

Western in Style, Socialist in Content? Visual Representations of GDR Consumer Culture in the *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* (1953–64)

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Consumer culture¹ played a key role in the contest between capitalism and socialism during the Cold War, and the socialist countries made considerable efforts in order to catch up with their Western counterparts in that field. Especially in the GDR, which was relatively open to communication with the capitalist world, Western consumer culture and its visual representations were a constant threat to the legitimacy of socialism. Until the construction of the Berlin wall, people and goods could easily cross the border. Even afterwards, there was a constant flow of information between West and East Germany,² due to care packages sent by relatives living in the West (“Westpakete”) and due also to the “Intershops” founded in 1962, where Western goods could be bought with hard currency. Travelling to the West and receiving guests from the other Germany also was still possible, although severe restrictions were imposed.³ Additionally, Western media, especially radio and TV, kept East Germans well informed about what was going on in the Federal Republic.⁴

- 1 The notion of a “consumer society” is normatively charged, and it remains controversial whether this term is apt to describe the GDR. Therefore, in this contribution the more neutral term of a “consumer culture” is used. Following Ina Merkel’s definition, it embraces the purchase of goods, and their practical-appropriating and symbolical-communicative use. Merkel, Ina, *Utopie und Bedürfnis. Die Geschichte der Konsumkultur in der DDR*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau 1999, 24–29. Referring to the definition given by Stefan Merl, “consumption” is here understood as the use of food and industrial goods, of housing space and recreational facilities. The definition was developed on the basis of the Soviet case, but it is so general that it can also be applied to the GDR. Merl, Stefan, ‘Konsum in der Sowjetunion: Element der Systemstabilisierung?’, in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* vol 58 Issue 9 (2007), 519–536.
- 2 Steiner, André, ‘Dissolution of the ‘dictatorship of needs’? Consumer behaviour and economic reform in East Germany in the 1960’s’, in Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judd (Eds.), *Getting and spending*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1998, 167–194, here 170–171.
- 3 Dietzsch, Ina, ‘Deutsch-deutscher Gabentausch’, in Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst (Ed.), *Wunderwirtschaft. DDR-Konsumkultur in den 60er Jahren*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau 1996, 204–213; Böske, Katrin, ‘Abwesend anwesend, Eine kleine Geschichte des Intershops’, in *Wunderwirtschaft* 1996, 214–222.
- 4 Hesse, Kurt R., *Westmedien in der DDR. Nutzung, Image und Auswirkungen bundesrepublikanischen Hörfunks und Fernsehens*. Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik 1998.

Because of this, the consumer culture of the GDR was subject to permanent, fierce competition. In this field, the GDR constantly struggled to catch up, as the standard of living that had been approximately equal in all parts of Germany in the first post-war years, had been increasingly diverging between the two Germanies since the currency reform of 1948.⁵ Bearing in mind that the citizens of the GDR had the possibility to compare the achievements of East and West Germany, and understanding the important function of consumption in legitimising and stabilising the political system,⁶ the party state actively fostered a consumer culture. This was especially noticeable after moments of crisis, on the occasion of party conferences of the East Germany’s Socialist Unity Party (SED) or prior to elections.⁷ However, in its policy, the SED gave top priority not to consumption, but to heavy industry. Therefore, the development of consumer good production continuously lagged behind the growth of heavy industry, and several problems in this field could never be solved. Thus, time and again, demand exceeded the availability of certain goods, and many products were of poor quality.

The Magazine *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*

The article deals with the question of how the East German consumer culture was represented in the press of the GDR and which strategies of visualisation were implemented there by analysing the popular *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* (NBI; “New Berlin magazine”), founded in 1945. The title of the NBI referred to the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (BIZ; “Berlin illustrated newspaper”)⁸ that had become very influential as a showcase for a new brand of photojournalism at the beginning of the 20th century and that had been the first German mass-circulation paper between the mid-1920’s and 1933. In terms of concept and content, the NBI followed the tradition of the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* (AIZ; “The workers’ pictorial newspaper”), which had been edited with great success by the communist publisher Willi Münzenberg during the Weimar republic.⁹

- 5 Until then, poverty, hunger and misery prevailed both in West and East Germany. Kaminsky, Annette, *Illustrierte Konsumgeschichte*. Erfurt: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung 1999, 14–15.
- 6 In the absence of democracy, consumption became an important substitute for political legitimisation in some communist countries. Siegrist, Hannes, ‘Konsum, Kultur und Gesellschaft im modernen Europa’, in Hannes Siegrist, Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Kocka (Eds.), *Europäische Konsumgeschichte. Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus 1998, 13–48, here 32.
- 7 Kaminsky 1999, 8.
- 8 The NBI also adopted the BIZ’s format. Kruse, Andreas, ‘Geteilte Geschichte, geteilte Sicht’, in *Freelens* Issue 10 (1999) <http://www.freelens.com/freelens-magazin-10/geteilte-geschichte-geteilte-sicht> (Accessed on 12.1.2010); Ferber, Christian, *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung. Zeitbild, Chronik, Moritat für Jedermann 1892–1945*. Berlin: Ullstein 1982.
- 9 Editorial staff of the NBI comprised former editors of the AIZ. The most prominent among them was the AIZ’s former chief editor, Lilly Becher. Kruse, 1999.

Unlike the bourgeois, rather pro-government BIZ, the politically committed, left-wing AIZ deliberately focused on the everyday life of the workers and on the demands of the workers' movement. Moreover, it published accounts of the Soviet Union inspired by sympathy, admiration for and solidarity with the first socialist country in the world. The percentage of illustrations in the AIZ was even higher than in its rival bourgeois papers, because the magazine believed them to have a strong educational and propagandistic impact, especially on common people. In aesthetic terms, the paper was committed to the forms and techniques of the "New Vision" and widely used its new design principles in photography, such as unconventional perspectives (most notably, extreme up and down angles), fragmentary close-ups, montage, collage and the combination of photography with typography and graphic design.¹⁰ The AIZ became famous due to John Heartfield's photo-collages¹¹ and due to photo-essays emulating Soviet examples. Most notably in 1931, the AIZ published Arkadii Shaikhet's and Maks Al'pert's legendary photo-essay showing the life of a worker's family in the Soviet Union.¹² Shortly afterwards, a photo-essay on the everyday life of a German worker's family in the Berlin district of Wedding followed; it had been prompted by the Soviet project.¹³

The NBI continued the tradition of the AIZ, giving much attention to visual representations, providing extensive accounts of the working people's everyday life and reporting regularly on the Soviet Union, which was described as a model society. The aesthetics of the "New Vision", however, were discarded. The NBI also differed from the AIZ insofar as it treated a considerably wider range of topics: its richly illustrated accounts dealt with all spheres of public life in the GDR and abroad. The main subjects of the NBI were politics, working life and consumer culture. Due to this diversity of topics, the magazine reached a broad audience.¹⁴ It was one of the most popular and highly circulated East German

¹⁰ The "New Vision" was a style mainly practised in Germany and Russia in the 1920's by such renowned photographers as Aleksandr Rodchenko, László Moholy-Nagy and Alfred Renger-Patzsch. It aimed at representing the dynamic changes of the time and at breaking old habits of perception. Its techniques have been strongly influenced by the principles of industrial production (particularly, montage and seriality). Honnef, Klaus, 'Neues Sehen. Die Fotografie kommt zu sich selbst', in Gerhard Paul (Ed.), *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder 1900 bis 1949*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2009, 348–355.

¹¹ John Heartfield's most well-known publication in the AIZ: "Der Sinn des Hitlergrüßes" (AIZ, 16.10.1932).

¹² "24 Stunden aus dem Leben einer Moskauer Arbeiterfamilie", in AIZ Issue 38 (1938), 749–767; #Uka, Walter, 'Arbeiteralltag im Spiegel der Arbeiter-Illustrierten Zeitung', in *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder 1900*, 388–395; The famous Soviet photo-essay "24 hours in the life of the Filippovs" initially was published in German in the AIZ and only subsequently in Russian in the journal "USSR in construction" ("SSSR na stroike"). Wolf, Erika, *USSR in construction: From avant-garde to socialist realist practice*. Michigan, Univ. of Michigan Diss. 1999, 81–82.

¹³ "Die deutschen Filippovs", AIZ Issue 48 (1931), 964–983.

¹⁴ The NBI's print-run exceeded 700,000, in the 1980's it even reached 800,000. Zeitschriften in der DDR. <http://www.mdr.de/damals/lexikon/1518828.html#absatz2> (Accessed on 15.1.2010).

journals. The NBI survived the "Wende" only for a short time and was closed in 1991 owing to poor profitability expectations.¹⁵

This analysis considers issues of the NBI that were released between 1953 and 1964. The investigation period begins with the efforts to cope with the crisis that culminated in the June 17, 1953 uprising. It had mainly been triggered by the augmentation of the workers' daily output quotas and by an increase in price of several products. In the context of the moderate policy of the "New Course",¹⁶ the production of consumer goods was enhanced, and several aspects of the consumer culture were improved. The study ends with the temporary stabilisation of the system that was celebrated on the 15th anniversary of the GDR in 1964. After several initiatives in the field of consumer culture certain achievements had been reached, and they were completed during the boom of consumer culture in the 1960's. Here are just a few examples: the introduction of mail order trade in 1956, which considerably reduced the clear rural-urban divide in consumer culture; the opening of self-service stores in the same year, allowing the population to shop in a timesaving way; the "programme of one thousand tiny things" for daily use in 1958, obliging industrial enterprises to produce consumer goods like tin openers, egg cups and other products in short supply¹⁷; the abolition of the rationing system in the same year that marked the symbolic end of the post-war period,¹⁸ and the increased production of household appliances which would release women from many domestic burdens and thus enable them to start a professional career.¹⁹ In spite of these advances in the realm of consumer culture, serious shortcomings persisted.

