

Zeitschrift: Itinera : Beiheft zur Schweizerischen Zeitschrift für Geschichte = supplément de la Revue suisse d'histoire = supplemento della Rivista storica svizzera

Herausgeber: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Geschichte

Band: 32 (2012)

Artikel: Why to shop patriotically : buy domestic / buy national campaigns in Austria and Switzerland during the interwar period

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-1077908>

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Why to shop patriotically

Buy domestic / buy national campaigns in Austria and Switzerland during the interwar period

Oliver Kühschelm

This article focuses on campaigns that wanted consumers to prefer products of domestic/national origin. More precisely, it proposes to take a comparative look on corresponding Austrian and Swiss initiatives.¹ The investigated period will be the interwar years. Since the principal goal of the campaigns was to encourage patriotic shopping behaviour, we will study the discourse² on consumption as it was constructed through the institutional frame of promotional campaigns.

To emphasize that some product was ‘made in ...’ will mean entirely different things depending on whom this piece of information is directed to. When in 1887 the British Merchandise Marks Act stipulated that all products of German origin had to be labelled “Made in Germany”, the intention famously was to tell the subjects of the Empire that those imported products were not “ours”, this is not British.³ It did not work out as had been planned and the “made in”-label has long since become a staple of export-oriented promotion. Whether conceived as a warning or as a call for goodwill, in both cases products and consumers are supposed not to be from the same country. A different task is communicating the domestic or national origin of products to a we-group of people who is expected to acknowledge the promoted products as “ours”. A Swiss source from 1940 rightly observed that abroad “the ‘national’ loses its sentimental, civic-patriotic significance”. “[For- eigners] buy our watches not motivated by solidarity but because they are good.”⁴

This paper is concerned with promotional communication that targeted Austrian and Swiss people exhorting them to buy Austrian and Swiss products respectively. In order to analyse such a call for patriotic consumption, I suggest drawing

1 There has been done surprisingly little research that takes a comparative look on Austria and Switzerland. Cf. Urs Altermatt (ed.), *Schweiz und Österreich: Eine Nachbarschaft in Mitteleuropa*, Wien 1995.

2 For my understanding of discourse the main reference are works by authors aligned with the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. Cf. Siegfried Jäger, *Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einführung*, 4th ed., Münster 2004; Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*, 2nd ed., London 2006; Theo Leeuwen, *Discourse and practice: new tools for critical analysis*, New York, NY. 2008.

3 Cf. Maiken Umbach, “Made in Germany”, in: Etienne François and Hagen Schulze (eds.), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, München 2001, pp. 405–418.

4 Swiss Economic Archive (Schweizerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv – SWA), PA 486, D 194, Die nationale Warenpropaganda als Mittel der Handelspolitik (1940), 9.

a distinction between “buy-domestic” and “buy-national” promotion. The former refers to products which have been made within the borders of a given state. This might seem a clear criterion, but it can be a matter of dispute which products qualify as domestic production. For example, is it enough that a product has been locally manufactured or should it also be taken into account where the employed capital is from? On the other hand, the call to buy national implies a link to the nation as an imagined community. It ‘nationalises’ products connecting them to well-established national symbols: the national flag and colours; the landscape, monuments, and more generally places of – national and touristic – interest; the heroic past of the nation; the purported virtues of its members.⁵ Campaigns may address both the buy-domestic and the buy-national dimension. As will be shown, this is the case with the Swiss campaign, yet not with the Austrian.

Campaigns that ask fellow citizens to mind the domestic origin of products usually are driven by business interests. In her study about the United States as a *Consumers’ Republic* Liz Cohen introduced the distinction between the ideal of the ‘citizen consumer’, meaning an active role of consumers in shaping the republic, and the ‘purchaser consumer’, who is expected to buy as much as possible of whatever the national industry produces. Buy-domestic campaigns of the kind we will discuss here are clearly more in line with the concept of the ‘purchaser consumer’.⁶ However, the call for patriotic shopping rested on the conviction that consumption is not a wholly private matter, but an issue of public concern.⁷ In this respect both the Swiss and the Austrian campaign represented a particular strand of a broad and long-standing discourse centred on the moral aspects of consumption.⁸

5 Cf. Oliver Kühschelm, Franz X. Eder, and Hannes Siegrist, “Einleitung, Konsum und Nation”, in: idem (eds.), *Konsum und Nation. Zur Geschichte nationalisierender Inszenierungen in der Produktkommunikation*, Bielefeld: transcript, forthcoming; an interesting study of a buy-national movement: Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*, Cambridge, Mass. 2003.

6 Cf. Elizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*, New York 2004; see also: Matthew Hilton, “Consumer Activism: Rights or Duties?”, in: Kerstin Brückweh (ed.), *The Voice of the Citizen Consumer: a History of Market Research, Consumer Movements, and the Political Public Sphere*, Oxford 2011, pp. 99–116; Sheldon Garon (ed.), *The ambivalent consumer. Questioning consumption in East Asia and the West*, Ithaca, NY, 2006; Sheryl Kroen, “Der Aufstieg des Kundenbürgers? Eine politische Allegorie für unsere Zeit”, in: Michael Prinz (ed.), *Der lange Weg in den Überfluss: Anfänge und Entwicklung der Konsumgesellschaft seit der Vormoderne*, Paderborn, 2003, pp. 533–564.

7 The civic dimension of consumption has been a fertile topic of research since the 1990s: Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt (eds.), *Getting and spending: European and American consumer societies in the twentieth century*, Cambridge/New York / Oakleigh 1998; Hartmut Berghoff (ed.), *Konsumpolitik: die Regulierung des privaten Verbrauchs im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1999; Matthew Hilton, *Consumerism in Twentieth-Century Britain: the Search for a Historical Movement*, Cambridge 2003; Kate Soper and Frank Trentmann (eds.), *Citizenship and consumption*, Basingstoke / New York 2008.

8 Luxury consumption has always been a concern, see for example: Torsten Meyer and Reinhold Reith (eds.), *“Luxus und Konsum” – eine historische Annäherung*, Münster 2003.

The campaigns advanced ideas of ethical consumer behaviour. The 20th century has seen a great many initiatives that wanted consumers to manifest moral and civic commitment through the act of purchase. In some cases it was more about refraining from buying 'bad' products, this is participating in a boycott; in other cases the emphasis lay on a 'buycott',⁹ the purchase of a determined set of 'good' products. Withholding consumption served the goal of enhancing citizenship, as with the US civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, but it could also be used as a means of promoting the exclusion from the polity or the nation. Since the late 19th century the nationalist boycott of Jewish shops was a common phenomenon in all of Central Europe.¹⁰ Nowadays the ideas of fair trade and of green consumption have gained prominence, but with the unfolding of a global economic crisis the call to make patriotic purchase decisions has also made its comeback.¹¹

Buy-domestic/buy-national campaigns confronted recipients with ready-made slots of identification. While the analysis will show some aspects of what was offered or demanded from consumers as citizens/co-nationals, it will neither be centred on the adoption of the promotional messages by consumers nor on their actual purchases and consumption practices. Instead the article will elucidate the structural features of texts that form part of a discourse demanding to give preference to products made in Switzerland or made in Austria. How was the call to patriotic shopping spelled out, which methods of persuasion were used? When advocating a preference for domestic/national products, which political, cultural, and economic aspects of such a buycott were emphasized in order to give the domestic/national, however defined, prevalence over other product attributes? Which mechanisms of persuasion – normative, affective, or cognitive – were employed and how were they combined? To give some answers, albeit in a sketchy way, we will compare a series of posters commissioned by the Swiss Week to another one issued by its Austrian counterpart.

