, and Görlitz, follows the Lausanian Neisse, and ends finally near Zittau on the Czech border.²

Additionally, the author described the bilateral obstinacy of Poland and the FRG, bemoaned the intransigent position of the expellee organizations, insistent upon the "right to *Heimat*" (homeland), and ended with the ironic declaration: "As long as the FRG perpetuates the great taboo that has thus far stifled every discussion of the Oder-Neisse border, there is little hope for [change]." "The task of representing Poland in the Federal Republic," *Der Spiegel* cited the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "continues to fall solely to the Polish geese."³

To this day, more than forty years after the (provisional) recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as West Germany's border in 1970, the loss of the former eastern territories and the expulsion and flight of some 12 million ethnic Germans remain a powder keg in the cultural memory of Poland and Germany. The debates surrounding the controversial head of the Federation of Expellees (Bund der Vertriebenen), Erika Steinbach, and her project to focalize the remembrance of the expulsions in Berlin have made the issue's explosive potential painfully obvious.⁴

Both the arduous political processes culminating with the treaties of 1970 and the Cold War's long shadow over West Germany's belated recognition of the border have been explored in countless studies. The same could be said about the expulsion and integration of the German expellees in the FRG and the fruitful incorporation of this research into migration studies more generally.⁵ Yet, the role of the media in negotiating opinions and ideological positions in the public sphere remains to be examined in more detail. As the cover of *Der Spiegel* shows, the border problems were visualized in myriad ways well into the 1970s. A thorough inspection of newspapers, as well as schoolbooks and atlases, demonstrates what meaning the

visual representation of the borders had in the nation-building process of both German states. As the geographer Guntram H. Herb shows, border demarcation in the east was a highly controversial subject in both German states.⁶ Because the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had all but denied the existence of two German states on maps until 1954 and held fast to the political goal of reunification under communist control until the late 1960s, its leadership attempted to de-emphasize the border to the Federal Republic as much as possible. At the same time, the Oder-Neisse line was unmistakably highlighted as an international border.⁷ Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's FRG presented a different case. A map in one West German atlas shows two distinct lines: the dotted line of the Cold War divide demonstrates its temporary appearance, while the solid lines further to the East stake out the right to return to the borders of the German Reich within 1937.⁸

In the following, I will use the example of the audio series *Unforgotten Landscapes* (*Unvergessene Landschaften*), aired on Radio Bremen in 1955, to portray West German radio both as an important interlocutor in the border-negotiation processes and a discursive tool in the nation-building process. Like drawn maps, the above broadcast series, too, saw a thematic shift from the real borders to the imaginary construction of Germany as a *Kulturnation*. Its narratives continued to tell the story of the old eastern borders from 1937.

It is difficult to overestimate just how important radio was in the 1950s. As most other contributors to this special issue argue, the radio set had a central place and played a companion's role in West German homes. The things the audience heard were quite influential, as the voices, music, and sounds spoke to the senses and evoked mental images even more vivid than did maps or newspapers texts. Already in its infancy, radio was more than a purely auditory medium.⁹ In particular, the acoustic image (*Hörbild*), a distinct genre in possession of audio-pictorial thrust, provided authors with means to localize the spoken word socially and spatially. Alas, in the case of Radio Bremen, our knowledge about public reception of such images is limited. Even well through the late 1950s, the extent of the station's audience research was still rudimentary, and mail from listeners did not survive.¹⁰

What was the space tackled in the *Hörbilder* of *Unforgotten Landscapes*? By and large, these vignettes transpired through the peculiarly German lens of *Heimat*, which has a discursive umbrella function.¹¹ Uncoupled from the material space, *Heimat* is tantamount to the construction of imaginary territories and their affective realms—the construction that nevertheless refers to real spaces. In Michel Foucault's terminology, *Heimat* would be a hetero-

topia.¹² In the 1950s, I argue, radio as an auditory medium that overcomes and reconnects spaces contributed both to the construction of *Heimat* as a heterotopia and, simultaneously, to this heterotopia's spatial visualization in acoustic images.

