

# The Soviet Tourist Industry as Seen by the Western Tourists of the late Soviet Period

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## The Tradition of Tourism in the Soviet Union

Travel and tourism have a long tradition in Russia. The first travel guidebooks were issued as early as the late eighteenth century. Travel development in the nineteenth century Russia mainly followed the trends of the Western countries. In the Soviet Union tourism, featuring excursions to various targets, was primarily seen as a means of educating Soviet citizens. Such education could be designed to serve economic ends, but the ideological aim of promoting “*Homo Sovieticus*” seems to have dominated. Educational tourism activities started in the 1920s, with active leadership from Lenin’s wife N.K. Krupskaya as well as the Soviet minister of education, A.V. Lunacharsky<sup>1</sup>. There were domestic excursions and travel for the people’s education, organised and guided mainly by trade unions, co-ordinated with the vacations of the Soviet workers.

In the inter-war years the Soviet Union did design tourism even for foreign tourists, and, to guide those activities, Intourist was established in 1929. The Soviet tourism organisers emphasised that foreigners would be allowed to meet people from their own sectors of life - foreign farmers would meet Soviet farmers, foreign teachers would meet Soviet teachers, etc. It seems that the Soviet government officials were quite satisfied with the results of foreign visits to the country, believing that the Soviet Union garnered new friends because of the visitors. Foreign tourism also promoted Soviet interests in forwarding “world peace”.<sup>2</sup> Thus, tourism, both for Soviet citizens and for foreigners, promoted Soviet ideology and provided a vehicle for pro-Soviet propaganda.

Before the Second World War, only a small number of foreign tourists arrived in the country yearly, amounting to only a few thousand. In the 1930s even large cruise ships brought Westerners for short visits. Usually the tourists from the West represented the media or were members of various delegations, such as trade unions and friendship groups. Quite a few Western journalists stayed more or less permanently in Moscow, where the Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs supervised their activities. When these journalists’ reports turned too critical, the government restricted their movements or revoked their permission to stay in the country. For example, two well-known Western journalists in Moscow in the early 1930s, Malcolm Muggeridge and William Chamberlin, recollected that they grew most tired of Intourist officials’ watchful eyes and their efforts to limit reporting activities. Intourist interference with Western journalists revealed that agency’s links with the government, which wished to control the movement of foreigners in the country<sup>3</sup>. Also, well-known Western intellectuals felt dissatisfied with their own society and considered the Soviet model as their ideal<sup>4</sup>.

The post Second World War years witnessed certain important changes in international travel. Tourism rates grew quickly in the West, and in the early 1950s tens of millions of travellers crossed international borders each year. In this climate of increased travel, the Soviet Union realised that they could profit, both financially and propagandistically, from tourism. Active planning of tourism commenced, as well as the building of hotels, resorts and transportation systems. In the mid-seventies more than three million travellers from the Eastern block visited the Soviet Union each year, while only a few hundred thousand came from the West<sup>5</sup>. At that time 30000 specially schooled tourist guides worked in the tourist bureaus all over the country<sup>6</sup>. Among the most frequent visitors from the West were the tourists from Finland, a neighbouring country close to the former capital St. Petersburg, then called Leningrad, followed by West German tourists<sup>7</sup>.

This paper presents a number of comments, notices, remarks, complaints and other information from Western sources regarding Soviet tourism and the travel<sup>8</sup> industry. The concept of a “tourist

industry” includes all the branches of the economy involved in tourism activities. The World Tourism Organization defines the travel industry as the composite of organisations, both public and private, that are involved in the development, production, distribution, and marketing of products and services to serve the needs of travellers<sup>9</sup>.