As a tool for the analysis of buy-domestic/national campaigns I have built the matrix shown below. (fig. 1) It is not possible to test all its implications in this paper, but it will help us to grasp some of the essential differences between the Austrian and the Swiss campaigns. It assumes affinities between a determined frame of reference, certain mechanisms of persuasion, the employed rhetoric instruments and the outlined perspective for the recipient as an individual and as part of a collective whole. If for example national imagery is used, the campaign hopes

9 Cf. Monroe Friedman, *Consumer boycotts: Effecting change through the marketplace and the media*, New York 1999, 11, pp. 201–212.

10 For Germany cf. Hannah Ahlheim, "*Deutsche, kauft nicht bei Juden!*" *Antisemitismus und politischer Boykott in Deutschland 1924 bis 1935*, Göttingen 2011.

11 An Austrian example: <http://www.heimischkaufen.at/aktuelles.html> (14 Nov. 2011).

Figure 1. Matrix of buy-domestic/buy-national campaigns.

Frame of reference	Nation	Nation-State	State	National Economy
Dimension of Argument	Cultural		Political	Economic
Mechanism of persuasion	Affective		Normative	Cognitive
Rhetoric device	Imagery		Imperative	Chain of arguments
Defining quality of domestic goods	Domestic goods embody national values / traditions.			Domestic goods have been made by domestic producers.
Individual Perspective	Sense of Belonging (Heimat)		Responsible citizen	Keeping your job
Collective Perspective	Proud nation / weak nation		Stability / instability	Affluent society / poor society

to arouse a positive affective reaction on part of the recipient. It links the call to buy a determined set of goods with the idea of the nation as a cultural entity, and it promises the affirmation of belonging to this community. Sure, emotions have a cognitive dimension. They often serve as the starting point of an elaborate process of reasoning, which on the other hand will not consist exclusively of a chain of arguments built up according to the rules of logic. It will also make use of verbal and visual imagery. So the picture will get more blurry as soon as we apply the matrix to empiric data gathered in historic research. Not incidentally, my buy-domestic/national matrix is inspired by related works in marketing studies.¹² Research in history generally shies away from what is seen as the simplifying and reductive view of an applied science, the goal of which is to orient business decisions. However, the categories used by studies in marketing, which are often elaborated for testing via quantitative methods, might not always be the best thing to end with, but they offer a good point to start from.

When considering propaganda on behalf of domestic goods, the activities of other countries in this vein are always of the greatest interest. This holds true for the retrospective analysis of the historian, but it was equally relevant for those who wanted to step up buy-domestic campaigns in the interwar years. Hence, before a Buy-Austrian working group was established in the mid 1920s, the Ministry of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Federation of Industry gathered a survey of buy-domestic measures sponsored by foreign governments. Maybe the most exciting example was provided by British campaigns. A call to buy Austrian had to be perfectly legitimate, its proponents suggested, if in the United Kingdom, the “stronghold of free trade” (*Emporium des Freihandels*), consumers were asked to mind the national origins of goods. In spring 1926 the Empire Marketing Board had been created. It should win over consumers to imperial shopping. The board used a broad array of propaganda means and at its peak it employed about 120 people.¹³ However, a model that in many respects came much closer to the situation of the Austrian Republic was found in the Swiss-Week organisation.

- 12 Cf. Kent L. Granzin and John J. Painter, “Motivational influences on ‘buy domestic’ purchasing: Marketing management implications from a study of two nations”, *Journal of International Marketing* 9/2 (2001), pp. 73–94; Mahesh N. Shankarmahesh, “Consumer ethnocentrism: an integrative review of its antecedents and consequences”, *International Marketing Review* 23/2 (2006), pp. 146–172; Irena Vida and James Reardon, “Domestic consumption: rational, affective or normative choice?”, *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 25/1 (2008), pp. 34–44; it also draws inspiration from Hayden V. White, *Metahistory. The historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*, Baltimore 1973.
- 13 Stephen Constantine, *Buy and build: The advertising posters of the Empire marketing board*, London 1986; Stephen Constantine, “Bringing the Empire alive: The Empire Marketing Board and imperial propaganda, 1926–33”, in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and popular culture*, Manchester 1998, pp. 192–231.

After the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire the territories that formed the new Austrian Republic became what Switzerland had been all along: a small, export oriented state with a liberal foreign trade regime.¹⁴ Free trade is the policy small states tend to favour in their own best interest. An industrialised country cannot thrive on selling capital and consumer goods on a small interior market of just a few million people.¹⁵ The need to export is further increased by the common strategy of small states to develop know-how in highly specialised areas of production. This enables them to compete on international markets, but makes them utterly dependent on foreign demand. On the other hand, imports play a vital role for small economies. Even in big countries like Italy or Germany autarchy turned out to be an impossible goal. However, the thorough 'nationalisation' of the product landscape was an even less plausible vision in small states. While frequently demanded by inward-oriented industries, agricultural producers, and the public, protectionist policies for all these reasons could only be pursued with great caution. When an open trade policy could not be kept up, since the 19th century small countries mostly opted for a restrained and selective brand of protectionism.¹⁶ Apart from more or less subtle administrative measures, governments and business interest groups often resorted to the seemingly innocent call on consumers to prefer domestic products.

In principle, the same holds true for big countries. The Empire Marketing Board was established when Britain gradually receded from its former free trade stance, which had not only been a trade policy, but also a strong civic and moral conviction.¹⁷ In 1933, after the government had adopted tariff protection, the Empire Marketing Board was dissolved.¹⁸ Summing up, in small and big countries alike buy-domestic campaigns often serve as a substitute for tariffs. However, small countries cannot but bear in mind the possibility of retaliation even when only making a promotional effort on behalf of domestic consumption. Hence the Austrian and the Swiss campaigns always emphasized their defensive character

14 Peter Berger, "The Austrian Economy, 1918–1938", in: John Komlos (ed.), *Economic Development in the Habsburg Monarchy and the Successor States*, New York 1990, pp. 270–284; Jens-Wilhelm Wessels, *Economic policy and microeconomic performance in inter-war Europe: The case of Austria, 1918–1938*, Stuttgart 2007.

15 See Timo Myllyntaus, "Introduction", in: Timo Myllyntaus (ed.), *Economic crises and restructuring in history: experiences of small countries*, St. Katharinen 1998, pp. 3–20.

16 Margrit Müller, "Introduction", in: Margrit Müller and Timo Myllyntaus (eds.), *Pathbreakers: small European countries responding to globalisation and deglobalisation*, Bern/Wien 2008, pp. 11–35.

17 Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade nation. Commerce, consumption, and civil society in modern Britain*, Oxford 2008.

