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‘Tourism for Everyone’

Domestic Tourism in the USSR during Late Socialism, 1950s-1980s

Sheila Helen Pattle

Abstract

This dissertation examines Soviet domestic tourism during late socialism, when tourism developed into a mass phenomenon. The study builds on the work of Diane Koenker, Anne Gorsuch and other researchers into Soviet tourism, and takes it in new directions. Different facets of tourism are explored, namely tourism as an industry, as a cultural phenomenon, and as a social practice. The dramaturgical metaphor is employed as a framework through which tourism is conceptualised as a form of performance in distinctive settings for tourism. The research also explores tourism as an imaginary practice, which involves individuals’ imaginative geographies of places. The roles of the tourist and the tour guide are examined using documentary and visual sources and oral history interviews.

The case study focuses on the Golden Ring (*Zolotoe kol’tso*) tourist route, which was established as a setting for tourism during late socialism. The route connects Moscow with a number of smaller towns, including Kostroma, which also receives tourists from Volga cruises. Archival sources, newspaper articles and Soviet guidebooks are used to explore the establishment of the Golden Ring, including the images associated with the route. In Kostroma two opposing images were promoted simultaneously: a museum-town (*gorod-muzei*) of historic buildings, mainly former monasteries, with no sign of Soviet modernity; and a modern Soviet town. This is one example of the ambivalences surrounding domestic tourism in the context of ‘developed socialism’. Tourism was promoted a key part of Soviet modernity as well as of local cultural identity, yet the Soviet tourist was regularly lampooned in Soviet culture during late socialism.

Durham University
School of Modern Languages and Cultures
Department of Russian

‘Tourism for Everyone’
Domestic Tourism in the USSR
during Late Socialism, 1950s-1980s

Sheila Helen Pattle

MA by Research

2015

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| BAM | <i>Baikalo-Amurskaia magistral'</i> (Baikal-Amur Mainline Railway) | 97 |
| CDSP | <i>The Current Digest of the Soviet Press</i> | 27 |
| GAKO | <i>Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kostromskoi oblasti</i> (State Archive of Kostroma Oblast) | 41 |
| GARF | <i>Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii</i> (State Archive of the Russian Federation) | 27 |
| Gosstroy | <i>Gosudarstvennyi komitet SSSR po delam stroitel'stva</i> (USSR State Committee for Construction) | 36 |
| Gx/x | Oral history interview code. See the Appendix. | 184 |
| KPSS | <i>Kommunisticheskaiia partiia Sovetskogo Soiuza</i> (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) | 35 |
| LG | <i>Literaturnaia gazeta</i> | 30 |
| OPTE | <i>Vsesoiuznoe dobrovol'noe obshchestvo proletarskogo turizma i ekskursii</i> (All-Union Voluntary Society of Proletarian Tourism and Excursions) | 22 |
| RGASPI | <i>Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii</i> (Russian State Archive of Socio-political History) | 131 |
| RSFSR | <i>Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnaia Sotsialisticheskaiia Respublika</i> (Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic) | 28 |
| SK | <i>Sovetskaia kul'tura</i> | 95 |
| STE | <i>Sovet po turizmu i ekskursiiam</i> (Council for Tourism and Excursions) | 25 |
| TsSTE | <i>Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiiam</i> (Central Council for Tourism and Excursions) | 22 |
| VDNKh | <i>Vystavka dostizhenii narodnogo khoziaistva</i> (Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy) | 59 |
| VOOP | <i>Vserossiiskoe obshchestvo okhrany prirody</i> (All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature) | 103 |

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| VOOPIK | <i>Vserossiiskoe obshchestvo okhrany pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury</i> (All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments) | 96 |
| VTsSPS | <i>Vsesoiuznyi tsentral'nyi sovet professional'nykh soiuzov</i> (All-Union Central Trade Unions Council) | 22 |

Transliteration and Translation

The transliteration of Russian uses the Library of Congress system, except where place names have an established English spelling (e.g. 'Yaroslavl instead of 'Iaroslavl').

The names of organisations, films and key words in the text are provided in Russian and English at first mention. Titles of newspapers, magazines and journals and all titles in the footnotes and the Bibliography are only in Russian. All translations from Russian are my own, unless otherwise stated.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Andy Byford for his supervision of my study. He has been unfailingly supportive. Andy has challenged me intellectually, offered practical guidance (especially during my research visit to Russia), and wished me luck when it was needed. I am grateful to Olga Zabotkina for her assistance, especially with the arrangements for my trip to Kostroma.

I would also like to thank the staff at the Russian National Library, the UCL SSEES Library and the British Library, at the archives in Moscow and especially at the archive in Kostroma for providing essential assistance for my project. I am very thankful for the help that I was given to find people to interview in Moscow and Kostroma. I am extremely grateful to all my interviewees for their time and enthusiasm in sharing their experiences with me, and to the people who kindly shared their anecdotes informally.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends – nearby and far away – for being interested in my project and supporting me throughout.

Introduction

SOFIIA *Gonen'e na Moskvu. Chto znachit videt svet!*
CHATSKII *Gde zh luchshe?*
 Gde nas net.
(A. S. Griboedov, *Gore ot uma*, I. 7. 357-358)

Holidays are associated with difference – different places, different activities and experiences and heightened emotions, while being away from the daily routine of life. Even armchair travellers dream of being somewhere else and of playing the part of a tourist – such as an intrepid adventurer or a glamorous passenger on a cruise ship. The expectation of being elsewhere, either a familiar destination or somewhere new, is a crucial component in the experience of place.¹ This involves imagination and developing a mental image of a place, which geographers term ‘imaginative geography’.² After experiencing a place and returning home, memories of the holiday become part of the tourist’s personal mythology and cause ‘laughter and fond tears in the present’.³

The tourist is just one facet of the complex phenomenon of tourism. Another concerns the places that the tourists visit – the tourist destinations and sights. There, space has been ‘constructed’ for tourism based on the image of a place for tourism purposes (e.g. a fun seaside resort or a historic heritage town). Tourist sights are moulded or even specially made to suit that image. In that prepared space – the stage for the performance of tourism – the hosts play their part by serving the tourists, some as tour guides while others work in tourist attractions and facilities. The hosts play a role in promoting the image of the place to tourists (i.e. enacting the place’s identity for tourism). In summary, tourism involves a performance by both the tourists and the hosts in a specially prepared setting. Tourism can also be seen as a cultural phenomenon, with its own meanings and complexities within the wider context of a particular society.

In addition to being a performance and a cultural phenomenon, tourism is also an

¹ D. Pocock, ‘Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience’, *Geography*, 77:3 (1992), p. 236.

² *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. by R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 372-73.

³ F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of The Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 12.

industry, which adds yet another layer of complexity. Tourist organisations operate in both the tourist destinations and the locations in which the tourists originate. Other parts of the economy also participate in tourism, particularly transportation organisations which take the tourists on their circular journey to their destination and back again.

Tourism has been the subject of research in different academic disciplines, including Anthropology, Geography, History and Sociology. In the USSR, geographers led research into tourism, with recreational geography (*rekreatsionnaia geografiia*) developed as a branch of science from the late 1960s.⁴ In the 1970s, some university geography departments played a role in developing a cadre of specialists on excursions and *kraevedenie* (the study of a local area, often the provincial margins, by academic and amateur scholars from a multi-disciplinary perspective).⁵

In the West, a few sociologists and some anthropologists studied tourism in the 1970s.⁶ However, the topic remained of little interest to Western academics partly because, as Jeremy Boissevain argues, it was viewed as ‘frivolous’ and even ‘distasteful’.⁷ Such views reflect a long-held stereotype of ‘the tourist’ as inferior to ‘the traveller’.⁸ Tourism was not researched in more depth until the 1990s, by which time the tourist industry symbolised a new area of academic concern – globalisation.⁹

The sociologist John Urry’s 1990 book *The Tourist Gaze* charts the development of mass tourism into a global industry and examines the socio-economic impact of tourism.¹⁰ Fred Inglis approaches the history of tourism in capitalist countries as the practice of consumerism, using the themes of personal happiness and fulfilment.¹¹ An exemplary

⁴ V. S. Preobrazhenskii, Yu. A. Vedenin and N. M. Stupina, ‘Development of Recreational Geography in the USSR’, *GeoJournal*, 9:1 (1984), pp. 77-78.

⁵ B. F. Kudinov, *Iz istorii razvitiia turizma* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1986), p. 57.

⁶ A notable publication was D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan Press, 1976).

⁷ J. Boissevain, ‘Preface’, in *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, ed. by S. Coleman and M. Crang (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), pp. ix-x.

⁸ S. Baranowski and E. Furlough, ‘Introduction’, in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, ed. by S. Baranowski and E. Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 2-3.

⁹ Boissevain, ‘Preface’, in *Tourism*, ed. by Coleman and Crang, p. x.

¹⁰ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).

¹¹ Inglis, ix.

work on the history of tourism in one particular country would be Rudy Koshar's study of German guidebooks as a way of identifying the 'larger meanings' concerning why people travelled and what tourists saw, including the distinct German 'travel cultures' during the twentieth century.¹²

Writing in 1976, Dean MacCannell used Soviet tourism as part of his argument about the role of culture in the development of modern societies in the West and East.¹³ From evidence of the Hermitage, Lenin's Tomb, art exhibits in public places and state subsidies for leisure travel, he concluded that in the USSR 'tourism comes close to being the official state "religion"'.¹⁴ Precisely what this statement means is not explained.

Arguably, Soviet tourism was more nuanced than MacCannell appears to suggest. Here this study looks into the multiplicity of meanings of Soviet tourism and the complexities and ambivalences associated with it.

In 1979 Emanuel de Kadet's study of tourism in the context of development highlighted the paucity of research on tourism development in socialist states, and over two decades later the situation remained largely unchanged.¹⁵ However, in 2003 a group of six articles was published in a special issue of *Slavic Review* on tourism and travel in the imperial, Soviet and post-Soviet eras.¹⁶ Since then Diane Koenker and Anne Gorsuch, who each contributed to this special issue, have published further studies of Russian, Soviet and East European tourism.¹⁷ There has also been a more general interest in topics with a

¹² R. Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p. 6.

¹³ MacCannell, pp. 85-86.

¹⁴ MacCannell, p. 85.

¹⁵ E. de Kadet, ed., *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 19; Koshar, p. 12; Baranowski and Furlough, 'Introduction', in *Being Elsewhere*, ed. by Baranowski and Furlough, p. 20.

¹⁶ *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), pp. i-x, 657-920.

¹⁷ A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker, eds, *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); D. P. Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51:2 (2009), pp. 401-425; A. E. Gorsuch, *All This is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); D. P. Koenker, 'Pleasure Travel in the Passport State', in *Russia in Motion: Cultures of Human Mobility since 1850*, ed. by J. Randolph and E. M. Avrutin (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), pp. 235-52; D. P. Koenker, *Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker, eds, *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

geographical dimension by social and cultural historians of the USSR, such as on *kraevedenie* and the concept of space.¹⁸

The present study examines the different facets of Soviet domestic tourism during late socialism, namely tourism as an industry, as a cultural phenomenon, and as a performance in a particular setting for tourism. By using this approach, all of the key facets of tourism are considered. In addition, the approach provides a framework for looking in more depth at tourism in a particular region of the USSR.

Soviet tourism shared some universal characteristics of tourism, such as Chris Rojek's ideas on dreams of holidays as an 'escape'.¹⁹ However, Soviet tourism also had special features because it occurred within a particular set of historical, political, economic and cultural circumstances. For example, tourism was to a large extent shaped by the ideology of the Soviet state. It may seem paradoxical that a place was found for tourism within the Soviet centrally-commanded economy. Historically, tourism was associated with bourgeois pleasure, and was an unproductive sphere. Despite these negative associations, tourism was present throughout the history of the USSR and, from the official perspective at least, its characteristics distinguished it as 'Soviet'. Nevertheless, Soviet tourism was an ambivalent phenomenon, being both fostered and reviled.

This study is concerned with tourism for Soviet citizens within the borders of the USSR, which comprised one-sixth of the world's land mass. These domestic tourists visited places that were simultaneously 'elsewhere' but also 'their own'. The period of concern is late socialism, from the 1950s to the 1980s. Following the Khrushchev regime's focus on housing and consumer goods, tourism was promoted as an essential part of modernity. Within the period of late socialism, this study focuses particularly on a time of significant change for Soviet tourism in the second half of the 1960s and the early 1970s. At this time stimuli came from the highest state bodies to develop the tourist industry, and

¹⁸ J. Smith, ed., *Beyond the Limits: The Concept of Space in Russian History and Culture* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1999); E. D. Johnson, *How St. Petersburg Learned to Study Itself: The Russian Idea of Kraevedenie* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); N. Baron, 'New Spatial Histories of Twentieth Century Russia and the Soviet Union: Surveying the Landscape', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 55:3 (2007), pp. 374-400.

¹⁹ C. Rojek, *Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993), p. 9.

specifically to increase the number of tourist destinations and facilities and to improve the services for tourists, such that more people could be tourists. The case study developed in this dissertation explores the response to these stimuli in a particular region – the towns of Ancient Rus in the heart of Russia – and then a single city within it, Kostroma.²⁰ During this period a new regional tourist route, dubbed ‘the Golden Ring’ (Zolotoe kol’tso), was developed as a tour around these towns of Ancient Rus near Moscow.

Given the varied aspects of the complex phenomenon of tourism studied here, an interdisciplinary approach has been adopted. The primary sources examined in this study include official sources, namely archival documents from the central and local state-run bodies for tourism and the preservation of cultural monuments, newspapers and magazines, tourism-related periodicals and guidebooks. Visual sources include feature films and television programmes, which were produced by institutions involved in the formation of popular culture, yet managed under state control. Vital to this research are oral history interviews and informal discussions with ordinary people. These sources supplement the written and visual sources, which focus on institutions, more official discourse and cultural production.²¹ Some quantitative data obtained from official statistics and opinion polls has also been included. The secondary sources encompass extant historical studies of tourism in the earlier and Soviet periods, general histories on the broader context of the Soviet system and society, and studies of tourism outside the USSR.

The researcher carried out eleven interviews with Soviet tourists and people working in tourism specifically for this project during a research visit to Moscow and Kostroma. Brief details of the interviewees are set out in the Appendix. The interviews were primarily of an explorative nature, seeking new information and insights about day-to-day experiences. It is recognised that oral history interviews have inherent difficulties of retrospection due to the impact of subsequent events when talking about the past.²² People may have a general sense of nostalgia about the Soviet past, which affects their

²⁰ Kostroma was selected partly for practical reasons, as it is Durham’s twin city and the links date back to 1968. Durham County Record Office, CC/Chairman/2.

²¹ S. Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian* (London: Longman 1994), pp. 10, 13; J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 212.

²² Tosh, pp. 213-14.

view of experiences during that time.²³ Given the time constraints, a ‘purposeful sampling’ technique was used to aim at interviewees with particular knowledge.²⁴ The interviewees were provided with a written statement about the interview, including information to meet ethical requirements, but the interviews were semi-structured to allow development depending on what the interviewee had to say. A native Russian speaker prepared verbatim transcripts of the interviews. The principal ethical issues concern obtaining the informed consent of interviewees and confidentiality of information.²⁵

A variety of theoretical and conceptual frameworks developed in Geography, Anthropology, Social History, Literary and Cultural Studies, and Tourism Studies have been used in the interpretation and analysis of the sources. The concept of ‘imaginative geographies’ has been especially useful as a lens for interpreting sources when considering the images of place.²⁶ The methods used in this study include the collection of data from a range of sources and the close reading of documentary sources. In analysing data, historiographical methods, discourse analysis techniques and the hermeneutic analysis of images have been used. Film analysis has been employed for cinematic sources and television.

Chapter 1 of the thesis is introductory and provides a general background to Soviet tourist activities and practices, and the organisation of the domestic tourism industry during late socialism. Here the political and economic context for tourism is investigated, as well as the specific stimuli from the centre, which led to the development of the industry during the period of concern. This chapter also compares the official development of organised tourism with the phenomenon of independent or ‘wild’ tourists (*dikie turisty*), and their role in establishing tourism as a mass activity during late socialism.

²³ For a study of post-Soviet nostalgia see M. Nadkarni and O. Shevchenko, ‘The Politics of Nostalgia: A Case for Comparative Analysis of Post-Socialist Practices’, *Ab Imperio* 2004 (2), pp. 487-519.

²⁴ I. T. Coyne, ‘Sampling in Qualitative Research: Purposeful and Theoretical Sampling; Merging or Clear Boundaries?’, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 26 (1997), p. 629.

²⁵ S. Kvale, *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 112-15.

²⁶ Johnston, Gregory and others, pp. 372-73.

While Chapter 1 concentrates on tourism as a part of the Soviet centrally-commanded economy, *Chapter 2* looks at tourism as a cultural practice in the context of late-Soviet culture. It elaborates on the ‘imaginative geographies’ of Soviet domestic tourism, in part invoking Aleksei Yurchak’s work on ‘the last Soviet generation’.²⁷ Significantly, it introduces the dramaturgical metaphor as a framework through which tourism is conceptualised as a form of performance. The dramaturgical metaphor has already been used in other studies to ‘unpack’ the meanings of tourism as a cultural practice.²⁸ In this dissertation the roles of the tourist and tour guide are explored using documentary sources, films and the oral history interviews.

Chapter 3 then focuses on how the Golden Ring was established and on what meanings this new route acquired. This includes consideration of how the Golden Ring fitted within the political and cultural circumstances of late socialism. Inglis’ theory of a set of ‘sacred texts’, which are written by travellers to define a route and then generate interest from subsequent generations of tourists, is used in examining some of the documentary sources.²⁹ The meanings of the Golden Ring as a construct for tourism are largely determined from the images contained within the documentary sources, including reports on a related exhibition, and films.

Finally, *Chapter 4* moves on to the case study of Kostroma, the furthest city from Moscow on the Golden Ring and also on the Volga. Although Kostroma may appear peripheral when viewed from Moscow and the Golden Ring, it is an oblast centre and has its own periphery. Here the focus is on the city as a tourist space and the strategies used to adapt the particular local circumstances to fit into the wider Soviet narrative. Jean Baudrillard’s ideas of simulacra have been used as a frame of analysis and interpretation of some tourist sights constructed during late socialism.³⁰ An ethnographical analysis was developed from impressions formed during a research visit to Kostroma, emulating a

²⁷ A. Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 158-60.

²⁸ D. Chaney, ‘The Power of Metaphors in Tourism Theory’, in *Tourism*, ed. by Coleman and Crang, pp. 194-95.

²⁹ Inglis, pp. 18-19.

³⁰ J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. by S. Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 1.

nineteenth-century Russian urban feuilleton style of travel writing.³¹ Walter Benjamin provides the theoretical support for the importance of ‘first impressions’ in this context.³²

This study builds on the work of Gorsuch, Koenker and others on Soviet tourism, and takes it in new directions. For example, Gorsuch used late-Soviet films to examine the portrayal of the West to armchair travellers in the USSR, whereas in this study sources from popular culture are deployed more broadly in examining tourism as a cultural phenomenon.³³ The case study investigates tourism in a different part of the USSR compared with the work of Gorsuch on Estonia and C. Noack on the Black Sea Coast.³⁴ Furthermore the case study focuses on a destination for cultural tourism, whereas tourism for rest and active tourism have been the main areas of research interest on the Soviet Union to date.³⁵ Finally, Koenker’s wide-ranging survey of Soviet tourism, *Club Red*, did not use oral history as a source, whereas in this study the interviews with ordinary people provide some of the key insights into the practice of late-Soviet tourism in a peripheral location, as well as the tourist’s viewpoint.

³¹ For the urban feuilleton see J. A. Buckler, *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityshape* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 97.

³² W. Benjamin, *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. by J. A. Underwood (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 84.

³³ Gorsuch, *All This is Your World*, pp. 168-85.

³⁴ Gorsuch, *All This is Your World*, pp. 49-78; C. Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist: Planned and “Wild” Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 281-304.

³⁵ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 167-196; C. Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 281-304; E. Maurer, ‘An Academic Escape to the Periphery? The Social and Cultural Milieu of Soviet Mountaineering from the 1920s to the 1960s’, in *Euphoria and Exhaustion: Modern Sport in Soviet Culture and Society*, ed. by N. Katzer (Frankfurt: Campus, 2010), pp. 159-78.

Chapter 1: Overview of Domestic Tourism in Late Socialism

Turizm —

‘A type of sport – journeys, in which entertainment and rest are united with educational goals.’ (1940)³⁶

‘A type of active leisure, which presents itself as journeys with an educational goal, with the aim of strengthening the body, etc.’ (1963)³⁷

‘Journeys, specially organised, carried out for rest and with educational goals, sometimes with elements of sport.’ (1999)³⁸

Defining Soviet tourism

The above dictionary definitions of Soviet tourism (*turizm*) emphasise purposeful travel, physical activity and education. The association of *turizm* with sport is strongest in the two earlier definitions, but by 1999 the emphasis on being active is reduced. The Oxford English Dictionary definition of tourism includes: ‘travelling for pleasure’.³⁹ Soviet *turizm*’s purposeful travellers contrast markedly with such travellers for pleasure.

Looking beyond dictionary definitions, different views about what constituted *turizm* become apparent. D. P. Koenker points to debates about the definition of *turizm* in the 1920s and 1930s, when the concept of the ‘proletarian tourist’ emerged and emphasis was placed on travel by means other than trains and cars and on gathering knowledge of the country.⁴⁰ By the post-war period the definition of *turizm* had changed, Koenker argues, to ‘travel to rest’ (*otdykh*), on the one hand, and ‘travel to see and do’, on the other.⁴¹ A.

³⁶ *Tolkovyj slovar’ russkogo iazyka*, ed. by B. M. Volin and D. N. Ushakov (Moscow: Gorudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo inostrannych i natsional’nykh slovarei 1940), IV, p. 830.

³⁷ Akademii nauk SSSR, *Slovar’ sovremenogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka* (Moscow and Leningrad: 1963), XV, p. 1151.

³⁸ *Slovar’ russkogo iazyka*, ed. by A. P. Evgen’eva (Moscow: Russkii iazyk 1999), IV, p. 428.

³⁹ Oxford English Dictionary

<www.oed.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/view/Entry/203936?redirectedFrom=tourism#eid> [accessed on 24 October 2013].

⁴⁰ D. P. Koenker, ‘The Proletarian Tourist in the 1930s’, in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. by A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 119–40 (pp. 127, 129).

⁴¹ D. P. Koenker, ‘Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51:2 (2009), p. 406.

E. Gorsuch suggests that the ‘boundary between the two was porous’, because visits to sanatoria and certainly to rest homes, which were facilities in the ‘travel to rest’ category, were often more like holidays than hospital stays.⁴² Indeed, Koenker’s classifications of post-war *turizm* are convenient when looking at the organisations involved with leisure travel, but this subdivision of the broad scope of Soviet tourist practices is inevitably artificial.

The above definitions of Soviet tourism all involve journeys and can be differentiated from ‘recreation’ (*rekreatsiia*), which does not necessarily involve travel. Recreation includes pursuits during leisure time in the places where people habitually live, including, in the Soviet context, the dacha.⁴³ In the Soviet Union ‘tourism’ is also differentiated from ‘excursions’ (*ekskursii*), which are defined as day trips: tourism, by contrast, is expected to involve an overnight stay.⁴⁴ Despite this clear distinction, the organisation of the two activities was closely connected from 1930 when the All-Union Voluntary Society of Proletarian Tourism and Excursions (Vsесоiузnoe dobrovol’noe obshchestvo proletarskogo turizma i ekskursii, hereafter OPTE) was founded.⁴⁵ The OPTE focused on independent rather than centrally-organised tourism. When the OPTE was liquidated in 1936, its activities were transferred to an organisation under the All-Union Central Trade Unions Council (Vsесоiузnyi tsentral’nyi sovet professional’nykh soiuzov, hereafter VTsSPS), marking the start of union involvement in Soviet tourism.⁴⁶ During late socialism the leading institution for domestic tourism was the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions (Tsentral’nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiiam, hereafter TsSTE), which operated under VTsSPS.