Ensembles of various media conveyed and negotiated the politics of the nonrecognition of the Oder-Neisse line in diverse ways. In the complex community-building processes of the early postwar years, border demarcations and thereby the new positioning of West Germany in Europe and in the Cold War on the whole played a decisive role in communicative strategies and narratives. By communication, I understand a network of interpersonally and medially conveyed negotiations. To date, these communicative figurations have not been sufficiently studied. As Andrew Demshuk has recently observed, the official communications of the expellee organizations, for example, contradicted the experiences of many of their members.¹³ This article furthers the study of such figurations to clarify the medial diffusion of the Cold War in the West German society.

The "Cultural Word" and Radio's Educational Mandate

West German radio's role in these negotiation processes, likewise, remains to be investigated more extensively. With the exception of Alexander Badenoch's monograph on the first years of West German radio outside Berlin,¹⁴ the discursive field of the Cold War on the country's airwaves in the 1950s has not yet been systematically examined. The same pertains to the analysis of representations of the Nazi past, though one must keep in mind that radio in the immediate postwar years acted as an arm of the re-education process, and the coverage of the Nuremberg trials was particularly intense. With regard to the 1950s, however, the state of scholarship has been very different.¹⁵ Radio occupies an important place in Axel Schildt's seminal history of ideas, *Between Occident and America* (*Zwischen Abendland und Amerika*).¹⁶ Schildt focuses on the so-called *Night Programs*, which belonged to the form of cultural radio, discussed by Monika Boll earlier in this issue. He emphasizes that these programs, on the one hand, served as a stage for authors and journalists, and on the other, appealed to the intellectual elite. Nevertheless, they lost their base listenership in the second half of the 1950s. In contrast, the so-called *Heimat* shows gained more than 50 percent in listener numbers as compared to previous years. The radio stations adapted to such shifts in taste. *Unforgotten Landscapes*, for example, was broadcast during prime time, on Sunday mornings between 11:00 and

11:30 a.m.—a slot reserved for the *Heimat* programs, which could contain themes ranging from travelogues to educational episodes. In the 1950s, when radio listening was still part of the family routine, the show followed a church visit and accompanied lunch preparations. For this reason, their listenership was quite similar to that of the night programs, comprising adults, especially men between the ages of thirty and fifty enjoying a leisurely late morning. Some older children probably also listened, often under compulsion—the radio stood in the living room, and multiple sets were a rarity. The series' partial rebroadcasts in 1955 and 1958, on Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk (Northwest German Broadcasting, NWDR) in addition to Radio Bremen, further speaks to the broad diffusion of *Unforgotten Landscapes*.

The series portrayed the Sudeterland, East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, Thuringia, and Brandenburg—the areas that by then belonged to Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland, and the GDR.¹⁷ The authors' biographical ties to the regions had a part in the selection. Their distance to National Socialism—the best-known scriptwriter, Hans-Georg Brenner, was a veteran of the postwar writers' Group 47—validated the choice and seemingly drew a line between the creators' intentions and the frankly revisionist claims of expellee organizations.

The shows reflected a format very typical for the radio series (*Hörfolgen*) of the Weimar Republic and characteristic also of radio under National Socialism. They offered a blend of music with fictional and documentary texts. Each show was conceived differently, yet there were some commonalities. All contained folk music as well as sounds intended to evoke *Heimat* emotionally, such as church bells. Generally, there were multiple speakers, one of whom was female. For lack of a comprehensive program history of all West German radio stations, it is difficult to tell whether other broadcasters deployed similar structural and sonic elements or drew on a comparable selection of regions. Yet, possible parallels would not be surprising—not only was the show recorded, preserved, and rebroadcast outside Bremen, but it also fit the era's overwhelming preoccupation with the German culture in the former eastern territories.¹⁸

In the following, I limit myself primarily to the episodes about Silesia and East Prussia or, more accurately, the regions in the Soviet Union and Poland after 1945. Each feature began with a popular folksong, introduced as a hymn of the respective territory: "Blue Mountains, Green Valleys" ("Blaue Berge, grüne Taler") for Silesia and "Anna of Tharau" ("Ännchen von Tharau") for East Prussia. In the latter case, the musical opening was especially significant, because "Anna of Tharau" had long been part of the German vocal tradition, so much so that its lyrics were reprinted in the

Mundorgel songbook, ubiquitous in schools and youth organizations since the early 1950s. Another East Prussian melody was "Blue Mountains, Green Valleys," or the "Riesengebirge Song" ("Riesengebirgslied"), memorably serenaded in Hans Deppe's *Heimatfilm The Heath is Green* (*Grün ist die Heide*)—an unlikely West German blockbuster from 1951. Now, the recognizable pedigree of these tunes resounded once again in *Unforgotten Landscapes*.