In this chapter, I argue that the magazine NBI oscillated between rejecting and emulating Western models. On the one hand, the NBI emphasized the supremacy of GDR consumer culture. It presented the GDR as a society of abundance, from which the whole population could benefit. This model was hailed as a superior alternative to the Western consumer society, which was also recognised as offering a plethora of goods, but which was severely criticised for making many of them available to only a tiny minority.²⁰

¹⁵ DDR-Zeitschrift Neue Berliner Illustrierte, In Berliner Zeitung, 6 July 1998, <http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/bin/dump.fcgi/1998/0706/none/0203/index.html> (Accessed on 15.1.2010).

¹⁶ Kaminsky 1999, 18–21.

¹⁷ Ibid, 25–26.

¹⁸ Merkel 1999, 14.

¹⁹ Kaminsky 1999, 25–26, 31–34, 40–43.

²⁰ This contradicted the widespread opinion in West Germany during the 1950's that mass consumption fostered social equality. Gasteiger, Nepomuk, 'Konsum und Gesellschaft. Werbung, Konsumkritik und Verbraucherschutz in der Bundesrepublik der 1960er und 1970er Jahre', in *Zeithistorische Forschungen / Studies in Contemporary History*, online-edition Issue 1 (2009), <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/site/40208895/default.aspx> (Accessed on 20.1.2010).

Presenting the GDR as a Society of Abundance

The strategy of simulating a socialist society of abundance, that should already give a foretaste of consumption in communist society based on the principle “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”,²¹ was practised intensely in 1953, both before and after the June 17 uprising. In that year, the journal published photographs of a newly opened Handelsorganisation (HO, “Trade Organisation”) store on Stalin Boulevard that served as a show-case for the East in general and for the GDR in particular (ill. 1).²² The advantage of the HO stores was that they provided scarce goods and an assortment of premium quality. In contrast to goods in ordinary shops, products in HO shops could be purchased without having a ration card.²³ The pictures and the accompanying article in the NBI, however, did not make clear that these goods were so expensive that only few people could afford them; the prices in HO shops were just slightly lower than those on the black market that coexisted with official trading. The special status of the HO shops could at best be deduced from the introductory sentence of the article stating: “In the newly opened shops on Stalin Boulevard you believe that you practice the future of shopping already today.” The range of goods shown on the pictures identified the HO as a shop of higher standards.

In total, the reportage comprised four photographs displaying shelves packed with *foie gras*, cognac, tobacco and sweets. At the meat counter, enormous pieces of meat hung from hooks fastened to a huge bar. A pair of antlers indicated venison was available in the shop – as the accompanying text explained, for the “Sunday roast”.

Photos showing these and other salesrooms staged a society of abundance and presented a vast range of goods that had been imported from different countries, mostly from members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COM-ECON), but also from capitalist countries.²⁴ The assertion (made in a caption explaining the “New Course” introduced in 1953) that “half of Europe” could be found on the shelves apparently demonstrated how well-integrated the GDR was not only into the community of socialist states, but also into the global economy.

21 Merkel, Ina, “Wunderwirtschaft DDR?”, in *Wunderwirtschaft* 1996, 6–7.

22 For instance: “Visitenkarte des Wohlstands. Bummel durch die neuen Läden in der Stinalallee”, in NBI Issue 5 (1953), 7. The HO was founded in November 1948. Kaminsky 1999, 17; See for the show-case function: Lemke, Michael (Ed.), *Schaufenster der Systemkonkurrenz. Die Region Berlin-Brandenburg im Kalten Krieg*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau 2006.

23 Merkel 1999, 46. Kaminsky 1999, 17.

24 “Mit Volldampf auf neuem Kurs”, in NBI Issue 32 (1953), 2–3. The COMECON was an economic organisation of the socialist states and a counterpart to the (West) European Economic Community.

On the pictures staging an ideal socialist consumer culture, the people in the shops were at least as important as the goods. The way they dealt with each other was meant to show that they practised “cultured trade”.²⁵ The photos in the NBI showing the newly opened HO store on Stalin Boulevard depicted customers that were satisfied with the excellent service and products they received from friendly sales assistants. The quantitative relationship between customers and sales assistants seemed balanced, leaving them enough time for communication. The salesgirls wore specially designed, precious looking working clothes with a glossy surface and the logo “HO”, which underlined the high standard of the shop. With some pride, the accompanying text explained that the design had been created in the state-owned company “Progress”. The salespersons had friendly smiles and concentrated all their attention on the customers, whether they dealt with a self-confident man who had taken a seat in one of the specially arranged armchairs in the tobacco, liquor and spirits section in order to enjoy a cigar, or whether they helped children who were still somewhat timidly uttering their wishes in the sweets section. One saleswoman even bent down to them so as to make them feel more comfortable, skilfully helping the slightly unsure young customers to make a good purchase decision, as the caption underlined. The shops were well-attended, but not overcrowded, and as the armchair in the tobacco section showed, consumers could take their time while having a look at the products and sampling them. Naturally, they should feel at ease. Citing a contemporary slogan, the NBI declared: “Here, shopping is fun”. The pictures showed spacious, clean and brightly illuminated sales floors meeting the ideals of the time.

Some accounts published in the NBI concentrated exclusively on the outstanding sales assistants and their professional skills. For instance, in 1953 the NBI reported on an “exemplary saleswoman” who headed the cloth section at the HO store at Berlin Alexanderplatz. The account was written on occasion of the decoration she should soon be awarded for being an outstanding “activist”.²⁶ The photo featured her standing against the background of several rolls of cloth. She had a bright smile and was holding a piece of fabric in her hands, probably in order to show it to a customer.²⁷

25 Merkel 1999, 107.

26 In recognition of outstanding work performance or exemplary achievements, citizens of the GDR could be awarded the title of “activist” by the East German state. The activist movement in the GDR was launched in 1949 to raise economic productivity. It followed the Soviet model that had been initiated in 1935. The most well-known protagonists of the movement were Aleksei Stakhanov in the USSR and Adolf Hennecke in the GDR. “Aktivist / Aktivist der sozialistischen Arbeit”, in Sommer, Stefan, *Das große Lexikon des DDR-Alltags*. Berlin: Schwarzkopf & Schwarzkopf 2003, 20–21; “Activist” Adolf Hennecke (1948), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=1027 (Accessed on 1.6.2010).

27 “Berliner, auf die wir stolz sind”, in NBI Issue 41(1953), 4.

In these representations, the GDR consumer culture was characterised by friendly and qualified salespersons, by satisfied consumers making well-considered choices and by clean, beautiful sales floors. Implicitly, these pictures conveyed the message that the GDR consumer culture was in no way inferior to its Western counterpart; quite the contrary. One of the advantages ascribed to East German consumer culture was that, in contrast to Western shopping frenzy, the ideal of “rational consumption” was practised.²⁸ This was supposed to facilitate the effective use of resources in the production of consumer goods and the guidance of consumer behaviour by the state, for instance by argumentative advertising and other educational measures.

Polemising Against the West

In addition to the positive coverage on their “own” consumer culture, articles from Western media dealing with the GDR were unmasked as “lies”. For instance, in 1953 the NBI harshly criticised the report the magazine *Quick* had published about the first new-built houses on Stalin Boulevard.²⁹ They were part and parcel of a prestigious construction project that had started in the previous year and that should transform Stalin Boulevard into “the first socialist street” of the GDR.³⁰ The Western colleagues were accused of distorting the facts, because they did not mention the wide range of products allegedly available in the shops and because the photograph reproduced in the “Quick” had been edited in order to make Stalin Boulevard look less impressive; for example, street lights, parts of buildings and the second lane were missing.

Also at this time (1953) consumption in Western societies was characterised as the privilege of a tiny minority, and several products were criticised for not meeting the needs of the consumers. Thus, designer chairs exhibited at the furniture fair in Chicago were denounced as objects that turned apartments into “torture chambers” and contrasted them to the comfortable, durable chairs and

28 Merkel 1999, 298 and 120.

29 “Unternehmen Fälschung”, in NBI Issue 44 (1953), 4.

