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## Seksualiteit en Politiek

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15. Een demotische inscriptie (I. *Louvre* 335) noemt 'de feestdag van Isis en de geboorte van Parioo Caesar' op 23 Pauni, regeringsjaar 5 (23 juni 47 v. Chr.); zie verder: Plut. *Caes.* 49.10, *Ant.* 54.6; Suet. *Jul.* 52.1.
16. Suet. *Jul.* 52.2 (Gaius Oppius schreef een pamflet om aan te tonen dat Caesar niet de vader was Cleopatra's zoon); zie ook: Cass. Dio 47.31.5, 50.1.5; Lindsay, *Cleopatra*, 44, 88; Grant, *Cleopatra*, 84; Pomeroy, *Women*, 25-26; Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Empire*, 238.
17. Het voorgaande artikel is een uitgebreide versie van: 'Was Cleopatra Beautiful?' in *Ancient World Magazine* (27 dec. 2018, <https://www.ancientworldmagazine.com/articles/was-cleopatra-beautiful/>) en in *Ancient History Encyclopedia* (18 feb. 2020, <https://www.ancient.eu/article/1491/was-cleopatra-beautiful/>).

## Angelina Eimannsberger and Kristen R. Ghodsee Politicized Representations of Love and Sex

### Reading the GDR's *Das Magazin*

"It is time to recognise openly that love is not only a powerful natural factor, a biological force, but also a social factor. Essentially love is a profoundly social emotion. At all stages of human development love has (in different forms, it is true) been an integral part of culture."

— Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for *Winged Eros*"<sup>1</sup>

Often referred to as the "New Yorker of the East," the GDR weekly *Das Magazin* is a surprisingly quirky and fun cultural artifact that has not previously been studied extensively. In particular, we argue that *Das Magazin* allows a glimpse into the advancements of women in the GDR. Its articles, stories, and images promoted a unique and non-commodified ideal of love, self-care, and women's sexuality. In a society where women are relatively economically independent because the state has promoted their education and employment, and has socialized childcare, we observe that representations of love and sexuality were generally disassociated from the transactional ethos so pervasive in the West.

#### Introduction

Love and sex loom large in most people's lives wherever they live and no matter what the political system. Social customs and public rituals around love and sex will take different forms, as will cultural practices and individual idealizations of the perfect mate, but the basic desire to form meaningful

relationships of trust and intimacy with other people seems almost universal. To imagine otherwise undermines the common humanity that unites us across geographies and historical epochs.

And yet one of the most persistent stereotypes about ordinary life in the state socialist countries of 20th-century Central and Eastern Europe is that communists were sexless prudes. As Ghodsee and Lišková argued in 2016, negative portrayals of the supposed frigidity of socialist societies were so often reproduced in the Western media during the Cold War that asserting these claims no longer requires academic substantiation: today "[t]he trope of communist 'purtanism' gets repeated in the scholarship without citation because it has attained the status of 'common knowledge...'"<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the most famous expression of this sentiment comes from George Orwell's well-known anti-Stalinist novel, *1984*, where one character celebrates a future world without eroticism: "The sex instinct will be eradicated. Procreation will be an annual formality like the renewal of a ration card. We shall abolish the orgasm. Our neurologists are at work upon it now. There will be no loyalty, except loyalty towards the Party. There will be no love, except the love of Big Brother."<sup>3</sup> But these stereotypes reflect a deep-seated Western ideological bias rather than the lived realities of 20th-century socialism in Eastern Europe.<sup>4</sup>

This short article examines the representation of love and sexuality in the German Democratic Republic [GDR] through its cultural and everyday representation in the pages of a wildly popular socialist publication: *Das Magazin*. We argue that in its 45-year history, the leaders of the GDR quite deliberately promoted the idea that healthy intimate relationships were a unique benefit of living in a modern socialist polity. Regardless of whether sexual practices were shaped by state policies or grassroots practices, sex and love were explicitly political insofar as the Socialist Unity Party (SED) deployed discussions of love and sexuality as a way to enhance its legitimacy, to manage discontent in its population, and to shore up a sense of advancement and even moral superiority towards other countries, in particular, Western Germany and the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, the SED used sexuality to distract citizens from the authoritarian nature of the regime and the persistent consumer shortages and travel restrictions that characterized East German life. But this does not mean the discourse on sex was limited to shoring up power: scholars have argued that "sex under communism was not a meaningless distraction or a commercial exchange, but an intimate and loving act between two equal

partners."<sup>6</sup> The historian Dagmar Herzog confirms that in "the twentieth century, sexual matters also acquired growing political salience. Sexuality became [...] a locus of increasing government-citizen negotiation [...] liberalizing and repressive impulses together worked to make conflicts over sexual matters consequential for politics writ large."<sup>7</sup>