Auditory Cartography of Borders

The features focused on history and culture, as well as descriptions of the landscape. They did not cite the reasons for the re-carved borders or, accordingly, for the incorporation of the regions into the Soviet Union, Poland, or the GDR. The Yalta Conference in February 1945, when the Allies had decided upon the postwar division of Germany into occupation zones and upon the borders' eastward shift, received no mention. The same was true of the changed border demarcation in the west, i.e., in the Saarland, still under French control at the time of the shows,¹⁹ and in Alsace-Lorraine. In contrast to political programs, embedded in the hegemonic rhetoric of the Cold War, *Unforgotten Landscapes* portrayed a concealed narrative. One exception was the show on Thuringia. In the introduction, a speaker described a region:

presently separated from Germany by a brutal border thrashed with barbed wire and [manned by a] Kyrgyz sentry. But the land is not lost—it is defending itself. The Thuringian land, the medieval bulwark against the Tartars, will never become a muscovite province.²⁰

The remark was interesting for two reasons. It presented the German-German border as the border between the FRG and the Soviet Union. At the same time, both the appearance of the Kyrgyz sentry and the reference to the Tartars highlighted the persistent National Socialist stereotype of the "Asiatic" Russian enemy, coded in racial terms.²¹ In contrast, the actual eastern border with Poland and East Prussia, which belonged to the Soviet Union, was left out altogether.

History

Ignoring the real borders was a precondition for the project of Germanism's re-constitution and its relocalization in cultural memory. The construction of borders entailed the emphasis on the cultural and ethnic superiority of Germans, justified by their thousand-year history in Eastern Europe.²² This discourse followed a central narrative of the National Social-

ist *Ostforschung*, a discipline that explored Europe's East to pave the way to its exploitation.²³ In the case of Silesia, the feature's speaker referred to the fact that the Germanic tribes had settled the area already in the time of the Roman Empire. Proving the Silesians' Germanness became more complicated during the Migration Period, when the Germanic tribes mixed with the Slavs. This was when, according to the narrator, the Alpine (*ostisch*) race developed, in "whose blood pagan and Christian, cultural and emotional disputes rumble to this day, to Europe's detriment."²⁴ Only with Christianization, when the Christian monks proselytized around Silesia with plow and hymn (instead of the sword) did a regression supposedly set in. With reference to the present, the speaker stated that "an indiscriminate expulsion of four million Germans" was required "in order to return history to its anachronistic state prior to the Migration Period." Several other links to the present could be found in more recent history, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

In the end, we offered the Poles the cheapest means to wrest this land away from us. Dragged into catastrophe were the thousand-year heritage of St. Hedwig with the Order of [the Blessed Virgin Mary of] Mercy, [protestant] mercy churches [in Catholic Silesia], together with the [secularized] abbeys of Trebnitz.

The "cheapest means" referred to the occupation of Poland and the crimes committed against the Polish civilian population during World War II.

Proof of Silesia's Germanness was generally evasive, as the affiliation of the region oscillated between Polish and German lands for centuries.²⁵ Therefore, localizing its history during the era of medieval colonization and proselytization was insufficient. For this reason, the industrial and technical achievements of German engineering and entrepreneurship were brought to bear on the argument. Even though many Poles had lived in Silesia and Polish had also been spoken, the speaker announced, the affiliation to the German Reich was unquestioned by the majority. Furthermore, Germanness, he continued, has long defined itself not only through language—a reference to Alsace, where the French government pursued rigorous language policies following 1945—but rather through blood. In any case, the show conceded that Silesia had long been bilingual and that nationalist politics had been excessive. The soundtrack overemphasized all things Silesian yet again, and the production team included a short audio clip of the dialect as proof of the openness and kindness of the Silesians—the traits that could allegedly heal humankind.