30 The former “Frankfurt Boulevard” had been renamed in 1949 on the occasion of Stalin’s 70th birthday and lost this name only in 1961 when destalinisation became policy. Its central part was then renamed in Karl Marx Boulevard, whereas the part situated further away from the centre (beginning with the “Frankfurter Tor”) received its old name back. The construction work on the prestigious project in the Stalin Boulevard that emulated models in Moscow and other Soviet cities, lasted from 1952–1962. They were part of the “National Construction Programme of the GDR” and became a more general symbol of reconstruction in the country. Stalinallee – Stalin-stadt, <http://www.dra.de/publikationen/cds/stimmen/cd07.html> (Accessed on 15.1.2010); Köhler, Tilo, *Unser die Straße - Unser der Sieg. Die Stalinallee*. Berlin: Transit 1993.

armchairs produced in the GDR (Ill. 2).³¹ Such criticism reflected the spirit of the ‘two-camp-theory’ proclaimed by the Soviet chief ideologist Andrei Zhdanov in 1947, asserting a strong antagonism between the capitalist and the socialist world.³² The fact that the US American chairs were not anatomically designed was emphasised by showing a woman seated on one of them in a cramped position and with a look expressing intense concentration or even discomfort. The cross-legged sitting position the model had taken was probably intended to remind viewers of Indian meditation techniques, and it was photographed in such a way that the woman’s arms retraced the line of the rhombic decoration in the background. This was intended to give the viewer the idea that in the West, human beings had to adapt to the furniture design instead of the other way round. In contrast, the picture of a high-spirited woman flopping into an armchair from domestic production, happily encouraged to do so by her husband and the sales assistant, made it clear that furniture produced in GDR enabled people to relax and enjoy life. The dynamics of the movement was underlined by the woman’s waving hair. In this report, reality was replaced by its opposite: here, the products from the GDR met the customers’ requirements, whereas design in Western countries completely neglected these needs and thus represented a failed version of modernity.³³

Emulating the West

While rejecting Western consumer culture, the NBI’s journalists sometimes emulated strategies of its visual representation, which they had observed in West German magazines or ordinary life. Leading West German magazines of the time, such as *Quick*, *Der Spiegel* and *Stern* were widely read in the GDR, not least by editorial staff, and influenced the concepts of East German magazines.³⁴

31 “Der letzte Schrei aus dem Lande der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten. Nicht schön und nicht bequem - aber neu um jeden Preis”, in NBI Issue 48 (1953), 4; Das ‘beste Stück’. NBI stellt eine Auswahl von Sesseln der volkseigenen Möbelindustrie und des Handwerks zur Diskussion. Schreiben Sie uns Ihre Meinung”, in NBI Issue 48 (1953), 5.

32 Stöver, Bernd, *Der Kalte Krieg 1947-1991. Geschichte eines radikalen Zeitalters*. Munich: Beck 2007, 73–75.

33 Until Honecker came to power in 1972, official discourse in the GDR supported the concept of an alternative, socialist modernity. Merkel, 1999, 15.

34 Semi-structured interview (4.2.2009) with Gerhard Kiesling, who during 40 years (1959–1989) was one of the most important photographers of the NBI; Cf. the semi-structured interview (27.2.2009) with Marianne Bobrowski who was the NBI’s correspondent in Moscow in the early 1960s. She stated that NBI’s chief editor Hans Otten was strongly orientated towards Western magazines, particularly *Paris Match*. The format of a semi-structured interview was chosen because it is more flexible than standardised methods. In a semi-structured interview, several, but not all questions are designed and phrased beforehand. Flick, Uwe, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002, 127–134.

Time and again, the NBI reported on aspects of Western consumer culture. To be sure, these reports, as a rule, contained harsh criticism, but nevertheless they show how closely Western consumer culture was observed. Most frequently, the NBI referred to accounts published in the magazine *Quick* – usually by polemicising against selected contributions of Western journalists and trying to rebut the assertions made in them. Sometimes, the objective was to make the readership in the GDR aware of the precarious situation in which the population of West Germany allegedly lived. Often the original contributions from the *Quick* referred to were then published in the NBI. This enabled the East German readers to get acquainted with the *Quick* magazine, albeit in a very selective way. The great interest in Western magazines had clearly noticeable consequences for both the design and contents of the NBI.

The Imitation of Western Marketing Strategies

In numerous articles dealing with GDR's consumer culture, Western influence can be detected, for example, in the imitation of Western marketing strategies. Sometimes, price reductions initiated by the state were staged like sales (a phenomenon that existed in the GDR just like in West Germany, though only until 1962³⁵). In contrast to West Germany, price reductions in East Germany were not decided upon by private shop owners and therefore did not vary locally. They were implemented synchronically in the whole country. Low, subsidised prices for everyday consumer goods were meant to demonstrate the social character of the political system, the social security enjoyed by all citizens of the GDR and the general availability of products under state socialism.³⁶ Sometimes, as for example in 1953, these measures in fact revoked earlier price increases. This was not, however, explicitly stated. In periods of such price reductions decreed by the state, the NBI time and again published photos that showed products provided with price tags on which the former, higher prices were crossed out and substituted by the new, lower ones,³⁷ as this was practised during sales. Sometimes, these price reductions really existed in the East German shops and were just photographed without any alterations. Mostly, however, these scenes were specially arranged for the camera. Even where price reductions were staged as sales in the shops themselves, the setting differed from Western counterparts in one important respect. The pictures did not show masses of impatient customers

35 Kaminsky 1999, 50. Decision of the Council of Ministers from 2 August 1962 to abolish the sales. Merkel, 1999, 112. Before, the sales had been the object of heated debates. Ibid, 106–112.

36 Ibid, 44–65.

37 "Zusätzlich nach der neuen Preissenkung!", in NBI Issue 44 (1953), 3.

rushing into the shops, as this could often be seen on photographs from the West. Instead, the photographs mainly represented the goods, often together with the salespersons. Sometimes disciplined, yet satisfied, customers were added. These visualisations demonstrated rational consumption, not an emotional spending spree. In some cases, when the setting was arranged by the NBI's photographers, the customers were shown together with the goods in a domestic environment, already after having purchased them (ill. 3).³⁸ The fact that even here the price reductions were indicated on price tags, gave the pictures, in my opinion, a very artificial and staged character. These photographs might have been inspired by the design of mail-order catalogues in which often the domestic use of the goods offered was (and is) also represented.³⁹ Possible examples included both Western mail-order catalogues and their equivalents, which were emulating them in the GDR since 1956. It is worth noting that the visual representations in question published in the NBI were not drawn, but photographed – at the time, this was a rare exception, even in West German mail-order catalogues.⁴⁰ In a polemical turn directed against the Western model, the accompanying text sometimes (e.g., in 1956) emphasised that the value of the West German Mark was constantly falling in order to make clear that in the Federal Republic, in contrast to the GDR, the purchasing power of the population was diminishing. In contrast, the increase in disposable income in the GDR was visualised by highlighting the goods in the picture with graphic elements. They demonstrated what could be purchased additionally due to the new price system without spending more money.⁴¹ This visual representation was underpinned by the statement of a saleswoman who explained how much more she could afford due to the reform. Here the sales assistant spoke at the same time as a consumer. Sometimes, such contributions included the information that the tax cuts implemented simultaneously with the price reductions had further strengthened purchasing power. Additionally, articles on the subject claimed the goods reduced in price in the GDR were by no means slow sellers, but modern, practical products; probably this contained the

38 "Wir gratulieren Frau Greta zum Geburtstag, der DDR-Regierung zu Beschlüssen über Lohnsteuersenkung und Preisherabsetzung, uns allen zu diesem gemeinsamen Erfolg", in NBI Issue 17 (1953), 3. 17; "Preissenkung der DDR: Eine Milliarde gewonnen", in NBI Issue 24 (1956), 4–5.

39 The first mail-order catalogue in the GDR was printed in the same year (1956). The mail order trade in the GDR continued traditions that had existed in Germany since the 1920's. The idea had already been developed at the end of the 19th century in the USA. Wildt, Michael, 'Versandhauskataloge. Die neue bunte Welt des Konsums', in Gerhard Paul (Ed.), *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder: Bildatlas 1949 bis heute*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2008, 314–321; Having existed for 20 years in the GDR, in 1976, mail order trade was abolished on the grounds that it had fulfilled its task of providing a supplementary form of trade, because meanwhile, ample supply could be assured even in the countryside. Kaminsky, Annette, "Keine Zeit verlaufen – beim Versandhaus kaufen", in *Wunderwirtschaft* 1996, 124–137.

40 Wildt 2008, 316–317.

41 Zusätzlich nach der neuen Preissenkung 1953, 3.

implicit message that this was not true for goods reduced in price in West Germany. Maybe, such assertions also were meant to refute the impression of citizens of the GDR that sales had not only the objective of absorbing savings, but also of selling leftovers.⁴²

The Adoption of Western Iconography: Money as a Symbol of Prosperity and Purchasing Power

A second example of Western influence is the adoption of the iconography of money to visualise prosperity and the purchasing power resulting from it. With a few exceptions (such as left-wing criticism of profit maximisation or visualisation of corruption), the representation of money carried positive connotations in the visual culture of capitalist states, because earning money was considered as a desirable goal and was not automatically associated with exploitation and speculation. The NBI repeatedly used such iconography; for instance, in an issue from 1960 that was supposed to demonstrate how wealthy the members of the agricultural production cooperatives (in German: “Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaften”, acronym: LPG) had become. One of the photographs illustrating the article showed a man sitting behind a table full of bundles of banknotes (III. 4).⁴³ They had been laid out ready in order to pay the wages to the peasants of the LPG. The man smiled into the camera and grasped the banknotes with both hands. This photo was combined with the picture of a clarinet player who seemed to charm the banknotes as if they were a snake. The smock he was wearing characterised him as an ordinary worker.

It is worth here comparing the GDR with the USSR. In the Soviet Union such visualisations of prosperity in the form of banknotes were unimaginable, as they were associated with greedy capitalists, particularly, when the picture showed a person reaching out for money. Instead, in Soviet visual culture you could see happy workers carrying essential goods or driving their own cars.⁴⁴ Their financial resources were at best represented by a savings book they held in

42 Merkel 1999, 106–116.

43 “Schwein muss man haben!”, in NBI Issue 2 (1960), 8. Continuation: “So empfangen sie ihr Geld.... und so gaben sie es wieder aus... und eine klare Perspektive”, in NBI Issue 2 (1960), 9–10.