While the World Tourism Organization regards tourism as a social, cultural and economic phenomenon, in the Soviet Union tourism was also expected to be a

⁴² A. E. Gorsuch, “‘There’s No Place like Home’: Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism”, *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), p. 765.

⁴³ Although going to the dacha involves spatial displacement, being at the dacha is regarded as active leisure. See S. Lovell, *Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha, 1710-2000* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 191.

⁴⁴ G2/4.

⁴⁵ I. Orlov and E. Iurchikova, *Massovyi turizm v stalinskoi povsednevnosti* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia politicheskia entsiklopediia, 2010), pp. 76, 101.

⁴⁶ A. A. Ivanov, *Istoriia rossiiskogo turizma (IX-XX vv.)* (Moscow: Forum, 2011), p. 184.

manifestation of ideology.⁴⁷ It may appear ideologically inconsistent that tourism was fostered throughout the history of the USSR when, according to Marxist economic theory, tourist services were considered a non-productive sphere.⁴⁸ Despite this apparent paradox, the most important rationale for tourism in the Soviet Union was the concern for the health needs of workers in order to maintain production. As the above dictionary definitions showed, education (understood as a form of cultural betterment) was also a vital aspect of Soviet tourism. Indeed, the first decade after the 1917 Revolution was a key period for tourist excursions organised by the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment (Narodnyi komissariat prosveshcheniia or Narkompros).⁴⁹

Tourist activities

Three broad categories of Soviet tourist activities have been identified on the basis of the above definitions of *turizm*: 1. travel to rest; 2. active tourism; and 3. cultural tourism. During late socialism there was an increase in popularity of two other types of tourism: travel for pleasure, which was not part of the dictionary definitions of *turizm*; and touring, which could include more than one category of activity. Of course, the boundaries between the categories were not rigidly defined and such typology should be understood as provisional and heuristic. The categories reflect the continuity of tourist activities from the pre-revolutionary period into the Soviet era, but their nature, purpose and scale changed in line with the new political thinking. However, the change in tourism in late socialism from an emphasis on education to a recognition of personal pleasure echoes the transformations of a century earlier, as identified in C. Ely's study of Volga River tourism.⁵⁰

Whilst Soviet *travel to rest* is linked to maintaining the health of workers and their productivity, it was based on the pre-revolutionary Russian elite's travel to spas in

⁴⁷ World Tourism Organization, *Understanding Tourism: Basic Glossary* <<http://media.unwto.org/en/content/understanding-tourism-basic-glossary>> [accessed on 24 October 2013].

⁴⁸ V. E. Bagdasarian, I. B. Orlov, I. I. Shnaidgen, A. A. Fedulin and K. A. Mazin, *Sovetskoe zazerkal'e: Inostrannyi turizm v SSSR v 1930-1980-e gody* (Moscow: Forum, 2007), p. 95; Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', p. 401.

⁴⁹ A. A. Ivanov, pp. 148-50.

⁵⁰ Volga guidebooks from the 1860s emphasised obligation and education, but towards the 1880s this changed to a stress on personal pleasure. See C. Ely, 'The Origins of Russian Scenery: Volga River Tourism and Russian Landscape Aesthetics', *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), pp. 671-72.

Western Europe and, from the first half of the nineteenth century, to similar resorts in Russia. A. A. Ivanov outlines the development of sanatoria and resorts (*kurorty*) in the Caucasus, Crimea and the Black Sea Coast, where there were concentrations of such facilities in both the pre-revolutionary and Soviet eras (Figure 2, page 39).⁵¹ Although Soviet travel to rest was to similar locations as before, the change of political system resulted in a change of its official purpose.

Active tourism also had pre-revolutionary roots, but developed specifically Soviet activities in the decades following the Revolution. In 1995 a conference on tourism in St. Petersburg was publicised as part of the celebration of the centenary of Russian tourism, based on the date of the founding of a bicycle touring society.⁵² This society later became the Russian Society of Tourists (Rossiiskoe obshchestvo turistov), which was the largest officially chartered tourist society in pre-revolutionary Russia and was later reorganised into an important tourist organisation in the early decades of the Soviet era.⁵³

New types of active tourism emerged in the 1920s and 1930s under the banner of proletarian tourism. Some activities were effectively participation in agitprop, which aimed to spread information around the countryside, while others gathered information from the periphery, such as the location of new mineral deposits.⁵⁴ For example, one group on a tourist relay race (*turistskaia estafeta*) skied from Khavarovsk to Moscow in eighty-five days, starting in late December 1929.⁵⁵ Learning new skills linked to state goals was encouraged. This included skills useful to the military, for example, travelling independently across the countryside or navigation using the stars.⁵⁶

Although ‘proletarian tourism’ as an idea and its more extreme manifestations had ended by late Stalinism, new directions for active tourism were established. Some tourist

⁵¹ A. A. Ivanov, pp. 110-11.

⁵² ‘Peterburzhets puteshestvuet’: *Sbornik materialov konferentsii 2-3 marta 1995 goda* (St Petersburg: Piligrim, 1995). Although adopting 1895 as the starting date for Russian tourism is debatable, the centenary can be seen as recognising and valuing tourism as a phenomenon by celebrating its history. For histories of Russian tourism starting earlier, see A. A. Ivanov; C. Ely, ‘The Picturesque and the Holy: Visions of Touristic Space in Russia, 1820-1850’, in *Architectures of Russian Identity: 1500 to the Present*, ed. by J. Cracraft and D. Rowland (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 80-89.

⁵³ L. McReynolds, ‘The Prerevolutionary Russian Tourist. Commercialization in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 27-28.

⁵⁴ I. Orlov and Iurchikova, pp. 15, 117, 142.

⁵⁵ L. Barkhasha, ‘Khavarovsk-Moskva na lyzhakh’, *Na sushe in na more*, 1930:8, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁶ I. Orlov and Iurchikova, pp. 134-35.

activities (e.g. long-distance hiking) were identified as sports, either due to their organisational arrangements or because these activities involved training and special equipment.⁵⁷ Tourism was recognised officially as a type of sport in 1949, as also reflected in the 1940 dictionary definition of *turizm* above.⁵⁸ From 1950 tourist rallies were organised jointly by tourist clubs and sports societies with competitions, such as orienteering and cooking on campfires.⁵⁹ The designation ‘Tourist of the USSR’ was awarded on completion of itineraries designed to test tourist skills and knowledge, such as five hikes covering 75 kilometres, rowing boat trips and long distance motoring.⁶⁰ In the mid-1960s Kostroma’s Council for Tourism and Excursions (Sovet po turizmu i ekskursiiam, hereafter STE) had a climbing instructor, despite the city’s remoteness from the mountains, which suggests the importance of active tourism.⁶¹ A bicycle *estafeta* in 1982 from Moscow to Alma-Ata (now Almaty) echoed the earlier proletarian tourism.⁶² Active tourists were accommodated in more basic accommodation than medical-health tourists, such as tourist bases (*turbazy*) and campsites.

E. Maurer researched Soviet mountaineering, which was largely the preserve of the intelligentsia and the middle class.⁶³ Mountaineering was characterised as being ambivalent to modernity and hence not completely congruent with the Soviet ideological framework, leading to its association with more open criticism of socialism in the 1960s.⁶⁴ Other types of active tourism have not been researched in depth, including canoeing and rafting, which both appear to have been popular, judging from the

⁵⁷ D. P. Koenker, *Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 141-42.

⁵⁸ Ju. Efremov, ‘K voprosy o kul’ture turizma’, *Turistskie tropy* (Moscow: 1958), p. 12, cited in Gorsuch, “There’s No Place like Home”, p. 763.

⁵⁹ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 143.

⁶⁰ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 143; O. Arkhangel’skaia, *Kak vybrat’ turistskii marshrut* (Moscow: Fizkul’tura i sport, 1967), p. 5; L. H. Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades: The Life of the Soviet Automobile* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), p. 228.

⁶¹ G2/5.

⁶² A. Bulgakov, ‘Velomarafon druzhby’, *Turist*, 1982:12, pp. 14-15.

⁶³ E. Maurer, ‘Al’pinizm as Mass Sport and Elite Recreation: Soviet Mountaineering Camps under Stalin’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 141-62; E. Maurer, ‘Cold War, “Thaw” and “Everlasting Friendship”: Soviet Mountaineers and Mount Everest, 1953-1960’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26:4 (2009), pp. 484-500; E. Maurer, ‘An Academic Escape to the Periphery? The Social and Cultural Milieu of Soviet Mountaineering from the 1920s to the 1960s’, in *Euphoria and Exhaustion: Modern Sport in Soviet Culture and Society*, ed. by N. Katzer (Frankfurt: Campus, 2010), pp. 159-78 (pp. 172-73).

⁶⁴ Maurer, ‘An Academic Escape to the Periphery?’, pp. 172-73.

numerous articles about them in TsSTE's monthly illustrated magazine *Turist*.⁶⁵ This magazine was launched in 1966 and aimed to suggest interesting destinations and to provide active help to readers.⁶⁶

Soviet *cultural tourism* was rooted in the Russian elite's travels to Europe after the defeat of Napoleon.⁶⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century such tourism started to emerge within Russia, together with developing ideas of national identity.⁶⁸ From the mid-1930s the concept of being individually cultured (*kul'turnost'*) became important.⁶⁹ This imprecisely defined term was used to encourage the spread of middle class standards in a range of areas in public and in private life, including reading and general knowledge. The slogan 'Proletarian tourism – the best means of self-education' (Proletarskii turizm – luchshii sposob samoobrazovaniia) is a clear indication of the connection that was made between tourism and working-class cultural betterment.⁷⁰ One of the purposes of this education was to promote patriotism by enhancing the population's knowledge of the USSR, and its identification of the different parts of the country as a single, historically and geographically unified homeland.⁷¹ In this context, in late socialism new cultural tourism destinations started to focus on the history of Ancient Rus, as demonstrated in the case study of the Golden Ring (Chapter 3) and Kostroma (Chapter 4).

Travel for pleasure was not mentioned in the Soviet dictionary definitions of 'turizm'. However, new and more varied types of mass travel for pleasure were developed during late socialism, including 'softer' forms of tourism, as indicated by the construction of hotels in tourist bases to replace tents.⁷² The seaside holiday was an important example of travel for pleasure. The Crimea and the Caucasus coast were two of the three most

⁶⁵ *Turist*'s articles on *vodnyi turizm* included expedition reports (e.g. 'Zhigulevskaia krugosvetka', 1969:5, pp. 6-7), features on how to make tourist equipment (e.g. canoes in 1972:3, p. 28) and the 'Azimut' series in the 1980s (e.g. 1980:4, 1984:4).

⁶⁶ *Turist*, 1966:1, p. 1. The print run of *Turist* peaked in 1972 at 213,000 and gradually fell to under 100,000 in 1984.

⁶⁷ A. A. Ivanov, pp. 70-73, 77.

⁶⁸ Ely, 'The Origins of Russian Scenery', pp. 666, 670-71.

⁶⁹ V. S. Dunham, *In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 19-22; V. Volkov, 'The Concept of *kul'turnost'*: Notes on the Stalinist Civilizing Process', in *Stalinism: New Directions*, ed. by S. Fitzpatrick (London: Routledge, 2000) pp. 210-30.

⁷⁰ I. Orlov and Iurchikova, p. 143.

⁷¹ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 57.

⁷² Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', p. 420.

popular destinations for the summer holidays: the third was the Caucasus.⁷³ The seaside had prestige, as a Muscovite recalled from her youth — ‘Where were you?’, ‘At the sea!’, ‘Oh, at the sea!’,⁷⁴ In addition to holidaymakers, the seaside attracted organisers of business trips (*komandirovki*) and conferences, a practice criticised in the press as an abuse of public funds for tourism-like activities.⁷⁵

Touring holidays, such as motoring holidays (*avtoturizm*) and bus tours, were a new mass phenomenon in late socialism and were found both within and outside the official system. A 1966 poll revealed a strong preference for touring (72%) over holidays in one location (19%), which had traditionally been the main focus of Soviet tourism.⁷⁶ Lovell comments that the *shestidesiatniki* were a generation that was more interested in tourism than in developing a dacha, which required a commitment to one place.⁷⁷ Being a tourist on the move is associated with modernity, activity and wanting to experience different places.⁷⁸ Under Brezhnev individual car ownership was promoted, but the supply of cars was constrained and car ownership remained modest by international standards.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, VTsSPS’s tourist organisations included local auto-tourism departments to promote motoring holidays.⁸⁰ The Kostroma STE even had an instructor for auto-tourism among its small staff in the mid-1960s.⁸¹ Hitchhiking was a new form of travel for those without their own cars. The ‘Autostop’ movement started in Leningrad in 1961, but the Soviet scheme was not as extensive as that in Poland on which it was based.⁸² Despite the

⁷³ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁴ G3/4.

⁷⁵ ‘Expensive Amusements’, *Izvestiia*, 21 Sep. 1969, p. 5, trans. in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (hereafter *CDSP*), 21:38, 15 October 1969, p. 24.

⁷⁶ B. A. Grushin, *Chetyre zhizni Rossii v zerkale oprossov obshchestvennogo mnenia: Ocherki massovogo soznanija possian vremen Khrushcheva, Brezhneva, Gorbacheva i El'tsina v 4-kh knigakh. Epokha Brezhneva* (1) (Moscow: Progress-Traditsiia, 2003), p. 154. These statistics are based on 1,564 replies.

⁷⁷ Lovell, *Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha*, p. 205.

⁷⁸ For developments in mobility and tourism see O. Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 41-71; F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of The Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 94-112.

⁷⁹ The number of private cars per thousand people increased from six to thirty during the 1970s. J. Gronow and S. Zhuravlev, ‘Soviet Luxuries from Champagne to Private Cars’, in *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by D. Crowley and S. E. Reid (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp. 135-37.

⁸⁰ *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (hereafter GARF), f. 9520, op. 1, d. 2066, l. 1.

⁸¹ G2/5.

⁸² N. B. Lebina and A. N. Chistikov, *Obyvatel' i reformy: Kartiny povsednevnoi zhizni gorozhan v gody nepa i khrushchevskoro desiatiletia* (St Peterburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), p. 286; Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades*, p. 220.

interest in touring during late socialism, only a few popular locations have been the subject of research by historians, including the Black Sea Coast and Estonia.⁸³

In general, tourism for Soviet children was organised separately from that for adults. The V. I. Lenin All-Union Pioneering Organisation (Vsесоiuznaia pionerskaia organizatsiia imeni V. I. Lenina or Pioneers) and the All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth (Vsесоiuznyi Leninskii Kommunisticheskii Soiuz Molodezhi or Komsomol) provided separate facilities for children.⁸⁴ Special holidays for children were also the norm in the USA and France until the 1970s.⁸⁵ Holidays for children will not, however, be examined as part of this project.

Tourism in context

During late socialism various political developments and social changes created the context for the rise of domestic tourism as a mass activity and for changes in tourist activities. During the 1960s research was undertaken to ascertain opinions about tourism: a 1963 poll of the readers of *Komsomol'skaia pravda* about leisure pursuits, and two questionnaires in 1966 about the problem of free time, including the annual holiday.⁸⁶ The former produced 'hundreds of letters every day', a small sample of which were published, revealing *inter alia* a lack of facilities and organisation of leisure activities.⁸⁷ These polls indicate that leisure and tourism had become important and topical.

The importance of leisure in the USSR is also apparent from the state's constitutions and laws. Provision for Soviet non-working time was first set out in the Code of Laws about Labour of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (hereafter RSFSR) 1922 (Kodeks zakonov o trude Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnaia Sotsialisticheskaiia

⁸³ C. Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist: Planned and "Wild" Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 281-304; A. E. Gorsuch, *All This is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 49-78.

⁸⁴ C. Kelly, *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia, 1890-1991* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 570.

⁸⁵ Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', p. 403.

⁸⁶ 'A Poll on How Youth Uses Leisure: Some Replies', *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 11 and 20 January 1963, p. 3, trans. in *CDSP*, 15:7, 13 March 1963, pp. 12-14; B. Grushin, *Svobodnoe vremia: Velichina. Struktura. Problemy. Perspektivy. (Rezul'taty oprosса Instituta obshchestvennogo mneniya "Komsomol'skoi pravdy")*, (Moscow: Pravda, 1966); B. A. Grushin, p. 136.

⁸⁷ 'A Poll on How Youth Uses Leisure: Some Replies', *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 11 and 20 January 1963, p. 3, trans. in *CDSP*, 15:7, 13 March 1963, p. 12.

Respublika 1922), which stipulated an annual two-week paid holiday, six public holidays, one non-working day per week and an eight-hour normal working day.⁸⁸ This resulted in Soviet workers having less time at work than those in other industrialised countries.⁸⁹

Two constitutions were in effect in the USSR during the period of late socialism. The 1936 ‘Stalin’ Constitution of the USSR (Konstitutsia (Osnovnoi zakon) SSSR) included citizens’ right to work (*pravo na tryd*) and also right to rest (*pravo na otdykh*) and the provision of ‘a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs to serve workers’.⁹⁰ The 1977 ‘Brezhnev’ Constitution of the USSR also contained a clause concerning the right to rest, which included existing rights to leisure time and the expansion of the network of tourism and leisure facilities ‘for the rational use of free time’.⁹¹

The provision of facilities in the 1936 Constitution is clearly linked to workers, and has no reference to the provision of facilities for collective farm workers (*kolkhozniki*), office workers (*sluzhashchie*) and non-workers, including children. Clause 41 of the 1977 Constitution extends the provision of facilities to office workers, but mentions rest for collective farm workers in a separate sentence without reference to the provision of facilities for them. Non-workers are still not mentioned. The 1936 Constitution supports the argument that health needs of workers were of primary importance, because sanatoria, rest homes and other facilities were provided for workers by the state. However, the 1977 Constitution also mentions cultural-enlightenment establishments and sporting and tourism activities. This indicates a change in the official understanding of leisure towards a more diverse and nuanced view of the uses of leisure time.

Khrushchev’s Third Party Programme, announced in 1961, promised that in ten years the USSR would change to a 35-hour working week and have ‘the world’s shortest and at the

⁸⁸ Kodeks zakonov o trude RSFSR 1922, Clauses 88, 94 and Part XI

<www.hist.msu.ru/Labour/Law/kodex_22.htm#1> [accessed on 25 October 2013].

⁸⁹ Koenker, ‘Whose Right to Rest?’, p. 401. In the UK a twenty-year campaign culminated in the Holidays With Pay Act, 1938, see S. Dawson, ‘Working-Class Consumers and the Campaign for Holidays with Pay’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 18:3 (2007), pp. 277-78.

⁹⁰ Konstitutsia (Osnovnoi zakon) SSSR, 5 December 1936, Chapter 10, Clauses 118 and 119

<http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1936/red_1936/3958676/chapter/10/#1010> [accessed on 25 October 2013].

⁹¹ Konstitutsia (Osnovnoi zakon) SSSR, 7 October 1977, Chapter 7, Clause 41

<http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1977/red_1977/5478732> [accessed on 27 October 2013].

same time most productive and highest-paid working day.⁹² The Programme continued policies started in the 1950s and was based on ideas of the population's entitlement to a certain way of life under the socialist contract, especially after the wartime hardships.⁹³ While Khrushchev's utopian vision did not become reality, as part of the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966-70), the working week across the USSR was shortened in 1968 to five days, with two consecutive non-working days, and annual paid holidays increased to a minimum of fifteen days (i.e. three weeks).⁹⁴ Prior to this change to the working week, psychologists had assessed different patterns of rest days to maximise the benefits from leisure time.⁹⁵ Spending free time rationally was characterised in the press as a problem to be solved.⁹⁶

A new concept of mass tourism during the weekend arose from the reduction in the working week in 1968. During its first year the *Turist* magazine published articles under the rubric '5 + 2' about how some local STEs were preparing for the change.⁹⁷ These preparations included setting up new two- and three-day tours: previously the shortest were twelve-day tours.⁹⁸ The stated aim of the shorter working week was to give workers more opportunity to improve their qualifications and cultural level, and to increase productivity.⁹⁹ However, this change also allowed workers more time for pleasure, one of the promises of the Soviet communist utopia.¹⁰⁰

Other parts of Khrushchev's 1961 Third Party Programme promised to almost double all workers' and employees' real income in ten years and to provide recreational

⁹² 'Programme of the CPSU', *Izvestia*, 2 November 1961, pp. 1-9, trans. in *CDSP*, 13:46, 13 December 1961, p. 10.

⁹³ S. Lovell, *The Shadow of War: Russia and the USSR, 1941 to the Present* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 154-56.

⁹⁴ V. I. Azar, *Otdykh trudiashchikhsa SSSR* (Moscow: Statistika, 1972), pp. 7-8. In Moscow the five-day week started during the third quarter of 1967. See 'Moscow Shifts to the Five-Day Week', *Pravda*, 19 July 1967, p. 3, trans. in *CDSP*, 19:29, 9 August 1967, p. 25.

⁹⁵ M. Babadzhanyan, 'The Five-Day Week from the Psychologist's Standpoint', *Ekonicheskaiia gazeta*, 11 July 1967, p. 31, trans. in *CDSP*, 19:31, 23 August 1967, p. 15.

⁹⁶ Iu. Levada, 'Problema: Svobodhoe vremia', *Literaturnaia gazeta* (hereafter *LG*), 3:4133, 17 January 1968, p.11.

⁹⁷ '5 + 2', *Turist*, 1966:7, pp. 1-2; 'Ot subboty do ponedel'nika', *Turist*, 1966:8, pp. 1-3.

⁹⁸ 'Ot subboty do ponedel'nika', *Turist*, 1966:8, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Quotation from the 'Direktiv XXIII s'ezda KPSS po piatiletnemu planu' in '5 + 2', *Turist*, 1966:7, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ D. Crowley and S. E. Reid, 'Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?' in *Pleasures in Socialism*, ed. by ed. by Crowley and Reid, p. 3.

accommodation at a reasonable or discounted charge or even for free.¹⁰¹ Just as the Eighth Five-Year Plan had reduced working hours in the general direction set by Khrushchev's programme, minimum wages and pay scales rose from 1 January 1968 as part of measures to increase people's well-being.¹⁰² Both increasing paid holidays and improving the affordability of tourism by raising wages stimulated the demand for mass tourism. However, the same ideas of entitlement, which had increased demand for tourism, worked to restrain the supply of facilities for mass tourism. Koenker argued (using examples from the early 1950s) that tourism enjoyed a lower priority in the Soviet economy because it was viewed as an entitlement, rather than a productive industry.¹⁰³ In the mid-1960s VTsSPS admitted to delays to some of its construction projects for resorts and rest homes, blaming the local construction administrations, which it had to use.¹⁰⁴

During the Khrushchev era mass consumption was regarded as a socialist project, together with mass political mobilisation.¹⁰⁵ For Khrushchev, consumption was also part of the Cold War competition.¹⁰⁶ While political activism faded to ritualism under Brezhnev, the mass appeal of consumerism remained. Holidays provided opportunities for buying goods unavailable at home in times of shortages.

Individual choice was a further characteristic of late socialism of relevance to tourism, and was linked to broader ideas of a post-Stalin reassertion of the individual and the creation of private spheres within the socialist space.¹⁰⁷ As with consumer goods, though, the Soviet tourist's freedom of choice was constrained by the centrally planned system of supply and other state controls, such as that on travel to capitalist countries. Nevertheless,

¹⁰¹ 'Programme of the CPSU', *Izvestiia*, 2 November 1961, pp. 1-9, trans. in *CDSP*, 13:46, 13 December 1961, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰² 'Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on 26 September 1967, 'On Measures for Further Increasing the Well-being of the Soviet people'', *Pravda*, 27 September 1967, p. 1, trans. in *CDSP*, 19:36, 18 October 1967, p. 3.

¹⁰³ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 159.

¹⁰⁴ 'On the Eve of the Resort Year', *Izvestiia*, 23 February 1966, p. 4, trans. in *CDSP*, 18:8, 16 March 1966, p. 43.

¹⁰⁵ Crowley and Reid, 'Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?' in *Pleasures in Socialism*, ed. by Crowley and Reid, p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ S. E. Reid, 'Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev', *Slavic Review*, 61:2 (2002), p. 212.