The GDR's openness about sexual issues, encouragement of pre-marital sex, the eventual protection of women's reproductive rights, the ongoing backing of single mothers, as well as the increasing support for gay and lesbian rights, suggest that political economy has an enormous impact on the way that love, beauty, and sexuality are represented and discussed in public fora.<sup>8</sup>

In particular, we are interested in how formal gender equality and women's economic independence changes how people experience sexuality. How do sex and love become liberated when finding a financially stable husband is no longer part of a woman's or a mother's romantic considerations? We attempt to shed light on this question based on a discourse analysis and content review of ninety-one issues of *Das Magazin*, dated from 1956 to 1990.

In this brief essay, we argue that the articles, stories, and images in *Das Magazin* promoted a unique and non-commodified ideal of love, self-care, and women's sexuality. In a society where women are relatively economically independent because the state has promoted their education and employment, and has socialized childcare, we observe that representations of love and sexuality were generally disassociated from the transactional ethos so pervasive in the West. If in capitalist countries women's sexuality is commercialized and used to sell goods and services and women are often experiencing sexual relationships as inherently economical, in the GDR an alternative view of women's sexuality began to develop, one liberated from the realm of commerce. Instead, it was used to promote an ideal of more natural and authentic human relationships between men and women. These different representations of women's sexualities may reflect the distinct political cultures between 20th-century capitalist and socialist societies.

### *Das Magazin*: A Short History

Often referred to as the "New Yorker of the East," an earlier version of *Das Magazin* was founded before the Second World War. It featured the young Marlene Dietrich on the cover before being shuttered in 1941. The SED revived the publication in 1954, one year after the East German uprising.

Eimannsberger and Ghodsee

with intellectual bolstering by the writer Bertolt Brecht. From 1955, the female editor-in-chief, Hilde Eisler, gave a valuable platform to women authors and artists. Well-known and respected writers like Christa Wolf, Anna Seghers and Arnold Zweig contributed to its pages, and the influential sexologist Siegfried Schnabl (author of the second most popular book in the entire history of East Germany) often discussed issues of love, sex, and marriage behind the whimsical covers created by the famous cartoonist, Werner Klemke.<sup>9</sup> Many early contributors were also Jewish intellectuals and the magazine provided an important platform for Jewish culture after the horrors of the Holocaust.<sup>10</sup>

Importantly, *Das Magazin* was the sole East German publication receiving state subsidies to publish stories, articles, and images from non-socialist countries. Eisler had a wide social network among artists, writers, and other intellectuals in West European capitals. She also adored Parisian fashion, and reserved writing about it for herself.<sup>11</sup> In the 1930s, Eisler had been a member of the banned German Communist Party (KPD), and many foreign contributors were sympathetic with her communist ideals.<sup>12</sup>

According to Evmearie Badstübner, the publication wanted to integrate itself into the popular culture of the GDR. It endeavored to be responsive to the tastes and interests of its readership even if this meant dealing with topics little discussed in other East German media. *Das Magazin* strove “to deliver convincing food for thought for individuals to make up their minds within a socialist framework, but without ideological pressure and especially without boring the readers.”<sup>13</sup> Not surprisingly, West German critics have been far less forgiving of the publication, viewing it as no more than “glittering” propaganda that attempted “to warm up discontented citizens for socialism.”<sup>14</sup>



Figure 1: In 1929, the young Marlene Dietrich posed as a cover model for *Das Magazin*.