44 One of the most well-known examples is the poster designed by Viktor Govorkov “Komu dostatsja natsional’nyj dochod” / “Who receives the national income” (1950). Reprint in: Bonnell, Victoria E., *Iconography of Power. Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press 1999, figure 6.6. Often, the pictures of the happy, wealthy workers in the Soviet Union were contrasted with visual representations of exploited, poor workers in the West.

their hands.⁴⁵ The picture published in the NBI significantly differed from Soviet caricatures of exploiters (III. 5),⁴⁶ as the man on the photo was no fat capitalist smoking a cigar, wearing a top hat and a fob chain, standing or sitting amidst moneybags. Instead, the picture showed a slim man wearing a suit and a tie. His trim figure might indicate that he is no lazy person, but that he earns his money by hard work. However, his appearance is neither athletic nor wiry, and he does not wear a smock, which characterises him as a person who does not perform actual physical work. Obviously, he is a white-collar worker. Although he does not correspond to the stereotype of a capitalist, without the accompanying text which identifies him as the leader of a collective farm (LPG) and thus as a person being loyal to the party state, his gesture of grasping the money could seem repulsive. Therefore, a caption has been added to prevent any misunderstandings. Otherwise, the contrast between the photo of the collective farm’s leader and the third picture on the page could have been interpreted at the first glance as a visualisation of social antagonism or even class struggle. This third photograph placed directly to the left of the farm leader’s picture shows a worker in the pigsty and is intended to depict work being done by the common members of the collective farm. The risk of misunderstanding the interrelation between the two photographs is mainly due to the fact that in state socialist iconography dealing with the West, above all in posters, the wealth of capitalists was often juxtaposed to the misery of workers. As a rule, the picture was divided into two parts, one for each of the antagonist worlds. In this case, however, the visual representation of the worker had the objective of demonstrating from where the farm’s prosperity – symbolised by the banknotes – actually comes. The worker on the photo in no way seems to be oppressed, on the contrary. He is satisfied and relaxed, and he looks tenderly at the pigs that are just fed. As the caption explains, the man takes care of the pigs as if they were “little children”, with successful results: the animals quickly gained weight, the farrows’ mortality rate stayed far beyond the GDR average, and the pigsties were clean and dry. The wider context of the scene with the banknotes is explained in even more detail on the following two pages. A series of photos demonstrates how the members of the cooperative farm receive their wages from the accountant and how they invest the received money individually and collectively into furniture, a new cultural center etc.

45 Cf. the poster “Nakopil – mashinu kupil” designed by Viktor Koretskii. Koretskii, Viktor, *Nakopil – mashinu kupil* (1950) <http://www.plakat.ru/Catalog/cat11.htm> (Accessed on 15.1.2010). The poster shows a worker sitting in the car he just has purchased. He declares he could afford this, because he had saved up the money necessary. As proof he shows his savings book.

46 The classical cliché of the capitalist is represented in Deni’s poster “Kapital”. Reprint in: Bonnell 1999, figure 5.5. In Soviet demonology, the capitalist occupied a significant place. *Ibid.*, 187, 200–202.

The picture showing the prosperity of the cooperative farm is not the only illustration in the NBI using the iconography of money. Already in 1953 the NBI published a photo of a man standing in front of bundles of banknotes (Ill. 6).⁴⁷ Here, the contrast to the classical image of the capitalist is even more pronounced, since the man is characterised as a worker both by his clothing and by the accompanying text. The picture was conceived in order to emphasise how much the East German state did for the workers of the renowned Leuna plant in particular (and for all workers of the GDR in general) by allocating money for their holidays, their health and their cultural life. These achievements could be viewed on the photographs situated on the left of the worker's picture. They showed the cultural centre, the library, the training centre, the polyclinic, the stadium, the canteen, the children's homes and the summer camp that were at the disposal of the workers employed in the factory.

Testing Products and Services: the NBI and the West German Consumer Organisation

Now let me turn to my third example of Western influence in the NBI: in 1964, the journal carried out tests that resembled the work of the West German consumer organisation "Stiftung Warentest" ("Foundation for Consumer Goods Testing"),⁴⁸ which was founded in the same year. It is crucial that the NBI acted on its own initiative and did not articulate or document its criticism of shortcomings in the culture of trade and the consumer culture in the usual way predetermined by the state, that is, in a book of wishes and complaints, or in a report of the trade union's "Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund" (FDGB; "Free German Trade Union Federation") voluntary workers' control, of the workers' and peasants' inspection or of the shop's advisory body.⁴⁹ As the editorial staff stated, the tests were carried out by the NBI in reaction to the dissatisfaction of consumers with several products and services. For instance, during the summer, citizens had

47 "Alles zusätzlich zur Lohntüte! Die Leuna-Werke, Walter Ulbricht repräsentieren, was in der DDR für die Werktätigen getan wird", in NBI Issue 26 (1953), 4–5.

48 "Stiftung Warentest" was founded in 1964 by the West German parliament, the "Bundestag", on the initiative of the consumer organisation AGV ("Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Verbraucherverbände"; in English: "Working Group of the Consumers' Association"). Its objective was to carry out comparative product tests and to publish their results in a specialist journal. The first issue of this monthly magazine, *Der Test* ("The Test"), was published in 1966. Before, the AGV already had carried out first comparative product tests in 1961 and 1963 and had published their results. Gasteiger 2009, paragraph 3.

49 Engagement for consumers' rights was welcome in the GDR, but only within these strictly specified forms. The shop's advisory body consisted of sales assistants and of citizens of the residential neighbourhood, mostly housewives. Merkel 1999, 175.

complained to restaurants and shops that the beer they offered was undrinkable. The tests published in the NBI concerned several products such as beer, but also various services, for instance, in shops or in garages.⁵⁰ The tests were carried out in cooperation with experts, which was meant to provide the tests with the required authority. The experts were chosen by the NBI at its own discretion, and the progress and results of the tests were documented by photographs and in writing. A picture taken during the beer test, for example, showed the experts while they were tasting different sorts of beer. The test also included checking the smell and colour of the beverage. Accordingly, the magazine published close-ups of experts taking a sniff at their beer glass with a critical and concentrated gaze or holding it up against the light. This emphasised the diligent implementation of the test. A photo showing a worker drinking beer from a bottle served as an introduction to the article. The worker represented the consumer who had initiated the project and for whom the test series was carried out.

As the accompanying text revealed, the photos of the sales conversations and client consultations in the tested shops were carried out in secret. This was certainly an important reason why these illustrations noticeably differed from the common pictures on this subject published in the print media of the GDR. The photographs demonstrated a wide range of performance that varied from exemplary to unprofessional (Ill. 7). The commitment of salespersons was not only represented by the usual friendly smile, but also by dynamic gestures. One picture showed how the shop assistant spontaneously measured the circumference of the customer's neck after he had told her he ignored his collar size. But here were some critical aspects recorded too. For example, another photo featured a stressed saleswoman who did not correspond at all to the ideal usually represented. The accompanying text characterised her as "helpless and unconfident", but this shortcoming was somewhat put into perspective by the information that the woman was still in training. By and large, these more lively pictures stood in sharp contrast to the staged photographs prevailing in the print media of the GDR.

The test of a garage was also richly illustrated. In particular, the defects of a car that had been overlooked in the tested garage were documented by close-ups of the damaged parts. Their poor condition was visible even to the eye of a non-professional.

50 "Gut beraten – gut gekauft". NBI test, in NBI Issue 45 (1964), 8–9; "Pilsner aus der Flasche", NBI test, in NBI Issue 46 (1964), 23–25; "Aber wie's da drinnen aussieht..." NBI test, in NBI Issue 48 (1964), 8–9.

Defending Consumers' Rights: Representing the Imbalance Between Supply and Demand

The test series clearly indicated that the NBI – similar to consumer associations in the West – attached great importance to defending consumers' rights. Many other aspects of the magazine's coverage confirm that impression. As early as 1953, the NBI published a photo reportage consisting of four pictures printed on one single page (Ill. 8).⁵¹ The objective of the contribution was to make clear that the assortment of goods of mobile shops in the countryside did not meet the needs of the rural consumers. The arrangement and composition of the first, largest picture demonstrates in many ways how dramatic this imbalance between supply and demand was.

It shows a long shot of a sales room, in which tables with goods are arranged along the walls, with salespersons standing behind the tables. Besides the available products shown in the picture, other goods that are missing (although they are in demand), are actually drawn directly into the photo. These virtual, missing goods occupy considerably more space than the "real" products in stock. The consumers' disinterest in the available assortment is underlined by the fact that not a single customer is present in the room. The captions confirm this impression and explain the absence of potential buyers by the fact that the range of goods on offer does not at all correspond to the needs of consumers in rural regions. In absence of customers, the salespersons have nothing to do. Lost in thought, some look at the products on the tables or at their colleagues, some gaze into the distance. All of them give the impression of resignation. The slogan in the background "In socialism, nature and technology in the countryside develop to unprecedented heights" seems like pure mockery in view of the shortcomings documented on the picture. Three smaller photos complete the negative overall impression with several details: on the second picture two children are looking in vain for bed-linen that their parents had asked for, on the third picture a sales assistant accusingly holds two pairs of shoes of the only available sizes into the camera (children's size 23 and men's size 44). In doing so, he turns the shoe soles in the direction of the lens. This perspective strongly emphasises how either small or big the available sizes are. On the fourth photo a customer tries on an undershirt by holding it against the upper part of his body. As the undershirt is quasi framed by the outerwear, it becomes immediately clear that it is far too small.

⁵¹ "HO blamiert die Industrie, weil sie die Wünsche der Genossenschaftsbauern nicht erfüllt", in NBI Issue 6 (1953), 7.