¹⁰⁷ For a summary of Thaw culture see Lovell, *The Shadow of War*, pp. 147-56.

tourism was one of the spheres in late Soviet socialism in which individuals strategized in order to manoeuvre around or ignore official systems.¹⁰⁸

Soviet tourism had a domestic focus during late Stalinism, and was part of the post-war reinforcement of Soviet patriotic identity, with a warm welcome certain only within the borders of the USSR.¹⁰⁹ However, in the Brezhnev era international travel represented a competing form of tourism to which many Soviet citizens aspired. By the 1970s travel by Soviet citizens to the Eastern bloc, but not to the West, became routine, with sightseeing tours arranged by Inturist, VTsSPS, and Komsomol organisations.¹¹⁰ The *Turist* magazine started regular foreign reports relatively late, however – only in 1982 – having previously reported almost exclusively on domestic tourism.¹¹¹

Travel abroad resulted in different experiences for Soviet citizens, such as hearing different narratives about the pre-socialist past and feasting their eyes on consumer goods.¹¹² Historians have used Soviet tourists and their published travelogues as a prism through which to examine the USSR and its relationship with the Eastern bloc and the West.¹¹³ Koenker argues that foreign travel, including to Eastern bloc countries where tourism retained some legacy of pre-war practices, led to changes in Soviet domestic tourism including greater focus on comfort, service and families.¹¹⁴ Experiences abroad were used to expose deficiencies in Soviet tourism and to exert pressure to change. For example, a Moscow hotel manager reported in *Pravda* that, following his staff's visit to other socialist countries to look at hotel management practices, Moscow's hotels had changed on 1 December 1967 to a standard checkout time, replacing an inefficient system of departure times depending on the precise minute each guest arrived.¹¹⁵ Other

¹⁰⁸ A. Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 126-28.

¹⁰⁹ Gorsuch, “There's No Place like Home”, pp. 760-61.

¹¹⁰ Gorsuch, *All This is Your World*, p. 19; A. E. Gorsuch, ‘Time Travelers: Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 206.

¹¹¹ ‘U nashikh druzei: Po dorogam jugoslavii’, *Turist*, 1982:11, pp. 28-29.

¹¹² Gorsuch, ‘Time Travelers: Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 215, 217-19.

¹¹³ S. Gross Solomon, ‘Knowing the “Local”: Rockefeller Foundation Officers’ Site Visits to Russia in the 1920s’, *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), pp. 710-32; E. Gilburd, ‘Books and Borders: Sergei Obraztsov and Soviet Travels to London in the 1950s’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 227-47; Gorsuch, *All This is Your World*, pp. 106-67; Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 239-52.

¹¹⁴ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 10-11, 241.

¹¹⁵ G. Zhukov, ‘The Reform in Action: The Profitability of Hospitality’, *Pravda*, 19 November 1968, p. 3, trans. in *CDSP*, 20:47, 11 December 1968, p. 27.

commentators criticised the disparate nature of Soviet sources of information for tourists, and suggested instead the centralised model for tourist information, with its own logo, seen in Bulgaria.¹¹⁶

The rise of mass tourism for Soviet citizens paralleled changes in capitalist countries, albeit with some distinctions. As in the USSR, workers in the northern countries of Western Europe enjoyed shorter working hours and longer holidays, especially during the 1970s, when their incomes also rose.¹¹⁷ From the early 1960s Mediterranean package holidays were designed for the increasingly affluent, middle and working class West Europeans.¹¹⁸ Further afield, the World Bank and UNESCO assisted some less developed countries to use tourism as a means for development by providing finance for the construction of new facilities, and assistance in turning archaeological sites into tourist destinations.¹¹⁹

Computerised reservation systems, jet aircraft and the numerous airstrips built during wartime were key to developing the mass tourism industry in the Mediterranean, enabling larger numbers of people to be transported further and more cheaply.¹²⁰ In Spain, the main destinations for charter flights in the 1960s, Majorca and the Costa del Sol offered sunshine, beach resorts and villages inland for sightseeing.¹²¹ Popular tourist destinations for Soviet holidaymakers were located at the Black Sea Coast, which shares a broadly similar marginal location, climate and topography (a coastline backed by mountains) with the Mediterranean. However, Soviet tourism was not aided by developments in aviation, as in the West. Instead, Soviet tourists relied on buses, trains and boats.¹²²

In Western Europe the travel industry developed quickly in response to consumer demand: in Spain the number of tourists grew from six million in 1960 to thirty million in

¹¹⁶ Ye. Kanevsky and L. Margolin, 'Growing Pains of Tourism in the USSR', *Izvestiia*, 26 July 1973, p. 5, trans. in *CDSP*, 25:30, 22 August 1973, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ Löfgren, pp. 172-73.

¹¹⁸ Löfgren, pp. 172-73.

¹¹⁹ S. M. Tolbert, 'Preface', in *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, ed. by E. de Kadt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. v.

¹²⁰ Löfgren, p. 173.

¹²¹ Löfgren, pp. 173-74.

¹²² In 1970 only 3% of all travellers went by air. See V. I. Azar and S. V. Poliak, *Transport i turizm* (Moscow: Transport 1970), p. 12.

1975.¹²³ Soviet officials knew about the growing size of the West European tourism industry.¹²⁴ However, the Soviet planned economy was unable to provide the infrastructure to match the increased demand for tourism from its citizens. In 1971 a TsSTE official criticised the transportation and construction ministries for being slow to respond, and compared them unfavourably to Thomas Cook's travel agency, going so far as to claim that Soviet ministries and agencies that were not directly linked to tourism had 'no real desire to bother with the tourist's needs'.¹²⁵

Since its founding in 1929, the all-Union company Inturist managed international tourists visiting the USSR separately from the organisations for domestic tourists.¹²⁶ Inturist's cadre of guide-translators, who were distinct from the tour guides used in domestic tourism, had a key propaganda role in creating a positive image of the USSR and were expected to deliver an ideological message in every phrase.¹²⁷ For example, their training materials about the Golden Ring included a chapter of general information, covering Soviet history, the most recent Communist Party conference, the planned economy and living standards.¹²⁸ Inturist's role was not merely one of socialist propaganda, though: earning foreign currency and making profits from foreign tourists were equally important.¹²⁹ Foreign tourists have been of interest to historians, whose research includes the history of Inturist, focussing particularly on the 1930s and the Cold War era.¹³⁰ Even though the Golden Ring, in particular, became one of the emerging new destinations promoted to foreign tourists, the latter are not part of this project.

¹²³ Löfgren, p. 174.

¹²⁴ GARF, f. A639, op. 1, d. 207, l. 75.

¹²⁵ V. Krivosheyev, 'The Soviet Tourist's Needs', *LG*, 16 June 1971, p. 2, trans. in *CDSP*, 23:41, 9 November 1971, p. 23.

¹²⁶ Bagdasarian, Orlov, Shnaidgen, Fedulin and Mazin, p. 14.

¹²⁷ Bagdasarian, Orlov, Shnaidgen, Fedulin and Mazin, pp. 56-57, 188.

¹²⁸ Gosudarstvennyi komitet SSSR po inostrannomu turizmu, glavnoe upravlenie propagandy i informatsii, *Opisanie avtomarshruka "Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii": V pomoshch' gidam-perevodchikam* (Moscow: 1988), pp. 104-27.

¹²⁹ Bagdasarian, Orlov, Shnaidgen, Fedulin and Mazin, pp. 39, 89, 96; S. Salmon, 'Marketing Socialism: Inturist in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 191-92.

¹³⁰ Salmon, 'Marketing Socialism: Inturist in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 186-204; Bagdasarian, Orlov, Shnaidgen, Fedulin and Mazin; J. S. Hardy, 'Gulag Tourism: Khrushchev's "Show" Prisons in the Cold War Context, 1954-59', *Russian Review*, 71:1 (2012), pp. 49-78.

Organising mass domestic tourism

In 1968 the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Akademiiia nauk SSSR) organised the first conference to discuss the development of the Soviet tourism industry for both domestic and foreign tourists.¹³¹ The term ‘industry’ (*industriia*) gives some indication of the status of tourism in the Soviet economy, which had earlier been the preserve of voluntary societies. On 30 May 1969 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Kommunisticheskaiia partiia Sovetskoro Soiuza, hereafter KPSS) and others adopted a resolution ‘Concerning measures for further development of tourism and excursions in the country’ (О мерakh po dal’neishemu razvitiu turizma i ekskursii v strane), which was a milestone in the expansion of domestic tourism.¹³² The resolution addressed the supply side of the tourism industry and coincided with developments in domestic tourism at the republic and local levels. These included the establishment of the Golden Ring tourist itinerary and development of a network of local STEs, such as that in Kostroma. The basic structure of the Soviet tourism industry was similar to the top-down management of other parts of the economy, i.e. planning and overall management at the centre leading to implementation at the local level. The state system was complex and only certain key features are examined below.

The Central Committee’s 1969 resolution concerning tourism notes that the ‘increased needs of workers, especially the young, for tourist-excursionary facilities are not fully satisfied’, and lists various general deficiencies in facilities, services and qualified personnel, including insufficient tours to cultural centres and historical sights.¹³³ It also states that various party and governmental bodies had not made the tourist-excursionary organisations aware of the rising demand for educational and political-educational tourist trips. The resolution contains twenty-one decrees, including those initiating the allocation of premises to new bureaus for tourism and excursions, the provision of land and funding for new tourist hotels, tour bases and camping grounds, the development of specialist tourist itineraries to extraordinary places, the recruitment of qualified tour guides, and the publication of new museum and exhibition guidebooks.

¹³¹ Akademiiia nauk SSSR, Upravlenie po inostrannomu turizmu pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR and Tsentral’nyi sovet po turizmy VTsSPS, *Reziume nauchnoi konferentsii po probleme “Razvitiie industrii turizma v SSSR”* (Novosibirsk: 1968).

¹³² Tsentral’nyi Komitet KPSS, Sovet Ministrov SSSR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie ot 30 maia 1969 g. N411, ‘O merakh po dal’neishemu razvitiu turizma i ekskursii v strane’*.

¹³³ Tsentral’nyi Komitet KPSS, Sovet Ministrov SSSR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie N411*.

One of the three bodies proposing the 1969 resolution was VTsSPS. Although VTsSPS had been involved in tourism since 1936, a key change occurred in 1960 when VTsSPS's activities expanded to encompass the facilities directed towards workers' health needs, including all self-financing sanatoria (except those for tuberculosis patients), rest homes, therapeutic resorts and boarding houses (*pansionaty*).¹³⁴ These facilities were transferred from the jurisdiction of the health authorities following the failure of a 1956 reorganisation, which had attempted to improve the operation of sanatoria and rest homes.¹³⁵ This reorganisation was unsuccessful because the allocation of visitors to these establishments was effectively under trade union rather than medical control.¹³⁶

Despite the grip of VTsSPS over domestic tourism, the Central Committee's 1969 resolution shows that VTsSPS was unable to deliver the required improvements without the involvement of seventeen ministries and other organisations.¹³⁷ The first decree in the resolution requires the involvement of the Ministry of Enlightenment (Ministerstvo prosvetshcheniya) in the ideological-political education of qualified cadres for tourist organisations.¹³⁸ Several decrees concern the development of tourist infrastructure and require the participation of the USSR State Planning Committee of the Council of Ministers (Gosudarstvennyi planovyi komitet Soveta Ministrov SSSR or Gossplan), the USSR State Committee for Construction (Gosudarstvennyi komitet SSSR po delam stroitel'stva, hereafter Gosstroj), state banks, the ministries of transportation (railways, aviation and marine), trade and food and beverage industries, and various city and regional authorities.¹³⁹ This demonstrates the complexity of tourism as an activity in the centrally-commanded Soviet economy. The development of tourism and recreation facilities was also complicated by the 'conflict between sectoral and spatial planning'.¹⁴⁰

In addition to the various organisations and ministries mentioned above, Soviet geographers had a role in the development of tourism. Soviet recreational geography

¹³⁴ A. A. Ivanov, pp. 231-32.

¹³⁵ A. A. Ivanov, p. 231.

¹³⁶ A. A. Ivanov, pp. 231-32.

¹³⁷ Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS, Sovet Ministrov SSSR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie N411*.

¹³⁸ Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS, Sovet Ministrov SSSR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie N411*.

¹³⁹ Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS, Sovet Ministrov SSSR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie N411*.

¹⁴⁰ D. J. B. Shaw, 'Achievements and Problems in Soviet Recreational Planning', in *Home, School and Leisure*, ed. by J. Brine, M. Perrie and A. Sutton (London: George Allen & Unwin 1980), p. 200.

(*rekreatsionnaia geografiia*) developed as a branch of science from the late 1960s, with research conducted at the Institute of Geography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and in universities.¹⁴¹ Soviet geographers used a positivist scientific style of approach to the study of tourism and recreation to ascertain ‘laws’ determining recreational development, and used this approach in assessing the tourist potential of particular locations and in planning development. In 1971 Soviet geographers presented a socio-geographical model of a ‘recreational system’ at the International Geographical Union conference.¹⁴² The territorial recreational system approach aimed to understand the ‘basic laws governing the territorial organisation of the recreational economy of the USSR’.¹⁴³ It included producing models to predict the development of a natural or agricultural environment into a recreational environment, taking account of factors such as the requirements of recreational activities, and the interplay between the natural environment, the people serving the visitors and the visitors (Figure 1).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ V. S. Preobrazhenskii, Yu. A. Vedenin and N. M. Stupina, ‘Development of Recreational Geography in the USSR’, *GeoJournal*, 9:1 (1984), p. 77; *Recreational Geography of the USSR*, ed. by V. S. Preobrazhenskii and V. M. Krivosheev (Moscow and London: Progress, 1982), p. 13.

¹⁴² Preobrazhenskii, Vedenin and Stupina, p. 78.

¹⁴³ Preobrazhenskii and Krivosheev, pp. 27-39.

¹⁴⁴ Preobrazhenskii and Krivosheev, pp. 17-20.

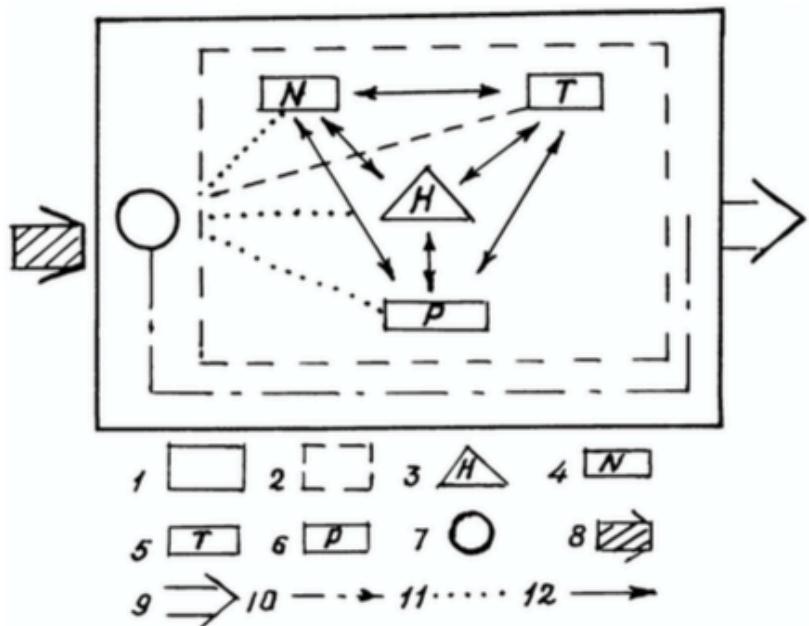


Fig 1 Model of a recreation system

1 – system; 2 – managed sector of the system; elements of the system: 3 – a group of recreationists; 4 – natural complexes; 5 – technogenic subsystems; 6 – service personnel; 7 – body of management. relations: 8 – requirements in recreation activities; 9 – efficiency of operation of the system; 10 – information on the state of elements of the managed system; 11 – commands of management; 12 – relations of elements of the managed sector of the system.

Figure 1: Model of a recreational system.

Source: Preobrazhenskii, Vedenin and Stupina,
'Development of Recreational Geography in the USSR', p. 78.

During the 1970s there was further development and testing of the territorial recreational system model, which was then used in planning organised recreation in the USSR.¹⁴⁵ A 1982 Soviet survey of the recreational geography of the USSR uses the territorial recreational system approach to explain the location of recreational facilities.¹⁴⁶ The survey's analyses of the Soviet recreational economy included a map delineating four recreational zones by density of recreational facilities (Figure 2).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Preobrazhenskii, Vedenin and Stupina, p. 79.

¹⁴⁶ Preobrazhenskii and Krivosheev, pp. 27-51.

¹⁴⁷ Preobrazhenskii and Krivosheev, pp. 45, 50-51.

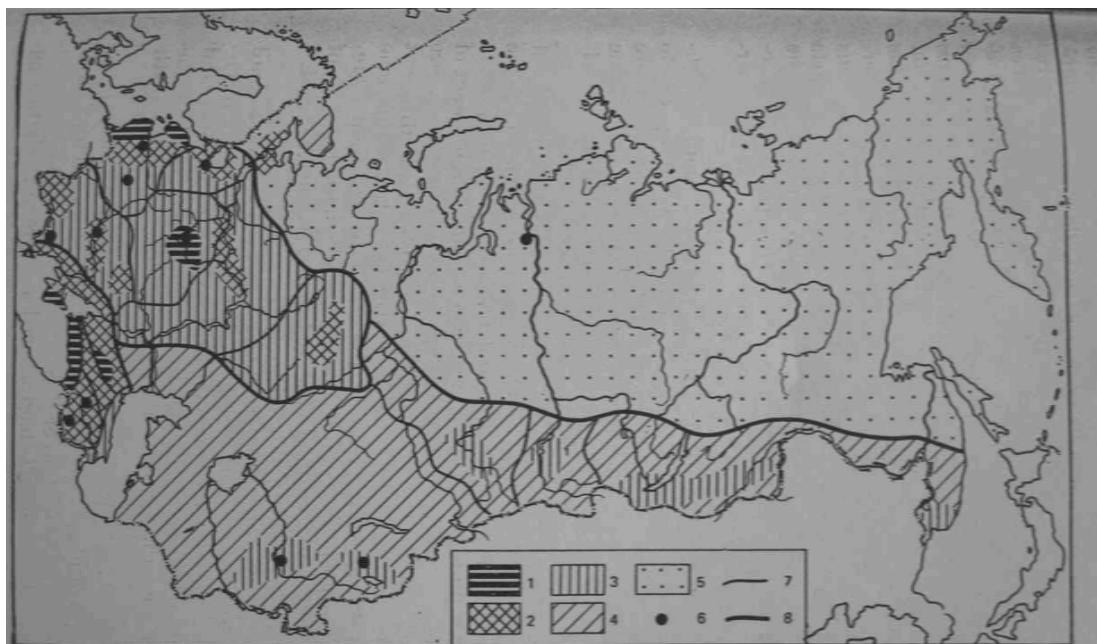


Fig. 12. Recreational zoning of the USSR (compiled by V. S. Preobrazhensky and B. N. Likhanov). Regions and localisations with the density of institutions: 1—very high; 2—high; 3—average; 4—low; 5—very low; 6—excursion centres; 7—boundaries of recreational regions; 8—boundaries of recreational zones.

Figure 2: Recreational zoning of the USSR in 1976.
 Source: Preobrazhenskii and Krivosheev, eds, *Recreational Geography of the USSR*, p. 45.

The development of recreational facilities at a smaller scale was also analysed and modelled, such as illustrating the effect of topography (Figure 3). While the territorial recreational system approach used by Soviet geographers is mentioned in a 1991 study of tourism and economic development in the USSR and Eastern Europe, D. J. B. Shaw comments that studies focussing on mapping the spatial distribution of tourist facilities and on the movements of visitors are of ‘greater relevance to an understanding of the present-day geography of tourism in the Soviet Union’.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ D. J. B. Shaw, ‘The Soviet Union’, in *Tourism and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, ed. by D. R. Hall (London: Belhaven, 1991), p. 127.

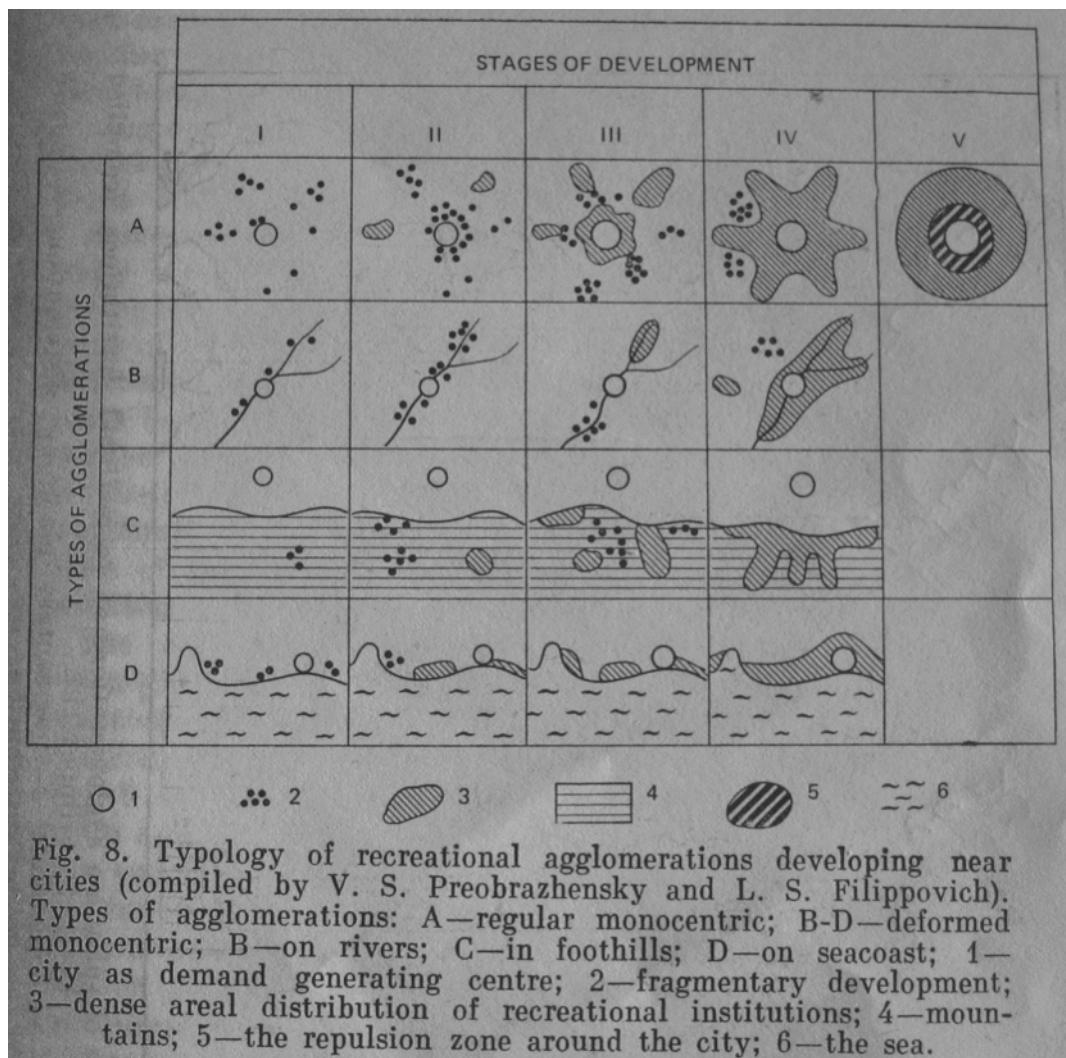


Figure 3: Models of the development of recreational agglomerations near cities.
Source: Preobrazhenskii and Krivosheev, eds, *Recreational Geography of the USSR*, p. 33.

In addition to the work by Soviet geographers on modelling and mapping tourism and recreation, university geography departments were requested by the TsSTE to develop courses for a cadre of trained experts on local areas (*kraevedy*) and excursion leaders.¹⁴⁹ From the first half of the 1970s geography departments in several universities ran courses in tourism studies and by 1977 were training 20,000 tourist specialists a year.¹⁵⁰ Preobrazhenskii credits geographers with the role of catalyst for the development of interest in recreation in other disciplines, including architecture, psychology and economics.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ B. F. Kudinov, *Iz istorii razvitiia turizma* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1986), p. 57.