In the show on East Prussia, the history was told somewhat differently. Here, too, the speaker went back to times long past: the thirteenth century,

when the Teutonic Knights missionized in East Prussia. He reminded the listener of the Battle of Tannenberg, which had signified the end of the Order's rule, although the last leader of the Knights will have fought successfully against the Poles in 1527. Nonetheless, in the end, there was no heroic narrative for either Silesia or East Prussia. To underscore that, the author of the show on East Prussia fell back to a fairy tale set during the World War I. The story was about three coffins: one filled with blood, another with water, and the last one empty. The blood was that of the fallen soldiers, the water the tears shed for them, and the empty coffin represented the plundered land. The speaker added that during World War I everyone believed that the story was about the invasion of the Russian army, stopped by Paul von Hindenburg during the Battle of Tannenberg in August 1914. Yet, today, he observed, makes clear that that historical reference had been a mistake—the fairy tale really spoke about the present, in which only pictures, memories, and dreams of East Prussia remain.

The episode about Silesia presented a parallel account. Here, the speaker retells a story by Hermann Stehr, a Silesian writer. Stehr was initially a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP) in the Weimar Republic, but later became a fervent support of Hitler and the National Socialist blood-and-soil ideology. In an early novella from 1905, *The Buried God* (*Der begrabene Gott*), Stehr tells the story of a farmer who moves the boundary stone marking his land property. Because of this, he is punished in the next generation. His wife gives birth to a changeling, loses her mind, and burns the house down. The speaker argues that this is a metaphor for the violation of borders and for the occupation of regions by other countries out of greed. In turn, the story allowed the listeners to reflect upon the cruelty and injustice of real borders, but also offered a kind of conciliation, since the writer portrays it as an allegory of the eternal human struggle between justice and injustice: this was "the fate of nations and races."

Occident Reloaded—The Construction of Cultural Borders

The construction of Germandom through historical reference is closely connected with imagining the superiority of German culture. In both shows, as in all others, the respective region is described as the birthplace of Germano-Christian culture and as the heart of the Occident. The feature on Silesia begins with a quote from the poet Johann Christian Günther, who praises the landscape and the village from where he was born and raised. The lyrical "I" would like to return home, to his *Heimat*, which he had left because of a family conflict, but, the poet concedes, in the end he would submit to the will of God. Günther, the speaker announces, was one of the

most important German poets before Goethe. Other literati with Silesian origins are then listed, with little regard to their political beliefs or ideals, from Andreas Gryphius, Angelus Silesius, and Joseph von Eichendorff to Gustav Freitag and Hermann Stehr, both well-known antisemites. At the end of the list stands Silesia's most famous literary star, Gerhart Hauptmann. Hauptmann's death in 1946 and his deferred funeral in Germany, miles away from home, become in the show a symbol of the fate of the expellees—he died when the “*Heimat* was dying.” The account, however, oversimplifies Hauptmann's end by telling it as a story of yet another family ordered to leave Silesia and of the recalcitrant Polish leaders, stubbornly opposed to the writer's local burial. We do not learn that none other than the Soviet authorities tried to protect him, finally making possible the transport of his body to Hiddensee in Germany. We do not hear that the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) had organized a memorial service in Stralsund, at which the later president of the GDR, Wilhelm Pieck, was the keynote speaker. The radio voice only states that millions of Silesian refugees followed the coffin westward, thus anchoring Hauptmann in Occidental culture. Hauptmann's death, it follows, was a sacrifice for Silesia and at the same time a promise for generations to come. Silesia, so promised the voice, belonged to the magical face of Central Europe; its task was to connect the east with the west:

It is an expression of a European mission of the Germans, of a magnificent project of continental scope, of the Carolingians and Hohenstaufens—begun 1000 years ago, worshipped zealously by all believers, and fervently pursued through the centuries—in the truest sense binding the east with the west.

The feature on East Prussia selects a slightly different narrative: the three speakers call out famous names and other voices quote from their writings. The speaker begins with the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus, recalls the philosopher Immanuel Kant and such literary figures as Johann Gottfried Herder, E.T.A. Hoffmann, and Simon Dach, the alleged composer of the song “Ann of Tharau.” Finally, the voice emphasizes that all these men gave back with their spirit (*Geist*) the blood that the west had sacrificed for East Prussia. “In the landscape that today is only in our dream, many voices arose. Today they are our only property that cannot be lost,” the announcer concludes.