Staging Conversations Between Dissatisfied Consumers and Salespersons

Another strategy to visualise shortcomings in the consumer culture consisted of staging conversations between consumers and salespersons about goods that were not available in HO shops even though they were in demand. In 1953, for instance, grey skirts were unavailable. The NBI represented the problem by printing a scene in which an embarrassed salesperson tells an obviously dissatisfied customer she cannot supply her with the grey skirt she wishes to buy (Ill. 9).⁵² As her gesture of refusal indicates, the consumer is not interested in the skirt the saleswoman is offering her instead. In the accompanying text, the salesclerk is completely absolved from responsibility for this shortcoming as she had contacted the administration of the department store in this question, but with no results unfortunately. She tells the magazine the current situation is equally frustrating for salespersons and customers. The saleswoman herself has definitely fulfilled her obligation to serve as an interface between consumers on the one side and industrial firms and Department of Commerce on the other side, because she has already informed them about the consumers' needs, with the hope that these needs will be taken into consideration in the production planning.⁵³

Accordingly, the NBI considers the problem cannot be solved by the saleswoman, but rather has to be dealt with by higher authorities. At the bottom of the page, by means of text and photos, the context of the problem is analysed. For that purpose, the magazine interviews representatives of the purchasing department of the HO as well as spokespersons of the wholesale headquarter "Deutsche Handelszentrale" (DHZ; "German Retail Head-Office") and of the ministry of light industry. All of them are present visually, by means of photographs. These are not neutral portrait photographs in the style of passport photos, but pictures unmistakably made during a conversation, as mimic and gesture in particular indicate. The conversational setting is easy to recognise by the open mouth and the direction of view of the persons portrayed (either a thoughtful gaze into the distance or downwards or a self-confident gaze into the camera), and also by the hands and the papers they use in order to reinforce their statements. This portrayal is made possible by choosing a framing that includes not only the head, but also the upper part of the person's body. The pictures are then completed by

⁵² "Wo bleibt der graue Sportrock? Auf den Spuren eines seltenen Gastes der HO-Geschäfte", in NBI Issue 43 (1953), 4.

⁵³ Merkel 1999, 120; Landsman, Mark, *Dictatorship and demand. The politics of consumerism in East Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press (2005); Cf. for similar structures in the USSR: Merl 2007, 533–536.

captions containing segments of the answers the interviewees gave to the NBI's questions. Their statements suggested that the wholesale headquarters and the Department of Trade (rather than the retail trade itself) were responsible for the awkward situation. Solution strategies were pointed out, mainly by the representative of the Ministry of Light Industry. He predicted that with the help of deliveries from other socialist countries and paying attention to Soviet experiences in the textile industry the problem would certainly soon be solved. This statement was clearly in line with the demand that the Soviet Union should be depicted as a model society and that the GDR should be characterised as part and parcel of the socialist bloc. The interviewee underlined it with his friendly and confident facial expression that contrasted dramatically with the thoughtful and perplexed facial expression of the retail trade's representative and with the strained and fierce mimic of the DHZ-spokeswoman.

Visualising Product Quality Defects

Evident product quality defects were also visualised by the NBI, for instance, linoleum is shown as having a tendency to crimp.⁵⁴ In this case, the magazine staged the linoleum as a children's playground with a corrugated surface, on which a boy practiced a cross-country drive with toy cars. Even the road sign calling attention to ground waves had been added, which further emphasised the detected problem. By using the linoleum for purposes other than those intended, the criticism of its poor quality was expressed humourously, but no less emphatically. Next to the picture, the NBI printed the petition written by the inhabitants of a new-built house in which the linoleum had been laid. The constant coverage of the subject was intended to provide for the success of the petition.⁵⁵ Here, a possible strategy to fight for consumers' rights was visually represented and supported by the announcement of further coverage of the subject. The title of the article, "World-class surface with groundwaves", highlighted the mismatch between the poor quality of the product and the high ambitions of the GDR's industry to produce on a "world-class level".⁵⁶

This self-image of the magazine implied that the consumers' rights were part and parcel of the concept of citizenship and that consumers were entitled to goods

54 "NBI-Reporter blieben auf den Spuren einer Kritik und fragen heute: Weltniveau mit Bodenwellen?", in NBI Issue 7 (1960), 16–17.

55 Cf. for petitions in the GDR: Merkel, Ina and Mühlberg, Felix, 'Eingaben und Öffentlichkeit', in Ina Merkel (Ed.), *"Wir sind doch nicht die Meckerecke der Nation". Briefe an das DDR-Fernsehen*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau 1998, 11–46; Mühlberg, Felix, *Bürger, Bitten und Behörden. Geschichte der Eingabe in der DDR*. Berlin: Dietz 2004.

56 Merkel, 1999, 15.

of high quality, a wide product range, the possibility to choose between different goods, and finally the right to criticise unsatisfactory products or assortments.⁵⁷ This corresponded with concepts of consumers' rights that had been developed in the USA and adopted in West Germany. In the Soviet Union, such critical photographs of consumer culture did not exist. There, the subject of shortcomings was addressed at best in cartoons that visualised the additional burden for women caused by queuing and searching for needed products.⁵⁸ These cartoons also criticised the poor quality of goods, but with less authority than photographs, which were thought to give an authentic picture of reality. Caricatures could show, for example, a balcony crumbling down during the final inspection of a new-built house, or could characterise the fragrance of a Soviet perfume as unbearable by offering it to a tamer as a deterrent suitable for his work in a cage of lions.⁵⁹ Admittedly, in the GDR, the NBI's reports were not always accepted either. Apparently, the East German state thought the NBI sometimes carried things too far. For instance, the magazine was severely admonished in 1964 for its unauthorised product and service tests.

Conclusion: a Hybrid Concept of Visualising Consumption

The concept that the NBI applied in its visualisation of consumer culture can be described as "learning from the enemy".⁶⁰ To be sure, officially the USSR still was considered as the main model in the GDR, but at the same time in the GDR (as in the USSR) the West actually was the measure of all things, especially in the field of consumer culture. Just like the USSR wanted to catch up with the USA and even to overtake them, the GDR wished to outdo its still superior rival, West Germany.⁶¹ The enemy in the West was considered to be efficient,

57 Daunton, Martin and Hilton, Matthew, 'Material Politics: An Introduction', in Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton (Eds.), *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America*. Oxford: Berg 2001, 1–32. A similar catalogue of rights was formulated in the 1960's by the US president John F. Kennedy. Verbraucherschutz in Deutschland – ein historischer Überblick, <http://www.vzbv.de/start/index.php?page=wir&pagelink=geschichte> (Accessed on 15.1.2010).

58 'Karikatura S. Samoilova', in Goehrke, Carsten, *Russischer Alltag. Eine Geschichte in neun Zeitbildern vom Frühmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 3: *Sowjetische Moderne und Umbruch*. Zürich: Chronos 2005, 325.

59 "Vinegrët s pertsem", in Ogonek Issue 44 (1960), 33; "Tsirk, tol'ko tsirk..." / Ris. Iu. Ganfa, in: Ogonek Issue 44# (1960), 33. Caption: "Eto dukhi mestnoi parfiumernoï fabriki. Nadushites' imi – i mozhete smelo vkhodit' v kletku ko l'vam".

60 This concept was developed by Martin Aust and Daniel Schönplflug. Aust, Martin and Schönplflug, Daniel (Eds.), *Vom Gegner lernen. Feindschaften und Kulturtransfers im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt: Campus 2007.

61 Kaminsky 1999, 34.

prestigious and (at least in certain spheres) an example worthy of emulation. This was acknowledged in spite of the ideological competition between East and West and made selective learning possible without approving, let alone embracing, the values or the political system of the West. The context of this selective learning process was that the Soviet Union lagged far behind the GDR in the field of consumer culture, whereas countries like the USA and later West Germany occupied a leading position there. Especially in this sphere, learning from the West was a logical step.

Thus, the NBI practised a hybrid concept of visualising consumption that oscillated between glorifying a consumer culture that was orientated toward the Soviet model on the one side and learning from the Western consumer culture and its strategies of representation on the other. This was mainly made possible by the circumstance that the GDR was situated on the border of the two systems, which turned the country into a contact zone between East and West. The implemented transfers included strategies of representation of the consumer culture, visualisations of prosperity and the staging of the struggle for consumers' rights. These borrowings from the West had, amongst others, the objective of ensuring the NBI's acceptance by its readers and making the magazine more attractive to its audience. At the same time, to a certain degree, they called into question the status of the USSR as a role model and criticised the power divide between the Soviet Union and the GDR. This behaviour of actors in the field of the print media clearly demonstrates that they did not simply copy the Soviet model: the GDR had a visual culture of its own.



Ill. 1: Visitenkarte des Wohlstands. Bummel durch die neuen Läden in der Stalinallee (1953), In NBI Issue 5 7
 © NBI / (Horst E. Schulze / Gerhard Kiesling) / Berliner Verlag. Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2010.



Brütel Evelyn Thompson? Kaum! Diese Haltung fand jedoch der Fotograf symbolisch für die Ausgelast der amerikanischen Möbelindustrie. Fürwahr, ein 'fautes lit'!