¹⁵⁰ A. A. Ivanov, p. 261.

¹⁵¹ Preobrazhenskii, Vedenin and Stupina, p. 81.

In contrast to the active involvement of geographers in the development of tourism, during late socialism historians researched the history of pre-revolutionary and Soviet tourism, and A. Kh. Abukov, the TsSTE President, wrote two broad surveys of Soviet tourism.¹⁵² Post-Soviet Russian and Western historians have placed Soviet tourism within the longer history of Russian leisure travel and tend to focus on the evolution of the institutional structure for Soviet tourism.¹⁵³ For example, Koenker's study of Soviet tourism, *Club Red*, concentrates on the definition of Soviet tourism and the many shifts in and complexities of the central institutional structure, rather than on the activities at the local level and the experiences of both those working in tourism and of tourists.¹⁵⁴

The official system organised centrally by the TsSTE of VTsSPS was supplemented by STEs at the republic, regional, oblast and city levels. The local STEs provided tours for tourists arriving on VTsSPS tours, and worked on a range of other activities like the construction of and running tourist establishments (hotels, *turbazy* and camping grounds), and publishing guidebooks.¹⁵⁵ They also organised and marketed tourist activities to local organisations and residents.¹⁵⁶ For example, in Kostroma the STE monitored and promoted subscriptions to the *Turist* magazine.¹⁵⁷ This STE's Five-Year Plan for the development of tourism (1971-75) shows that weekend tours and excursions were the largest activities (in terms of number of participants) planned for the local market, with over 40,000 weekend tourists planned in 1975, more than double the number in 1971.¹⁵⁸

In 1973 Kostroma STE's publication *Sputnik turista* contained (for the attention of factory union councils) details of the weekend bus tours for thirty people and the half-day thematic excursions for thirty people arranged by the local tourism and excursion bureau.¹⁵⁹ In addition, there was information about the centrally-organised, all-union

¹⁵² V. V. Dvornichenko, *Razvitiye turizma v SSSR (1917-1983 gg.)* (Moscow: Turist, 1985); Kudinov; A. Kh. Abukov, *Turizm segodnia i завтра* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1978); A. Kh. Abukov, *Turizm na novom etape: Sotsial'nye aspekty razvitiia turizma v SSSR* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1983).

¹⁵³ I. Orlov and Iurchikova; A. A. Ivanov; Koenker, *Club Red*.

¹⁵⁴ Koenker, *Club Red*.

¹⁵⁵ *Polozhenie o tsentral'nom, respublikom, gorodskom (raionnom) STE, utverzhdennoe postanovleniem VTsSPS ot 19. 8. 1969; Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kostromskoi oblasti* (hereafter GAKO), f. P1024, op. 1, d. 16, ll. 1-5.

¹⁵⁶ *Polozhenie o tsentral'nom, respublikom, gorodskom (raionnom) STE, utverzhdennoe postanovleniem VTsSPS ot 19. 8. 1969*, GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 16, ll. 3ob.-4ob.

¹⁵⁷ GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 21, ll. 14, 47.

¹⁵⁸ GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 33, l. 5.

¹⁵⁹ *Sputnik turista*, 1973:1, GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 54, ll. 2 ob-3.

tours sold through the bureau, including the specific dates of tours allocated to Kostroma's STE.¹⁶⁰ For example, the VTsSPS itinerary number 1 (Moscow) ran throughout the year, but in 1978 Kostroma had been allocated only six tour dates.¹⁶¹ *Sputnik turista* also gave information about local holiday opportunities, such as the facilities at tourist bases in Kostroma oblast and the costs of ten- or twenty-day holidays there.¹⁶² The Kostroma example offers a glimpse into the realisation of the top-down policy for tourism.

Travel with a *putevka* vs. *dikii turizm*

Late socialism was a period of tensions between new tourism and leisure travel practices in certain areas, reflecting changes in parts of Soviet society, and the continuity of other aspects, notably the organisation of domestic tourism by the trade unions. This tension was manifest particularly in the division between organised holidays inside the official system and those outside, commonly known as independent or 'wild' tourists (*dikari* or *dikie turisty*).¹⁶³ Although there had been a Soviet independent tourism movement in the early Soviet period, independent tourism declined following the liquidation of the OPTE in 1936 and a ruling that social insurance funds could only be used for travel passes (*putevki*), i.e. travel within the state-run system.¹⁶⁴ The 1966 poll revealed a theoretical preference for holidaying with a travel pass (53%), which was clearly more popular than travelling independently (32%), although many (15%) found it difficult to choose.¹⁶⁵ Officially, organised tourists were also preferred to the *dikari*.¹⁶⁶

Access to the TsSTE system for domestic tourism was through the workplace. Travel passes for various types of tourism were allocated centrally to each trade union and then to individual workplaces.¹⁶⁷ The travel-pass system, which started in the 1920s and

¹⁶⁰ *Sputnik turista*, 1973:1, GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 54, ll. 2 ob-3.

¹⁶¹ *Sputnik turista*, September 1978, GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 124, l. 4 ob.; VTsSPS, *Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i turistskie ekskursiam marshrutu* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1974), p. 3.

¹⁶² *Sputnik turista*, 1973:3, GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 54, l. 19 ob; *Sputnik turista*, December 1975, GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 75a, l. 4.

¹⁶³ The terms *organizovannyi* and *neorganizovannyi otdykh* are also used, see Azar, *Otdykh trudiashchikhsia SSSR*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁴ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 73.

¹⁶⁵ B. A. Grushin, p. 154. These statistics are based on 1,564 replies.

¹⁶⁶ Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 281.

¹⁶⁷ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 190.

continued into the Gorbachev era, controlled access to tourist destinations and resulted in some of the special characteristics of Soviet tourism.

The travel pass allocated accommodation at a designated location, meals and activities, including medical treatments at sanatoria, to a particular person and at a specified time. The pass also gave tourists access to train tickets to their destinations, where they could then purchase the return ticket.¹⁶⁸ The system was designed to allow an individual worker to recuperate undisturbed, away from a spouse and children.¹⁶⁹ Given the high demand for travel passes, it was unlikely that identical passes would be allocated to workers in the same family. Furthermore, children were not allowed to stay at most rest homes and sanatoria, and were not welcomed on cruises, where places for adults were in high demand.¹⁷⁰ Despite the fact that Soviet families had not traditionally taken holidays together, the 1966 poll revealed the popularity of the concept of holidaying with the family (44%) and with friends and colleagues (41%).¹⁷¹ VTsSPS resolved to increase the network of sanatoria and rest homes for families with children in 1967 and the magazine *Rabotnitsa* reported an increase in sanatorium stays available for families in 1968.¹⁷² However, the overall response to this change in demand was slow.¹⁷³

With large numbers of Soviet workers potentially eligible to travel for rest, systems were needed to control the access to facilities. In principle, travel to rest required an assessment of health needs, a doctor's certificate (*spravka*) and a programme supervised by health professionals to address an individual's needs, as well as a travel pass. In practice, with stays at resorts being in high demand from the 1920s onwards, the system operated such that access to resorts was granted not just to workers but also, and increasingly so, to officials, office workers, those lacking medical needs and as a reward to high performing workers.¹⁷⁴ A museum worker interviewed for this project recalled going to a sanatorium in Odessa for three weeks in one January during late socialism, simply because the travel pass had been allocated to the museum and no one else wanted

¹⁶⁸ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 180.

¹⁶⁹ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁷⁰ Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', pp. 408, 410.

¹⁷¹ B. A. Grushin, p. 158.

¹⁷² 'Semeinykh zdravniits pribavilos', *Rabotnitsa*, 1968:4, p. 13.

¹⁷³ Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', pp. 420-22.

¹⁷⁴ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 29-39.

to go at that time.¹⁷⁵ Abuses of the travel pass system for sanatoria and resorts were reported in the press during late socialism, including healthy ‘patients’ and passes not being used by people they had been allocated to, but by officials’ relatives.¹⁷⁶

VTsSPS published annual brochures of centrally-organised, all-union tour itineraries (*turistskie marshruty* or *marshruty*) to all parts of the USSR.¹⁷⁷ The numbering of the itineraries reflected a hierarchical view of destinations. Moscow was itinerary number 1 and itineraries in the Central Region comprised the first group, followed by Leningrad as number 11 and the North-West Region.¹⁷⁸ The itineraries included tours of a number of locations, reflecting the popularity of touring, and some involved more than one type of activity within a ten- to twenty-day holiday. For example, in 1974 itinerary number 391 ‘Along the Sura River (by boat)’ was a twenty-day round-trip tour, comprising eight days in boats (*na lodkakh*) along the Sura River, four days at a *turbaza*, four days each at two other locations and transfers between locations by bus and a *Raketa* motorboat.¹⁷⁹

In the late 1960s the system for travel passes purchased using social insurance funds was such that twenty per cent of resort travel passes and ten per cent of rest home vouchers had to be allocated for free, with the remainder allocated at a seventy per cent discount to their nominal value.¹⁸⁰ Under the same system half of travel passes for mountaineering camps were free and the remainder at a seventy per cent discount.¹⁸¹ During the 1960s, the employment of more commercial pricing systems was suggested, such as increasing prices during the popular summer months in order to generate funds for investment in facilities, but the existing system of subsidised travel was retained.¹⁸² In the 1966 poll a question about funding for the development of holiday facilities revealed that more people thought that the state (45%), rather than the people (30%), should fund all the

¹⁷⁵ G2/1.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Where did they become tired?’, *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 18 September 1960, pp. 1-3, trans. in *CDSP*, 12:44, 30 November 1960, pp. 14-15; *Pravda*, 18 January 1970, p. 2, trans. in *CDSP*, 12:3, 17 February 1970, p. 17.

¹⁷⁷ For example, VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1984 god* (Moscow: 1983), pp. 60-64.

¹⁷⁸ VTsSPS, *Turistskie marshruty po SSSR* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1958), pp. 340-42; VTsSPS, *Tsentral’nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiam. Turistskie marshruty* (1974), pp. 3-7.

¹⁷⁹ VTsSPS, *Tsentral’nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiam. Turistskie marshruty* (1974), p. 6.

¹⁸⁰ Azar, *Otdykh trudiaschchikhsia SSSR*, p. 11.

¹⁸¹ Azar, *Otdykh trudiaschchikhsia SSSR*, p. 11.

¹⁸² Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 191.

costs, with a large number (25%) unable to decide.¹⁸³ Furthermore, of those who thought that the people should fund such developments, increasing the cost of travel passes was the least popular option (9%), with the most popular idea being fundraising by means of a lottery (53%).¹⁸⁴ This poll reveals a strong sense of entitlement to subsidised holidays as part of the Soviet way of life.

In contrast to the organised tourists travelling on an all-inclusive basis, there was a resurgence of independent tourism in late socialism involving two quite different types of tourists. Firstly, many of those who might have been labelled *dikari* were in fact quite ordinary tourists, such as one of the informants interviewed for this project who went to Alushta in Crimea with her friends in 1972.¹⁸⁵ She stayed with a landlady whose house accommodated fifteen or twenty guests, and recalled the array of beds in a large room.¹⁸⁶ C. Noack cites undated press reports about the large numbers of *dikari* in Sochi (two or three times more *dikari* than organised tourists) and Anapa (seven times more *dikari*).¹⁸⁷ As the 1966 poll above suggests, such people may in fact have preferred the guaranteed board and lodging that came with a travel pass, rather than the unpredictability of having to make their own arrangements.¹⁸⁸

The Soviet media used the first type of independent tourists to criticise both the behaviour of unofficial landlords and the official system.¹⁸⁹ For example, press reports highlighted the demand for family holidays and the general problem of demand outstripping supply of travel vouchers (*defitsit*), which forced people to take 'inferior' independent holidays.¹⁹⁰ In a bid to bolster organised tourism, off-season holidays and less popular destinations were then publicised as alternatives to the overcrowded seaside towns in the summer.¹⁹¹ However, some local authorities adopted a pragmatic attitude when faced with the large numbers of tourists wanting to holiday in their areas. The city boundaries of Sochi were simply extended to make a 'Greater Sochi', so that more people

¹⁸³ B. A. Grushin, p. 159.

¹⁸⁴ B. A. Grushin, p. 159.

¹⁸⁵ G3/4.

¹⁸⁶ G3/4.

¹⁸⁷ Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 285-86.

¹⁸⁸ Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', p. 423.

¹⁸⁹ 'Sharp Dealers and Parasites in Resort Cities', *Pravda*, 3 August 1963, translated in *CDSP*, 15:31, 28 August 1963, pp. 24-25; Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 290.

¹⁹⁰ Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 290-91.

¹⁹¹ Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 291.

could holiday in this popular destination.¹⁹² The local authorities in Anapa assisted independent tourists in renting rooms from private individuals despite Soviet laws to the contrary.¹⁹³

The second type of independent tourists valued the independence of travelling outside the system. Young, romantic, urban intellectuals associated this type of tourism with the ideals of self-reliance and camaraderie in the natural environment.¹⁹⁴ Initially, groups of these *dikari* were from tourist clubs at universities and enterprises. They were supposed to register their tour plans as part of the monitoring of independent tourism by local STEs, but few complied.¹⁹⁵ These tourists were associated with the values of non-conformism, freedom, and escaping from modernity. They belonged to the sub-cultures of bohemian youth and intellectuals sitting around campfires, singing and debating.

The activities of the romantic independent tourists were exemplary of aspects of late Soviet culture. Yurchak illustrates his explanation of the idea of living ‘outside’ (*vne*), an important aspect of life within the Soviet system, with accounts of activities similar to those of the romantic *dikari*.¹⁹⁶ These include physicists at holiday homes and groups on archaeological expeditions sitting around bonfires to sing and recite poetry.¹⁹⁷ P. Vail’ and A. Genis conclude that ‘the road’ was a key idea for the romantic *shestidesiatniki*.¹⁹⁸ In the songs of the bards, such as Iurii Kukin, ‘the road’ was seen as the means to answer all life’s contradictions, and little more than a guitar and a rucksack were needed on the road.¹⁹⁹

‘Tourism for Everyone’

In 1981, over a decade after the 1969 Central Committee resolution calling for further development of tourism and excursions, the *Turist* magazine published an article by the

¹⁹² Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 187-88.

¹⁹³ Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 294-95.

¹⁹⁴ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 216-17.

¹⁹⁵ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 217; Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 283.

¹⁹⁶ Yurchak, pp. 127-28.

¹⁹⁷ Yurchak, pp. 137-41.

¹⁹⁸ P. Vail’ and A. Genis, *60-e: Mir sovetskogo cheloveka* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 1998), p. 128.

¹⁹⁹ Vail’ and Genis, p. 128.

President of the TsSTE titled ‘Tourism for Everyone’.²⁰⁰ In this article the TsSTE President reported on the position of the tourist industry and its goals for the next Five-Year Plan (1981-85), and laid out an array of statistics, which were described as ‘impressive’.²⁰¹ For example, from 1970 to 1980 the trade unions had invested over one billion roubles in physical and technical facilities for tourism.²⁰²

In 1970 the number of tourists who stayed in state-run tourist facilities was less than 17 million, but by 1980 the number had risen to 40 million, which represented 15 per cent of the Soviet population (using the 1979 population of 262 million).²⁰³ However, the total number of domestic tourists has been difficult for researchers to estimate, due to the lack of reliable statistics on the number of *dikari*. Using a ‘conservative estimate’ of the number of *dikari* (assumed to be four times the number who stayed in official resorts and rest homes) and including people who went abroad, Koenker concludes that in 1980 43 per cent of the Soviet population had taken a holiday.²⁰⁴ This is broadly corroborated by Noack’s estimate that ‘about one-third’ of the Soviet population were tourists ‘during the late Soviet Union’.²⁰⁵ Using a benchmark for a ‘mass tourist society’ of at least 30 per cent of the adult population, Koenker concludes that by 1980 Soviet tourism had become a mass activity, paralleling developments in capitalist countries.²⁰⁶

Furthermore, according to Noack’s analysis, Soviet tourism had acquired a significant meaning within the period of late socialism.²⁰⁷ Given that demands for consumer goods were not met, ‘the hallmark of a rising living standard under “developed socialism”’, Noack argues, was travelling and tourism.²⁰⁸ That said, the USSR became a ‘mass tourist society’ during late socialism largely on account of the numbers of *dikari* travelling outside the system. A feature of ‘developed socialism’ was its ability to accommodate the coexistence of both the official system and a sizeable unofficial or private sector, and for

²⁰⁰ A. Abukov, ‘Turizm dlia vsekh’, *Turist*, 1981:2, pp. 2-3.

²⁰¹ A. Abukov, ‘Turizm dlia vsekh’, *Turist*, 1981:2, pp. 2-3.

²⁰² A. Abukov, ‘Turizm dlia vsekh’, *Turist*, 1981:2, p. 2.

²⁰³ Koenker, *Club Red*, pp. 215, 264.

²⁰⁴ Using a less conservative estimate, 80% of the population were tourists in 1980. Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 264.

²⁰⁵ Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 281.

²⁰⁶ The 30% benchmark is from a comment by a German cultural critic, H. M. Enzensberger. See R. Koschar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p. 174; Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 264.

²⁰⁷ Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, pp. 281-304.

²⁰⁸ Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist’, in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 304.

citizens to participate in both. This correlates with Yurchak's ideas of 'the last Soviet generation' living simultaneously inside and 'outside' 'the system'.²⁰⁹

The VTsSPS brochure for the centrally-organised, all-union tour itineraries for 1984 lists 232 separate itineraries to all parts of the USSR.²¹⁰ While tourism was spread across the USSR, tourists preferred certain destinations (as indicated by the recreational zones in Figure 2, page 39), and also to travel during the summer season, which posed problems for the centrally planned economy. During late socialism it was usual for privileged groups to obtain access to the state-run facilities at popular destinations, while the less privileged were left to develop other strategies to cope with the *defisit* in travel passes.²¹¹

Domestic tourism also faced difficulties common to other areas of the Soviet economy and way of life. Lovell highlights the centre-periphery relationship as the 'central problem of Soviet economics'.²¹² With its reach across the USSR, tourism was undoubtedly also affected by this problem. Tourism faced difficulties in achieving its targets for the supply of tourist facilities, because of the competition to secure funding and then the slow progress of construction of new facilities by the construction ministries and the presence of unfinished projects (*dolgostroiki*).²¹³

While taking all of the above caveats into account, it could nonetheless be argued that during late socialism tourism did indeed become an activity 'for everyone', with mass participation in both organised holidays and *dikii turizm*. This chapter has concentrated on the organisational structure for domestic tourism within the Soviet economy and the features of Soviet *turizm* during late socialism. Mass tourism also made its mark in the culture of late socialism and this is considered next.

²⁰⁹ Yurchak, pp. 127-28.

²¹⁰ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1984 god*, pp. 60-64.

²¹¹ Chernyshova argues that inequalities increased in the Brezhnev era as the elite enjoyed greater privileges. See N. Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 6.

²¹² Lovell, *The Shadow of War*, p. 193.

²¹³ Koenker, *Club Red*, p. 193; 'For You, Travellers', *Izvestiia*, 20 February 1973, p. 5, trans. in *CDSP*, 25:8, 21 March 1973, p. 31.

Chapter 2: Domestic Tourism in the Culture of Late Socialism

While on a school trip from Moscow to Rostov Velikii in the early 1980s, a girl looked around and tried to imagine herself as an inhabitant of that town in ancient times.²¹⁴ This was a game that she played when she visited old towns. This anecdote and Figure 4 illustrate the point that tourism is an activity involving and even requiring the use of imagination on the part of the traveller. The restrictions on actual travel for Soviet citizens meant that simulated, imaginary travel was also prevalent in the USSR in the period of late socialism.

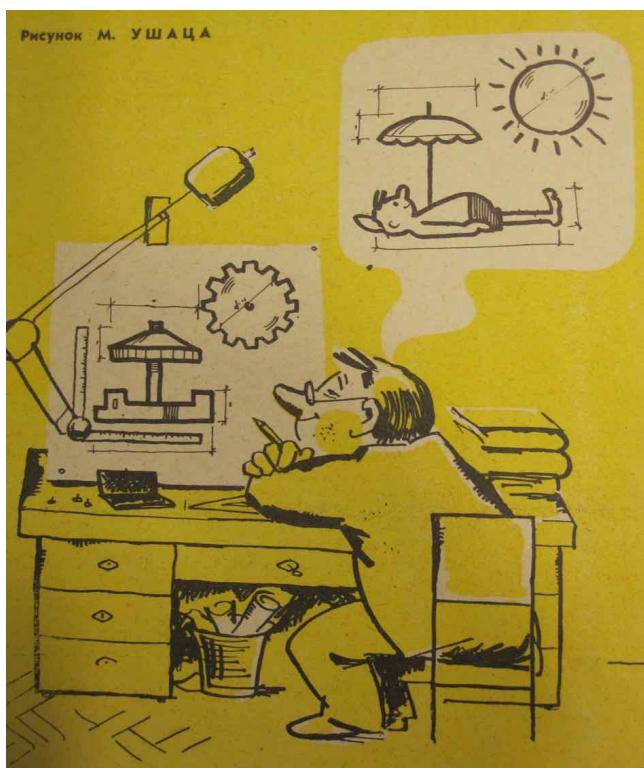


Figure 4: 'Signs of summer.'
Source: *Krokodil*, 17 (1970), p. 9.

Tourism can be approached from a number of disciplinary perspectives. One of these is to treat it as a cultural practice.²¹⁵ D. Chaney proposed the use of metaphors in the

²¹⁴ G3/2.

²¹⁵ C. Rojek and J. Urry, 'Transformations of Travel and Theory', in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. by C. Rojek and J. Urry (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 5.

cultural analysis of tourism, because they can be used in a hermeneutic analysis to ‘unpack’ the meanings of tourism.²¹⁶ According to Chaney, the dominant or root metaphor in tourism studies has been the dramaturgical one in which tourism is imagined as a form of performance or staging.²¹⁷ The metaphor ‘directs attention to the constructed’, and overcomes the issue of authenticity of tourist sights, which has been debated by some commentators on tourism.²¹⁸

The dramaturgical metaphor is not unique to the study of tourism as, according to R. Brown, it has been used as one of the root metaphors in studies of social conduct; others include seeing society as a machine or organism.²¹⁹ Chaney states that one of the dominant features of modernity can be labelled ‘spectacular theatricality’.²²⁰ However, in the Russian and Soviet contexts theatricality was not only a feature of modernity. Iurii Lotman argues that theatricality was a characteristic of the lives of the Russian gentry in the eighteenth century.²²¹ A. Yurchak suggests that the ‘performative dimension of authoritative discourse started to play a much greater role’ in the era of late socialism.²²² Soviet domestic tourism can be viewed as a performance taking place within the larger scale performance of late socialism.

This chapter includes an exploration of the practices of Soviet domestic tourism focussing on imagination and on the dramaturgical metaphor. The main performers examined here are the figures of the tourist and the tour guide. Despite the prominence of the theatrical aspect of tourism, there was a tension between Soviet domestic tourism as a creative performance and as a controlled activity, like an industrialised mass

²¹⁶ D. Chaney, ‘The Power of Metaphors in Tourism Theory’, in *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, ed. by S. Coleman and M. Crang (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), p. 194.

²¹⁷ D. Chaney, ‘The Power of Metaphors in Tourism Theory’, in *Tourism*, ed. by Coleman and Crang, p. 195.

²¹⁸ D. Chaney, ‘The Power of Metaphors in Tourism Theory’, in *Tourism*, ed. by Coleman and Crang, pp. 195-96; D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan Press, 1976), pp. 14-15.

²¹⁹ R. H. Brown, *A Poetic for Sociology: Toward a Logic of Discovery for the Human Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 78.

²²⁰ D. Chaney, *Fictions of Collective Life: Public Drama in Late Modern Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 2.

²²¹ Y. M. Lotman, ‘The Poetics of Everyday Behaviour in Eighteen-Century Russian Culture’, in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History: Essays by Iurii M. Lotman, Lidiia Ia. Ginsburg and Boris A. Uspenskii*, ed. by A. D. Nakhimovsky and A. S. Nakhimovsky (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 68.