## Politicized Representations of Love and Sex

Whether it was pure propaganda, a small pocket of democratic culture and debate within a state-controlled media, or (most likely) something in between, *Das Magazin* soon became one of the most beloved cultural products of the GDR. One reader reported that picking up the new issue of *Das Magazin* was “like reaching for a glass of champagne after a hard work week.”<sup>15</sup> If a married couple was lucky enough to have a subscription, this valuable asset would become part of their settlement in case of a divorce; in other families, the subscription would be included in someone’s will.<sup>16</sup> This popularity existed because “the Magazine worked for its readers as a peeping box to the big, wide world,” containing rare and valuable information and art.<sup>17</sup>

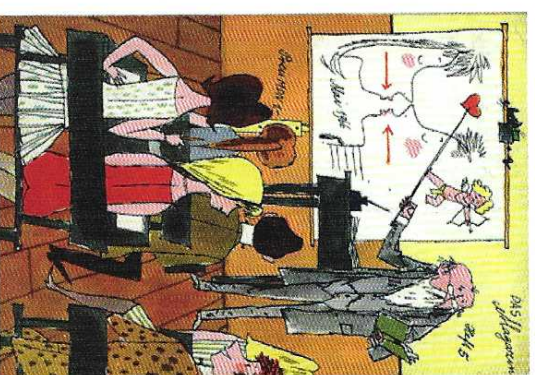


Figure 2: In a joke about the progressive sexual education in the GDR, these students are already ahead of their old teacher’s instructions about kissing.

## Politics and Sexuality in the GDR

“Sweet tomat kitty (31/5’8”, nonsmoker, not uninteresting, university degree in applied studies) would like to meet petite, photogenic, young woman or mother, interested in photography, road trips, nudity, sex, eroticism, culture.”<sup>18</sup>

“Sensual Rubenesque female prepared for 69ing, 5’5”, widowed, is seeking renewed affirmation and fulfillment in high-quality, long-term partnership with zestful, all-around educated, male addition between 40 and 65 with inclination for eroticism, generosity, tolerance and open-mindedness as well as engaged in a conscious designing of life.”<sup>19</sup>

As these two representative GDR-era *Kontakanzeigen* (personal ads) from the “Treffpunkt” (meeting place) section of *Das Magazin* demonstrate, Western stereotypes of prudish communists misrepresent a much more nuanced socialist culture of eroticism. The SED actively shaped public

discourses and legal structure to promote healthy sex lives, and indeed the state was actively involved in shaping the sex lives of East Germans because leaders believed that "sexual fulfillment was a right and a duty for all citizens as one aspect of the 'fully developed Socialist persona.'"<sup>20</sup> Instead of the sexual revolution familiar from Western narratives of the 20th-century, Dagmar Herzog observes that "East Germany experienced a far more gradual evolution of sexual mores" (our emphasis).<sup>21</sup> Indeed, 1950s East Germany was far more sexually liberated than West Germany during the same era.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 3: With the same clothes and similar hairstyles, this couple seems to suggest both gender-fluidity as well as egalitarian gender relations.

Most importantly, women's education and employment, which were a specific target of state policy, dramatically changed sexual practices: "According to the SED, an important component of sexual health was the equality of men and women and the economic independence of women."<sup>23</sup> However, both sexual liberalization and women's empowerment in the GDR were also motivated by political concerns. The SED discursively justified its policies as continuing the intellectual and ethical legacies of socialist women's activists like Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Clara Zetkin and Alexandra Kollontai, but East German leaders also promoted women's economic independence to both mobilize female labor force participation and to prop up a falling birthrate. After evidence that working women found it difficult to combine their work and family obligations, the SED introduced a raft of new policies to support women as both workers and mothers.<sup>24</sup>

Because of this mix of genuine ideology and practical questions of necessity, traditional gender roles in the GDR were not dramatically affected by women's wage labor and a tentatively liberalizing sexuality. According to Josie McLellan, gender equality in the GDR "did not require or encourage a fundamental rethinking of gender roles. Rather, the emphasis of both social policy and mainstream discussion was on helping women to combine work and domestic duties."<sup>25</sup> However, because they had achieved relative financial independence, East German women could easily initiate divorces, giving them

significant leverage to escape inequality or unhappiness at home.<sup>26</sup> Herzog also confirms that it was not only women's higher labor force participation rates, but rather the difference "in the combination of institutional structures and strong rhetorical support in the East that made women's work for wages not only possible but also much less guilt-inducing."<sup>27</sup> Compared to their former compatriots in West Germany, who suffered from "the psychological misery induced...by the idealization of faithful, homebound femininity and self-sacrificing wife- and motherhood,"<sup>28</sup> the SED encouraged East German women to seek out education and employment as a form of socialist self-actualization. The socialist state did not challenge traditional gender roles but rather focused on reducing the social, political, and economic consequences of being a woman through a concerted program of state interventions to socialize as much of women's traditional care work as possible.