Conclusion

The radio episodes of *Unforgotten Landscapes* belong within the discourse of the West German elites on Germanness and the Occident, prevalent in the

1950s. At the time, public radio could not advocate for a revision of border demarcations in the east—such criticisms remained reserved for the aggressive vocabulary of the expellee organizations with their demand of the “right to *Heimat*” and for radical political parties like the League of Expellees (Bund der Vertriebenen). Yet, the perpetuation of the claim that these regions belonged in Germany's heartland, combined with a smudging of the real borders, was a *de facto* revision in favor of the territorial limits of 1937. Or, as Herb notes in his analysis of maps through the late 1960s, “...the downgrading of the boundary between the FRG and GDR to an administrative division, and especially the prominence of the 1937 boundary made the larger nation visible.”²⁶

In contrast to the cartography, radio as an auditory medium cannot visualize space in physical terms. Yet if one were to investigate the era's confluences between sound, film (especially *Heimatfilme*), and print media such as school textbooks and atlases, then it is very likely that the listeners of *Unforgotten Landscapes* had the dotted lines of the border demarcation in mind. These they could connect with the auditory markers in the radio shows—the songs, snippets of dialect, or acoustic descriptions. The shows' creators appealed to a repertoire of cultural memory that was not only alive for the expellees but also shared by segments of the German middle class at this time. The episodes certainly have a complex design, featuring three speaker voices, dramaturgy, and pathos-filled, yet sophisticated language. The verbal imagery of the landscapes is striking and, in the case of East Prussia, steeped in violent metaphors. For example, the speaker begins the feature with an image of the bright nights when the light wanders—this light resembles the firebrands thrown into the cities, villages, and forests, and at the same time, this light stands for the “fires that flared in longing hearts.” Embedded in these descriptions are references to the dead. Cemeteries are often mentioned, as are the whimpers of the dogs lamenting the deceased who can find no peace. The sun, in turn, resembles a shot of rays, while storms rampage above land. There is a blue-black wall of clouds, and the deep sea is pitch black. In other words, the scriptwriter helps himself to markedly strong, romantic metaphors that make landscape accessible to the mind's eye. In these metaphors, war echoes are unmistakable.

The shows sought to anchor precisely these envisioned *Unforgotten Landscapes* in the German national memory—their vivid environments, was the implication, could count among the building blocks for a West German identity. The emphasis on and inscription of these landscapes in a Christian, European mission of all Germans to connect the east with the west yet again, is part of the attempt to revitalize the conservative idea and thus to

codify West Germany's special role in the Cold War alliances. To an extent, the shows implicitly tie in with the cultural conservatism of the Weimar Republic²⁷ and implicitly assert German culture's superiority vis-à-vis American pragmatism.

There is yet another continuity, this time with National Socialism. Not only are antisemitic, *völkisch* authors cited as chief witnesses to German identity. Even when the scriptwriters try not to mention National Socialism and turn instead to religious metaphors or remote historical events, the unnamed enemy remains the same: Christianity versus the pagan barbarians, i.e., as in the Thuringian episode, "Asiatic" Russians. Descriptions of deserted landscapes, populated only by the dead—the scene in the Silesian story—do more than point to World War II. They also, in a sense, propagate the National Socialist cult of death and sacrifice:²⁸ "That is how it was and how it still is today—even without us. We have only left the dead behind."²⁹

The reconstruction of *Heimat* is in turn embedded in the *völkisch* blood-and-soil ideology of the National Socialists. Even if *Heimat* is here no longer explicitly connected with the racist *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community), implicit connections persist. To be precise, in terms of content these shows followed Hans Fritzsche, responsible for radio in the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and, from 1942, the Reich Broadcasting (*Reichsrundfunk*) commentator of the foreign press. On 27 December 1943, when the war seemed lost, Fritzsche orchestrated a remarkable about-face: he no longer insisted upon victory of a unified National Socialist *Volksgemeinschaft*. Instead, he evoked its mythical power after defeat: the core of the new Europe, according to Fritzsche, should be the German *Volk*, which "once more" became connected "with the mysterious sources of its new strength"—"that giant of the saga ... that in fierce battle drew new strength from contact with the earth."³⁰