²²² A. Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 37, 76.

production process for large numbers of organised tour groups. The coda to this chapter sets out three examples where tourism has been used to construct meanings about other aspects of late socialism.

Tourism in the imagination

The board game printed in *Krokodil* is one way of playing at being a tourist at home, and of engaging with tourism as an activity of the imagination (Figure 5). This game shows the tourist's characteristic circular journey away from and returning to familiar everyday places and activities.²²³ Unlike the methods of escape from the Soviet system imagined by some members of the last Soviet generation, described by Yurchak, anyone could be a tourist in their imagination, an armchair traveller.²²⁴

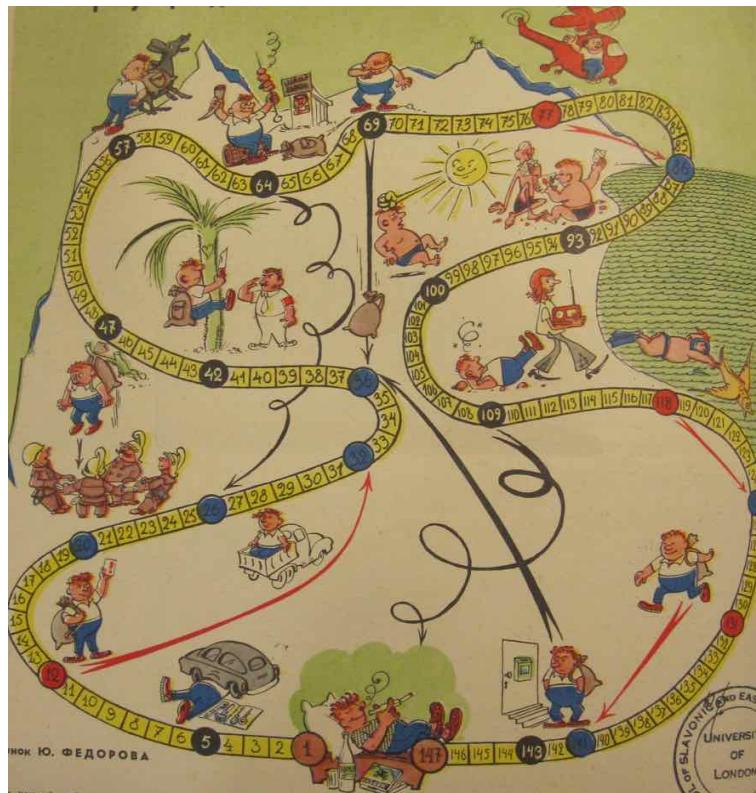


Figure 5: 'The tourist-home-worker.'
Source: *Krokodil*, 16 (1968), back cover.

²²³ S. Baranowski and E. Furlough, 'Introduction', in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, ed. by S. Baranowski and E. Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 5.

²²⁴ Yurchak, pp. 126-57.

Tourism involves a journey beyond the boundary of everyday space to ‘elsewhere’, which may be an unfamiliar location or a familiar place with memories of past happiness.²²⁵ In tourism studies the idea of being ‘elsewhere’ has been used in a broader way than simply spatial. S. Baranowski and E. Furlough argue that modern tourism blends the older concept of leisure time with the idea of the tour as a circular journey returning to everyday activities.²²⁶ Using this model, the definition of ‘elsewhere’ is a dualistic model of binary opposites, not only in spatial terms of ‘here’ and ‘not here’, but also in terms of activities. As Figure 4 (page 49) shows, ‘elsewhere’ is a mode of being, and it involves the use of imagination. The ‘other place’ is not an actual, empirical place but an image constructed through mental processes and could be an invented place, as in a science fiction novel, or a representation of a real place formed through imagination.

C. Rojek and J. Urry argue that, while the idea of ‘escape’ was unable to provide a conceptual unity to the study of tourism, it is useful when looking at people who travel or dream of travelling.²²⁷ Rojek linked ‘escape’ to bourgeois culture’s division of work and its reward, leisure, to the ‘dream-life of Modernity’ and to leaving behind the monotony of everyday life.²²⁸ While the work of these sociologists was based on Western societies, their ideas are also useful in looking at the USSR. D. P. Koenker uses the idea of ‘escape’ in looking at proletarian tourists in the 1930s.²²⁹ Figure 4 above also illustrates this idea.

In his study of holidays in the West, F. Inglis argues that ‘holidays prefigure utopia’, by which he meant ‘a place of human flourishing’.²³⁰ In the USSR, concepts of utopia had been shaped by the state’s communist rhetoric, and had a considerably broader scope than a holiday. However, Inglis’ discussion of the importance of dreams of summer

²²⁵ F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 10.

²²⁶ S. Baranowski and E. Furlough, ‘Introduction’, in *Being Elsewhere*, ed. by Baranowski and Furlough, p. 5.

²²⁷ C. Rojek and J. Urry, ‘Transformations of Travel and Theory’, in *Touring Cultures*, ed. by Rojek and Urry, pp. 2, 5.

²²⁸ C. Rojek, *Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993), pp. 9, 97.

²²⁹ D. P. Koenker, ‘The Proletarian Tourist in the 1930s: Between Mass Excursion and Mass Escape’, in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. by A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 138.

²³⁰ Inglis, p. 9.

holidays and anticipation of freedom from work, and of happiness and pleasure is relevant to Soviet tourism in the period of late socialism.²³¹ These ideas invoke an escape from the everyday grind of ‘*byt*’.

‘Escape’ has also been used as a theme in the wider context of late Soviet cultural studies. R. Stites connects the growth of rural prose and historical fiction in the Brezhnev era to readers’ wishes to escape from modernity.²³² Yurchak’s study describes how some groups escaped to imaginary ‘deterritorialized milieus’ located ‘outside’ (*vne*) the Soviet system during late socialism.²³³ Although Yurchak did not include tourism as one of these methods of escape, the figure of the tourist, a person not belonging to ‘our’ place, is similar to these escapees. However, none of the informants for this study saw their holidays as a means of escape from the Soviet system in a political sense. For one, the escape was from Moscow and her parents to be with her own friends.²³⁴ This is an example of holidays in late socialism being striking because of their ordinariness, rather than always having special ‘Soviet’ features.

Nevertheless, a tour guide recalled that in the late 1960s excursions were educational and ideological.²³⁵ Tour guides had to cite editorials in *Pravda*, but she remembered that when she mentioned Brezhnev and other political leaders, the tourists turned away in silence.²³⁶ This suggests that, even though group tours were organised by the state, holidays belonged to the private sphere. As far as the tourists were concerned, holidays were supposed to be free from state ideology, and thus a form of escape from it.

The places ‘visited’ in the imagination reflect the tourist’s imaginative geography. In *The Dictionary of Human Geography* the term ‘imaginative geographies’, proposed by the cultural and literary critic Edward Said, is defined as ‘representations of other places – of peoples and landscapes, cultures and “natures” – and the ways in which these images reflect the desires, fantasies and preconceptions of their authors and the grids of

²³¹ Inglis, pp. 3-6.

²³² R. Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 149.

²³³ Yurchak, pp. 126-57.

²³⁴ G3/4.

²³⁵ G2/6.

²³⁶ G2/6.

power between them and their subjects'.²³⁷ According to this source, imaginative geographies are generated from paintings and other images, travel writing, exhibitions and other sources, which together form a structure and self-reinforcing 'archive'.²³⁸ Rojek suggests a similar idea, which he called 'indexing and dragging', using a filing cabinet metaphor.²³⁹ This involves an individual consciously or unconsciously dragging elements from separate files of representation and combining them to create a new mental construction of the sight.²⁴⁰

A Soviet opinion poll from 1966 about the sources of information in choosing a type of holiday and its destination pointed to the relative importance of different sources of information. The advice of friends was the most important source (33%), with reference books and maps placed second (22%), then radio and television (18%), newspaper and magazine articles (12%), novels and films (8%) and finally promotional brochures (7%).²⁴¹ These results suggest the existence of a pervasive knowledge about tourism and destinations, and show the range of sources available.

Travelling at home

The power of the moving image in allowing audiences to travel was recognised by W. Benjamin, who employed the concept of escape in talking about film blasting the dungeons and freeing people to journey.²⁴² Given the loss of aura of a work of art through mechanical reproduction, it was assumed that people would travel to experience a real object.²⁴³ However, some Western commentators envisaged the opposite, whereby it is more comfortable never to leave home and simply to visit a distant place

²³⁷ *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. by R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 372-73.

²³⁸ Johnston, Gregory and others, p. 373.

²³⁹ C. Rojek, 'Indexing, dragging and the social construction of tourist sights', in *Touring Cultures*, ed. by Rojek and Urry, pp. 52-53.

²⁴⁰ C. Rojek, 'Indexing, dragging and the social construction of tourist sights', in *Touring Cultures*, ed. by Rojek and Urry, p. 54.

²⁴¹ B. A. Grushin, *Chetyre zhizni Rossii v zerkale oprossov obshchestvennogo mneniya: Ocherki massovogo soznaniiia possiian vremen Khrushcheva, Brezhneva, Gorbacheva i El'tsina v 4-kh knigakh. Epoka Brezhneva* (1) (Moscow: Progress-Traditsiia, 2003), p. 160.

²⁴² W. Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, trans. J. A. Underwood (London: Penguin, 2008), p. 29.

²⁴³ Rojek, *Escape*, pp. 104-05.

virtually.²⁴⁴ In the USSR restrictions on actual travel would have introduced a different factor into this debate.

In the 1970s there was contemporaneous, rapid growth in Soviet tourism and in mass media culture, particularly television. The number of television sets grew from one per fifteen people in 1970 to one per four in 1980, and television developed into the Soviet people's main source of culture, entertainment and propaganda.²⁴⁵ Televisions were private property located within the private domestic space, an important part of Soviet life by the period of late socialism.²⁴⁶

A milestone in the development of tourism was the 1969 KPSS resolution of 30 May 1969, mentioned in Chapter 1.²⁴⁷ The last decree in this resolution concerned the promotion of tourism on Soviet television and radio, and in print media and feature films.²⁴⁸ B. F. Kudinov mentions several examples of programmes aimed at promoting domestic tourism, including the radio series *Lighthouse (Maiak)* and the documentary films, *Tourist Itineraries (Turistskie marshruty)* and *Along the Siberian Cascades (Po Sibirskomu kaskadu)*.²⁴⁹

An informant cited the *Club of Travellers (Klub puteshestvennikov)* television series (1960-2003) as a popular source for travel in the imagination during late socialism.²⁵⁰ The series was originally called *Club of Film Travel (Klub kinoputeshestvii)*, and was shown on the first channel of Central TV broadcast from Moscow.²⁵¹ Typically, the programmes showed places that viewers would not expect to travel to in reality, including remote parts of the USSR and places abroad, such as Madagascar and Antarctica. It also showed activities that viewers were likely to engage in, like marine expeditions with Thor Heyerdahl. This series differed from the programmes mentioned

²⁴⁴ C. Rojek, 'Indexing, dragging and the social construction of tourist sights', in *Touring Cultures*, ed. by Rojek and Urry, p. 69.

²⁴⁵ K. Roth-Ey, *Moscow Prime Time: How the Soviet Union Built the Media Empire that Lost the Cultural Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 11, 181.

²⁴⁶ V. Shlapentokh, *Public and Private Life of the Soviet People: Changing Values in Post-Stalin Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 154-59, 162.

²⁴⁷ Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS, Soviet Ministrov CCCR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie ot 30 maia 1969 g. N411, 'O merakh po dal'neishemu razvitiu turizma i ekskursii v strane'*.

²⁴⁸ Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS, Soviet Ministrov CCCR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie N411*, item 21.

²⁴⁹ B. F. Kudinov, *Iz istorii razvitiia turizma* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1986), p. 60.

²⁵⁰ Field notes, Moscow, 16 April 2014.

²⁵¹ Roth-Ey, pp. 261-62.

by Kudinov, because it was not about tourism or how Soviet citizens could visit the places shown; tourism is rarely mentioned.²⁵²

The *Club of Travellers* series imparted information to educate viewers about places and the local people and wildlife, thereby contributing to the pedagogical mission of Soviet culture.²⁵³ The programmes were a rich source of information for viewers' personal archives of imaginative geographies. For example, a 1980 programme about Sakhalin concerned its history, nature and geography and included presentations by the directors of local museums.²⁵⁴ At the beginning of this programme there is a brief mention of the film-expedition's (*kino-ekspeditsiia*) journey to Sakhalin, including a tourist trip to the Far East, by boat from Vladivostok, and assistance from VTsSPS, but no further information of a tourist nature.²⁵⁵



Figure 6: Iurii Senkevich.

Source: 'Ekspeditsiia Tura Kheierdala na Tigris', *Klub puteshestvennikov*, 3:04.

Iurii Senkevich, the presenter from 1973 to 2003 and a serious enthusiast, was a key ingredient in the *Club of Travellers* (Figure 6). He interviewed explorers, sailed with

²⁵² From extracts of some programmes available on *YouTube* (see Bibliography).

²⁵³ Roth-Ey, p. 15.

²⁵⁴ 'Sakhalin', *Klub puteshestvennikov* <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IrFonB9msfI>> [accessed on 3 August 2014].

²⁵⁵ 'Sakhalin', *Klub puteshestvennikov*, 0:39-1:48.

Heyerdahl's Ra and Tigris expeditions, and travelled to many locations filmed for the programme. The programme's title acknowledged that travel could be imaginary.

Senkevich was the leader of the Club and viewers were its members, even though, paradoxically, the viewers were not actually travelling at all. Members could sit back and relax as their trusted guide and the only real traveller, Senkevich, presented the world to them, assuming the role of a raconteur. Through the television screen, images were brought into people's homes around the USSR and were made part of everyday life. The extraordinary was located in a familiar, ordinary milieu (which Rojek concludes eroded the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary).²⁵⁶

Members could be part of the Club even though their responses to the programme remained in the private sphere, and could range from not watching at all to active engagement, which some demonstrated by writing letters to the programme.²⁵⁷

In late socialism some of the wide range of Soviet slide films (*diafil'm*), many of which were produced for children's education or entertainment, were sources for imaginative geographies.²⁵⁸ These were shown on small projectors, and were without sound but with some written information. For example, the 1969 slide film *The Globe on Screen No 2 1969: About Everything from Everywhere* (*Na ekrane globus No. 2 1969: Otovsiudu obo vsem*) comprises slides on Heyerdahl's Ra expedition (including pictures of Senkevich), Sierra Leone, the Kuril Islands and camels (Figure 7).²⁵⁹ This appears to be a similar but less rich source of information than the *Club of Travellers* series.

²⁵⁶ C. Rojek, 'Indexing, dragging and the social construction of tourist sights', in *Touring Cultures*, ed. by Rojek and Urry, p. 70.

²⁵⁷ 'Pamir', *Klub puteshestvennikov* <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SELzgsG5lYk>> [accessed on 24 July 2014], 2:29-4:10, 16:12-17:52, 26:56-28:42, 39:04-39:40, 53:00-53:50.

²⁵⁸ See the Diafil'm website, <<http://diafilmy.su>> [accessed on 22 September 2014].

²⁵⁹ *Na ekrane globus No. 2 1969: Otovsiudu obo vsem* <<http://diafilmy.su/1780-na-ekrane-globus-2-1969.html>> [accessed on 22 September 2014].



Figure 7: The first slide of a *diafil'm*.
Source: *Na ekrane globus No. 2 1969 г.: Otovsiudu obo vsem*.

Imaginary tourism was the subject of a sketch from the 1970s, entitled ‘Club of Film Travel’ (Klub kinoputeshestvii), by the Soviet author-performer Mikhail Zhvanetskii, who performed his monologues on stage and on television.²⁶⁰ In this sketch, Zhvanetskii says that you can imagine everything from home and points to the influence of a few documentary film cameramen on the audience of millions.²⁶¹ He recommends replenishing a shortage of imagination at the most popular club, the Club of Cine-tele-home-woe-travellers (*klub kinoteledomagoreputeshestvennikov*).²⁶²

Zhvanetskii’s sketch builds up to a description of an elaborate imaginary boat trip to Australia undertaken by up to a hundred flats in a block, involving images of the ocean on the television, an instructor and seven kopeks worth of salt.²⁶³ This sketch lampoons the idea of collective performances, such as the ideological rituals of parades and events, which were typical of official culture at the time. Yurchak argues that the meaning of such rituals had changed in late socialism to prioritise the reproduction of the ritual.²⁶⁴ The sketch’s collective endeavour also conforms to Rojek’s idea of the

²⁶⁰ M. Zhvanetskii, ‘Klub kinoputeshestvii’ <http://www.jvanetsky.ru/data/text/t7/klub_kinoputeshestvii/> [accessed on 19 July 2014]; S. Graham, *Resonant Dissonance: The Russian Joke in Cultural Context* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2009), p. 77.

²⁶¹ Zhvanetskii, 0:55-1:04.

²⁶² Zhvanetskii, 3:27-3:34.

²⁶³ Zhvanetskii, 3:38-5:08.

²⁶⁴ Yurchak, p. 286.

artificiality of escape in modern life, which occurs because people are unable to abandon their identity and there is ultimately no escape.²⁶⁵

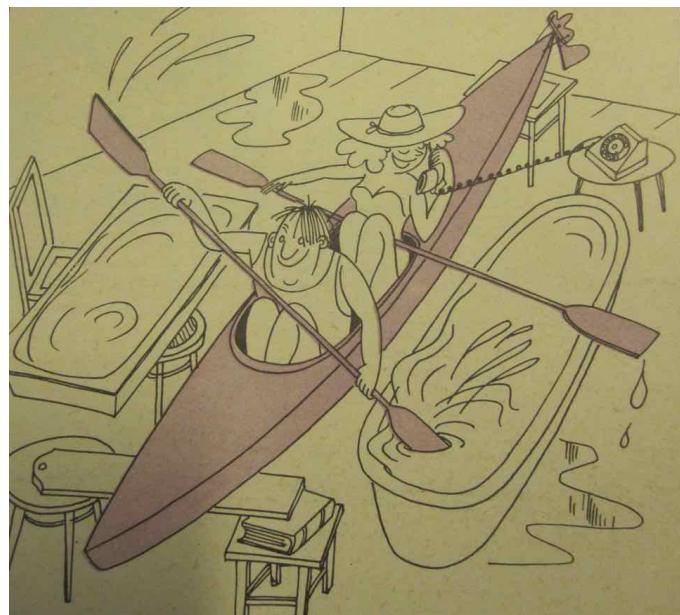


Figure 8: 'My husband and I decided to set out on a voyage by canoe this year.'
Source: *Krokodil*, 17 (1970), p. 8.

Figure 8 shows a less elaborate version of the voyage in Zhvanetskii's sketch, also set within the domestic space but not as a collective enterprise. It satirises 'real' independent tourists and the authentic tourist activity of canoeing, which appeared relatively frequently in the *Turist* magazine. The lampooning of the tourist in *Krokodil*, a publication which belonged to both the official and unofficial spheres, was part of the satire found in the culture of late socialism, whose varied targets included the stereotypes of different social groups.²⁶⁶

Travelling at VDNKh

An informant recalled the memorable experience of watching documentary travel films at the Circular cine-panorama (Krugovaia kinopanorama) in the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy (Vystavka dostizhenii narodnogo khoziaistva, hereafter VDNKh) in Moscow as a child (Figures 9-12).²⁶⁷ E. Dobrenko argues that VDNKh was designed to create a 'joyous mood' and, by denying the artificiality of the

²⁶⁵ Rojek, *Escape*, p. 212.

²⁶⁶ Stites, pp. 135-36.

²⁶⁷ Field notes, London, 23 May 2014.

exhibits, to fuse together life and art and the spectator with the spectacle.²⁶⁸ Not only were objects brought from around the USSR to VDNKh, but at VDNKh people could ‘travel’ to other parts of the USSR by watching the films. The exhibitions and films were both sources of information for visitors’ personal archives of imaginative geographies.



Figure 9: Driving through Palace Square, Leningrad.
Source: *V dorogu, v dorogu ...*, 7:04.



Figure 10: Along the promenade.
Source: *V dorogu, v dorogu ...*, 2:34.

Since 1959 the Circular cine-panorama has shown short documentary films, several with travel themes, which were shot using eleven separate cameras and are projected simultaneously to surround the audience. The films do not have the pedagogical tone of the *Club of Travellers* series, but suggest the joys of travelling and encountering the USSR’s diverse landscapes, cultures and peoples. Sequences include the winding roads leading to the Black Sea, Volga cruise ships, skiers and folk dancers, with frequent

²⁶⁸ E. Dobrenko, ‘The Soviet Spectacle: The All-Union Agricultural Exhibition’, in *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture*, ed. by V. A. Kivelson and J. Neuberger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 189, 194.

changes of images to create a fast-paced entertainment. The overall effect is as if the audience is participating in a mock tourist experience, such as being on the ski slopes, playing with beach balls in the Black Sea or driving through Leningrad. Despite the experience of participation in tourism through watching the film, the title of the 1966 film “*Tourists, Take Us with You!*” (“*Voz’mite nas s soboi, turisty!*”) is paradoxical in suggesting that tourists were a special category of privileged travellers, or ‘others’.²⁶⁹ Using J. Baudrillard’s ideas, this simulation of a tourist experience is a hyperreal simulacrum, a model without reality or a third-order simulation, because the succession of selected images compresses time and space.²⁷⁰



Figure 11: Touring the Black Sea Coast.
Source: “*Voz’mite nas s soboi, turisty!*”, 1:46.



Figure 12: At the beach.
Source: “*Voz’mite nas s soboi, turisty!*”, 1:06.

²⁶⁹ “*Voz’mite nas s soboi, turisty!*” (TsSDF, 1966), <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YmcAF06kJB4>> [accessed on 27 January 2015].

²⁷⁰ J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. by S. Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp.1, 28; R. J. Lane, *Jean Baudrillard* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 86-87.

The experience of being surrounded by a performance at the Circular cine-panorama shares some similarities with an exhibition of Volga landscapes in St Petersburg in 1851. The Chernetsov brothers produced a huge painting of Volga landscapes after their voyage to discover scenic or touristic images in 1838.²⁷¹ The painting (700 metres long and 2.5 metres high) was displayed by slowly reeling it between two spools while the audiences sat in a simulated ship's cabin and listened to sounds imitating those of river travel.²⁷² This simulacrum is similar to Louis Daguerre's diorama theatre in Paris, which opened in 1821, and to John Rowson Smith's panoramas of the Mississippi, the first of which was painted in 1839.²⁷³ In Russia the idea of surrounding an audience with a multi-faceted simulation of a journey reappeared over a century later at VDNKh's Circular cine-panorama. The link to tourism and entertainment was present in both. The Chernetsov brothers' illustrated travelogue, originally given to Tsar Nikolai I, was re-discovered in the 1960s and published in 1970.²⁷⁴ This publication is an example of Benjamin's ideas of works of art being brought to a mass audience through mechanical reproduction, and it connects ordinary life with an out-of-the-ordinary experience.²⁷⁵

Destinations of the imagination

Krokodil's imaginary tourist also appeared outside the home. Figure 13 shows an 'escape' from work, albeit in a location in the imagination. It also references a phenomenon noted in the period of late socialism, namely the absence of reality behind a map or text, which was also a topic of concern to Western thinkers.²⁷⁶ A map is a metaphor or simulation of the place it represents.²⁷⁷ Using Baudrillard's idea of the 'precession of simulacra', a map without reality behind it is hyperreal simulacrum, which Baudrillard thought would come to dominate experience and understanding of the

²⁷¹ C. Ely, 'The Origins of Russian Scenery: Volga River Tourism and Russian Landscape Aesthetics', *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), pp. 666, 668.

²⁷² C. Ely, *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), p. 76; G. and N. Chernetsov, *Puteshestvie po Vol'ge: Risunki avtorov* (Moscow: Misl', 1970), p. 8.

²⁷³ J. F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 50-51.

²⁷⁴ Chernetsov, p. 9.

²⁷⁵ Benjamin, *The Work of Art*, p. 26; D. Chaney, *Cultural Change and Everyday Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 143.