18 Robert C. Self, "Treasury Control and the Empire Marketing Board. The Rise and Fall of Non-Tariff Preference in Britain, 1924–1933", in: *Twentieth Century British History* 5/2 (1994), pp. 153–182.

and claimed not to take an aggressive stand against foreign products or foreign companies.

As small industrialised countries, Austria and Switzerland shared much in common. Yet the differences remained equally important. In Austria openness to foreign competition was treated as a necessary evil, not a virtue of the nation to be proud of. Furthermore, Switzerland was a well-established nation-state with long-standing liberal and democratic traditions, while neighbouring Austria was mostly defined as the remains of a shattered Empire and reigned by doubts as to whether such a small state was economically viable and culturally desirable (leading as it were a separate existence from other Germans). The new republican democracy was heavily contested and already in the early 1930s it was replaced by an authoritarian form of government.

After intense consultations in late spring 1927, the “Working Group of Economic Bodies ‘Buy Austrian Goods’” was formed.¹⁹ Although many more organisations participated in the working group, it really was a joint venture of the Chamber of Commerce and the Federation of Industry. The initiative had been the Ministry of Trade’s, which contributed considerably in matters of funding, but otherwise thought it prudent to keep in the background. The government feared to be implicated in any propaganda that might be interpreted as calling for a boycott of foreign products. In the case of the Swiss-Week Federation the image of a private-run organisation was not just a façade upheld for diplomatic reasons. The organisation had been founded by businessmen and did not rely to a comparable degree on funding from the state or parastatal sources. The first Swiss Week had been organized in 1917 reacting to the interruption of international trade brought about by World War I. As the later buy-Austrian venture it was also inspired by British initiatives of the same kind, which had already taken place before the war.²⁰

19 Melanie Graf, “Kauft österreichische Waren!” *Gemeinschaftswerbung in der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Dipl.-Arb., Wien, 2009; Oliver Kühschelm, “Implicit boycott: The call for patriotic consumption in interwar Austria”, in: *Management & Organizational History* 5/2 (2010), pp. 165–195; Andrea Morawetz, “Aufbruch in eine bessere Welt: ‘Kauft österreichische Waren!’ Politische Produktkommunikation in der Zwischenkriegszeit”, in: *Medien & Zeit*, no. 2 (2007), pp. 4–14.

20 Mario König, “Von der wahren Nationalität der Waren. Schweizerische Wirtschaftspropaganda im 20. Jahrhundert”, in: Elio Pellin (ed.), *Weiss auf Rot. Das Schweizer Kreuz zwischen nationaler Identität und Corporate Identity*, Zürich 2004, pp. 129–140; Thomas Oberer, *Armbrust und Schweizerwoche: Symbole der Nationalen Warenpropaganda in der Schweiz der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Liz.-Arb. Univ. Basel 1991.



Figure 2. Swiss-Week Poster, 1928 (Swiss Economic Archives, CH SWA PA 486 I 1, Privataarchiv Armbrust / Schweizer Woche).

Celebrating the Swiss nation

Every year the Swiss-Week organisation had an official poster designed, which heralded the shopping week dedicated to Swiss products. What did these posters show? We see mountains and flowers and all sorts of references to the Alpine landscape. An indispensable element of the posters is the Swiss Cross, which often occupies centre stage as when the Cross takes the place of the sun shining brightly on an Alpine mountain range (1928). (fig. 2) The poster from 1924 introduces us to a group of four heroic labourers hoisting the flag, and the one from 1926 depicts

a Swiss craftsman clad in an apron who is wielding the flag. Sometimes there is not much to see but the national emblem. Another key visual is representations of production: The poster from 1920 shows a peasant ploughing a field, but it goes beyond celebrating agricultural labour. In the background the chimneys of a factory rise high to the sky. In this case we see a human actor and the process of production, in other cases objects, for example a cog wheel or a head of wheat, represent production metonymically. Mostly, the posters render Swiss production set in a Swiss landscape and accompanied by the Swiss Cross. Production is framed by national imagery and thereby 'nationalised'.

To use national symbols for commercial promotion was not a new strategy. Tourism, since the mid-19th century an important source of income for Switzerland, had played a more than significant role in converting national myths and stereotypes into advertising content. Tourism generated a constant flux of images, which strengthened the identification of Switzerland and the Swiss nation with the Alps. Mountain ranges feature prominently in Swiss-Week posters, but we also find another characteristic element of 19th century tourist advertising, the juxtaposition of the modern and the traditional.²¹ Besides, the Swiss Week can be regarded as an inheritor of earlier practices of displaying pride in domestic production, which was a main point of events like the Swiss national exhibition. The Swiss samples fair in Basle, which was first held in April 1917, also preceded the first Swiss Week in October of the same year. Furthermore, many Swiss companies had been using a nationalising product communication for a long time. The concentrated-milk industry sought to connect its product with an Alpine imagery since the 1870s, and around 1900 the chocolate industry increasingly advertised its product as rooted in Swiss soil instead of playing on the exotic connotations of cacao. This symbolic shift had started in the wake of a technological innovation, the creation of milk chocolate, which allowed for a link with Swiss cows and mountains.²² Forging a close connection to the nation was also one of the marketing goals of Maggi. Since the first decade of the 20th century, the company organised promotional lectures for children and adults. Slideshows presented agriculture and food processing as well as images of Switzerland. These "Schweizerbilder" consisted of photographs depicting Swiss monuments and landscapes along with heroic

21 Laurent Tissot, "Tourism in Austria and Switzerland: Models of Development and Crises, 1880–1960", in: Timo Myllyntaus (ed.), *Economic crises and restructuring in history: experiences of small countries*, St. Katharinen 1998, pp. 285–302, Laurent Tissot, "From Alpine Tourism to the 'Alpinization' of Tourism", in: Eric G. E. Zuelow (ed.), *Touring beyond the nation: a transnational approach to European tourism history*, Farnham, 2011, pp. 59–78.

22 Roman Rossfeld, *Schweizer Schokolade: industrielle Produktion und kulturelle Konstruktion eines nationalen Symbols 1860–1920*, Baden 2007, pp. 425–460.



Figure 3. Poster by Joseph Binder, ca. 1931 (Viennese Chamber of Commerce, E 27.468).

moments of the national past.²³ Not surprisingly, the company considered it her national duty (“*nationale Pflicht*”) to participate in the first Swiss Week.²⁴

The heavy use of national imagery might seem an inevitable trait of a campaign that wanted to inspire pride in Swiss products: what else than showing off production and national symbols should one expect? However, there always exist other options even if the one actually taken seems to be a necessity dictated by the nature of things. To create such an impression, which never bears close examination, is at the heart of what Roland Barthes called a myth.²⁵ Therefore, it is worth figuring out other elements of the paradigm of patriotic shopping. How can this be done? A plausible option is to contrast the posters from the Swiss campaign with subjects from the buy-Austrian promotion.

Let us first have a look at one of the posters issued by the buy-Austrian working group. (fig. 3) It dates from around 1931. We see a young, well dressed woman sporting a winning smile. She wears a handbag, but above all she holds several parcels in her hands. Obviously, she has been shopping and she seems to proudly present her spoils. The only iconic reference to Austria is the trademark of the working group, a stylised Federal Eagle, placed below the headline which tells the recipient what she should do: “Buy Austrian goods!” If contrasted with the aforementioned Swiss posters, it indicates some essential differences between the Austrian campaign and her elder sister from the neighbouring country. Although the Swiss Week exerted huge influence on the shape of the buy-Austrian venture, in some respects the latter diverged significantly from the Swiss path.