Information gathered here comes mainly from tourists' personal memoirs and travel descriptions, travel and guidebooks. Of great interest for our paper are the materials collected in Finland in the early 1980s and preserved in an archival collection. These Finnish materials consist of memoirs and descriptions written by more than one hundred individuals recollecting their trips to the Soviet Union from the 1950s to the late 1970s. The memoirs were compiled mainly by tourists on chartered bus tours to the Soviet Union, guided by Intourist. The tourist memoirs reveal the various ways Westerners encountered the Soviet tourist industry and its representatives and include accounts of border crossings and dealings with customs officials. Other tourist comments focus on the programs available for them and on the Soviet's totalitarian system's control over their activities. Tourists also write about everyday activities, such as shopping and amusements. The writers of the primary research materials were mostly middle-aged men and women, “ordinary” Western tourists, among them even a few students. By social background they were mostly factory or secretarial workers, although a few were quite well paid white-collar workers. Almost all of them had travelled abroad to other destinations - most often to the Scandinavian countries or Middle or Southern Europe. The trips they made to the Soviet Union from Finland were quite short, lasting only a few days, except for trips to the Black Sea “Soviet South” which usually lasted longer. In comparison, West German tourists had longer trips than the Finns, in the form of round trips and urban tourism. German tourists usually arrived by trains or by airlines<sup>10</sup>.

### **Crossing of the State Border**

Entering and leaving the Soviet Union was especially stressful for quite a few visitors. Naturally, contact with Soviet government officials began when a tourist applied for a visa. Getting a Soviet visa was normally not a problem for a tourist - the procedure followed the pattern set by other countries receiving tourists and could be taken care of by travel agencies in most cases. However, it is impossible to discover the special treatment various visa applications received or how carefully an individual's application was scrutinised.

Various categories of persons travelled for vacations to the Soviet Union. Travellers from Finland to the Soviet Union, for example, formed two main types. Firstly, the “official” and “semi-official” travellers included various cultural and political delegations as well as friendship tours. Secondly, a growing number of ordinary tourists arrived as members of groups, mostly on chartered buses or regular trains<sup>11</sup>. The second group was by far the larger one and expanded quite continuously. The great bulk of the tourists authoring our archival materials belonged to the second group. A lot of tourists participated in various friendship tours organised, for example, by the Soviet - Finnish friendship organisations.

The actual crossing of the borders of the Soviet Union appears to be worth remembering for many travelling people. An internationally known Polish author, Ryszard Kapucinsky, wrote a lively description of strict and aggressive soldiers and customs officials pointing rifles at passengers on a train entering the Soviet Union from China in 1958<sup>12</sup>. Several other Westerners coming to the country experienced the same kinds of distress, caused perhaps by the Cold War's antagonistic climate. Tourists encountered the same kind of hostile attitude leaving the country. Finnish tourists commented that they felt relief to be back in their own country.<sup>13</sup> Heeke claims that even if the procedures were quite unpleasant, they added to the exotic feature of Soviet tourism<sup>14</sup>. Tourists also remember border controls in another Socialist country, the DDR as very strict, with rigid customs procedures and regulations; passport, visa, and foreign currency checks; mandatory filling out of forms; and even searches under the beds<sup>15</sup>.

One of the most memorable details of the customs system may have been the foreign currency exchange control. The Soviet Union strictly controlled foreign currency in an attempt to curtail

illegal activities falling outside of the sanctioned Soviet economy. Ordinary tourists filled out a special form at the border station as they entered the country and another form as they left the country. By comparing these two forms, customs officials were able to draw some conclusions about the use of money in the Soviet Union. Importing Soviet currency from outside the country was not allowed, neither was the export of Soviet cash. Tourists buying souvenirs in the Soviet Union were expected to prove at the border station where the money came from. This system of currency control is in principle still in place in present day Russia.

The customs and other procedures at the border were therefore generally speaking quite strict. However, there were many kinds of travellers and the treatment they received may have differed considerably. For example, the well-known travel writer and journalist Göran Schildt was taken to the Soviet Union as a special guest invited by the Ministry for Cultural Affairs of the Soviet Union in 1953 and the trip was funded by the Swedish newspaper Svenska Dagbladet. He received a kind of “royal treatment”, with a special guide, Nelly, reserved for him for all the three weeks<sup>16</sup>. He may be seen as representative of the special delegation guests.

### **Going to Places**

The places a foreign tourist could visit appear to have been quite strictly regulated. On the one hand, the Soviets wanted to closely control the travel experiences of foreign tourists; on the other hand, they hoped that tourism would provide the world with a positive view of their country and its culture, economics, and common life style.

Since Soviet tourism served an ideological purpose to construct a positive picture of the country, the tourist guides had quite an important task to perform. The guides were well trained with academic background and special courses; they were able to use various languages quite well, and the tourists appreciated their “technical skills”. According to Galina Sergeeva, herself a former guide, a Soviet tourist guide was defined as “a fighter on the ideological front, one who propagandises the achievements of the building of communism and the Soviet way of life”.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the guides most probably reported the behaviour of their groups. Only more thorough research can reveal the level of detail these reports contained<sup>18</sup>.