Der letzte Schrei

aus dem Lande der unbegrenzten Geschmacklosigkeiten.
Nicht schön und nicht bequem — aber neu um jeden Preis



Jeder Wohnung — ihre Foyerkammer scheint der Wertepunkt der Chicagoer Möbelmesse zu sein, wenn man die dort ausgestellten Wohngeräte betrachtet. Wenn man Sie, liebe Leser, aufpassen würde, es sich lassen zu müssen und dabei auf den Sessel in der Mitte weist, würden Sie sich bestimmt verhalten fühlen. Und mit Recht! Abgesehen von den Schwestern an ihrem Körper, die Sie noch fange in die Stuhlspinnerei der Sitz- und Rückenlehne einstricken würden, brauchen Sie einige Zeit und Mühe, Ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die wirklich spannenen Ausführung der Sessellehnen richtig auszubalancieren. Sehr gediegen müßte auch Ihre Haltung sein, wenn Sie diese verformen, in dem Schüttelstoß (links) etwas auszuspannen. Einige Kniebeugen Hinterher würden Sie vor Muskelkater schützen. Direkt ohnmächtig und provokant erscheint uns dagegen der Stahl (rechts). Sie meinen vielleicht, diese Erfindungen wären sehr billig, weil man Schnitz und Dreharbeiten auf jedem Abstellplatz findet? Weit gefehlt! Wie könnte denn die Verankerung der Unterlehne, die Ihnen den Geist amerikanischer Wohnkultur einhauchen — spüch einbringen — wollen?

Autoren aus der amerikanischen Zeitschrift 'Life'



1 Ein alter Bekannter ist dieser einfache gefederte Sessel mit runder Rückenlehne. Der Preis beträgt 213,- DM

2 Diesen Sprossensessel mit breitem Rücken und Sitzkissen lässt Ihnen unsere HO für 132,63 DM sein

3 Liegesessel mit Stofffederung von der Firma G. L. Kölling, Dresden hergestellt. Der Preis etwa 290,- DM

4 Sonderklasse. Modell „Lina“ von der Firma Neumann und Quast. Dieser bequeme Sessel kostet 290,- DM

10 Mit „gespartelter“ Rückenlehne und für 257,- DM erhältlich

11 Doppelt geflochtene Seiten. Istes Rückenleiste. Preis: 370,- DM (HO)

Es geht ums

NBJ stellt eine Auswahl von Sesseln der volkseigenen Möbelindustrie



3 Als schweren Brocken, auch für Ihre Brautleute (400,- DM) bezeichnet die HO diesen Sessel. (Couch 623,- DM)

4 Für 290,- DM erhalten Sie diesen Typ vom VEB Holzverarbeitung Dresden. Dieser gesessene Couchbank 600,- DM

7 Steppstoffbezogen und mit Gummiabfederung versehen, verkauft die HO diese Ausführung für 189,- DM

8 „Robinson“ nennt die Herstellerfirma Dänzer das Modell mit hoher Lehne und Kopfkissen. Preis 220,- DM

12 Halb-Sessel mit Stofffederung vom VEB Deutsche Werkstätten, 188,- DM

13 Für DM scheint der Chromsessel (fr. Dänzer) besonders geeignet zu sein

14 Ideal fürs Sonnenbad im Garten oder auf dem Balkon und bequem beim Lesen oder Essen, ist dieser noch eigenen Wunsch verstellbare Liegesessel der Firma Carl Baltmann, Drötha, Preis: 400,- DM. Wie finden Sie die Auswahl? Welche Wünsche haben Sie an die Möbelindustrie? Die NBI freut sich auf Ihre Stellungnahme. Große Diskussion darüber demnächst auf unserer Lesertafel

15 Der vertritt 'nen Buff! lacht Frau Mergel, als sie sich unter dem ansehnlichen Pulver ihres Ehrenamtes (links) und des Verkäufers in dem Sessel fallen und wieder hochheben läßt. „Für unser Geld verlangen wir prima Ware. Nichts macht einer jungen Dattlerin — wir sind erst 8 Monate verheiratet — mehr Freude, als Möbel zu kaufen. Bei der großen Auswahl fällt es einem oft schwer, sich zu entscheiden.“ Nun begleiten Sie Frau Mergel durch die Couchhölzer. Prüfen Sie mit Ihr das Angebot an Sesseln auf Schönheit und Gefügbarkeit. Modell von den Deutschen Werkstätten Hellerau; Preis 273,50 DM

„beste Stück“

und des Handwerks zur Diskussion. Schreiben Sie uns Ihre Meinung

Unsere Möbelindustrie, die bis Ende des Jahres ihre Produktion gegenüber dem ersten Halbjahr 1953 um 120,2 Prozent erhöht, hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, ansprechende, praktische und formschöne Möbel herzustellen. Mehr Gebrauchsgegenstände für die Bevölkerung im neuen Kurs, ist auch hier die Forderung. Werke der Schwerindustrie haben Nebenproduktionen aufgenommen. Die Großbetriebe des Waggonbaus Hiesig stellt zum Beispiel über 100 Kücheneinrichtungen her. Brigaden der VEB Berliner Möbelwerke stehen im Wettbewerb und wollen zusätzlich 200 Schlafzimmerschere produzieren.

Wir stellen Ihnen heute eine typische Auswahl von Sesseln zur Diskussion. Schreiben Sie uns bitte Ihre Meinung unter Angabe des Alters und des Berufs. (Wir wählen unseren Leserkreis gern genauer kennenlernen und benutzen diese Gelegenheit, um zu erfahren, mit wem wir Redakteure es zu tun haben.)

Aut.: G. Kölling

III. 2: Der letzte Schrei aus dem Lande der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten. Nicht schön und nicht bequem - aber neu um jeden Preis (1953), In NBI Issue 48 4.

Das "beste Stück". NBI stellt eine Auswahl von Sesseln der volkseigenen Möbelindustrie und des Handwerks zur Diskussion. Schreiben Sie uns Ihre Meinung (1953), In NBI Issue 48 5. © NBI / (Gerhard Kiesling) / Berliner Verlag, Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2010.

17. Preissenkung
Einmal...
Zur gleich...
Ferienfreuden

Boote und Practina dazugekommen
Unsere Jugend kennt keine Antriebslosigkeit. Sie verdient gut, und manch einer hat sich 2000 Mark auf der Sparkasse. Ein junges Mädchen, nennen wir sie Inga, will sie von diesem Geld ein Fahrrad mit Hilfsmotor ein Zelt und die entsprechende Camping-Meinung kaufen. Dann sollte es in den Urlaub gehen! Anfang Juni kann Inga ins Kaufhaus – und die Preissenkung. Vorher hat sie dem Zeitungsmann um die Hand gedreht, denn man kann sie sich zu ihrer Campingausrüstung auch noch das ersetzte Boot und die gewünschte Practina kaufen. In waren ursprünglich erst für 1950 geplant, aber häufiger weiter, das sie weiß, sagte sie uns, was sie bis 1956 für ein gleiches Geld schon alles zu kaufen geliebt. Und der Meinung Ingas sind wir auch.

Erfüllte Wünsche

Mal alles anprobiert haben. Gut Michael und Jürgen. Alles kommt aus dem Kinderkaufhaus am Strömsberger Platz in ist beidseitig präsentiert. Ein junges Mädchen gründlich begutachtet, mehr „Büßiger kann man Kinderkleider selbst zu nicht nehmen“, und eine andere Mädchen hören wir sagen: „Mich freut es mich doch nicht etwa alle Lederhosen, und modische, praktische Kinderkleider wie sie Beispiel die Popelmannstübe und die Osthausen so sehr viel billiger wurden.“ Für die deutsche Familien ist diese Preisermäßigung natürlich eine besondere Freude. Wie sie häufig wurde überlegt, was die Kleinen in den Ferienlager brauchen, was man hier kaufen kann. Und plötzlich darf man zu Radiergummi greifen und so wunderschöne Strich vom Wunschzettel entfernen, das eine Milliarde Mark statt unsere Befürchtung noch in diesem Jahr beim Ende! Auf ein volles Jahr umgerechnet steigt die Kaufkraft um ungefähr 1,5 Milliarden DM.

in der DDR: Eine Milliarde gewonnen!
Zeit in Westdeutschland: Die Westmark fällt weiter!

Im Kolonialwarengeschäft ist die Deutsche Mark von 1950 heute nur noch 42 Pfennig wert.

„Dieses Mittagessen für 4 Personen, das im Frühsommer 1950 noch für 1,5 DM und das Tisch- und Stuhlset heute 13,71 DM – das sind 81,7 Prozent mehr“, schreibt die „Münchener Post“ zu diesem „Skandal Nr. 1 – die Lebensmittelpreise“.