Some scholars, such as Adelheid von Saldern, emphasize that behind the ideas of a Christian Europe and region-based *Heimat* lurk strategies of renationalization: "Regional *Heimat* and transnational Occident or Christian Europe have remained resources beyond the short National Socialist history."³¹ In such renationalization discourses, *Heimat* became a heterotopia. Presented as such and mobilized for the process of keeping memory alive, the lost regions developed their allure both from the local and the utopian. Nevertheless, the memories themselves remained vague by necessity—or else, bound up with too much knowledge and experience, they could carry too much controversial potential. Not least for this reason they were embedded not in the most recent history, but in the distant past. Deserted, the landscapes could be inscribed in eternity. Demshuk has shown just how

often the exchange of memories and discussion of artifacts from the *Heimat* within the expellee organizations had changed the officially pronounced "right to *Heimat*" to a "right to *Heimat* of memory" in many expellees' consciousness. The so-called nostalgia tourism (*Heimweh-Tourismus*), or short-term expellee visits to their former homes, popular from the 1970s onwards, furthered such transformations.³² On the one hand, *Unforgotten Landscapes* are inseparable from the prevalent discourse of the expellee organizations. On the other hand, the show worked on strengthening the construction of the lost *Heimat* as imagination relatively early on. Radio, traditionally understood as ephemeral, diffuse, and reliant on imagination, was an important constituent of this process.

Foucault defines heterotopias as "effectively enacted utopias in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."³³ In these heterotopias, things or ideas that do not belong together can be imagined. They contain inclusions and exclusions and follow their own time. These characteristics can be located in *Unforgotten Landscapes*. They present the exclusion of the Poles or Russians, who now live in these regions—but also of the ethnic Germans who had stayed behind. They connect narratives of Germanness and identity and omit the recent past as well as the present. Yet, these heterotopias are bound to concrete spaces—they are real and material spaces and can be read as (un)canny designs of society.

INGE MARSZOLEK studied history and French at the Universities of Bochum and Berlin and is currently a member of the Centre for Media, Communication and Information and the research group "Communicative Figurations" at the University of Bremen where she leads the research project "Communicative Figurations of Spatial Constructions of Identities in Hamburg and Leipzig 1919-1975." From 1999 to 2000, she was a fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem and was a visiting professor at the Koebner Center for German History, Hebrew University in 2001. Her fields of research include the history of the workers' movement in Germany, media history, the history of National Socialism, memory and representation, visual history of the Cold War, and sound history.