Sanctioned tourist itineraries were quite conventional and routine-like. Commonly, tourists would take a “survey trip” of the location. Ordinarily in Leningrad this kind of trip would entail driving along the most important streets of the city centre and making short stops at the prominent Russian or Soviet history sights.

Ordinary tourists in Leningrad visited the Hermitage, St. Isaac’s Cathedral, the shops on the Nevsky Prospect, and, depending on personal preferences, the circus, a concert, or a ballet. Depending on the length of the stay, travellers went to the Tsar palaces in the neighbourhood of Leningrad, such as the Peterhof. Practically all of the important pre-revolutionary sights were described as Russian achievements, overlaying Tsarist history with a veneer of nationalist pride<sup>19</sup>. The Soviet guides were probably educated to emphasize that the great constructions in St. Petersburg bore witness to Russian skills, even if the most famous architects - such as Francesco Bartolommeo Rastrelli and Giovanni Quarenghi - were foreign-born. The Soviet guidebook from 1965 claims that the most important architect in the late eighteenth century was, however, Russian I. Starov.

Tourists did visit a large number of popular sights connected with Russian born writers or poets such as Mikhail Dostoyevsky, Nicolai Gogol, and Alexander Pushkin. In addition to the revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin, Peter the Great, who founded the city of St. Petersburg in 1703, dominated the tourist trip in many ways. Several locations, statues, palaces and memorial locations honoured him and opened for the Western tourist the historical glory of the Tsarist empire. In the Soviet capitol of Moscow, the Kremlin fortress and its ancient churches and palaces were the most commonly visited tourist sights in addition to Red Square. An ordinary Western tourist would probably have the chance to see the Lenin mausoleum after only a short wait while Soviet pilgrims to the Lenin tomb had to queue up for hours. Göran Schildt recalls that he and his tourist guide went

ahead of those waiting in line because they had the permission of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs<sup>20</sup>.

Although the sights mentioned above date mostly from pre-Revolutionary Russia, foreign tourists could also see various kinds of sights from the Soviet period. One group of sights commemorated political and revolutionary achievements and events and included the battleship Aurora as well as the Taurida Palace where the group led by V.I. Lenin met to engage the revolutionary process of 1917. A second kind of Soviet-era tourist sight included statues of leading Soviet cultural and political personalities. A travel guidebook from the mid-sixties proudly numbered about 230 statues or locations in Leningrad associated with Lenin's activities in the city<sup>21</sup>. A third kind of Soviet tourist attraction centred on other important memorials such as the one erected in memory of the siege of Leningrad during the Second World War when the Germans encircled and bombed the city for 900 days. In a fourth kind of tourist stop, new industrial facilities showed the progress of the Soviet technology, such as the new TV - towers, the Elektrosila factories in Leningrad, or the large fair grounds in Moscow called "the Display of the Soviet Achievements". Tourists were also shown schools, sports facilities, People's Cultural Palaces; and, finally, the huge new suburbs of Leningrad and other major Soviet cities.

Some tourists travelled outside of the major city centres of Leningrad and Moscow. It was even possible to organise specially planned group trips to smaller country towns, primarily in the form of delegation visits. Tourists could visit, for example, a sovkhos or kolkhoz to get introduced to the growing of cows, pigs, potatoes or some other farm commodity. These visits needed to be scheduled well in advance and, of course, were engineered to show the progressive sides of the Soviet economy<sup>22</sup>.

Special trips were taken, for example, into the Caucasian mountain states and the Central Asian Soviet Republics and their capitols of Bokhara and Tashkent. From the 1970s on, tours to the shores of the Black Sea, the Crimean peninsula, and especially Sotchi became more popular and quite frequent. Those regions had been favourite summer residences for the gentry and imperial family in the Tsarist period. Black Sea tourism spots became Soviet versions of the sunny Mediterranean shores of Italy, Spain and Greece. While tourists visiting the West might savour Mallorca or a Canary Islands fruit farm, Black Sea tourism offered the sovkhos or kolkhoz, specialising in slightly different products.