However, if we observe marked differences in style and contents of the Swiss and the Austrian posters, we have to consider the specific roles they played in the context of the organizations’ activities. This means to apply a general truth. If texts are different, but no less if they happen to be similar, an analysis that limits itself to the textual does not provide sure ground to assess why this is so. Texts are part of a web of relations which is only partly discursive.²⁶ It involves all type of economic, political, cultural connections even if paradoxically it is mainly through

23 Yvonne Zimmermann, “Heimatspflege zwecks Suppenpromotion. Zum Einsatz von Lichtbildern und Filmen in der Schweizer Lebensmittelbranche am Beispiel von Maggi”, in: *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte* 52/2 (2008), pp. 203–226.

24 Ibid.

25 Cf. Roland Barthes, *Mythen des Alltags*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, p. 113. Barthes and his structuralist approach have strongly influenced the research about advertising: Andrew Wernick, *Promotional culture: advertising, ideology, and symbolic expression*, London / Newbury Park 1991; Judith Williamson, *Decoding advertisements: ideology and meaning in advertising*, London 1978. For a critique of this type of analysis see: Elizabeth Rose McFall, *Advertising: a cultural economy*, London / Thousand Oaks, Calif. 2004, pp. 9–34.

26 Andreas Reckwitz, “Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing”, in: *European Journal of Social Theory* 5/2 (2002), pp. 243–263.

texts that we gain knowledge of those dimensions. From the point of view of a text-centred method like discourse analysis they may appear relegated to the secondary level of 'context', but since a large notional container of everything beyond the text does not explain that much, we have to look for more specific information.²⁷

The different uses of posters by the Austrian and the Swiss campaign

The Swiss posters occupied a central place within the dramaturgy of the Swiss Week. The organisation seems to have focused on only one visual representation each year.²⁸ The Swiss Economic Archive possesses abundant material about the organization and a nearly complete series of the official Swiss-Week posters. It does not conserve other posters issued by the organization. Furthermore, the annual reports of the Swiss-Week organization mention the release of other posters only as an exception to the rule like in 1931, as the economic crisis motivated the organisation to release an additional poster. The highly controversial item – it was criticised for being cast in a too pessimistic mood – highlighted the plight of the Swiss when the world economic crisis began to make itself felt in Switzerland. For the period from 1917 to 1939, we have 21 official posters. Only in 1935, the Swiss-Week organisation failed to produce one because of an unresolved conflict with the Federation of Shopkeepers. In 1939 the interwar period ended. But whereas the fate of the Buy-Austrian working group had been sealed by the "Anschluss" in March 1938, when analysing the posters of the Swiss Week we have no good reason to stop here. The imagery stayed remarkably stable well into the 1950s.

According to the organization's own counting, in 1917 20,409 posters were displayed in shop-windows: 15,668 in the German-speaking areas, 4,741 in the Romandie.²⁹ The poster was sold to businesses. Through this purchase they gained the status of official participants of the event. After a very good start fewer businesses participated in the following years and the amount of sold posters fell to a low of 9,688 in 1922. It then slowly rose again to 20,000 in 1933 and up to 37,000 in 1945. The figure was 40,000 in 1958.³⁰ The Swiss public encountered the poster not only in shop windows. With permission of the Federal Railway and the Swiss Post the posters were displayed in large quantities in train stations and post offices,

27 Bruno Latour makes a good case of mistrusting such all encompassing notions like "context" or "society". Trying hard to stay specific when "social context" would come handy as an explanation seems a good advice: *Eine neue Soziologie für eine neue Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 2010, p. 43.

28 In the first years, though, the campaign had issued different posters: one for shop-windows and one for display at train stations and post offices. Annual Report 1922/23, p. 6.

29 Annual Report 1917, p. 9.

30 Oberer, op. cit., Annex, 56; Annual Report 1957/58, p. 7.

on buses, trains and trams several weeks before the beginning of the Swiss Week, which was always in October.

To promote the first Austrian Week in 1927 the working group used five different motives and a total of 19,230 posters. Most of them were small (17×37 cm) to be displayed indoor and on public transport. However, in Vienna there were also 600 large street posters and another 130 were distributed in the provinces. In 1929 the working group claimed to have doubled the quantity of posters. From 1927 to 1933 the working group issued about 40 different posters.³¹

This is in part due to the fact that the Austrian campaign did not stabilize around a fixed repertoire of promotional measures that were repeated every year. In Switzerland, the promotional effort always culminated in the Swiss Week. True, a state-wide Austrian Week was the first significant undertaking of the buy-Austrian working group in 1927 and after a pause of one year an Austrian Week was again held in 1929. However, already in 1930 the propaganda effort fragmented into many local and regional Austrian Weeks taking place at different times. This still overstrained the limited resources which the organization could hope to mobilise. An internal paper outlining the plans for 1931 explained that Austrian Weeks were too costly and could be held only once in a while. There was no further country-wide Austrian Week in the 1930s. Consequently, the Austrian posters were not as closely tied to a special type of event as the official posters of the Swiss Week. Furthermore, the Austrian posters did not bring money but figured as an important expense item the organization had to cover. The Swiss-Week organization, on the other hand, could make its posters a significant source of income. In the period 1929/30 the sale of posters amounted to roughly 22,700 Swiss francs, this is 24% of the organisation's budget.

The individual shopkeeper who bought the poster subscribed to the conditions of the Swiss-Week organisation. He agreed to display the poster in the shop window on the first day of the Swiss Week and to remove it at its end. He had to refrain from using the Swiss Week to sell off goods cheaply, which would be considered an abuse. Above all the shop window was to contain only Swiss products. The participant had to accept the monitoring by the Swiss Week-organisation.

If the reduced design of some of the posters calls forth the association of coinage or a seal of quality, this hints to what the Swiss-Week posters largely were. They sealed the relation between business-owners and an organisation that provided the promotional material and the ideology, taking charge of events and seeing to media coverage. They also communicated this relation to consumers. If

31 Conveniently enough, the posters are numbered. However, so far I have not succeeded to locate all the posters in Viennese archives.

they saw the poster in a shop window, they could supposedly count on that everything on display was Swiss according to the standards of the Swiss-Week organisation. As they had most probably seen the poster before on a tram or in a post office, they would easily recognize this item. The Swiss posters aimed not so much at persuading citizen-consumers of the necessity to buy Swiss products, but at displaying a bond of shared patriotism between the organization, shopkeepers, and customers. The Austrian posters on the other hand operated on the assumption that the idea of a preferential treatment of domestic products was far from being self-evident. They tried to create a disposition, the existence of which could not be taken for granted. This is a hypothesis that helps us to make sense of some differences regarding the uses of the Austrian and Swiss posters and regarding the posters as verbal and visual texts.