### Representing Love and Sexuality in Print: *Kontaktanzeigen*

"Love is not in the least a 'private' matter concerning only the two loving persons: love possess a uniting element which is valuable to the collective"  
— Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros."<sup>29</sup>

In its efforts to both entertain and educate its readership, the editors of *Das Magazin* included many articles, essays, and short stories about marriage, romance, love and sexuality, topics of great interest to East Germans who treasured their private lives.<sup>30</sup>

Also, beginning in the 1950s and tucked away in the back pages of the publication, one could find the columns of the *Kontaktanzeigen* for lonely hearts to place short ads seeking companions. Both men and women would write brief descriptions of themselves followed by similarly abbreviated lists of characteristics they were seeking in a potential partner.<sup>31</sup> Although we do not have the space in such a brief article to do an extended analysis of these personal ads, one striking feature of the texts is the emphasis that some East German women



Figure 4: Maybe the most famous aspect of *Das Magazin* covers was a small black cat, who in this image declares the woman the winner in bed.

already placed on their education and employment in their self-descriptions beginning as early as 1954.

For example, one 32-year-old woman describes herself as a "kindergarten teacher (former laboratory assistant)" [Kindergärtnerin (fr. Laborantin)] in the February 1954 issue of *Das Magazin*. A 21-year-old introduces herself as a bookkeeper [Buchhalterin] before she gives her height and hair color in February 1958 as does a 31-year-old "somewhat unable to walk properly" teacher with her own household [Lehrerin, 31 J., etwas gehbehind., dunkel, schlank; mit eig. Haushalt] in October 1958. By the early sixties, when middle-class West German or American women were only making very tentative first steps into the labor force, East German women who took out ads for themselves (rather than as a group of friends) self-identified as professionals in their searches for potential partners.<sup>32</sup> Not only were their professions not a hindrance, but rather they seem to be a point of pride and in the women's favor. In the March 1962 *Kontakttanzeigen*, we find a 24-year-old healthcare assistant [Assistentin i. Gesuwesen], a 27-year-old academic [Akademikerin], a 27-year-old editor [Lektorin]. By April 1963, we find a 21-year-old news photographer [Pressefotografin], a 29-year-old doctor [Ärztin], a 24-year-old pharmacy assistant [Apothekenassistentin], and a 25-year-old technical assistant [Teilkonstrukteurin].

This newfound professional self-identification of East German women, as well as their relative freedom in romantic affairs was reflected in some of the advertisements, short stories and articles published in the pages of *Das Magazin*. Badstübner argues that all print media, including that in the GDR, participated in the shaping of "societal norms, role models, and behavior patterns."<sup>33</sup> These women could present themselves in new ways in the personal ads because the rest of the magazine opened up for them — as well as for male readers — a broad range of representation of women.

### Representing Love and Sexuality in Print: Advertising

*Das Magazin* combined journalism, literature, and art with everyday objects and concerns. From its rebirth in 1954, it "wanted to be a piece of everyday, practical culture and therefore let itself be directed by the real, existing wishes and needs of an as broad as possible readership."<sup>34</sup> As the cultural product of a state that believed in reshaping everyday life in a socialist manner, it is worth carefully considering the seemingly trivial advertisements for women's beauty products. In stark contrast to such ads in Western magazines, those

in *Das Magazin* emphasize self-care rather than presenting beauty, makeup, and skincare products as tools for heterosexual women to gain and hold the attention of men. The ads in *Das Magazin* address women's beauty as something to be enjoyed by women themselves, a feminine pleasure rather than a form of sexual capital on the heterosexual courtship market.<sup>35</sup>

For example, a close reading of four ads in the February 1958 issue suggests how truly different this discourse is from what Naomi Wolf famously describes as the "beauty myth."<sup>36</sup> Wolf understands the beauty myth to be a form of social control that forces even the most successful, independent women to always self-improve on their looks in order to be acceptable in society. In contrast, on page 1, an ad for Perlonta face cream simply advertises: "Right care... healthy skin." Similarly, on pages 62-3, the ads for make-up and another for moisturizing cream have slogans that emphasize women's own experience of their skin and beauty: one suggests, "Pulmol make-up emphasizes your type." Another skin-care product, *Crème Ledor*, does not have a slogan at all but instead provides a somewhat detailed explanation of new ingredients to maintain 'women's trust' in their product. Lastly, on page 78, there's an ad for face tonic that shows two very elegant women, both in ball gowns. One of them seems to be looking at the other, who is lost in contemplation. The slogan reads, "One glance says it all..." She cleans her face regularly with Tomikumyn face tonic with the deep impact." The picture is of one woman noting another woman taking care of herself. There is no catty undertone detectable, and no need for it, since both women are already beautiful. There is no male gaze judging the beauty of the women. There is also no clarification of why the women are dressed up: is it a girl's night? Are they going on a date? The reader does not know and she does not need to care — all that matters is that these two women are feeling comfortable in their skin, and so can the reader, if she uses this product.