As mentioned above, Soviet officials saw foreign tourism as a possible means of promoting pro-Soviet propaganda. Quite a few memoirs comment on the ideological nature of Soviet tourism. For example, a middle-aged female tourist complains that the presentations of the tourist guides were too propagandistic and she tired of them. Another tourist becomes aggravated with her fellow travellers - primarily young communist supporters who wished to see their ideal country. The journalist Göran Schildt recounts that he engaged in "ideological battles" with the special tourist guide Nelly assigned to him<sup>23</sup>.

### **The Means of Controlling the Tourist**

Control over the Western tourists was executed in many ways. One type of control already described occurred at the borders and with document and customs checks. A second type of control involved guiding the actual movements of the tourists and supervising tourist housing. For example, the hotel staff took over guest passports and returned them only when the guests checked out - a system prevailing even in present Russia.

Regarding movement inside the Soviet Union, a tourist was ordinarily bound to follow either the group he or she belonged to or an individual tourist plan prepared by Soviet officials. The movement of foreign passenger cars as well as buses on the Soviet roads was controlled although, beginning in the 1960s, tourists were allowed to take cars of their own into the country as long as they followed certain routes and overnights at locations within the controlled system of campgrounds and hotels. Even given these controls, individual motorists actually did have the chance to move around in the Soviet Union, even in the early 1960s. A few of the Finnish tourists

took a longer bus trip all the way from Finland to Moscow and Sochi on the Black Sea. It was a three-week trip - one week for driving the bus from Finland, one week in Sochi, and one week for the return trip back home<sup>24</sup>.

Since Intourist tried to guide and control foreign visitors, tourist itineraries followed certain regular routes and included visits to Leningrad targets such as the Hermitage, monuments of the war victims, and Lenin's statues. Guides also customarily arranged theatre, opera, ballet, circus, restaurant, and other evening entertainments. Such schedules left little time for non-guided programs. It seems that most of the tourists actually followed the daily program. Tourist guides were schooled to follow certain routes; they knew which sights or routes were prohibited and which were open for Western tourists. As mentioned above, guides wrote reports on the tourists and their behaviour. Some suspicious tourists thought they were being watched almost all the time and passed on stories about spy systems in hotel rooms. An account circulated about the new 20-storey hotel Viru built in the Soviet Estonian capitol Tallinn, which became a popular sleeping place for tourists from Finland. A construction company from Finland built the hotel, and working men who had actually participated in the construction claimed that the concrete walls of the hotel were hollowed out so that they could accommodate wires and cables for spying<sup>25</sup>. This story is hardly not just an urban legend, many Finnish guests in the hotel were made uncomfortable by watchful eyes and the searching of personal belongings during the night<sup>26</sup>. Heeke comments that among the West German tourists especially Hotel Berlin in Moscow had the reputation of a "KGB -hotel" with electronic spying devices etc.<sup>27</sup>

The Soviet system of tourist control may be compared with the concept of "the back" and "the front" of tourism sights presented by sociologist Dean MacCannell. According to MacCannell, many factors involved in tourism may not be understood or confronted by the tourists, and those factors may be quite essential for understanding the whole of the tourism system<sup>28</sup>. In the Soviet Union a foreign tourist was able to see and meet with the "front" factors such as museums and ordinary sights. However, usually he did not meet the real "back" of tourism such as the actual life of the Soviet people or the guiding political system.

Several Western tourists comment on the possibility of meeting Soviet citizens. A study published by sociologist Hannele Palosuo in 1976 found that approximately 40% of the tourists wished to have some contact with "ordinary" Soviet citizens - they were curious about the Soviet system and its people. Palosuo discovered that about 30% of the tourists had had some contact with Soviet citizens<sup>29</sup>. However, Palosuo doesn't state what kind of contacts were actually realised. Tourists wishing to meet Soviet citizens probably hoped to witness the actual way of life of the Soviet people, perhaps even seeing them in their homes, but the opportunity to visit ordinary homes probably was quite rare. Group meetings - between delegations, at festival dinners, for example - were easier to arrange. Of course, outside of controlled tourism, individual tourists did sometimes manage to contact individual Soviet people. But, among the tourists recollecting their trips to the Soviet Union, several complain about not having the possibility to meet with ordinary Soviet citizens. They met only the so-called official representatives of the country<sup>30</sup>.