Representations of "Schweizersinn"

A majority of Swiss posters does not contain human actors. With Austrian posters it is the opposite. Many of them show women, men, children and even large masses of people, unemployed men to be precise. Actors on the Swiss posters are given different roles: Often they are denoted as producers. They carry a hay-fork, move a plough or wear the apron of a craftsman. They wear traditional costumes serving as symbols of an age-old country grounded in peasant folklore. In 1940, the head of a soldier in ghostly white towers over the shadowy outlines of a factory and a traditional house. In 1933, a man is calling out to buy Swiss products. However, not a single one of the Swiss posters confronts viewers with a consumer. The Austrian case is different. Some posters feature consumers, most of them women. How do we know that the posters focus on the social role of the consumer? We see a woman surrounded by parcels, people in front of a shop window, or a housewife carrying a shopping basket.

It is not only consumers who are absent in Swiss posters, products are absent as well. Of course, posters had to avoid any reference to a special type of product, let alone an identifiable brand, because this would have been regarded as advertising for a determined economic branch or company. But if they needed a generic reference, a sort of variable, parcels would have been an obvious choice. One could argue that the bundle of wheat in two of the posters stands in for comestibles or agricultural products. However, as a consumer you do not buy wheat, but a loaf of bread. The Swiss-Week posters do not show objects of purchase, they give us objects to admire, to be looked upon with pride, be it the national flag, a bunch of flowers, a mountain range, or a factory as a symbol of industrial might. This goes well with the mantra of the Swiss Week: "Ehret heimisches Schaffen", "Hommage

au travail national”, “onore al lavoro nazionale”. Compare this to the Austrian slogan: “Kauft österreichische Waren!” (“Buy Austrian goods!”) Both are imperatives to be followed by the addressees. But only the Austrian slogan utters an unmistakable order to make the right shopping decisions. Certainly, the abstract notion of paying homage to national work can be understood to call for the purchase of Swiss products. However, paying homage can mean a lot of things, among them, if we stick to what the posters show us, waving or raising the national flag. (fig. 4) Tellingly, only the German version of the Swiss slogan contains a verb, the equivalent of which in French and Italian is a noun.³² The slogan was more about contemplation than action. The verb “ehren” (to honor / to pay tribute to) does not necessarily head towards an ensuing step in a chain of actions, it can express a durative aspect, whereas buying is an action to be completed in an instant and it has two main effects: the shopper holds a product in her hands and the shopkeeper has received money in exchange. It was not before 1931, when the economic crisis had finally reached Switzerland, that for the first time the poster spelled out what paying homage to national work meant in the context of the Swiss Week. The poster contains a copy text that culminates in the claim: “Buy the products on display.” From 1933 onwards the German posters differ from their French and Italian counterparts. The German poster informs: “Die mit diesem offiziellen Plakat ausgestellten Waren sind Schweizerwaren”,³³ while in French the same sentence reads: “Achetez les produits suisses, exposés sous le signe de cette affiche officielle.”³⁴ After the war, for some years the Swiss Week issued posters without this demand, which in the 1950s disappeared altogether. From 1956 to 1960, the posters uttered no imperative of whatever kind. They declared the Swiss Week to offer a synopsis of national achievements (“panorama del lavoro nazionale”, “Leistungsschau der Heimat”).

The organisers of the Swiss Week insisted that selling goods was not their ultimate goal. They did not want their promotional effort to be described as advertising, even less so as advertising in the American style. The general secretary of the Swiss Week declared in 1927: “Gentlemen, you will immediately understand if I indicate to you that American propaganda parades and advertising tricks certainly do not make better Swiss [patriots].”³⁵ This statement echoes widespread resent-

32 In 1924, though, the message of the French poster (fig. 4) read: “Favorisez le travail national”. “Favoriser” refers more clearly to the implied meaning of giving Swiss products a preferential treatment than the German verb “ehren”.

33 “The products on display together with this official poster are Swiss products.”

34 “Buy the Swiss products displayed together with this official poster.”

35 SWA, PA 486, B 83, Referat Dr. E Steuri im Kantonalkomitee Zürich der Schweizerwoche, 19. 9. 1929, 9: “Meine Herren, Sie sind am raschesten im Bild, wenn ich andeute, dass man mit Propagandatumzügen und amerikanischen Reklametricks ganz bestimmt keine bessern Schweizer macht.”

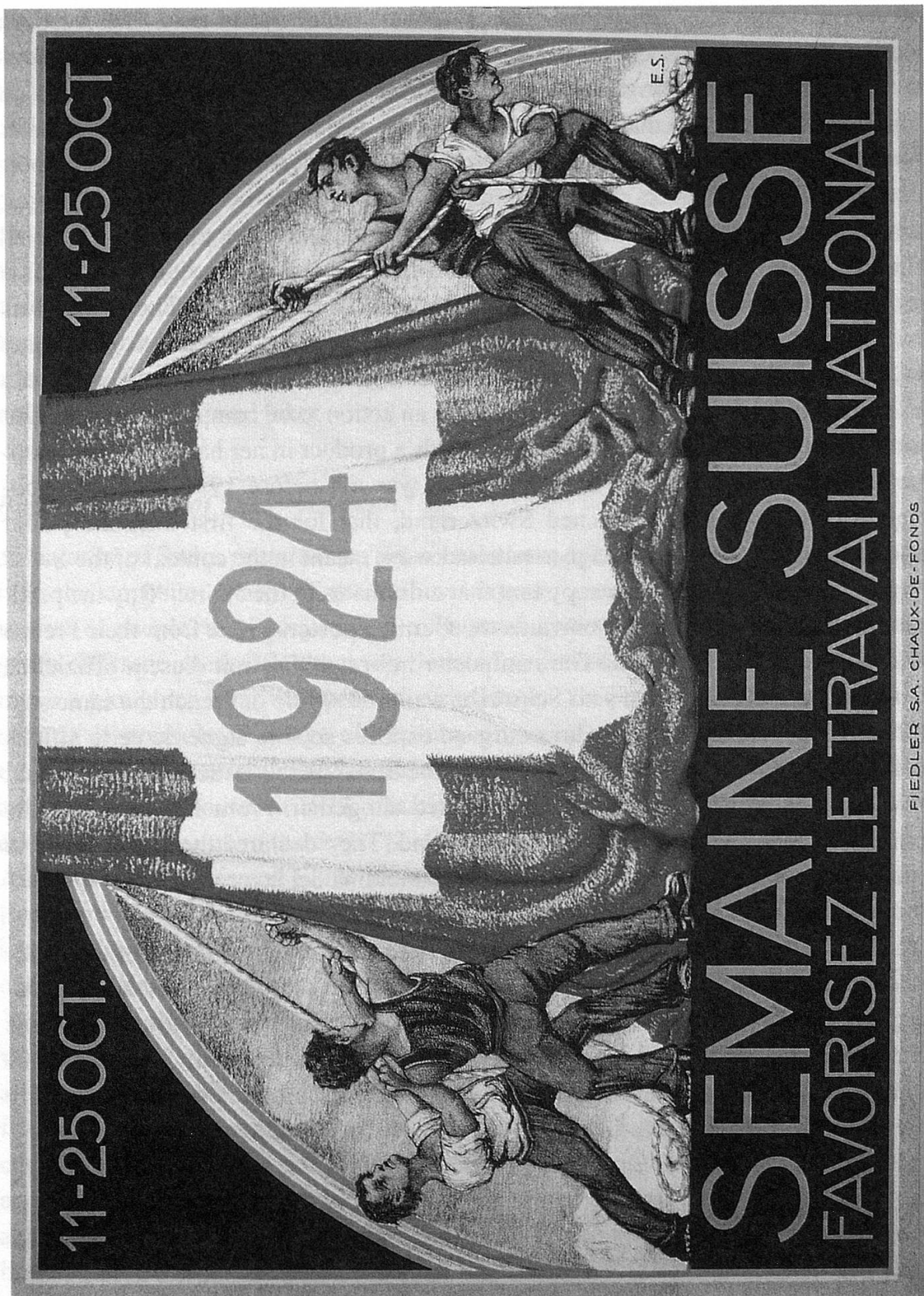


Figure 4. Swiss-Week Poster by E. Sigg, 1924 (Swiss Economic Archives, CH SWA PA 486 I 1, Privataarchiv Armbrust / Schweizer Woche).