²⁷⁶ S. Medvedev, 'A General Theory of Russian Space: A Gay Science and a Rigorous Science', in *Beyond the Limits: The Concept of Space in Russian History and Culture*, ed. by J. Smith (Helsinki: Soumen Historiallinen Seura, 1999), p. 26.

²⁷⁷ Brown, p. 80; Baudrillard, p. 1.

world.²⁷⁸ For M. de Certeau, place names can develop meanings and detach from the places they relate to.²⁷⁹ Figure 13 shows a map of the Black Sea, a name which developed meanings beyond its geographical location, such as its association with the Soviet seaside holiday.

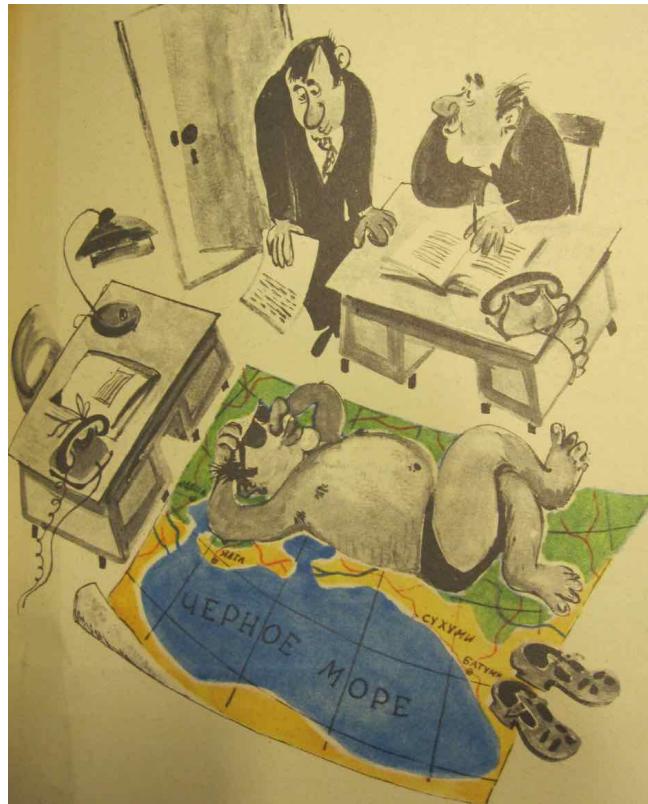


Figure 13: 'You'd better not ask him. He's gone on holiday this week.'

Source: *Krokodil*, 22 (1973), p. 7.

A lack of reality also appears in M. Veller's short story 'I Want to Go to Paris' (Khochu v Parizh), a tale of locational confusion.²⁸⁰ The story's hero, Dimka, whose interest in Paris stemmed from the film *The Three Musketeers*, flies from Moscow to Paris. However, he hears people speaking Russian on the streets and discovers that this 'Paris' is a gigantic theatrical backdrop located in a familiar place in the USSR.²⁸¹ Dimka's dreams are dashed – there had never been a Paris – and he torches the backdrop with his

²⁷⁸ Baudrillard, p. 1; Lane, pp. 86-87.

²⁷⁹ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by S. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 104.

²⁸⁰ 'Khochu v Parizh', in M. Veller, *Khochu byt' dvornikom: Kniga rasskazov* (Moscow: Astrel', 2010), pp. 263-91. First published in 1983.

²⁸¹ Veller, p. 291.

cigarette lighter.²⁸² Rojek sees the anticlimax experienced by some when in a place they had only imagined previously, as piercing ‘the magic of distance’, but concludes that people nonetheless habitually return to travelling as a means of escape.²⁸³



Figure 14: ‘An objective view.’
Source: *Krokodil*, 24 (1959), back cover.

In Figure 14 the tourist space has clear boundaries and the foreign tourist is duped by his preconceptions of Moscow.²⁸⁴ The fake seems, at a first glance, to be similar to the simulated ‘Paris’ in Veller’s story. However, unlike Dimka’s disappointment at

²⁸² Veller, p. 291.

²⁸³ Rojek, *Escape*, p. 9; W. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. by H. Zohn (London: NLB, 1973), p. 152.

²⁸⁴ For other perspectives see A. E. Gorsuch, ‘From Iron Curtain to Silver Screen: Imagining the West in the Khrushchev Era’; and S. E. Reid, ‘Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959’, in *Imagining the West in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, ed. by G. Péteri (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), pp. 161-62, 229.

discovering that he had been deceived, this tourist seems particularly pleased with fake Moscow, thus conforming to the criticism that tourists are often content with superficial experiences.²⁸⁵ A parallel in Russian history were the ‘Potemkin villages’, which, S. Dixon argues, Catherine the Great knew were faked but she played her role in a piece of imperial theatre.²⁸⁶ The cartoon’s tourist fulfils his allotted role, which invokes the metaphor of tourism as a performance, by duly photographing all the scenes presented and adding another layer to the hyperreal.

There has been considerable debate among researchers about the quest for the ‘authentic’, a hallmark of the discerning traveller, as opposed to the passive acceptance by the tourist of tourist sights presented to them by the mass tourism industry.²⁸⁷ While the question of authenticity can be debated at length, it seems that there is no single solution. O. Löfgren argues that definitions of the authentic are constantly changed in tourist narratives.²⁸⁸ The perception of authenticity of a tourist experience appears to be more important than questioning whether it really is authentic and what that means.

The above definition of imaginative geographies, based on Said’s work, refers to ‘other places’.²⁸⁹ Said suggests that it is a universal practice to create alterity in space by dividing space between an individual’s familiar (‘our’) space and unfamiliar space beyond, (‘theirs’).²⁹⁰ A tourist may travel from home to an unfamiliar ‘elsewhere’, but could also travel to a familiar place, such as a childhood holiday destination.

S. Medvedev argues that Russian culture lacks a more general spatial sense, having ‘a relatively vague sense of distance, border and places’, which he attributes to the vastness of the space and lack of clearly defined natural boundaries.²⁹¹ Soviet space and ‘abroad’ appear to have been difficult for some individuals to define. This confusion is

²⁸⁵ Veller, pp. 263-91; MacCannell, p. 10.

²⁸⁶ S. Dixon, *Catherine the Great* (London: Profile, 2009), p. 286.

²⁸⁷ S. Baranowski and E. Furlough, ‘Introduction’, in *Being Elsewhere*, ed. by Baranowski and Furlough, pp. 2-3.

²⁸⁸ O. Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 183-84.

²⁸⁹ Johnston, Gregory and others, pp. 372-73.

²⁹⁰ E. W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978; repr. London: Penguin, 2003), p. 54.

²⁹¹ S. Medvedev, ‘A General Theory of Russian Space’, in *Beyond the Limits*, ed. by J. Smith, p. 18.

suggested in Veller's short story, 'I Want to Go to Paris'.²⁹² Zhvanetskii comments in his sketch 'Club of Film Travel' that visitors feel at home in Paris, which adds to the ambiguity about whether, for Soviet citizens, Paris was somewhere in the USSR, as in Veller's story.²⁹³ Zhvanetskii also points out that places abroad resemble Soviet locations, such as New York and Yalta, and New Zealand and the Caucasus near Sukhumi. These comments could shape a listener's imaginative geography.²⁹⁴

Geographical confusion is also apparent in Yurchak's description of the concept of an imaginary abroad (*zagranitsa*), typically the Imaginary West, which existed during late socialism in opposition to at home (*u nas*). It was not described as a coherent 'territory' or even named, but comprised Soviet reinterpretations of discourses, music, objects and images linked to the West.²⁹⁵ At no point does Yurchak refer to imaginary *tourism* as a means of 'visiting' the imagined spaces he describes. The Imaginary West existed only at the time when the real West could not be visited.²⁹⁶ This has a parallel in Veller's Soviet-era story of an imaginary Soviet 'Paris', whereas the post-Soviet film based on the story, *A Window on Paris* (*Okno v Parizh*) showed Russians being transported to the real Paris, rather than a fake canvas version.²⁹⁷ Yurchak's Imaginary West also had a precursor in some of the Westernisers group of nineteenth-century Russian thinkers. Lotman comments that it was typical to find a Westerniser who was disinterested in the real West and that the West was a point of view, rather than a geographical location.²⁹⁸

A Soviet tourist from Moscow reported that, when she travelled to certain parts of the USSR, she was apparently confused about whether she was, in fact, in the USSR or not.²⁹⁹ She described the Baltic states and Uzbekistan, which she visited in the late Soviet era, as 'other worlds', and said that Central Asia was Asia not the USSR, or was a lesser USSR, commenting on the absence of women in a tea room and on the

²⁹² Veller, pp. 263-91.

²⁹³ Zhvanetskii, 0:27-0:42.

²⁹⁴ Zhvanetskii, 2:54-3:02.

²⁹⁵ Yurchak, pp. 158-61.

²⁹⁶ Yurchak, p. 159.

²⁹⁷ *Okno v Parizh*, dir. by Iu. Mamin and A. Tygai (Les Films du Bouloï and others, 1993).

²⁹⁸ Y. M. Lotman, *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*, trans. by A. Shukman (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990), p. 198.

²⁹⁹ G2/4.

streets.³⁰⁰ Another informant remembered meeting a Russian-speaking local boy in the remote Alai valley in Kyrgyzh SSSR, and commented that for the local inhabitants people from Moscow were like people coming from Mars.³⁰¹ This informant did not, however, draw any parallels with A. and B. Strugatskii's science fiction novel from the period of late socialism, *Roadside Picnic (Piknik na obochine)*, on which A. Tarkovskii's film *Stalker* was based, or comment on what effect any artefacts left behind would have had on the local inhabitants.³⁰² In *Roadside Picnic* the remains of the space travellers' picnics on earth, a form of tourist activity, become inexplicable and dangerous objects for man, with impacts far beyond the picnic sites.³⁰³

One informant's view was that the ancient towns of the Golden Ring were familiar spaces for the majority of Muscovites, because they had relatives in the countryside.³⁰⁴ Every year until she was sixteen, she spent all her holidays with her grandparents in a village near Yaroslavl.³⁰⁵ However, as another Muscovite's game of imagining life in the past showed, for others the Golden Ring towns offered an experience of another world, by linking place and time through use of the imagination.³⁰⁶ This is similar to the time travel in M. Bulgakov's play, *Ivan Vasil'evich*, which was the basis for the comedy film from the Brezhnev era, *Ivan Vasil'evich Changes Profession (Ivan Vasil'evich meniaet professiu)*, which was partly filmed in Rostov Velikii.³⁰⁷

The inherently arbitrary process of division of space, as suggested by Said, and the spatial confusion in Russian culture and in the minds of informants suggest that, for Soviet tourists, specifying a spatial 'elsewhere' was a personal matter. The division of tourism into domestic tourism or abroad appears to have had less meaning in the USSR, compared to countries with less diversity within their own borders.

³⁰⁰ G2/4.

³⁰¹ G2/2.

³⁰² A. and B. Strugatskie, *Piknik na obochine* (Moscow: AST, 2014); *Stalker*, dir. by A. Tarkovskii (Mosfil'm, 1979).

³⁰³ Strugatskie, pp. 6, 131-32.

³⁰⁴ G3/4.

³⁰⁵ G3/4.

³⁰⁶ G3/2.

³⁰⁷ *Ivan Vasil'evich*, in M. Bulgakov, *Sobranie sochinenii v desiati tomakh* (Moscow: Golos, 1999), VII <http://www.lib.ru/BULGAKOW/ivan_vas.txt> [accessed on 13 June 2014]; *Ivan Vasil'evich meniaet professiu*, dir. by L. Gaidai (Mosfil'm, 1973).

The tourist

Chaney states that the figure of the tourist has been used as a metaphor for a ‘distinctive way of being-in-the-world’.³⁰⁸ For D. MacCannell, using a lens of social theory, the tourist is ‘one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general’, because an initial understanding of modern civilisation arises in the tourist’s mind.³⁰⁹ These views point to the complexity and importance of the tourist as a figure in modern culture.

In late socialism, Western tourists visiting the USSR tended to be portrayed as negative figures. The 1960 film *Russian Souvenir* (*Russkii suvenir*) and the 1963 animated film *Mister Twister* (*Mister Tvister*), based on S. Marshak’s popular children’s story in verse from 1933, are a case in point.³¹⁰ Soviet domestic tourists, on the other hand, were ambivalent figures. They were promoted as an essential part of modernity, which a vanguard state such as the USSR had to have. As such, they were the focus readership of the *Turist* magazine. However, the domestic tourist was also abundantly satirised in magazines such as *Krokodil*. In the film *I walk around Moscow* (*Ia shagaiu po Moskve*) Soviet tourists are easily distracted from their tour guide’s rather bored delivery of historical facts in Red Square by the young hero’s intervention to point out the GUM department store.³¹¹ This ambivalent presentation of the tourist is one of the paradoxes of late socialism.

In late Soviet culture tourists were portrayed as imaginary figures or ‘others’, rather like the comment above that tourists were like Martians, even to people who were, at other times, tourists themselves. This may reflect the fact that not everyone could be a tourist in the USSR. Tourism became a mass activity in the period of late socialism, but not everyone was able to travel, and certainly not to any destination, partly because of the restrictions of the travel pass system. Although people were encouraged to be tourists, in reality the tourist was ‘someone else’. An informant said that her father had been to

³⁰⁸ D. Chaney, ‘The Power of Metaphors in Tourism Theory’, in *Tourism*, ed. by Coleman and Crang, p. 196; H. L. Dreyfuss, *Being-in-the-World: A Commentary on Heidegger’s ‘Being and Time’*, Division I (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 40, 43.

³⁰⁹ MacCannell, p. 1.

³¹⁰ *Russkii suvenir*, dir. by G. Aleksandrov (Mosfil’m, 1960); *Mister Twister*, dir. by A. Karanovich (Sovuzmuf’fil’m: 1963); S. Marshak, *Sochineniia v chetyrekh tomakh: Lirika, povesti v stikhakh, satira, p’esy* (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1958), II, pp. 184-212.

³¹¹ *Ia shagaiu po Moskve*, dir. by G. Danelia (Mosfil’m, 1963), 29:55-30:47.

the seaside but, seemingly with regret, her mother never saw the sea, ‘never in her life, never, never’.³¹²

One way in which the ‘otherness’ of tourists was indicated was in semantic terms. For example, in guidebooks about Kostroma published during late socialism, the language emphasises the deliberate separation between the local narrators, who describe the Kostroma as ‘our town’ in ‘our area’, leaving the tourists as a separate ‘other’, a visiting stranger.³¹³ In these publications the tourists are mentioned in relation to a few specific locations, such as the thousands of tourists attracted to the museum-reserve.³¹⁴ The impersonal, anonymous, swarming ‘otherness’ of the tourists, almost another species, in these examples is in opposition to ‘us’.

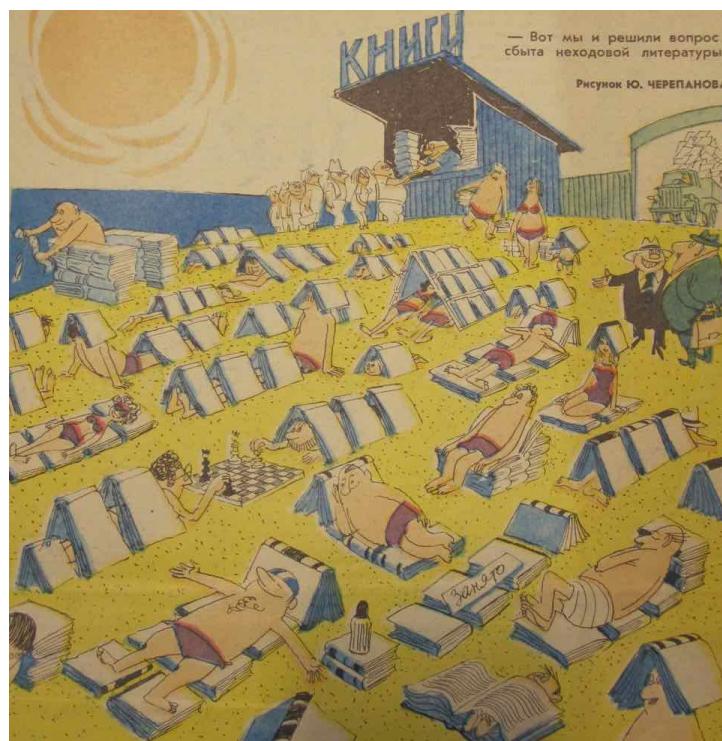


Figure 15: ‘We’ve resolved the problem of the sale of unpopular literature.’

Source: *Krokodil*, 21 (1974), p. 9.

³¹² G3/4.

³¹³ M. N. Belov, E. V. Kudriashov and others, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'* (Yaroslavl: Verkhne-volzhnoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1983), p. 60; *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik* (Kostroma: Kostromskoe khizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1963), p. 335.

³¹⁴ V. N. Bochkov and K. G. Torop, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'* (Yaroslavl: Verkhne-volzhnoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1970), p. 48.

Another way in which tourists were shown to be not ‘us’ is by portraying the tourist as a fool or the victim of deception (Figure 15). According to S. Graham, stupidity, often juxtaposed with its opposite, is the most common motif in jokes in Russian, whose heyday was during the period of late socialism, when the few sources of culture were widely available and concise jokes had a ‘heavy semantic load’.³¹⁵ While tourists were not commonly the dupes in anecdotes from the period of late socialism, *Krokodil* regularly lampooned tourists in its summer editions (Figure 16).³¹⁶

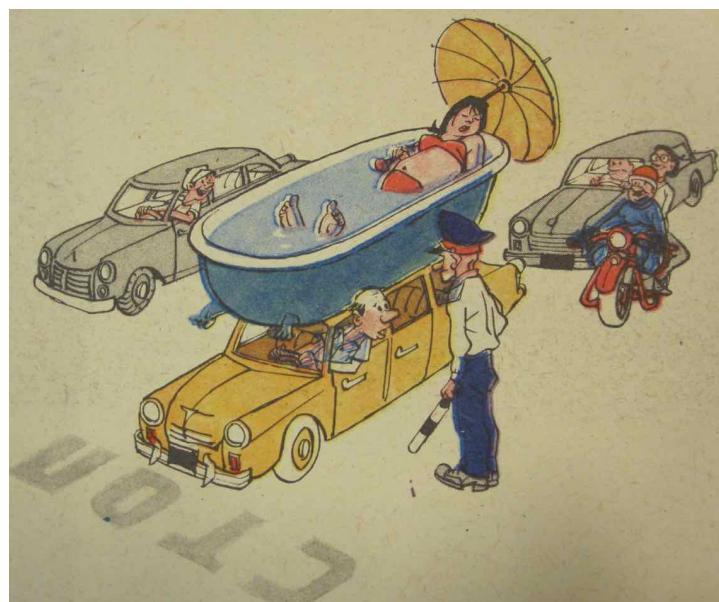


Figure 16: ‘We didn’t extend the travel pass? So what!’
Source: *Krokodil*, 16 (1967), back cover.

Tourist roles

Using the performance metaphor, tourism offers its participants the opportunity to assume a different role for the duration of their holiday, which involves using imagination. A Soviet tourist could play various characters, including the adventurer, the glamour-seeker and the romantic lover, and sometimes all these roles at the same

³¹⁵ Graham, pp. 23, 63, 73.

³¹⁶ From three anthologies: *Russia Dies Laughing: Jokes from Soviet Russia*, ed. by Z. Dolgopolova (London: Andre Deutsch, 1982); *Forbidden Laughter: Soviet Underground Jokes*, ed. by E. Draitsier (Los Angeles: Almanac Press, 1978); *1001 izbrannyi sovetskii politicheskii anekdot*, ed. by Iu. Telesin, (Tenafly: Hermitage, 1986).

time.³¹⁷ After returning home, and despite resuming everyday activities, the tourist could become the raconteur, which could be a life-long role as the informants for this project showed.



Figure 17: The tourist in the first issue.

Source: *Turist*, 1966:1, p. 1.

The adventurer was the role for those with a love of nature and the outdoors, including the hikers with rucksacks and their own provisions and the rafters often seen in the *Turist* magazine, who were generally regarded as authentic active Soviet tourists (Figure 17).³¹⁸ In Russian culture, the countryside has been associated with the personal characteristics of the Russian people, such as daring, boldness, and love of speed.³¹⁹ The

³¹⁷ *Tri plius dva*, dir. by G. Organisian (Kinostudiia imeni M. Gor'kogo, 1963) features two adventurers who become glamour-seekers and romantic lovers.

³¹⁸ D. P. Koenker, *Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), p. 214; G2/2.

³¹⁹ E. Hellberg-Hirn, *Soil and Soul: The Symbolic World of Russianness* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 126-27.

necessary skills, such as how to make your equipment and navigation, could be learned from a tourist reference book.³²⁰ By playing the role of the adventurer, a tourist could demonstrate qualities which he was unable to use during the rest of the year. However, the cartoon below suggests some frustration with these adventurers.



Figure 18: 'Service for tourists.'
Source: *Krokodil*, 26 (1971), p. 11.

The Soviet adventurer was contemptuous of the less active, so-called 'pyjama people', who limited their hiking to the short trip from the *turbaza* to the beach.³²¹ While this appears to echo the Western trope of the traveller's superiority over the tourist, in fact this class-based thinking was not widespread in Soviet culture. Only Joseph Brodsky's travel writing while in exile outside the USSR mentions the traveller (*puteshestvennik*), which, S. Turoma suggests, was an expression of nostalgia for the gentleman traveller and the loss of opportunities for adventure and exploration, and a broader critique of contemporary culture and society.³²²

³²⁰ *Spravochnik turista* from the 1960s and 1970s, such as *Karmanniy spravochnik, Kak samomu izgotovit' turistskoe snariazhenie* (G2/2).

³²¹ D. P. Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51:2 (2009), p. 409.

³²² S. Turoma, *Brodsky Abroad: Empire, Tourism, Nostalgia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), pp. 5-6, 57.

To one tour guide tourism had changed over the decades and become ‘organised, mechanised’ and comfortable.³²³ This points to the post-war rise of the Soviet tourist playing the role of the seeker of glamour, looking for enchantment or beauty. A tourist recalled staying in a luxurious room containing a suite of black furniture, which happened to be decorated with her initial, in a ‘super-stylish hotel’ in Yaroslavl during late socialism.³²⁴ She and her two children were on an organised tour and were allocated this desirable room because it was for three people.

The Soviet cruise was the ultimate locus of glamour, as shown in the 1954 film *The Reserve* (*Zapasnoi igrok*), in which a luxurious ship has a swimming pool on deck and a large dance floor and orchestra.³²⁵ A. E. Gorsuch terms the images of this ship as ‘impossibly utopian’.³²⁶ Some passengers play the roles of the seekers of glamour, including a blonde actress who arrives for the voyage in a convertible car.³²⁷ The exaggeration of the ship’s décor and the glamorous upper-deck passengers, juxtaposed with the ordinariness of a factory’s football team travelling to a competition, subtly satirises the trope of glamour.

Similar but more pronounced satire is found in the comedy, also from 1954, *True Friends* (*Vernye druz’ia*).³²⁸ The film concerns three middle-aged friends, who hold important positions, taking a rafting holiday together. One repeatedly asks for a deluxe cabin, only to be guided to a tent on a raft, which echoes the opening scenes of the heroes in childhood (Figure 19).³²⁹ The friends spend an enjoyable holiday mixing with kind-hearted ordinary people and doing good deeds.³³⁰ The Soviet values of friendship and community are promoted and luxury tourism ridiculed. It also illustrates Inglis’ argument that returning to the ‘abandon and bliss of childhood’ is a holiday dream.³³¹

³²³ G2/2.

³²⁴ G3/1.

³²⁵ *Zapasnoi igrok*, dir. by S. Timoshenko (Lenfil’m, 1954), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQrcYoQNjyA> [accessed on 15 February 2014], 21:06-21:15; 26:50-29:50; 30:44-31:59.

³²⁶ A. E. Gorsuch, *All This is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 170.

³²⁷ *Zapasnoi igrok*, 18:00-18:42.