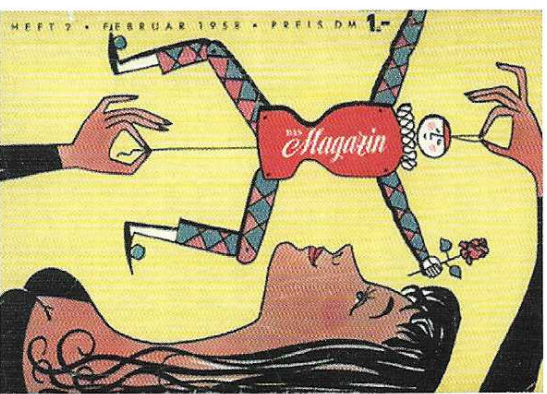


Figure 5: This cover image from 1958 shows a man as a toy for the woman to play with.

Unlike in Western advertisements, beauty here is not hitched to attractiveness to others nor to sexual eligibility. These ads — that are not quite real anyway since there was no competitive market for these products, but rather celebrations of the available lifestyle — do not hail women as objects to improve themselves to ‘get the man’ or to be more attractive to others. Importantly, this does not mean you cannot use those products with dating or sex in mind. Women are certainly addressed as sexual beings in *Das Magazin*. However, speaking to East German women as subjects who might choose to better or change their looks, not as objects that need to self-improve to land a good marriage, these adverts in *Das Magazin* reflect the growing reality of women’s economic independence. The female photographer, editor, or academic who is able to support herself and any children she might have will want to pamper herself after a long work week, rather than uphold some beauty ideal necessary to perform femininity for a husband who is paying her bills or for a society who ties her value to her looks. As suggested by *Das Magazin*, women’s beauty has use value but not exchange value.

#### Representing Love and Sexuality in Print: Nude Photographs

Perhaps the most famous aspect of *Das Magazin* were its nude photographs of women included in all issues of the publication. But again, we argue that women’s economic independence changed how women’s sexuality was experienced in public. Like the advertisements, we believe that women were subjects rather than objects in the nude photography. Eventually, *Das Magazin* also added male nudes, further showing that they were interested in presenting sexy people, not sexualized objects, reflecting the wider Free Body Culture of East German nudism.<sup>37</sup> For example, the models often do not look at the camera and thus avoid being fully available to the viewer. A perusal of 91 issues of *Das Magazin* from 1954 to 1990 reveals images of women as beautiful subjects enjoying their own sensuality, striking artistic poses in sumptuous surroundings.

West German scholar Rainer Eckert has argued that *Das Magazin* was the GDR equivalent to the Western *Playboy*. He considers the magazine as sexually liberated without having a politics undergirding this development, writing that the “magazine attended to mostly apolitical topics, such as fashion and lifestyle, home decoration, travel, as well as new literary directions and it regularly presented nude photographs.”<sup>38</sup> His reading misses the obvious reality that these topics are specifically politicized areas of discussion in the

GDR. Moreover, Eckert admits that these nude photographs are more explicit than pictures that could have been published in Western Germany during the same era. This suggests an earlier sense of sexual openness in society, which in itself is political. While there is no doubt that the nudes were popular and titillating, they also shape how women were perceived in society: they are as attractive and sexual but not objects of desire that only exist in response to the men (and women) looking at the pictures. The visual language of *Das Magazin* has very little in common with the somewhat openly objectifying and even misogynist images of *Playboy*.<sup>39</sup>

In the May 1978 issue of *Das Magazin*, for example, pages 4 and 5 show a woman who is naked waist-up in a meadow. Her hair is short, and she is smiling happily at something away from the camera. In a second photo, she is thoughtfully looking away. While thin and young, she does not pose like a woman we would expect to see in *Playboy*: she is a person caught up in her own life, and only happens to be posing for photographs right now. On page 61 of the same issue, we see a naked woman wrapped partly in a towel on the beach. At first glance, she might be more the typical object of the *Playboy* aesthetics: thin and young again, and with long red-blond hair. But again, she is looking at something away from the camera, she is walking towards the water, and her sex appeal is not the central point of her existence.