ment (mingled with fascination) of the American way of life and of doing advertising.³⁶ But more importantly, it expresses the cultural place the organisers of the Swiss Week imagined for their campaign. They claimed to care above all for the well-being of the nation, which required “Schweizersinn”, a sense of pride and the willingness to solidarity among the Swiss people: “The goal of the Swiss-Week-Federation runs deeper than seeking higher profits for some branches of our national economy. It wants to be a factor in the movement that aims at the political, cultural, and economic renaissance of Switzerland. Therefore, it tries to reach hearts as well as minds.”³⁷ This explains the noble restraint from a direct call to buy Swiss products and the stately appearance of the posters. Most posters did not invite to interact with represented persons, but stage national scenery. Attempting to reach the hearts of the viewers meant to confront them with objects of collective pride.

The Austrian campaign’s sales argument: fear of destitution and longing for pleasurable consumption

The Austrian posters did not assemble national clichés. If they featured the colours of the national flag or the federal eagle, these elements just indicated that it was Austrian goods that the campaign wanted to promote. There are no typical landscapes, no representations of economic prowess, and no clichés of the homo austriacus. While the Swiss posters rely so heavily on national imagery, but say so little about what you actually should do and why you should do this, the Austrian posters are all the opposite. Many of them give reasons why you should buy Austrian products even if you did not feel any emotional attachment to this awkward small state, this unfortunate outcome of an unfortunate war. “Parents! If in the future your country is to provide your children with bread and work, then buy Austrian products!”³⁸ In another poster from 1929 we look over the shoulder of a

36 Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible empire: America’s advance through twentieth-century Europe*, Cambridge, Mass. / London 2005; Alexander Schug, “Werbung und die Kultur des Kapitalismus”, in: Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Claudius Torp (eds.), *Die Konsumgesellschaft in Deutschland, 1890–1990: ein Handbuch*, Frankfurt am Main / New York 2009, pp. 355–369; see also Sibylle Brändli, *Der Supermarkt im Kopf. Konsumkultur und Wohlstand in der Schweiz nach 1945*, Wien 2000, pp. 179, 233–238.

37 “Das Ziel des Schweizerwoche-Verbandes geht tiefer als auf einen besseren materiellen Ertrag einzelner Teile unserer Volkswirtschaft. Er möchte ein Faktor sein in der Bewegung, welche die politische, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Erneuerung der Schweiz im Auge hat. Er sucht daher ebenso sehr auf das Herz wie auf den Verstand zu wirken.” SWA, PA 486 B 83, Dr. Frey, Ziel und Tätigkeit des Schweizerwoche-Verbandes, 1927, p. 1.

38 “Eltern! Wenn die Heimat Euren Kindern einst Brot und Arbeit geben soll – Kauft österreichische Waren!” (poster from 1930).

man who is sitting at a desk. He is writing a letter: "Dear Poldi! I am so happy that my job has not been axed now. If people buy more Austrian goods, no jobs will ever be axed again."³⁹ (fig. 5) The key message of the Austrian campaign is that patriotic consumption reduces unemployment, the scourge of the interwar period. Even during the relatively good years of the mid-1920s, unemployment remained a major problem for the Austrian economy. A contemporary book from Germany, which had gathered information about buy-domestic campaigns from all over the world, observed that the Austrian initiative stood out for its pessimistic tone.⁴⁰

Compare the Swiss Week poster from 1924, the one with the workers hoisting the flag, to a small Austrian poster from 1927 showing a huge mass of people whose claim reads: "140,000 unemployed want a job! Buy Austrian goods!"⁴¹ Or a similar poster from 1929: "Buy Austrian products and we can work again!"⁴² (fig. 6) Here we get a closer view of some of the unemployed workers. As in the Swiss poster they are shown as physically strong, but in the Austrian case this adds to the urgency of their demand, while their strength enables Swiss workers to raise the national flag and give a patriotic spectacle. The annual Swiss-Week report noted with satisfaction: "The allegory of brave men who raise a big Swiss flag has been met with general approval."⁴³ The Swiss poster shows action, the Austrian forced idleness, and the Austrian poster is not about patriotic enjoyment: masses of workers stand in a line that stretches from the horizon and builds up to a row of three men in front. They have a determined expression on their face and give the viewer a demanding glance. The message is clear: it is up to you to save us from destitution. Admittedly, scaremongering was not unknown to the Swiss Week. In 1931, the organisation released the "misery poster" / "urgency poster" ("Not-plakat"). In expressionist style it depicts a man who is scared as we can tell from his sunken posture. Factories in the background contextualise him as part of the industrial workforce. The image, which shows a situation of despair, is complemented by the headline "misery in the country" ("Not im Land"). The emphasis on the dire consequences of the economic crisis threatens to eclipse the message of the verbal element of the poster that presents the antidote to unemployment: "Create jobs, buy Swiss products."⁴⁴ Maybe it should not surprise us that the poster did not receive unanimous consent. On the contrary, it was sharply criticised by

39 "Liebe Poldi! Ich bin so froh, dass ich jetzt nicht abgebaut worden bin. Wenn die Leute mehr österreichische Waren kaufen, wird überhaupt niemand mehr abgebaut werden."

40 Sigurd Paulsen, *Der Kampf um den einheimischen Markt im Ausland*, Berlin s.d. [1931], p. 33.

41 "140 000 Arbeitslose wollen Arbeit! Kauft österreichische Waren!"

42 "Kauft österreichische Waren und wir können wieder arbeiten!"

43 "Das Sinnbild der arbeitstüchtigen Männer, welche eine grosse Schweizerfahne hissen, hat allgemein gefallen."

44 "Schaffet Arbeit, kauft Schweizerware."