³²⁸ *Vernye druz’ia*, dir. by M. Kalatozov (Mosfil’m, 1954) <http://cinema.mosfilm.ru/films/film/1950-1959/vernye-druzya/> [accessed on 11 August 2014].

³²⁹ *Vernye druz’ia*, 1:19-3:50; 17:32-18:30.

³³⁰ *Vernye druz’ia*, 56:49-1:03:00; 1:09:34-1:14:35; 1:15:55-1:26:00.

³³¹ Inglis, p. 4.

One Soviet tourist recalled that a common childhood dream ‘of ours’ was to go on a raft.³³²



Figure 19: The friends board their raft.

Source: *Vernye druz'ia*, 21:42.

River cruise ships also had luxurious surroundings and an air of glamour, allowing passengers to play their chosen tourist roles (Figure 20). Travel passes for sea cruises were seen as very hard to obtain, because they usually went to directors of enterprises, and river cruises were quite difficult to access.³³³ One informant’s friend was on a waiting list for a whole year in order to get a place on a boat trip from Moscow to Rostov-on-Don.³³⁴

³³² G2/2.

³³³ G3/4.

³³⁴ G3/1.



Figure 20: 'A rehearsal takes place in the music salon.'

The Yaroslavl STE's ship *I. S. Turgenev* on the Volga.

Source: *Turist*, 1977:3, p. 27.

One tourist explained that it was absolutely normal for people to travel in the USSR in order to meet someone to marry.³³⁵ She told of an important experience in her life when she met and fell in love with an East German student at the Inturist hotel in Vladimir.³³⁶ The tourist assuming the role of the romantic lover was not unique to the USSR. Sexual liaisons and tourism have been associated throughout the history of tourism since the Grand Tours of the eighteenth century, as in Anton Chekhov's 1899 short story 'The Lady with the Dog' (Dama s sobachkoi).³³⁷ The role of the romantic lover was facilitated by the Soviet travel pass system of allocating passes to individuals, and not to families. The travel pass holder could play the role of a single traveller, regardless of their family circumstances at home. Holiday romances are a trope in several films from the period of late socialism.³³⁸ Extra-marital affairs between travellers to resorts were well-known phenomena, but were seen on screen only in later films.³³⁹ This is part of a

³³⁵ G3/4.

³³⁶ G3/4.

³³⁷ Inglis, p. 16.

³³⁸ *K Chernomu moriu*, dir. by A. Tutyshkin (Mosfil'm, 1957) <<http://kinofilms.tv/film/k-chernomu-moryu/32168/>> [accessed on 14 February 2014]; *Tri plius dva*.

³³⁹ A. Rotkirch, 'Travelling Maidens and Men with Parallel Lives – Journeys as Private Space During Late Socialism', in *Beyond the Limits*, ed. by J. Smith, pp. 131-49; Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest?', pp. 415-

wider trend in the late socialism of tolerance and even encouragement for the illicit, such as the tolerance of privately run accommodation for independent tourists at crowded seaside resorts.³⁴⁰

An elderly lady's face lit up as she described seeing dolphins swimming in the Black Sea in the morning while on holiday in Crimea, decades earlier.³⁴¹ A lady from Moscow recalled visiting Alushta on the Crimean south coast for the first time in the early 1970s as a twenty-one year old independent tourist.³⁴² Her story mentioned the salty water, swimming, plentiful fruits (which were impossible to buy in Moscow), cypress trees, and arriving home tanned and beautiful. The tellers of these stories passed on striking images of holidays in the period of late socialism decades after their travels.

The role of the raconteur can involve being a recorder of sights and events, taking photographs or notes during the holiday, and then a life-long part recounting past holidays. In the popular 1968 film *Diamond Arm (Brilliantovaia ruka)* the tourist hero takes photographs of the exotic sights in a foreign port and some of the group take notes during their guided tour.³⁴³ The raconteur may be a catalyst for tourism by inspiring others to travel. The television programme *Club of Travellers* is based on the raconteur model, with Senkevich taking the leading role.

In late socialism some tourist roles were apparent, which did not conform to images of the ideal tourist and reinforced the tourist's ambivalent image. *Krokodil*'s cartoonists targeted the *Turist* magazine's adventurer (Figures 17, 18 and 21). People who should have been using tourism for education, taking the role of seekers of culture and knowledge, instead acted as consumers in times of *defitsit*. Unlike the intellectual elite who came to the Golden Ring towns in the 1960s to pursue their interest in art history, the mass tourists of the 1980s on subsidised organised tours just wanted to shop and

16: *Iz zhizni otdykhaiushchikh*, dir. by N. Gubenko (Mosfil'm, 1980); *Liubov' i golubi*, dir. by V. Men'shov (Mosfil'm, 1984).

³⁴⁰ The unofficial landlords were condoned in official culture. See *Byd'te moim muzhem* dir. by A. Surikova (Mosfil'm, 1981) <<https://video.yandex.ru/users/senatman/view/569/?cauthor=senatman&cid=3>> [accessed on 15 February 2014], 41:40-45.16.

³⁴¹ Field notes, Kostroma, 26 April 2014.

³⁴² G3/4.

³⁴³ *Brilliantovaia ruka*, dir. by L. Gaida (Mosfil'm, 1968) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B-iVfLX2tvY&feature=player_embedded> [accessed on 15 February 2014], 10:58-12:10.

‘couldn’t care less about high pitched bells’.³⁴⁴ A tour guide recounted how recent visitors to Kostroma had enquired about a certain stall selling pastries, which was apparently the only thing that they remembered from their visit on a Volga cruise twenty years earlier.³⁴⁵ The tour groups scattered when the tourists saw the shops in Kostroma, and continuing the tour with seven out of a group of thirty was considered to be very good.³⁴⁶ To one lady, roughly 60 per cent of a holiday during late socialism was spent shopping and the rest sight seeing, because only a limited range of goods was available at home and different styles of clothing and other items could be found elsewhere.³⁴⁷ The main plot of the film *Diamond Arm* links tourism and consumerism as a gang of smugglers use cruises to foreign ports to obtain their contraband, which echoes the black market activities of Soviet tourists as well as privileged travellers, like diplomats and the cultural elite.³⁴⁸ Even the tour guides took opportunities for shopping, such as those from Kostroma buying bread in Suzdal where there was no shortage.³⁴⁹



Figure 21: ‘A tourist’,
Source: *Krokodil*, 17 (1973), p. 9.

³⁴⁴ G2/4.

³⁴⁵ G1/1.

³⁴⁶ G2/4.

³⁴⁷ Field notes, Kostroma, 30 April 2014.

³⁴⁸ *Brilliantovaiia ruka*; N. Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 94-101.

³⁴⁹ G2/6.

Tourist props and costumes

The ‘Travel With Style and Without’ (Puteshestvie s shikom i bez) exhibition in 2014 at the All-Russian Decorative Art Museum (Vserossiiskii muzei dekorativno-prikladnogo i narodnogo iskusstva) in Moscow showed the special clothing and accessories used by tourists through history, which are similar to an actor’s costumes and props. Costumes for the tourist featured in films and magazines in the era of late socialism. These sources showed people how tourists should look and how you could make the clothes, or just fake it for the camera (Figures 22-25). The *Rabotnitsa* magazine’s 1969 article about skin care at the beach indicates that such matters were relevant not just to those visiting sanatoria but were of wider concern due to mass tourism.³⁵⁰



Figure 22: All the foreign tourists and even a dog wear sunglasses.

Source: *Brilliantovaia ruka*, 2:12.

Tourist props and costumes reflect changing attitudes towards Western influences in late Soviet culture. In the 1957 film *To the Black Sea* (*K Chernomu moriu*) sunglasses, a trend adopted from Western tourists (Figure 22), are a negative marker, because only an unkind and selfish woman wears them.³⁵¹ A 1961 short film satirises Moscow’s *stiliagi*, who are shown preying on foreign visitors to obtain Western clothes and the latest trends, but are duped by a compliant ‘foreign’ visitor, who turns out to be a Russian.³⁵² Later, tourist costumes, which originated in Western fashions, were adopted into official Soviet culture (Figures 23-24). Chernyshova notes that in the 1970s and 1980s what was

³⁵⁰ L. Dranovskaia, ‘Posledite za soboi, pozhaluista: Kosmetika i solntse’, *Rabotnitsa*, 1969:6, p. 31.

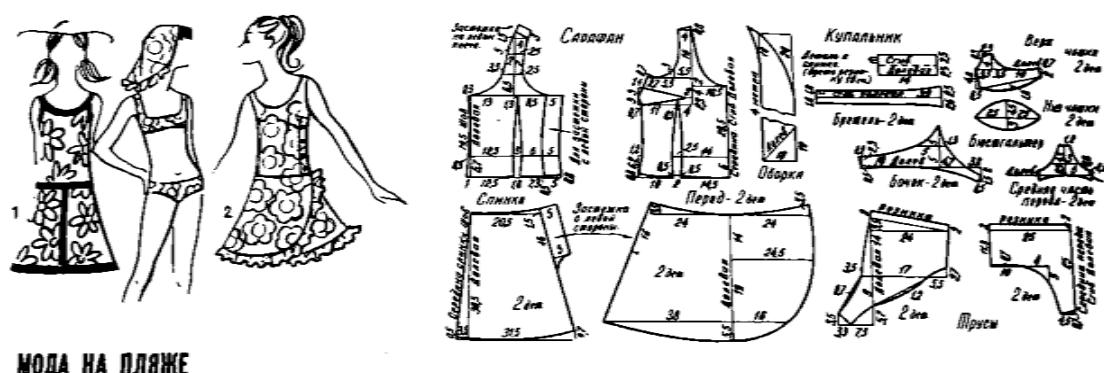
³⁵¹ *K Chernomu moriu*, 57:00-58:16.

³⁵² *Inostrantsy. Kinofel'eton*, dir. by E. Zmoiro (1961).

fashionable in the USSR was almost entirely informed by trends from the West, such as mini- and maxi-skirts.³⁵³ Another example is the turtleneck, which was worn by the smuggler in *Diamond Arm*, who plays the role of a stylish tourist and a fashion model.³⁵⁴



Figure 23: 'Beach ensembles and *mini-kini*'s.'
Source: *Brilliantovaia ruka*, 40:17.



pocket as he leaves work.³⁵⁵ Viktor reappears wearing the sunglasses while strolling through a southern town, accompanied by the soundtrack's song 'The South', by which time he has fully assumed the role of the tourist.³⁵⁶

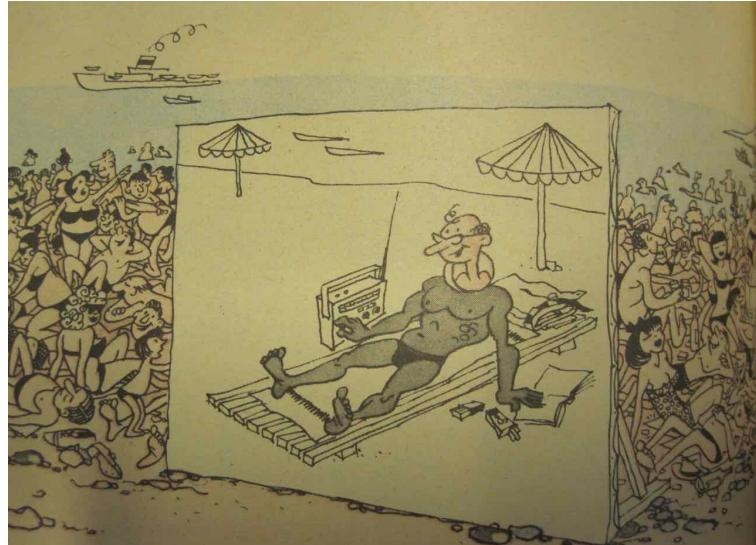


Figure 25: 'A project of *Krokodil*'s photographic department on the southern coast of Crimea.'
Source: *Krokodil*, 27 (1970), p. 8.

Souvenirs are important props for the tourist-raconteur because they are metonymic objects and the starting point for a narrative.³⁵⁷ A lady made an album of her own photographs from a visit to Kostroma in the mid-1980s.³⁵⁸ This is a typical prop for the raconteur's narrative, and has a special value because it connects to an individual's biography.³⁵⁹ She also purchased a rose made of birch bark using traditional skills, which she still has at home, and she contrasted her souvenir of Kostroma with the contemporary gold and silver souvenirs made in Kostroma's jewellery factories.³⁶⁰ Her son chose a picture of the Ipat'ev Monastery, which is a means of bringing a miniature representation of an exterior view into the private domestic space.³⁶¹

³⁵⁵ *Byd'te moim muzhem*, 2:40-2:53.

³⁵⁶ *Byd'te moim muzhem*, 5:24-6:00.

³⁵⁷ S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 135-136.

³⁵⁸ G3/1.

³⁵⁹ Stewart, p. 139.

³⁶⁰ G3/1.

³⁶¹ G3/1; Stewart, pp. 137-38.

The tour guide

The local tour guide (*ekskursovod*) had a particularly important place in the performance of Soviet tourism for organised tourists (Figure 26). The *ekskursovod*'s role can be distinguished from that of the group escort (*soprovozhdaushchii gruppy* or *gruppovod*), who accompanied groups throughout their tour and had a lower status than the tour guide in Soviet times.³⁶² In *Diamond Arm* two people escort a Soviet tour group's excursion: a Russian-speaking tour guide who narrates the townscape; and a Soviet group escort who tells the tourists to keep up with the group and when to return to the ship.³⁶³ This hierarchy reflects the *ekskursovod*'s standing as a trained expert, whereas the group escort was needed merely to accompany the group around the tour route, with the main logistics work being carried out by other parts of the Soviet tourism infrastructure.



Figure 26: 'Liudmila Shpakova leads an excursion.'
Source: 'Gorod u azovskogo moria', *Turist*, 1976:10, p. 15.

VTsSPS organised a system of professional training for tour guides.³⁶⁴ In the Kostroma STE, which was founded in the mid-1960s, the role of the methodologist (*metodist*) was to prepare a cadre of tour guides.³⁶⁵ Many guides were freelance rather than permanent guides, including teachers and librarians who took the role of guides when needed for

³⁶² G1/1.

³⁶³ *Brilliantovaia ruka*, 10:45-13:16.

³⁶⁴ B. V. Emel'ianov, *Professional'noe masterstvo ekskursovoda* (Moscow: 1986), pp. 78-79.

³⁶⁵ G2/5.

the summer tourist season; museum workers also helped out.³⁶⁶ The guides were trained during the winter in a series of lectures, followed by practical tests and exams.³⁶⁷ Specialist publications helped the tour guides to broaden their knowledge, and included the ‘Roads to the Beautiful’ (Dorogi k prekrasnomu) series of guidebooks, commonly known as the ‘yellow series’ (Figure 27).³⁶⁸

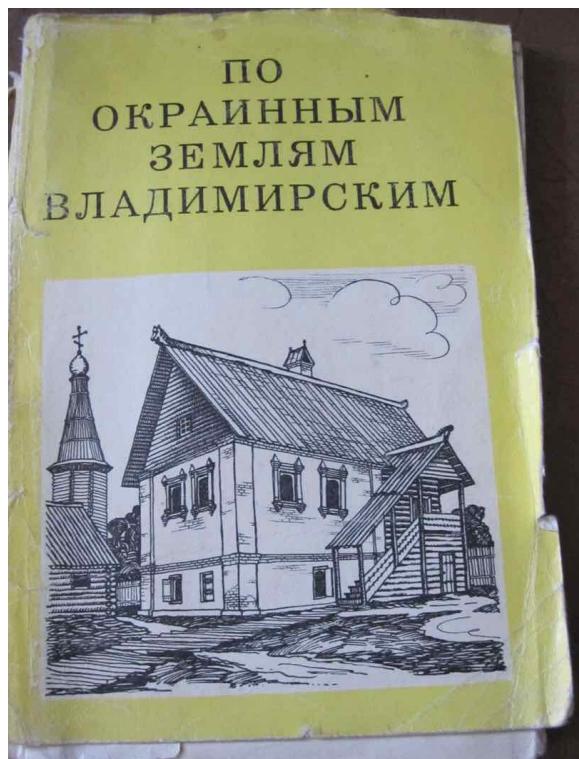


Figure 27: A ‘yellow series’ guidebook.
Source: Tits, *Po okrainnym zemliam vladimirskim*.

A tour guide, who had previously worked in the theatre, connected working on an excursion with being assigned a role and costume to appear on stage.³⁶⁹ At this time, she said, excursions were regarded as mini-shows (*mini-spektakli*) by one performer, and had different themes, such as history, the Revolution, nature or art history.³⁷⁰ As Brown pointed out, in settings like the street, there is no backstage for the actor in the one-man

³⁶⁶ G2/5.

³⁶⁷ G2/5.

³⁶⁸ G2/4; A. A. Tits, *Po okrainnym zemliam vladimirskim* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1969).

³⁶⁹ G2/6.

³⁷⁰ G2/6.

show to retreat to for support.³⁷¹ The tour guides had to cope with whatever happened during their allotted time with their group.

The tour guides delivered an authoritative discourse as they narrated the environment through which their groups travelled. A Soviet tourist recounted her experience: ‘The guide said, “Look left. Long ago there was …”, and it was always very interesting’.³⁷² To a tour guide, the group tourist’s role was easy: ‘You don’t need to think about anything. They take you around, they show you things, and they feed you’.³⁷³ This comment echoes the Western distinction between active, literate travellers and passive tourists.³⁷⁴ The Soviet system of group tours along prescribed routes suggests that group tourists were passive participants. However, from the tour guide’s perspective, audiences varied.³⁷⁵ One tour guide described a tour group with which she connected well as ‘my audience’.³⁷⁶



Figure 28: The weaving room at the Museum of Wooden Architecture and Peasant Life, Suzdal
Source: *Seriia otkrytok “Suzdal”*.

³⁷¹ Brown, p. 158.

³⁷² G3/4.

³⁷³ G1/1.

³⁷⁴ S. Baranowski and E. Furlough, ‘Introduction’, in *Being Elsewhere*, ed. by Baranowski and Furlough, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ G2/3; G2/4; G2/5; G2/6.

³⁷⁶ G2/4.

Just as tourists needed props and costumes, the hosts' roles can also involve these items, particularly when tourism has a significant performative element, such as activities of the genre 'bringing history to life' or re-enactments (Figure 28). Staff at Kostroma's museum-reserve in the 1970s recalled the special occasions when they wore old peasant costumes from the museum's collection and later the peasant costumes, which they had sewn themselves.³⁷⁷ A tour guide remembered dressing to suit the theme of her tours.³⁷⁸ For tours to Krasnoe-na-Volge, a jewellery and arts and crafts centre downstream from Kostroma, she wore something with lace or embroidery and local costume jewellery.³⁷⁹ A worker in the restaurant *Suzdal*, famed for practicing 'culinary archaeology', was pictured in the *Turist* magazine entertaining tourists while wearing an embroidered cap and apron.³⁸⁰ These activities connect the key themes of this chapter: reality, hyperreality and simulacrum; and performance and staging.

Looking the part was important for tour guides in late socialism. Just as there were boundaries concerning what a tour guide could say, their appearance was also regulated and monitored. One tour guide, who was interested in fashion, remembered her disappointment that trousers were not permitted attire for female tour guides in Kostroma in the late 1960s.³⁸¹ A male informant cited his long hair, inspired by *The Three Musketeers* and completely unacceptable for a Soviet tour guide, as one reason why he did not work as a tour guide during the Soviet era.³⁸²

One tour guide mentioned the loud speaker, a typical tour guide prop especially when dealing with a large crowd of tourists.³⁸³ She also recalled being called by the nickname 'loud hailer' (*matiugal'nik*), a colloquial expression suggesting the power relations in the group by invoking military commanders' use of this device to control their subordinates.³⁸⁴ This also suggests the pedagogical role of the tour guide dispensing knowledge to her group.

³⁷⁷ G2/1; G2/3.

³⁷⁸ G2/6.

³⁷⁹ G2/6.

³⁸⁰ 'Suzdal': *dobro pozhalovat'!*, *Turist*, 1968:4, pp. 9, 12. The 'culinary archaeology' involved reconstructing 136 Russian dishes from information from archives and local people.

³⁸¹ G2/6.

³⁸² G1/1.

³⁸³ G2/5.

³⁸⁴ G2/5.

Tourism as metaphor

As an activity tourism can have its own cultural meanings, but the performance of tourism can also be used to produce further meanings about a different aspect of culture in the period of late socialism. Arguably, tourism can be read as a metaphor for something else. Given that Brown argued that metaphors are chosen intentionally in order to be intelligible, tourism was sufficiently understood as a cultural practice in the period of late socialism in order for it to be chosen as a metaphor.³⁸⁵

Utopia



Figure 29: 'The tourist route "Along untrodden paths".'

Source: *Krokodil*, 24 (1959), back cover.

³⁸⁵ Brown, p. 82.

This cartoon can be examined on two levels: as a satire on the practice of tourism; and the further meanings that it holds. In Yurchak's study of a period after this cartoon was published, he described a 'genre of absurd irony', in which 'the meanings of Soviet life were reinterpreted and displaced from within'.³⁸⁶ In this cartoon the tourist utopia can be reinterpreted as suggesting meanings about the Soviet project and the utopia of communism.

The satire focuses on the duping of three tourists at the Black Sea Coast, who are fooled by tourism as a mass production and are oblivious to the performance of tourism in its manufactured setting. The cartoon's 'untrodden path' covering the road is both pristine and temporary. They are also duped by the paradox of the route of the 'untrodden path', one of VTsSPS's official itineraries but labelled as 'undiscovered'.³⁸⁷ This paradox is not unique to Soviet tourism and Löfgren cites similar examples from Western tourism dating back to the 1850s.³⁸⁸

Photographers record the VIP tourists' arrival, signifying and celebrating their importance, and piles of fruit, benches and sofas denote abundance and luxury. The three tourists are attended by at least twenty people. This is ironic given that queues for overcrowded canteens and restaurants were the norm for independent tourists at the Black Sea Coast.³⁸⁹ The tourist utopia is shown as temporary and faked for a few. This reflects the importance of rituals and the performative aspects of authoritative discourse in late socialism.³⁹⁰ It echoes the theatricality of the lives led by the Russian gentry in the eighteenth century, and specifically the Potemkin villages made for Catherine the Great's journey from St Petersburg in the late eighteenth century, which Dixon described as an 'elaborate show' in which the empress starred.³⁹¹ Another parallel is the

³⁸⁶ Yurchak, pp. 31, 290.

³⁸⁷ E.g. VTsSPS, *Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i turistskie ekskursiam. Turistskie marshruty* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1974).

³⁸⁸ Löfgren, pp. 39, 182-184.

³⁸⁹ C. Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist. Planned and "Wild" Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast', in *Turizm*, ed. by Gorsuch and Koenker, p. 296.

³⁹⁰ Yurchak, p. 37; Stites, p. 149.

³⁹¹ Lotman, 'The Poetics of Everyday Behaviour', p. 68; Dixon, p. 286.

1851 performance of the Volga landscape using the Chernetsov brothers' panoramic painting.³⁹²

The cartoon pokes fun at the tourists' good humour as they gaily sing the 1925 song, 'Budennyi's cavalry' (Konnaia Budennogo) (Figure 30).³⁹³ However, the tourists are unable to enjoy the pleasures of the improvised route suggested by de Certeau, because, like actors following the script, they have to follow the sole prescribed path forwards.³⁹⁴ The 1960s was characterised by enthusiasm, good humour and official slogans of an even more beautiful life in the future.³⁹⁵ This cartoon reflects that mood but also satirises it.



Figure 30: 'No one takes the path we travel!...'.
Source: *Krokodil*, 24 (1959), back cover.

The cartoon's depiction of tourism is a metaphor for the Soviet project in late socialism. Just as tourism involves the use of imagination, the Soviet project embodied a journey to the imaginary utopian 'elsewhere' of communism. The cartoon's publication in August 1959 followed the extraordinary XXI Congress of the KPSS held early in 1959,

³⁹² Chernetsov, p. 8.

³⁹³ 'Konnaia Budennogo', words by N. Aseev, 1925 <<http://www.sovmusic.ru/text.php?fname=konnaya>> [accessed on 19 July 2014].