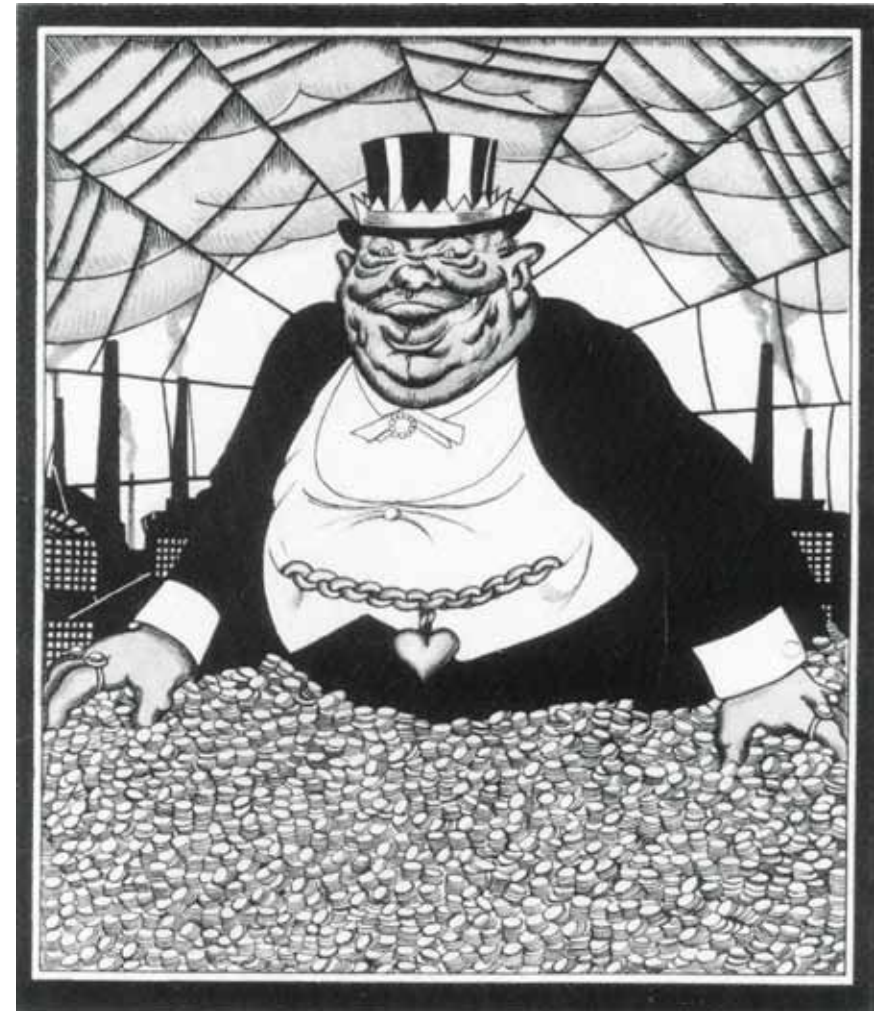
Sie hat uns wirklich überrascht, die bisher größte Preissenkung für Industriewaren. Schön, daß sie gerade jetzt zur Ferienzeit kam. Wir hatten doch alle ein wenig für Urlaubs- oder andere Wünsche gespart – wieviel mehr können wir uns jetzt für das Geld kaufen. Unsere Marksheine sind wertvoller geworden. Bei uns sieht es ja mit dem Sparen anders aus als in Westdeutschland, wo die Mark immer mehr an Kaufkraft verliert. Sie geben es selbst zu, wie die oben zitierte „Revue“, für die Hausfrau hat die Deutsche Mark hier in 8 Jahren mehr als ein Drittel ihrer Kaufkraft verloren.“ Und die „Münchener Illustrierte“ schreibt: „Fast jede Woche werden wir mit neuen Preisermäßigungen überrascht... Die Entdeckung des Brotpreises ist ein Alarmzeichen und ein Symbol für alle anderen Preisermäßigungen zugleich. Ein Vergleich mit den früheren Preisen wirkt wie die traurige Antithese zum Märchen vom deutschen Wirtschaftswunder.“ Uns wundert das nicht, denn solange Weltwirtschaftslührer unseligen Angedenkens am „Wirtschaftswunder“ Millionen verdienen, werden in Westdeutschland Preise, Mieten und Fahrgehalte weiter in die Höhe getrieben, werden dort die Sportplätze der Arbeiter in die Taschen der Flick, Reuchling, Klöckner und Co. wandern. Und wie kam es zur neuen großen Preissenkung bei uns? Professor Fred Oetlner antwortet darauf: „Die Ergebnisse der systematischen Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität einerseits und die Vermehrung der Produktion andererseits sowie die Verbilligung der Gestehungskosten gaben der Regierung die Möglichkeit, die Preise zu senken.“ Also: Wie wir gestern gearbeitet haben, können wir heute leben. Und wie wir heute arbeiten, können wir morgen leben, denn diese Preissenkung wird durch uns nicht die letzte sein. Natürlich gibt es noch unerfüllte Wünsche. Sie bleiben es, weil es eine NATO-Politik gibt, die uns die Aufstellung einer nationalen Volkswirtschaft zum Schutz unserer Erzeugnisse aufzwingt. Auch in einem Arbeiter- und Bauernstaat kosten notwendige militärische Sicherungsmaßnahmen viel Geld, aber sie hindern uns nicht, trotzdem die Preise zu senken, wenn auch langsamer, als es sonst möglich wäre. Das ist der Unterschied zu Westdeutschland; was, wie dort, Multimilliarden regieren und Rüstungsgewinne erzielen, gibt es keine Preisermäßigungen und keine Verbesserung der Lage der Werktätigen. (Autor: H. E. Schulze)

Ill. 3: Preissenkung der DDR: Eine Milliarde gewonnen (1956), In NBI Issue 24 4-5. © NBI / (Horst E. Schulze) / Berliner Verlag. Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2010.



Ill. 4: Schwein muss man haben! (1960), In NBI Issue 2 8.

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Ill. 5: Deni's poster "Kapital".

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kapital.jpg>



Alles züs

DIE LEUNA-WERKE „WALTER ULBRICHT“



Zum Urlaub geht's ins „Netz“, wie die Arbeiter ihr Betriebsferienlager nennen. Der Name hat nichts mit einer ausgestoßenen Wildkatze zu tun, die in einem der Bäume mit der Umgebung, dem Netzberg und den Netzweizen, einen schönen Zufluchtort zum Sommerbad auf der Terrasse die Beine vertreten will. Zwei

Nur ein Schein gibt mehr als er hat", sagt ein gutes deutsches Sprichwort. Um ein besseres Leben für alle zu erreichen, müssen zunächst die Werte geschaffen werden. Denn je mehr unsere Arbeiter erlangen, um so zahlreicher und prätentioser werden die Angebote der Einzelhandelsgeschäfte, je plakatlicher unsere Wirtschaft ihren Exportverpflichtungen nachkommt, um so unangenehmer werden die Importe an Wolle, sein Wohlbedienen braucht. Erhöhte Arbeitsproduktivität und strengere Sparsamkeit erhöhen aber auch die Kulturhäuser, Lehrlings- und Ferienkolonien, die unser Bildungsrecht zeigt und die am 17. Juni an verschiedenen Stellen von Provokateuren in Brand gesetzt wurden. - Die besten Arbeiter und Techniker in Leuna haben das Haupt begriffen. Sie verpflichtete sich die Brigade Dietrich, statt 2 400 Tonnen Eisenerzabfälle 10 000 Tonnen Eisenerz zu erzeugen. Indem sie ihren Beschäftigten vorführten, besteht der Spielweg des Aufstiegs. Höhere Produktion bringt ein Ansteigen der Gesamtleistungsumme, berichtet bei Durchsicht des Plans des Direktors und versetzt damit die aus ihm resultierenden sozialen und kulturellen Leistungen, die der Betriebskollektivvertrag „ausdrücklich zur Lohnfülle“ gibt. Mehr Döner bedeutet aber auch höhere Ernte, gesteigertes Einkommen der Bauern und mehr Lebensmittel, die wiederum der Lebenshaltung aller vorschmecken mit dem Ziel: Wohlstand für das ganze Volk. In der Erklärung des 28. der SED vom 22. Juni werden in Erfüllung des Versprechens unserer Regierung der Werkskollegen vom 9. Juni für hygienische und sanitäre Einrichtungen der volkswirtschaftlichen Betriebe 30 Millionen DM in diesem Jahr mehr zur Verfügung gestellt. Für Errichtung, Ausbau und Wiederherstellung von Gebäuden des Kultur-, Sozial- und Gesundheitswesens, wie Ferienkolonien, Erholungsstätten, des Feriensportplatzes der Gewerkschaften, Kindergärten und -krippen 1953 ebenfalls zusätzlich 60 Millionen DM. Das wird getan, um die berechtigten Forderungen unserer Arbeiter zu erfüllen und ihrer begründeten Kritik nachzukommen. Gleichartig laucht die Erklärung aber die Aufmerksamkeit auf die grundlegende Tatsache, daß diese Maßnahmen nur erfolgreich verwirklicht werden können, wenn die Werktätigen von der Notwendigkeit der ständigen Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität überzeugt, den Wettbewerb scharf entfalten, die Neuer-Methoden verbreiten und die Leistung und Organisation der volkswirtschaftlichen Betriebe auf die gebührende Höhe bringen. Das Zentralkomitee begrüßt daher die Beschlossen von vielen Betriebskollegen, die zur Aufhebung der durch die Zersplitterungen und Anstrengungen verursachten erheblichen Produktionsverluste ausgeben haben. - Solche gab es auf Anweisung von aus Westberlin nach Halle geschickten Agenten auch in Leuna, wo sich ein ehemaliger Stabsführer der Gestapo mit einigen Bildungsbürgern des Betriebsbüros bemüht. Von dort aus forderte er die Belegschaft auf, die Beschaffung „kollektiv“ abzugeben und statt dessen „Kamerad“ zu sagen, und ließ die „Beschäftigtenliste“ gefahren. Die Mehrheit der Leuna-Arbeiter dachte jedoch nicht daran, sich von den Provokateuren mitbringen zu lassen und nahm die Arbeit wieder auf. Aus der Erkenntnis heraus, daß Wohlstand für den Arbeiter höherer Arbeitsproduktivität sein kann, höhere Arbeitsproduktivität wiederum nur das Ergebnis der Erziehung und Freiwilligkeit. Aber sie muß sein, wollen wir alle besser und besser leben.



„Carmen“ für die Arbeiter. In wenigen Minuten beginnt die Vorstellung vor dem Haus. Hierlich ist das Klubgebäude, ein wieder aufgebautes „Gesellschafts“haus der 10-fachen. Die Karten werden kurzweilig ausgegeben, so daß jeder regelmäßig Theaterbesucher ein



Die Polkiniker. Alles ist in ihr zu finden, vom Pflöcker bis zum Reissbällchen-Ganggerät für Rekrutenausbildungen (RAG) und zum Operntrapez. Außerdem gibt es 200 Ambulanzwagen. Rund eine Million DM gibt das Werk jährlich für betriebliches Gesundheitswesen aus.