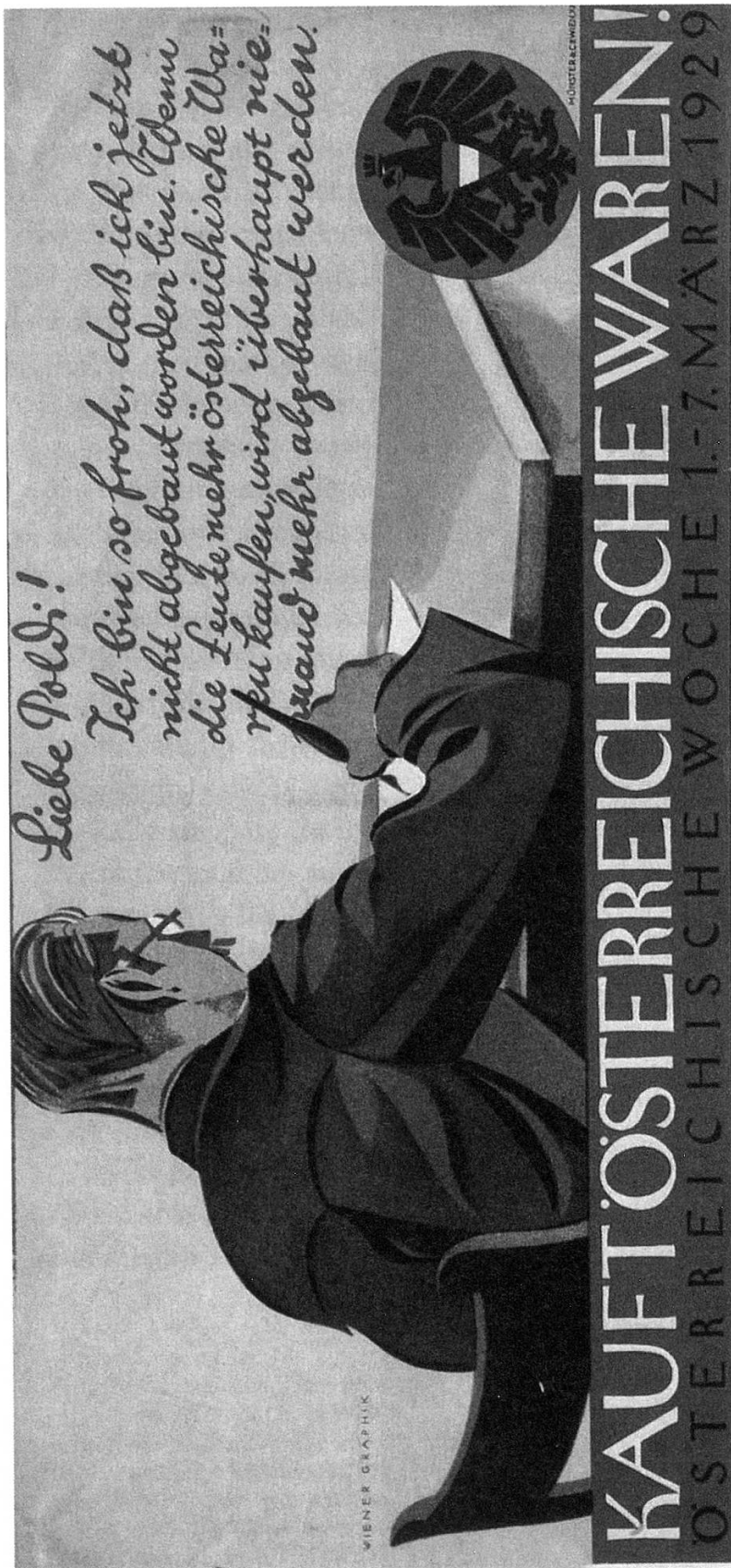


Figure 5. Austrian Week, Poster by Joseph Binder, 1929 (Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna, PI 1367).



Figure 6. Poster by Joseph Binder, 1929 (Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna, PI 1365).

newspapers that generally supported the activities of the Swiss Week.⁴⁵ They considered it too pessimistic.

It seems most unlikely that this poster would have met similar critique in Austria. To use the epithet “poor” when talking about the country was common sense. For Austria the change from the protected market of the Monarchy with its over 50 million inhabitants to a market of an impoverished people of six million had brought about painful consequences. A certain degree of deindustrialisation turned out to be inevitable because the other successor states of the Monarchy sheltered their markets against imports from its former centre. Not even in the best years of the interwar period the industrial output reached its pre-war level. To be sure, not everything was all black. Development in the mid-twenties held the prospect of stability; tourism was a success story, some companies adapted remarkably well to the new circumstances. However, doubts about the economic viability of the small state hovered over any discussion about Austria’s future.⁴⁶

In the aftermath of World War I, Switzerland had also experienced economic difficulties, but then the country lived through a phase of relative prosperity that lasted until the early 1930s, longer than elsewhere.⁴⁷ Switzerland recovered later from the slump than some other industrialised countries. Yet Austria was not among them. Austria’s economy showed only faint signs of recovery and remained essentially stagnant. In Switzerland unemployment reached its peak in 1936 with 4.5% of the total labour force.⁴⁸ In Austria such a low figure was never achieved, not even during the ‘good’ years of the 1920s. The global economic crisis also hit Austria a lot harder than Switzerland. In 1937 unemployment was still at almost 14%, down from 16% during the worst crisis years.⁴⁹

If discourse analysis tries to figure out what could and what could not be said at a particular historic moment,⁵⁰ we have to bear in mind that this is a history of probabilities, possibilities and frequencies rather than clear cut lines. The prototypical Swiss poster was a display of pride, many of the Austrian posters warned of possible losses. Sure, some Austrian posters stroke a more optimistic key, but again the difference to Swiss national imagery should catch our attention: posters

45 Oberer, op. cit., p. 37.

46 Cf. Felix Butschek, *Österreichische Wirtschaftsgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Wien 2011, pp. 182–188; Fritz Weber, “Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung”, in: Emmerich Tálos (ed.), *Handbuch des politischen Systems: Erste Republik, 1918–1934*, Wien 1995, pp. 23–40.

47 Cf. Hansjörg Siegenthaler, “Die Schweiz 1814–1984”, in: Wolfram Fischer, et al. (eds.), *Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1987, pp. 482–512.

48 Data from the swiss economic and social history online database: <http://www.fsw.uzh.ch/histstat/main.php> (21. 9. 2011), chapter F. Occupation, table F. 18a. Job Seekers and Unemployment Rate by Gender, Yearly Averages 1913–1995.

49 Angus Maddison, *Phases of capitalist development*, Oxford / New York 1982, p. 206.

50 Cf. Achim Landwehr, *Historische Diskursanalyse*, Frankfurt am Main 2008.

that conveyed a positive message did not put references to anything specifically Austrian into the foreground, but emphasized consumption pure and simple. Not incidentally some posters that stage the pleasures of shopping were designed by Joseph Binder, a Viennese graphic artist of international reputation. He was responsible for many prominent advertisements in Austria before moving to the US, where he continued a successful career in advertising.⁵¹

The more optimistic posters invited to identify with the standard of living of an affluent middle class. This was in tune with the conviction of the organizers that middle-class women constituted the most rewarding target because working class housewives did not have much to spend and price mattered the most to them. It is also in line with the opening-up of product communication, which promised a world of affluence to the masses.⁵² Under the conditions of interwar Austria and, more generally, interwar Europe, this world of affluence was still out of reach, but it was not wholly absurd to dream of. If the Swiss economy fared much better in the interwar period than the Austrian, and if the Austrian campaign was much more pessimistic than the Swiss, would it not be logical to assume that the Swiss campaign would be the one envisioning the possibility of an affluent consumer society? But telling from the posters the opposite was true. The Swiss campaign did not stage consumption, which remained conspicuously absent as was any reference to the pleasures of consumption. The campaign spoke the language of civil sacrifice: "It [the idea of the Swiss Week] does not bring comfort to the individual; on the contrary, it demands sacrifice from him in several respects: sacrifice of inveterate customs, of prejudices, often even material sacrifice."⁵³