Notes

1. Translated from German by Jessica C. Resvick.
2. "Das große Tabu," *Der Spiegel* 48 (1961); available at <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43367633.html>, accessed 25 March 2013. Further citations, loc. cit.
3. The virulence of this taboo is evident in an example from provincial Germany. In the author's personal recollection, when, in 1964, a high school magazine in Schweim, a small Westphalian town, published an article that advocated for the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line, angered town residents forced the school principal to expel the editorial staff members.
4. Eva Hahn and Hans Henning Hahn, *Die Vertreibung im deutschen Erinnern* (Paderborn, 2010).
5. Dierk Hoffmann, Marita Krauss, and Michael Schwarz, ed. *Vertriebene in Deutschland. Interdisziplinäre Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven* (Munich, 2000).
6. Guntram H. Herb, "Double Vision: Territorial Strategies in the Construction of National Identities in Germany 1949-1979," *Annals of the Association for American Geographers* 94, no. 1 (2004): 140-164. See also Christian Lotz, *Die anspruchsvollen Karten: polnische, ost- und westdeutsche Auslandsrepräsentationen und der Streit um die Oder-Neisse-Grenze (1945-1972)* (Leipzig, 2011).
7. Herb (see note 6), 147.
8. *Ibid.*, 149-151.
9. Neil Verma, *Theater of the Mind: Imagination, Aesthetics, and American Radio Drama* (Chicago, 2012).
10. Konrad Dussel, *Hörfunk in Deutschland. Politik, Programm, Publikum (1923-1960)* (Potsdam, 2002), 106-110.
11. On *Heimat*, see Herb (see note 6), 152 and Alon Confino, "This lovely country you will never forget!": Kriegserinnerungen und Heimatkonzepte in der westdeutschen Nachkriegszeit," in *Das Erbe der Provinz. Heimatkultur und Geschichtspolitik nach 1945*, ed. Hanno Knoch (Göttingen, 2001), 235-251.
12. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22-27.
13. Andrew Demshuk, *The Last German East: Forced Migrations and the Politics of Memory, 1945-1970* (New York, 2012).
14. Alexander Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio across the 1945 Divide* (Basingstoke, 2008).
15. This would slowly change only with the Auschwitz Trial (1947) and Eichmann Trial (1961). See Inge Marszolek, "Coverage of the Bergen-Belsen Trial and the Auschwitz Trial in the *NDR/NDR*: The Reports of Axel Eggebrecht," in *Holocaust and Justice. Representation and Historiography of the Holocaust in Post-War Trials*, ed. David Bankier and Dan Michman (New York, 2010), 131-158.
16. Axel Schildt, *Zwischen Abendland und Amerika. Studien zur westdeutschen Ideenlandschaft der 50er Jahre* (Munich, 1999), 83-110.
17. With the exception of the show on Brandenburg, all episodes are located in the sound archive of Radio Bremen (Klangarchiv Radio Bremen): WOWO 792 "Sudetenland" (Josef Mühlberger) Länge 29.40 / 31 May 1953/22 June 1958; WOWO 800 "Pommern" (Hanna Stephan) Länge 29.35/28 June 1953/18 September 1955/6 July 1958; WOWO 805 "Ostpreußen" (Hans Georg Brenner) Länge 29.30/ 14 June 1953/4 September 1955; WOWO 810 "Schlesien" (August Scholtis) 29.10/ 2 August 1953/27 June 1955; WOWO 816 "Thüringen" (Heinz-Winfried Sabais) 30.05/6 September 1953; WOWO 818 "Mark Brandenburg" (Karl-Friedrich Borée) 25.50/ 11 October 1953 (MS is missing). My thanks to Birgit Herbers for inspiration and preliminary work on analyzing the series in her "Europa' in Rundfunksendungen bei Radio Bremen in den 50er Jahren," (MA thesis, University of Bremen, 2002).
18. See Dussel (see note 10), 319-333. Dussel describes above all the structure of the programs and pays less attention to the individual series.
19. On French broadcasts and frequency allocation in the Saarland, see Alexander Badenoch's contribution to this special issue.
20. WO 816 "Thüringen" (see note 17).
21. For a historical perspective on such imagery, see Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).
22. Charles Ingrao and Franz A. J. Szabo, eds., *The Germans and the East* (West Lafayette, 2008).
23. Ingo Haar, "Bevölkerungslehre und Bevölkerungspolitik im 'Dritten Reich,'" in *Bevölkerungslehre und Bevölkerungspolitik im 'Dritten Reich': Ostforschung im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Rainer Mackensen (Opladen, 2001), 219-240.
24. This and the following quotation are from WO 810 "Schlesien" and WO 805 "Ostpreußen" (see note 17).
25. James Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland* (Ann Arbor, 2008).
26. Herb (see note 6), 157.
27. Adelheid von Saldern, "Kunst für's Volk'. Vom Kulturkonservatismus zur nationalsozialistischen Kulturpolitik," in *Politik, Stadt, Kultur. Aufsätze zur Gesellschaftsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Inge Marszolek and Michael Wildt (Hamburg, 1999), 169-204.
28. Christian Fuhrmeister, *Beton, Klinker, Granit. Material, Macht, Politik. Eine Materialikonographie* (Berlin 2001).
29. WO 805 "Ostpreußen" (see note 17).
30. BArchiv R 55-525, Comment by Fritzsche from 27 December 1943.
31. Adelheid von Saldern, "Symbolische Stadtpolitik-Stadtpolitik der Symbole," in *Inzenierter Stolz. Stadtrepräsentationen in drei deutschen Gesellschaften (1935-1975)*, ed. Adelheid von Saldern and Lu Seegers (Stuttgart, 2005), 29-83, 72.
32. Demshuk (see note 13), 161-231; and Andrew Demshuk, "Reinscribing Schlesien as 1 sk: Memory and Mythology in a Postwar German-Polish Borderland," *History & Memory* 24, no.1 (2012): 39-86
33. Foucault (see note 12), 24.