### **Shopping and Currency: Black Market and the Beriozka**

The Soviet economic system looked very strange to the foreign tourists who used its services. That strangeness, flowing from the Soviet socialist society and its activities, becomes a common topic in many of their memoirs. Generally tourists find the society "grey" and detect something strange in the restaurant menus as well as in the preparation of the food. A few details irritated some Western visitors. One of those details was the hotel system, which included special women employees controlling room keys and passage through the corridors. Finnish visitors suspected that those tough looking "Dezurnaya women" were on duty to monitor tourist activities. Hotel guests also worried about the safety of their luggage<sup>31</sup>. According to Heeke, German tourists appreciated these services, which added to the prestige of the large hotels<sup>32</sup>.

The role of the women guarding the hotel floors became even more confusing to many visitors, since quite a few of the women were willing to buy black market products from Western tourists. Problems arose when tourists and guards were unable to communicate through lack of a common language.

Nearly every tourist memoir comments on the demand for Western commodities. The black market for Western commodities became so widely known that most tourists customarily brought into the country some minor things to sell - clothes or Western technology. Of course, if the number of those items intended for sale became large, Soviet customs officials might intervene and confiscate the commodities. However, it seems that the customs officials permitted tourists to sell a small number of items. With the help of these small illegal sales - along with the black market currency exchange available everywhere in the neighbourhood of tourist centres, hotels, bus and train stations - Western tourists were able to cover some of their currency expenditures. Apparently the "black market" was one reason for the fact that, for example, tourists from Finland were apt to spend their cheap currency in liquor stores and bars<sup>33</sup>.

Western tourists also found strange the system of shops called Beriozhka. The chain of Beriozhka shops extended to all the tourist regions all over the vast country. The system, meant for foreign currency sales, was established before the Second World War with the so-called Insnab shops. In the Beriozhka you were able to buy only with foreign currency. The system tried to guide the shopping of the foreign tourists, but Soviet citizens were able to use the Beriozhka to a certain extent too. Product standards in the Beriozhka's were quite ordinary, although most of the items for sale there could be classified as souvenirs - cards, glassware, jewellery and musical instruments. Tourists typically bought most of their souvenirs from the Beriozhka shops. They had currency to spend in the nightclubs as well as restaurants, musical shows and other places of amusement. Quite a few problems arose from the excessive use of alcohol by the tourists. Problems of public drunkenness became so widespread that tourists from Finland came to be known as "vodka tourists". The illegal markets for goods and currency exchange gave impetus to this kind of behaviour - especially since tourists weren't permitted to export Soviet money - they had to use their Rubles in the Soviet Union<sup>34</sup>.

As mentioned above, the number of tourists from abroad grew steadily. During the last years of the Soviet Union, control of the tourism industry eased with Gorbachev's glaznost policy. Some travellers note that the tourist trade became more commercial, and the ordinary tourist no longer felt as spied upon - or as important - as he or she had during earlier decades<sup>35</sup>.

### **A "Planet Mars" for the Western Tourist?**

Many different kinds of people visited the Soviet Union, and their experiences varied considerably. By and large, Intourist served the great majority of ordinary Western tourists in the country. Their trips followed certain ordinary routes, described in the schooling of the Soviet tourist guides. The guides had to report their activities to their superiors within the central organisation Intourist, and Intourist followed the government and party line emphasising ideological rules. Thus tourist activities were in principle supervised from top to bottom.

Even if the Soviet tourist system normally produced routine and highly controlled tourist experiences, exceptions were possible, especially for people considered, for one reason or another, out of the ordinary. An important expert of a group on a friendship tour (called delegation) might enjoy travel plans and programs designed according to their special needs. Even such special trips were carefully designed to secure the best results from the point of view of the Soviet organisers.

Ultimately, Western tourism to the Soviet Union perhaps didn't differ so much from tourism in Western countries. For several decades, routine trips, often called mass tourism, have been a typical element of tourism all over the world. As a rule these trips take in the most important sights such as palaces, museums, churches, fortresses, statues, and market places. The speciality of Soviet tourism - and perhaps tourism in many other totalitarian states - was, however, its link to ideology. That link appears in practically all the levels of tourist activities. Journalist Göran Schildt commented in 1954

that going to the Soviet Union was something like going to the planet Mars - an extremely exciting, strange and new place. He described the characteristics of the Soviet socialist society and its opaque and ubiquitous ideological apparatus<sup>36</sup>. Listening to the speeches of the tourist guides describing Soviet achievements, Soviet society, and its short history, Western tourists no doubt did feel as though they were on a Soviet type “planet Mars”.