Im Stadion des Werks stellen sich die Arbeiter und Angestellten zu leichtathletischem Ausgleichsport. Sie hoffen, bald in dem größten eigenen Schwimmbad und Turnhalle umfassenden Sportgebäude über zu können. 180.000 bis 200.000 DM werden für die sportliche Einrichtung der Jugend ausgegeben.



Spargel, Schnitzel, Bratkaroffeln. jeden Geduldet und Geschmakt wird in der besten Bratkaroffeln mit Sahne kosten 50 Pf. Das ist Privatrestaurant bei Abgabe von 100 g Mehl 18 Pf. der HD 170 DM. Der Betrieb „Jugend“ auf der 180.000 DM jährlich allein für die

zuzlich zur Lohnfülle!

REPRÄSENTIEREN, WAS IN DER DDR FÜR DIE WERTTÄTIGEN GETAN WIRD



Arbeiter sind eben für die intelligenten die Betriebsleitung ein. Für die Jugendlichen des Betriebs besteht ein Sommerlager der FDJ. Außerdem stellt der FDJB so viel Plätze zur Verfügung, daß jeder fünfte Werksangehörige seinen Urlaub in einem seiner Heime verbringen kann. 275.000 DM Jahre betragen die für diese Zwecke bereitgestellten Zuschüsse der Leuna-Werke „Walter Ulbricht“.



Es summiert sich Neben den in den Bildungseinrichtungen angebotenen Sommer- für soziale und kulturelle Zwecke noch einige Leistungen:

Für	DM
Aus dem Direktorenfonds:	
Kulturleistungen	30 000
Kulturleistung	40 000
Kulturelle Veranstaltungen	90 000
Ferien für Jubilare	100 000
Kulturreisen	160 000
Studenten	300 000
Beondere Leistungen	530 000
Aus dem Fonds des FDJ:	
Schulung	30 000
Kulturleistungen	13 000
Technische	13 000
Betriebsausbildung	13 000
Kulturelle Veranstaltungen	90 000
Anderer kulturelle Leistungen	40 000
Buchbeschreibungen	13 000
Sport	70 000
Förderung der Arbeit unter den Kindern	40 000
Ferienlagerreisen	40 000
Materielle Unterstützung	90 000



Parades des Lernens. 300 Goldmedaillen werden im Winter, wenn die Kinder der Kindertagesstätten im Werk „Walter Ulbricht“ 1953 längste ich mit der Waffe in der Hand gegen die Reaktion. Ich gehörte mit zu den Defendern im Silo (siehe Seite 189), von dem die Frontschicht jene stahl, die diese „Ständekolonie“ ermoder wurden. Heute gehört das Werk den Arbeitern. Die Ausgabe von Millionen für unser Volk, das ist unsere Dankbarkeit. Die Märgerfallen sind nicht umsonst gestorben. Was sie allen, denen wir heute. Was wir aber, das anstet unsere Jugend!

Millionen gibt unser Betrieb den Werttätigen zusätzlich zum Lohn auf dem Umweg über die kulturellen und sozialen Einrichtungen: sagt Otto Meier, Stabschef des Werks „Walter Ulbricht“ 1953 längste ich mit der Waffe in der Hand gegen die Reaktion. Ich gehörte mit zu den Defendern im Silo (siehe Seite 189), von dem die Frontschicht jene stahl, die diese „Ständekolonie“ ermoder wurden. Heute gehört das Werk den Arbeitern. Die Ausgabe von Millionen für unser Volk, das ist unsere Dankbarkeit. Die Märgerfallen sind nicht umsonst gestorben. Was sie allen, denen wir heute. Was wir aber, das anstet unsere Jugend!

Ill. 6: Alles zusätzlich zur Lohnfülle! Die Leuna-Werke ‚Walter Ulbricht‘ repräsentieren, was in der DDR für die Werttätigen getan wird (1953), In NBI Issue 26 4-5. © NBI / (Horst E. Schulze) / Berliner Verlag. Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2010.



III. 7: Gut beraten – gut gekauft. NBI test (1964), In NBI Issue 45 9.
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III. 8: HO blamiert die Industrie, weil sie die Wünsche der Genossenschaftsbauern nicht erfüllt (1953), In NBI Issue 6 7.

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WINTER KEPT US WARM: COLD WAR INTERACTIONS RECONSIDERED



Auf den Spuren eines seltenen Gastes der HO-Geschäfte

Am 6. Oktober ging eine Berliner in das HO-Bekleidungs- der Rathausstraße, um sich einen grauen Rock, Größe 38, zu kaufen. Das ist zu Beginn des Herbstes gewiß nicht ungewöhnlich, sondern ein ganz verständlicher Wunsch. Aber weder in der Rathausstraße, noch in einigen anderen Berliner Geschäften fand sie, was sie suchte. Von unserer Mode- und unserer Konfektionsindustrie kann wir heute jedoch verlangen, daß sie mit so selbstverständlichen Waren in guter Qualität, in verschiedenen Größen und Ausführungen stets bevorratet ist.

Unser Reporter hat sich vor den Ausgang des HO-Warenhauses Alexanderplatz gestellt und 300 herauskommende Käufer gefragt, sie erhielten, was sie verlangten, 275 antworteten mit ja. Das ist wenig, doch muß man bedenken, daß es sich bei diesen Zahlen überwiegend um Selbstverständlichkeiten handelt, z. B. um Kasentartikel, Waschmittel, Strümpfe, Sporthosen, Glühbirnen oder dergleichen. Wie aber sieht es in unseren Textiläden aus? Unser Reporter hat auch die aus unserem größten Berliner HO-Textil-Kaufhaus kommenden Kunden. Hier erhalten nur 51 von 100, was sie verlangt. Worin liegt das? Das Fehlen eines grauen Sportrockes ist als Beispiel herausgegriffen und diesen Fall vom Verkaufsfach des Bekleidungshauses bis in das Ministerium für Leichtindustrie verfolgt. Wir geraten in einen Felsen von Zuständigkeiten, die zu deutlich besagen: bei dieser Schwerfälligkeit, vor allem bei der DHZ, ist die lückenhafte Belieferung der Geschäfte nicht verwunderlich. Mode ist schwerer zu planen als manches andere der Wirtschaft, was uns erwidert. Das ist richtig. Veränderliche Geschmacksurteile, man nicht „verpöhlen“. Aber Abwechslung gehört zur neuen Mode, will sie ihren Namen nicht zu unrecht tragen. Das Schöne, Einfallslosigkeit und ihr Tod. Webereien, Konfektion und Handel können besser aufeinander eingespielt sein. Die Leiter der HO- und Textilschäfte sowie der Produktionsstätten sollen mehr Verstand und Selbständigkeit erlangen. Vor allem dürfen die Rohstoffe nicht zum letzten Gramm „eingepflanzt“ werden, damit eine gewisse Menge zur Disposition bleibt, um spätere unvorhergesehene Wünsche der Leistung kurzfristig berücksichtigen zu können. Besonders leicht sollte die Versorgung mit solchen Standard-Kleidungsstücken, wie Sportrocken, modischen Pullovern und hellen Stoffen sein. Daß sie fehlt – es gibt es keine Entschuldigung – das sehen auch die „zuständigen Stellen“ ein. Sie haben uns versprochen, daß es auch den grauen Rock bald geben wird. Wollen wir alle mal aufpassen!

„Einen grauen Rock? Damit kann ich Ihnen leider nicht dienen.“ In der letzten Zeit mußte Fräulein Zimmermann, Verkäuferin im Berliner HO-Bekleidungs- haus in der Rathausstraße, ihren Kundinnen bereits oft dieselbe abschlägige Antwort geben und die Hoffnungen der Käufer enttäuschen. Unserem Reporter erklärte sie: „Wie bei jedem aufstrebenden Mangel habe ich durch die tägliche Bestellermittlung die Geschäftslage auch vom Fehlen grauer Sportrocke unterschätzt. Bis jetzt aber hat sich noch nichts geändert. Wenn wir beispielsweise in den Größen 38 oder 40 nur drei Röcke zur Auswahl vorlegen können, macht uns das ebensoviele Freude wie der Kunde. Mindestens sieht verschiedene Modelle in jeder Größe mühen wir ständig im Schrank haben. So stelle ich mir jedenfalls das Warenangebot im neuen Kurs vor!“

HELFEN SIE MODE MACHEN!
Wie sollen nächstes Jahr die Frühjahrs- und Sommermode aussehen? erwarten Sie vom Textil- Einzelhandel 1954? Schreiben Sie Ihre Wünsche an die Redaktion „Neue Berliner Illustration“, Berlin W 8, Uferstraße 10/11. Wir werden darüber berichten.



Der Einzelhandel
„Die Wünsche unserer Kunden sind uns bekannt“, sagt Kollege Demps aus der Abteilung Einkauf der HO. „Zu unserem Leidwesen steht aber zwischen uns und der“



Die DHZ
„Natürlich ist es unser Bestreben“, hören wir in der Deutschen Handelszentrale von der Einkaufsleiterin, Kollegin Bruhn, „alle Wünsche des Handels zufriedenzustellen.“



Das Ministerium
„Die Ursachen für diese Mängel“, erblickt uns im Ministerium für Leichtindustrie, Staatssekretär Kanak, „gelegt neben gewissen Rohstoffmengen, die bis vor kurzem bei uns“

III. 9: Wo bleibt der graue Sportrock? Auf den Spuren eines seltenen Gastes der HO-Geschäfte (1953) In NBI Issue 43 4.

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