Buy-national and buy-domestic promotion

A German economist of the interwar years called buy-domestic campaigns "sentimental protectionism" ("Gefühlsprotektionismus").⁵⁴ At first glance this seems very much to the point as the Austrian and Swiss campaigns both tried to tap people's emotions. However, "sentimental protectionism" might mislead us to ignore the cognitive elements of the promotional communication in question. Furthermore, national sentiment as the citizen's attachment to his/her country is not the same as playing on the fear of losing your job, your husband losing his job, or of

51 Bernhard Denscher, *Österreichische Plakatkunst, 1898–1938*, Wien 1992, p. 194.

52 Cf. Rainer Gries, *Produktkommunikation. Geschichte und Theorie*, Wien 2008, p. 257.

53 "Denn er [der Schweizerwoche-Gedanke] bringt den Einzelnen keine Bequemlichkeit; er fordert im Gegenteil von ihnen Opfer in mancher Beziehung: Opfer von eingefleischten Gewohnheiten, von Vorurteilen, oft sogar materielle Opfer [...]", Annual Report, 1923/24, p. 3.

54 Benno Hupka, *Der mittelbare Protektionismus in der Handelspolitik der Nachkriegszeit*, Göttingen 1932, p. 133.

your children facing a bleak future. The Swiss campaign stressed a sense of belonging and displayed the nation as its frame of reference through national imagery. The message really is tautological at its core: as a Swiss person you have to honour Switzerland because you are Swiss. And of course you should buy Swiss products. But this goes (almost) without saying. As we have learned already, the buy-Austrian promotion is different in that it is much more outspoken about its immediate goal of getting Austrians to buy Austrian goods. But many items of the promotional campaign also make recipients take a different starting point: not the Austrian nation, but an acute fear of poverty; not the imagined community of Austrians, but one's immediate family. This serves as the basis of an argument that should ideally lead the recipient to consider the relevance of patriotic shopping to her own and her family's well-being. The Austrian campaign championed the importance of patriotic shopping for the national economy and asked for loyalty towards the state. The call to buy Austrian goods dwelt on "state-consciousness", because it could not have asked for national solidarity. This would have demanded to extend the preferential treatment to products from Germany because most Austrian citizens still thought of themselves as belonging to the German nation. At that time Austria was not a separate nation by the criteria of neither its political elite nor its citizens. This is the point where I want to return to the matrix I sketched at the beginning of the text. The bold letters mark the positioning of the Austrian and Swiss campaigns respectively (figs. 7, 8).

The different patterns of the Austrian and Swiss campaigns can be addressed by recurring to the distinction between "buy-domestic" and "buy-national" promotion, which I also introduced at the beginning of this paper. The Swiss campaign encompassed both aspects, while the Austrian promotional effort emphasized the domestic origin of products and avoided national symbols – at least until up to 1932.

From around 1933 dates the first poster of the Austrian campaign that plays with national imagery. The country was then shifting towards civil war and conservative dictatorship. A knight on a horse defeats a dragon whose body is made of the word "economic crisis" ("Wirtschaftskrise") with the W as his fire-breathing mouth. This is in line with the new emphasis on an Austrian mission based on the cultural heritage of the Hapsburg Empire, which had successfully defended Catholicism against enemies from the outside, the Turks, and from within, the Protestants. So it was now again time for a crusade of the catholic Austria as the better Germany, a crusade against socialism and atheism. This meant to fulfil a cultural mission for the whole of Germany and for the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The knight who fights a dangerous dragon, the economic depression in

Figure 7. Buy-national pattern of the Swiss Week.

Frame of reference	Nation	Nation-State	State	National Economy
Dimension of Argument	Cultural		Political	Economic
Mechanism of persuasion	Affective		Normative	Cognitive
Rhetoric device	Imagery		Imperative	Chain of arguments
Defining quality of domestic goods	Domestic goods embody national values / traditions.		Domestic goods have been made by domestic producers.	
Individual Perspective	Sense of Belonging (Heimat)		Responsible citizen	Keeping your job
Collective Perspective	Proud nation / weak nation		Stability / instability	Affluent society / poor society

Figure 8. Buy-domestic pattern of "Buy Austrian Goods".

Frame of reference	Nation	Nation-State	State	National Economy
Dimension of Argument	Cultural		Political	Economic
Mechanism of persuasion	Affective*		Normative	Cognitive
Rhetoric device	Imagery		Imperative	Chain of arguments
Defining quality of domestic goods	Domestic goods embody national values / traditions.		Domestic goods have been made by domestic producers.	
Individual Perspective	Sense of Belonging (Heimat)		Responsible citizen	Keeping your job
Collective Perspective	Proud nation / weak nation		Stability / instability	Affluent society / poor society

*Object of affection: family, not the nation



Figure 9. Poster by Kurt Libesny, 1933 (Vienna City Library, Poster Collection, P 8707).

this case, fits in smoothly with the propaganda of Austrofascism.⁵⁵ (fig. 9) The image is an effort at arousing nationalist emotion, no doubt. However, after the fascist experiment had failed with prime-minister Dollfuß being murdered by the Nazis in July 1934, the regime of his successor Kurt Schuschnigg was ambivalent about mobilising the masses, who it suspected were not on its side.

At any rate, the buy-Austrian campaign seems to have faded since 1934. Instead of speaking directly to consumers, the working group started to publish the

55 For its ideological set-up of the Ständestaat see Michael Achenbach and Karin Moser, *Österreich in Bild und Ton. Die Filmwochenschau des austrofaschistischen Ständestaates*, Wien 2002; Emmerich Tálos and Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.), *"Austrofaschismus". Politik – Ökonomie – Kultur 1933–1938*, Wien 2005.

Volkswirtschaftlicher Aufklärungsdienst, a journal with two, sometimes three issues per month, which aimed at leaders of cultural and political corporations. The goal was to form reliable elites instead of educating the masses. Furthermore, the business elites seem to have considered a promotion campaign as only second best to higher tariffs, and in 1931, the Austrian government turned to an increasingly restrictive foreign trade policy. Consumers also became a less relevant target group, because in the depression years private consumption decreased enormously and did not recover. In June 1937, the industrial production of consumer goods was at just 66% of what it had been in 1929.⁵⁶ The government's austerity policy and its insistence on a hard currency when everyone else, in 1936 even the Swiss, resorted to devaluation did not help to change the picture.⁵⁷ At any rate, the buy-Austrian working group existed until 1938 when it inevitably became a casualty of the "Anschluss". The Swiss Week, on the other hand, did not diminish the scale of its activities in the 1930s; quite the contrary. The campaign stayed in good health for many years to come until in the late 1960s it gradually lost momentum.

56 Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Wien (ed.), *Wirtschaftsstatisches Jahrbuch 12* (1937), p. 599.

57 Cf. Gerhard Senft, *Im Vorfeld der Katastrophe. Die Wirtschaftspolitik des Ständestaates. Österreich 1934–1938*, Wien, 2002.