Furthermore, while there are these nudes of attractive women, they are only one aspect of a much broader range of representation of women in the magazine as a whole. As Badstübner reflects, it was also “the ‘small’ older woman in her apron [who] was occasionally represented in the *Magazin* or had a chance to voice her opinions without discrimination.”<sup>40</sup> While there were certainly strong socialist mores against the objectification of women’s sexuality as a commercial product, we also believe that *Das Magazin* endeavored to represent women as fully self-actualized individuals even if they never actively undermined gender stereotypes of women’s “natural” femininity. Politically, the SED understood that representing men and women as equal and loving partners in the building of the bright socialist future, while perhaps sometimes disingenuous, was an alternative to the capitalist style of “manufacturing consent” for the ruling elites.<sup>41</sup> Whatever their ultimate intentions, the editors, writers, artists, and photographers that worked with *Das Magazin* produced a popular publication which reflected a new reality of women’s relative emancipation, and this reflection of reality ultimately helped reinforce and further promote women’s own desires for economic independence.



## Conclusion

"[By 1960], marriage between wealthy older men and young girls almost didn't take place anymore in the GDR." -Badstübner, "Zeig"<sup>342</sup>

In a society where sexuality isn't a commodity, sexualized images of women are not commodified. In this brief essay, we have shown that the representations of women, sex, sexuality, and gender relations in *Das Magazin* provide textual evidence for previous scholarship on the relative sexual liberalization of the GDR compared to West Germany. A closer reading of the cultural products of the GDR can provide a window onto how fundamental changes in overall political and economic structures help explain the way that women under socialism took advantage of the new opportunities made available to them by their mass incorporation into the labor force after World War II. More importantly, the changes in women's own self-representations (e.g., mentioning their professional careers before their height and hair color in personal ads) were reflected in the editorial decisions about how to represent women which perhaps also provided legitimacy to the social policies of the SED regime by allowing them to claim moral superiority to the West.

In the end, we argue that *Das Magazin* is not the cultural object that the Western reader would expect to have a long tradition of publication in the GDR: it is light-hearted, and bolsters women and sexuality – which is very different from the contemporaneous cultural objects in the West that were often explicitly anti-woman and/or anti-sexuality. Not *The New Yorker*, not *Ms. Magazine*, and not *Playboy*; *Das Magazin* was a publication that celebrated everyday life, culture, and that embraced women and sexuality in order to uphold the unique political perspectives of a 20th-century state socialist regime. Rather than being an apolitical product to distract a potentially unsatisfied population, *Das Magazin* may have actively manufactured consent by promoting women's autonomy and independence, unlike in the capitalist West, where the manufacturing of political consent seemed to require the objectification, subjugation, and ultimate commodification of women, beauty, and sexuality.

## Notes

1. Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros: A Letter to Working Youth," in *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai*, trans. & ed. Alix Holt (New York: Norton, 1980), 278-9.
2. Kristen Ghodsee and Kateřina Lišková, "Bumbling idiots or evil masterminds? Challenging cold war stereotypes about women, sexuality and state socialism," *Filozofija i društvo* 27, no. 3 (2016): 489-50, <https://doi.org/10.2298/FID1603489G>.
3. George Orwell, 1984. (New York: Plume 1983), 276.
4. Kristen Ghodsee, "What the socialist Kama Sutra tells us about Sex behind the Iron Curtain," *Washington Post*, November 20, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2018/11/20/what-communist-kama-sutra-tells-us-about-sex-ussr/>.
5. Although the SED shaped the discourse on sex in important ways, we also agree with McLellan that a lot of GDR sexual practices grew from the grassroots. Josie McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism: Intimacy and Sexuality in the GDR* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011).
6. McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism*, 83.
7. Dagnar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011), 3.
8. Samuel Clowes Huncke, "Gay Liberation Behind the Iron Curtain," *Boston Review*, April 18, 2019, <http://bostonreview.net/gender-sexuality/samuel-clowes-huncke-gay-liberation-behind-iron-curtain>.
9. Rainer Eckert, "Der Playboy der DDR: Die helle Bilderwelt der Diktatur im *Magazin*," [The Playboy of the GDR: the intact world of images of dictatorship in *Magazin*] in *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder 1949 bis heute*, ed. Gerhard Paul (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 106-113.
10. Evmariie Badstübner, "'Zeig', wie das Leben Lacht und Liebt...': Die Unterhaltungszeitschrift *Das Magazin* und ihre Leser zwischen 1954 und 1970," in *Leben in der DDR. Befremdlich Anders*, ed. Evmariie Badstübner (Berlin: Dietz Berlin, 2000), 432-470.
11. Badstübner, "Zeig", 442.
12. Christoph Gunkel, "Einzig amtlich zugelassene Nackte der Republik?" [The only officially approved nude of the Republic], *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), May 27, 2015, <https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/ddr-presse-eulenspiegel-junge-welt-das-magazin-a-1035969.html>.
13. Badstübner, "Zeig", 444.
14. Gunkel, "Einzig," <https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/ddr-presse-eulenspiegel-junge-welt-das-magazin-a-1035969.html>.
15. Badstübner, "Zeig", 432.
16. There are many other stories about how people competed for the rare copies of *Das Magazin*. Those who needed to compete for a rare copy at the newsstands came extremely early in the mornings after a new issue was published. Alternatively, one might buy a few issues of other, poorly selling magazine to get in favor with ones sales person, who would then hide a copy of *Das Magazin* from below the counter between