Many Soviet sympathisers visited the country following the Russian Revolution of 1917, and that tradition continued even after the Second World War. Of course, these “ideological” tourists were especially frequent members of the friendship tours and delegations. However, the memoirs of the ordinary tourists coming from the neighbouring capitalist country, Finland, remained in many cases quite critical of the Soviet tourism system and the whole of Soviet society. For them, the Soviet Union was a kind of “Planet Mars”, they might, only after several visits, begin to know.

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<sup>1</sup> Alamäki 1997, p. 14; cf. Usyskin 2000, pp. 88-122.

<sup>2</sup> Alamäki 1997, esp. p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Muggerridge 1934, pp. 88-110; Chamberlin 1935, pp. 144-150; cf. Kostiainen, *A Nation without Nationalities*, 2000, chapter 6, pp. 16-18, and Engerman 2000, p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> Esp. Hollander 1981, pp. 102-176.

<sup>5</sup> Kostiainen 1998; Vuoristo 1981.

<sup>6</sup> Sergeeva 1998, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Heeke 1996; cf. even DDR-tourists, Irmscher 1996.

<sup>8</sup> The term “travel” is often used as synonymous with “tourism”. In our presentation “travel” is used as a general expression of moving around. Tourism is the term for travel of recent decades, typically identified with large numbers of tourists and “industrialised” forms of travel. (Cf. Kostiainen 1993: 11-23)

<sup>9</sup> *International Tourism: A Global Perspective* 1997, p. 391.

<sup>10</sup> See Heeke 1996.

<sup>11</sup> See, Kostiainen 1998, p. 36; cf. Heeke 1996, p. 164-166.

<sup>12</sup> Kapuscinski 1993, pp. 27-29.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. memoirs of person no. 409, Collection K-28.

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- <sup>14</sup> Heeke 1996, p. 178.
- <sup>15</sup> Recollections of a trip to DDR in 1986 by persons. no. 2.
- <sup>16</sup> Schildt 1954; cf. Hollander 1981, pp. 128-135.
- <sup>17</sup> Sergeeva 1998, p. 43.
- <sup>18</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
- <sup>19</sup> Kann 1965, pp. 111, 121; cf. e.g. the post Soviet guidebook *St. Petersburg Travellers Guide 1995*, p. 24-25, 189.
- <sup>20</sup> Schildt 1954, pp. 34-35.
- <sup>21</sup> Kann 1965, p. 21; cf. Dorosinskaja & Krutsina-Bogdanov 1980, pp. 105-127 for the “Lenin routes” in the city of Leningrad. .
- <sup>22</sup> Memoirs of e.g. no. 699, Collection K-28.
- <sup>23</sup> Cf. memoir no. 409, Collection K-28; e.g. Schildt 1954, p. 120.
- <sup>24</sup> Memoir no. 797. Collection K-28. The date of the trip remains a bit unclear, probably it was taken in the late 1970’s.
- <sup>25</sup> The memoir of person UR, Collection K-28.
- <sup>26</sup> Recollection of person no. 1. Author collections.
- <sup>27</sup> Heeke 1996, p. 175-177.
- <sup>28</sup> MacCannell 1999, pp. 92-103.
- <sup>29</sup> Palosuo 1976, table 20, pp. 76-77; at the same time a study found out that 18 % of the West German tourists would have liked to get to know Soviet citizens personally, Heeke 1996, p. 174.
- <sup>30</sup> See memoirs of persons no. 1, 1051, Collection K-28.
- <sup>31</sup> E.g. memoir no. 349; memoir by UR, Collection K-28.
- <sup>32</sup> Heeke 1996, p. 182, footnote 42.
- <sup>33</sup> E.g. memoir no. 1, Collection K-28.
- <sup>34</sup> Cf. Kostiainen 1998.
- <sup>35</sup> Memoir no. 1, Collection K-28.
- <sup>36</sup> Cf. Schildt 1954, p. 13.