- the less sought-after other magazines, so as to avoid letting less-loyal customers know about the available copies, see Badstübner pp 445-6.
17. Badstübner, "Zeig" 446.
  18. "Treffpunkt," *Das Magazin*, May 1988, 78.
  19. "Treffpunkt," *Das Magazin*, November 1988, 74.
  20. Ingrid Sharpe, "The Sexual Unification of Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13, no. 3 (July 2004): 349, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3704838>
  21. Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 192.
  22. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 193.
  23. Sharpe, "Sexual Unification," 350.
  24. McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism*, 65.
  25. McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism*, 76.
  26. McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism*, 77.
  27. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 193.
  28. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 193.
  29. Kollontai, "Winged Eros," 279.
  30. Paul Betts, *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Mary Fullbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
  31. For more on the language, word choice, and linguistic changes in personal ads in the GDR, see:
    - Ruth Reher, "Junge Dame aus gutem Hause wünscht charaktervollen, lebensfrohen Akademiker kennenzulernen, Kontaktanzeigen in der DDR," in *Empirische Forschung und Theoriebildung. Beiträge aus Soziolinguistik, Gesprochene-Sprache- und Zweitspracherwerbsforschung: Festschrift für Norbert Dittmar zum 65. Geburtstag. [Empirical research and theory formation. Contributions from sociolinguistics and research on spoken language and the acquisition of a second language: commemorative publication for Norbert Dittmar on his 65th birthday]*, ed. Bernet Ahrenholz, Ursula Bredel, Wolfgang Klein, Martina Rost-Roth, Romuald Skiba (Frankfurt, Main: P. Lang, 2008), 59-69.
  32. Many of the personal ads in *Das Magazin* are placed by pairs or groups of young men and women looking for other pairs or groups of friends. There are also a high percentage of personal ads from students who had not yet settled on a profession.
  33. Badstübner, "Zeig," 436.
  34. Badstübner, "Zeig" 442.
  35. On sexual economics theory see Roy F. Baumeister, Kathleen D. Vohs, (2004). "Sexual economics: Sex as female resource for social exchange in heterosexual interactions," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 8, no. 4 (2004) 339-363, doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0804\_2.
  36. Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* (New York: Harper Prenal, 2002).
  37. McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism*, 144-173.
  38. Eckert, "Playboy," 106.
  39. On feminism and *Playboy*: Gloria Steinem, "A Bunny's Tale," *SHOW* May 1963, <https://sites.dlib.nyu.edu/undercover/sites/dlib.nyu.edu/undercover/files/documents/uploads/editors/Show-A%20Bunny%27%20Tale-Part%20One-May%201963.pdf>; Carrie Pitzulo, "The Battle in Every Man's Bed: 'Playboy' and the Fiery Feminists," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 2 (2008); Kat Stoeffel, "Why Are Feminist Critics Hung Up on *Playboy*?" *The Cut*, December, 11, 2013, <https://www.thecut.com/2013/12/why-are-feminist-critics-hung-up-on-playboy.html>
  40. Badstübner, "Zeig," 442.
  41. Noam Chomsky; Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books).
  42. Badstübner, "Zeig," 455.