³⁹⁴ de Certeau, p. 98.

³⁹⁵ P. Vail' and A. Genis, *60-e: Mir sovetskogo cheloveka* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 1998), p. 142.

at which Khrushchev responded to a Chinese challenge to the USSR's position as the vanguard state in the communist bloc and to his position as the foremost communist leader.³⁹⁶ The deterioration in the Soviet relationship with China was partly caused by the de-Stalinisation process started in 1956, which threatened to undermine Mao Zedong's leadership.³⁹⁷ In May 1958 Mao announced the Great Leap Forward, which he claimed would result in the People's Republic of China entering communism before the USSR.³⁹⁸ Despite Mao's later retreat from that claim, Khrushchev had already moved to reassert the USSR's leading position by stating that the Soviet Union was at the stage of the 'full-scale construction of communism', and on the path to reaching communism within one generation.³⁹⁹ While the doctor in the cartoon checks the tourists' health, which suggests a note of caution, the optimistic mood prevails.

In the metaphorical reading of the cartoon the tourists symbolise Soviet society optimistically marching forward on a path that no one has trodden, which is a reference to the resurgent USSR forging ahead of the communist bloc. There are no obstacles on the tourists' path, which reflects Khrushchev's assertion that there was a direct continuation between the present stage and the goal.⁴⁰⁰ Communism, symbolised by the welcoming hosts, is waiting just around the corner.

The ideological concept of communism has been given a tangible form in the cartoon, reflecting the political rhetoric. The communist utopia is depicted as a paradise of sunshine, luxuriant vegetation, plenty and gaiety, which conforms to Khrushchev's vision of communism's conditions of 'material superabundance'.⁴⁰¹ The overflowing urns recall the abundance on display at VDNKh, both in the displays inside the pavilions and in the sculptured horns of plenty outside, where the Circular cine-panorama also puts on a performance of tourism.

³⁹⁶ J. M. Gilison, *The Soviet Image of Utopia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 5-6.

³⁹⁷ L. M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 47-48.

³⁹⁸ Lüthi, p. 90.

³⁹⁹ Lüthi, p. 108; Gilison, pp. 9, 61.

⁴⁰⁰ Gilison, p. 62.

⁴⁰¹ Gilison, p. 7.

Soviet scholars debated the new social conditions under communism and the characteristics of the ‘new communist man’.⁴⁰² Some saw this figure as being ‘perpetually “on the go”, always striving towards a new goal’.⁴⁰³ In the new conditions of material superabundance, achieved through more automation, working hours were expected to reduce and holidays lengthen and, according to one commentator, people would become ‘habitual tourists’.⁴⁰⁴ The cartoon’s energetic active tourists are suitable symbols for ‘new communist man’.

The metaphorical reading of this cartoon was topical when it was published in 1959. However, following Khrushchev’s replacement by Brezhnev in 1964, the political rhetoric changed such that the transitional stage of development took centre stage and the communist utopia once again became a distant goal.⁴⁰⁵ The mood and political meanings captured in the cartoon evaporated, leaving the cartoon as primarily a satirical comment on the practice of tourism, but linked to a particular, brief period of Soviet history.

Russian nationalism

The 1972 film *Happy-Go-Lucky* (*Pechki-lavochki*) shows that the allotted roles of the tourist could be rejected and that Soviet tourism as a phenomenon and part of Soviet modernity could be exposed and satirised.⁴⁰⁶ Y. M. Brudny describes the film’s director and star, Vasilii Shukshin, as a ‘leading conservative village prose writer’ and Russian nationalist, whose work contained anti-urban and anti-intellectual aspects.⁴⁰⁷ The depiction of tourism in *Happy-Go-Lucky* can be interpreted as a means to promote Russian nationalism. The emergence of Russian nationalism as a significant force in Soviet society in the mid-1970s has been attributed to various factors including the new policies on national cultures, and discontent among the newly-urbanised Russian intelligentsia.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰² Gilison, pp. 165-81.

⁴⁰³ Gilison, p. 169.

⁴⁰⁴ Gilison, p. 146.

⁴⁰⁵ Gilison, p. 183.

⁴⁰⁶ *Pechki-lavochki*, dir. by V. Shukshin (Tsentral’naia kinostudiia detskikh i iunosheskikh fil’mov imeni M. Gor’kogo, 1972).

⁴⁰⁷ Y. M. Brudny, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 54, 152.

⁴⁰⁸ Brudny, pp. 30, 42, 46.

The film focuses on Ivan and his wife Niura, who seem unprepared for their journey via Moscow to a sanatorium in the south and for the world outside their kolkhoz. Other than as raconteurs (one of Ivan's natural skills), they are ignorant of their role as tourists.⁴⁰⁹ Only Ivan has a travel pass to the sanatorium but he assumes that Niura will sleep in his room, at which the sanatorium's doctor seems genuinely surprised, uttering 'Really?' and 'Remarkable!'⁴¹⁰ This also points to the absurdity of the Soviet system of tourism, because it seems natural to Ivan that his wife has come with him and they had even debated bringing their children too.⁴¹¹

Niura's obvious delight in bathing in the warm water of the Black Sea is marred by being splashed by others from the crowded beach, leading to a feeling of disappointment.⁴¹² Ivan comments that he could rest by going fishing instead of at a sanatorium, suggesting that he would be content to escape 'elsewhere' in terms of not working, rather than in a spatial sense.⁴¹³ Not only are the couple ignorant of their roles as tourists and disillusioned with their tourist experience, but they are shown to reject the idea of tourism, particularly the Soviet sanatorium system.

The film uses tourism as a means to explore Russian nationalism through the promotion of traditional Russian rural life and the explicit rejection of Western influences. The opening section of the film shows the expansive Russian countryside, the close-knit riverside community, and traditional Russian singing and dancing. Ivan spontaneously dances a traditional dance to the sound of Russian folk music when they finally arrive at the sanatorium.⁴¹⁴ The cuts to scenes of the village community during the film suggest that home is where the couple are happiest.⁴¹⁵ There seems to be no need for them to escape 'elsewhere' through tourism.

On the bus from home to the station, a young woman offers Niura a pair of sunglasses, a

⁴⁰⁹ *Pechki-lavochki*, 21:26-22:36; 1:09:15-1:10:10; 1:27:13-1:27:40.

⁴¹⁰ *Pechki-lavochki*, 1:28:26-1:29:55.

⁴¹¹ *Pechki-lavochki*, 7:30-8:25.

⁴¹² *Pechki-lavochki*, 1:34:36-1:34:43.

⁴¹³ *Pechki-lavochki*, 7:45-8:01.

⁴¹⁴ *Pechki-lavochki*, 1:27:52-1:28:25.

⁴¹⁵ *Pechki-lavochki*, 1:16:20-1:16:50, 1:26:09-1:27:12.

key tourist prop, but Niura quickly hands them back.⁴¹⁶ This appears to be a rejection of Western influences on Soviet tourists and the idea of tourism in general. Later, Ivan tries on a comic pair of sunglasses with windscreen wipers, ‘made in the USA’, which make tourism seem ridiculous, an activity for ‘others’ (Figure 31).⁴¹⁷ Looking beyond tourism practices, the film can also be interpreted as a rejection of wider Western influences, not just of the authentic Western clothing prized by some sections of the Soviet population at this time.⁴¹⁸



Figure 31: Sunglasses ‘made in the USA’.
Source: *Pechki-lavochki*, 1:11:15.

Finally, the circular nature of the tourist’s journey has been used to convey the nationalist message. Unlike the Russian nationalist intellectuals themselves, most of whom were part of the post-war urbanisation of the Soviet population, the tourists in *Happy-Go-Lucky* were only temporary visitors to Moscow and the southern resort town, and remained rooted in their native countryside.⁴¹⁹ The natural conclusion of Ivan and Niura’s journey as tourists – the return home to the countryside – symbolises a return to traditional Russian culture.

⁴¹⁶ *Pechki-lavochki*, 18:03-18:28.

⁴¹⁷ *Pechki-lavochki*, 1:11:12-1:11:29.

⁴¹⁸ Yurchak, pp. 195-96.

⁴¹⁹ Most Russian nationalist intellectuals in the period of late socialism (64%) were born in the countryside or small, rural towns and moved to cities in their late teens or early twenties. See Brudny, pp. 35, 37.

Cultural invasion

The short film *Castles on the Sand* (*Zamki na peske*) stars a local Kyrgyz boy, who is wholly absorbed in the creation of sandcastles, a fantasy world in miniature, on the shore of the Issyk Kul, a popular tourist destination (Figure 32).⁴²⁰ This film can be read as a metaphor for the confrontation between the Kyrgyz and implanted Soviet cultures, as G. Abikeeva suggests.⁴²¹ Specifically, the figure of the tourist can be seen as a metaphor for an agent for the imposition of Soviet culture. According to Abikeeva, the film's metaphorical character was not recognised when it was made, because the boy was not seen as representing Kyrgyz culture.



Figure 32: The Kyrgyz boy makes sandcastles.

Source: *Zamki na peske*, 8:22.

The film's setting is a beach, which is a liminal location suggesting a boundary zone of conflict. The beach is also liminal in terms of social conventions and, according to R. Shields, a site for the Bakhtinian 'carnival' with free association between all groups.⁴²² The invasion by large numbers of Soviet tourists has turned the boy's space for creation at the water's edge, a metaphor for the Kyrgyz people's homeland, into a Soviet space. Children and scantily clad adults enact this invasion and cultural confrontation while

⁴²⁰ *Zamki na peske*, dir. by Ia. Bronshtein and A. Vidugiris (Kirgizfil'm, 1967).

⁴²¹ G. Abikeeva, 'Central Asian Documentary Films of the Soviet Era as a Factor in the Formation of National Identity', *KinoKultura*, 24 (2009) <<http://www.kinokultura.G.com/2009/24-abikeeva.shtml>> [accessed on 26 August 2014].

⁴²² R. Shields, 'The "System of Pleasure": Liminality and the Carnivalesque at Brighton', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7:1 (1990), pp. 50-52.

they laugh and have fun. A grinning blonde girl maliciously destroys the boy's castles, and he is displaced so that tourists can photograph his creations without him 'spoiling' their picture.⁴²³ The boy has become an intruder into 'their' beach or the 'other' in their Soviet world. This echoes the Western view of the tourist destinations as exotic and local people as 'other', which post-colonial theory has challenged.⁴²⁴



Figure 33: The boy waits for the waves.

Source: *Zamki na peske*, 16:17.

The types of sandcastles made by representatives of each culture are another illustration of the cultural confrontation. The boy makes original work, whose creative value is affirmed by a visiting painter, a fellow artist.⁴²⁵ In contrast, the unimaginative Soviet tourists make imitations in sand, such as a pyramid and Khrushchev era blocks (*khrushchoby*), prefabricated in buckets like Benjamin's mechanical reproductions of works of art.⁴²⁶ The Khrushchev era blocks are a symbol of Soviet homogeneity, as featured in the 1975 film *The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!* (*Ironiia sud'by, ili s legkim parom!*).⁴²⁷ The solid Soviet constructions have an air of permanence compared to the Krygyz boy's fragile artworks, suggesting a possible outcome of the cultural

⁴²³ *Zamki na peske*, 7:33-7:52; 13:31-14:06.

⁴²⁴ C. Aitchison, N. E. Macleod and S. J. Shaw, *Leisure and tourism landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 17.

⁴²⁵ *Zamki na peske*, 14:26-14:42.

⁴²⁶ *Zamki na peske*, 14:49-16:34; Benjamin, *The Work of Art*, p. 2.

⁴²⁷ *Ironiia sud'by, ili s legkim parom!*, dir. by E. Riazanov (Mosfil'm, 1975).

confrontation. However, the waves destroy the tourists' work, leaving no trace (Figure 33).⁴²⁸

The cleansing of the beach is opposite to the situation in the Strugatskii brothers' novel, *Roadside Picnic*, in which the items left by the visitors after their visit to Earth prevail.⁴²⁹ Yurchak comments that the Strugatskii brothers intended this work to be a metaphor of late Soviet reality, and that the picnic site ('the Zone') was only an imaginary idea, within reach but yet unattainable, and sustained through hopes and dreams.⁴³⁰ In contrast, *Castles on the Sand* can be interpreted as being confident that the Soviet culture implanted on Kyrgyz lands will be swept away, just as nature cleanses the beach of the Issyk Kul.

⁴²⁸ *Zamki na peske*, 6:10-7:52; 16:15-16:35.

⁴²⁹ Strugatskie.

⁴³⁰ Yurchak, pp. 160-61.

Chapter 3: The Golden Ring: A New Setting for Tourism

The Golden Ring in context

Despite its association with Ancient Rus, the Golden Ring was a name invented during late socialism by the journalist, Iuri Bychkov, for a circular route he devised linking Moscow with eight main towns, including Kostroma.⁴³¹ Bychkov and a small group of journalists visited these towns in November 1967 for a series of articles published later that year in *Sovetskaia kul'tura* (hereafter *SK*).⁴³² These articles in *SK* are similar to the ‘sacred texts’ found in the history of tourism, which were written by travellers and led tourists to follow in their footsteps.⁴³³

The association of the Golden Ring with tourism was clear from the start, because the first of the articles in *SK* was headlined as an invitation to travel (Figure 34).⁴³⁴ In his very first sentence about the Golden Ring, Bychkov called it a ‘motoring-ring’ (*avtokol'tso*).⁴³⁵ Somewhat surprisingly, the sole picture accompanying the article shows an industrial landscape to escape from, rather than the delights in store for the traveller, and suggests river rather than road transport. The map contains two seemingly contradictory images: an Orthodox, onion dome, church cupola symbolising Ancient Rus, and an electricity pylon, a metaphor for Soviet modernity. Such images are associated with the dual aspects of the identities of the Golden Ring towns as a *gorod-muzei* (lit. town-museum) and a modern Soviet town.

⁴³¹ ‘Na Zolotom kol’tse sideli …’, *Strana*, 8 July 2011 <<http://strana.ru/journal/2644154>> [accessed on 29 November 2013].

⁴³² Iu. Bychkov, A. Fomin and V. Zhegis, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso po starym russkim rogodam’, *SK*, 21 November 1967, p. 2; Iu. Bychkov and A. Fomin, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso: Staroe i novoe’, *SK*, 25 November 1967, p. 2; V. Zhegis and A. Fomin, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso: Novaia vstrecha s Berendeevym tsarstvom’, *SK*, 30 November 1967, p. 2; Iu. Bychkov and A. Fomin, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso: Nakhodka v Ugol’skom’, *SK*, 5 December 1967, p. 2; Iu. Bychkov and A. Fomin, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso: Osushestvimaia mechta’, *SK*, 12 December 1967, p. 2.

⁴³³ F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of The Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 18-19.

⁴³⁴ Bychkov, Fomin and Zhegis, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso po starym russkim rogodam’, p. 2.

⁴³⁵ Bychkov, Fomin and Zhegis, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso po starym russkim rogodam’, p. 2.



Figure 34: Iuri Bychkov's first article on the Golden Ring.

Source: Bychkov, Fomin and Zhegis, 'Zolotoe kol'tso po starym russkim rogom', p. 2.

Simultaneously, the name 'Golden Ring' was adopted in the project, led by the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments (Vserossiiskoe obshchestvo okhrany pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury, hereafter VOOPIK), to create a circular tourist route from Moscow and around the towns of Ancient Rus, traversing five oblasts.⁴³⁶ The establishment of the Golden Ring was described as being a response at the RSFSR level to the stimulus provided by the 30 May 1969 resolution of the Central Committee of the KPSS to develop tourism.⁴³⁷ The work on the Golden Ring also took place during the lead-up to the centenary of Lenin's birth in 1970, which was a major focus for the leadership of the domestic tourism industry.⁴³⁸

Of course, the Golden Ring was not the start of cultural tourism to the individual towns on this tourist route. However, the creation of the Golden Ring route, which became VTsSPS's itinerary number 401 for groups of domestic tourists, prepared a multi-purpose setting for mass tourism.⁴³⁹ It served as a destination for visits by both foreign and domestic tourists and by organised groups or independent tourists. The route could be

⁴³⁶ Reference to decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of VOOPIK dated 30 November 1967, '*O podgotovke predlozenii po turisticheckomu marshrutu po gorodam Vladimirskoi, Jaroslavlskoi, Ivanovskoi i Kostromskoi oblastei / "Zolotoe kol'tso"// Protokol No. 12*', GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 165.

⁴³⁷ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 90-91; Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS, Soviet Ministrov SSSR and VTsSPS, *Postanovlenie ot 30 maia 1969 g. N411, 'O merakh po dal'neishemu razvitiu turizma i ekskursii v strane'*.

⁴³⁸ GARF, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 1272, ll. 216-18.

⁴³⁹ VTsSPS, *Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiam. Turistskie marshruty* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1974), p. 4.

used in a flexible way for short excursions or for longer tours, up to those around the entire Ring, however defined.

Monumentalism was characteristic of the Brezhnev era.⁴⁴⁰ Bychkov described the Golden Ring as 2,000 kilometres long, but its length varies with different definitions of the route.⁴⁴¹ Arguably, for Soviet tourism, this project was analogous to the 4,234 kilometre Baikal-Amur Mainline Railway (Baikalo-Amurskaia magistral', hereafter BAM), which C. J. Ward describes as the 'last example of Soviet "gigantomania"'.⁴⁴² Unlike the Golden Ring project, the BAM received a substantial allocation of state resources: fifteen to twenty billion US dollars is the scholarly consensus.⁴⁴³ However, the BAM did not reach any of its stated goals during the Soviet era and was finally completed in 2003.⁴⁴⁴

During the post-war Stalinist period, domestic tourism was used to reinforce Soviet patriotic identity, with Moscow as its particular focus.⁴⁴⁵ A delegate to the conference on the Golden Ring for VOOPIK's archaeological and historical sections in December 1968 called for top priority to be given to the preservation of monuments in Moscow, 'the most valuable star in this Ring'.⁴⁴⁶ The post-war preference for tourism to Moscow continued for a time into the Khrushchev era, but the periphery gradually rose in importance.⁴⁴⁷ The Golden Ring itinerary combined traditional tourism to the capital with touring, a popular new form of tourism.

A high density of tourist attractions and the ability to create a convenient tour thereof are attractive features in creating tourist itineraries. B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argued that tourism organises travel in order to minimise the 'dead space between high points' and

⁴⁴⁰ R. Stites, *Soviet Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 149.

⁴⁴¹ Iu. Bychkov and V. Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', SK, 31 July 1969, p. 2. The Golden Ring is described as approximately 1,500 kms long in a draft resolution of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, see GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 92; and 719 kms in Gosudarstvennyi komitet SSSR po inostrannomu turizmu, glavnoe upravlenie propagandy i informatsii, *Opisanie avtomarshrutka "Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii": V pomoshch' gidam-perevodchikam* (Moscow: 1988), p. 5.

⁴⁴² C. J. Ward, *Brezhnev's Folly: The Building of BAM and Late Soviet Socialism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), pp. 2, 6.

⁴⁴³ Ward, pp. 2, 7.

⁴⁴⁴ Ward, pp. 152, 156.

⁴⁴⁵ A. E. Gorsuch, "'There's No Place like Home': Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism", *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), p. 761.

⁴⁴⁶ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 69.

⁴⁴⁷ Gorsuch, "'There's No Place like Home'", pp. 772, 775.

that museums offer a high-density of tourist experience within a small space.⁴⁴⁸ Developing the Golden Ring offered the opportunity to create a convenient and attractive new tourist itinerary situated around Moscow, which was both its starting point and ultimate destination. As Soviet transportation was also Moscow-centric, this reduced some logistical difficulties in creating a new route for mass tourism.⁴⁴⁹ For example, an informant for this project travelled from his home in the south Urals to Moscow by plane and then continued by train to Rostov Velikii, the base for his holiday in the Golden Ring in 1987.⁴⁵⁰ In addition, Moscow residents were a source of tourists for the Golden Ring. According to one tour guide, the Golden Ring will survive as long as Moscow exists, because its inhabitants can endlessly fill the tour buses.⁴⁵¹



Figure 35: Part of a drawing of the Golden Ring.
Source: Popadeikin and Strukov, *Zolotoe kol'tso*, inside front cover.

Bychkov's invitation to travel in his November 1967 article on the Golden Ring was aimed at Soviet citizens and came shortly after Moscow's workers had moved to a five-day working week, and in advance of such a change for all Soviet workers and the lengthening of their annual holidays.⁴⁵² Bychkov's second article in *SK*, presumably

⁴⁴⁸ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 7.

⁴⁴⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 26.

⁴⁵⁰ G3/3.

⁴⁵¹ G1/1.

⁴⁵² Bychkov, Fomin and Zhegis, 'Zolotoe kol'tso po starym russkim rogodam', p. 2; 'Moscow Shifts to the Five-day Week', *Pravda*, 19 July 1967, p. 3, trans. in *CDSP*, 19:29, 9 August 1967, p. 25; V. I. Azar, *Otdykh trudiashchikhsia SSSR* (Moscow: Statistika 1972), pp. 7-8.

aimed at Moscow residents rather than Soviet citizens in general, stated: ‘We dare to assert that the tourist train to Vladimir and Suzdal is the best alternative for the sensible and rewarding use of the two non-working days gained recently.’⁴⁵³

In a speech in 1968 the President of the Commission on the study and founding of the Golden Ring, P. Reviakin, stated that, given examples in other countries, a new contemporary tourist industry in the RSFSR would bring very significant benefits to the RSFSR and national economies.⁴⁵⁴ The Golden Ring was created primarily as a tourist route for foreign tourists and aimed to earn foreign currency, which is similar to the BAM’s goal of facilitating foreign currency earnings from the export of Soviet raw materials to Asia.⁴⁵⁵ However, the number of tourists from capitalist countries visiting the USSR in late socialism was low: only 610,000 in 1965, and 735,000 in 1970.⁴⁵⁶ During the 1970s, some Soviet economists attempted to demonstrate the value of the non-productive service sector (including tourism), but the military industrial complex remained the national priority.⁴⁵⁷

In addition to their economic value, foreign tourists had propaganda value because they could see the Soviet way of life themselves.⁴⁵⁸ However, the orientation of the route towards foreign tourists seems to have been a concern to some delegates at the VOOPIK conference in 1968. One commented that ‘we know nothing about the foreigners who will arrive’.⁴⁵⁹ Inturist, which was responsible for foreign tourists visiting the USSR, was not involved in this conference.

The XXII Olympiad was awarded to Moscow in 1974, after the creation of the Golden Ring.⁴⁶⁰ This enabled the association of these two large brands: the domestic or Russian Golden Ring and the international Olympic Games (Figures 36 and 37). Like the 6th International Festival of Youth and Students in 1957, the Olympiad was an unusual event

⁴⁵³ Bychkov and Fomin, ‘Zolotoe kol’tso: Staroe i novoe’, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁴ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 27.

⁴⁵⁵ G2/4; GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 196; Ward, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁵⁶ V. E. Bagdasarian, I. B. Orlov, I. I. Shnaidgen, A. A. Fedulin and K. A. Mazin, *Sovetskoe zazerkal’e: Inostrannyi turizm v SSSR v 1930-1980-e gody* (Moscow: Forum, 2007), p. 94.

⁴⁵⁷ Bagdasarian, Orlov, Shnaidgen, Fedulin and Mazin, p. 95; T. Crump, *Brezhnev and the Decline of the Soviet Union* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 88.

⁴⁵⁸ V. V. Dvornichenko, *Razvitiye turizma v SSSR (1917-1983 gg.)*, (Moscow: Turist, 1985), p. 62.

⁴⁵⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 73.

⁴⁶⁰ ‘Moscow Chosen for 1980 Olympic Games’, *The Times*, 24 October 1974, p. 1.

because it brought together large numbers of Soviet and foreign participants and visitors to Moscow in a coalescence of domestic and inbound international tourism. There were over 211,000 foreigners and approximately 400,000 Soviet visitors to the Moscow Olympiad, which was described as the main tourist event in the USSR's history.⁴⁶¹



Figure 36: Ancient Rus in a relief at the Concert Hall, Izmailovo, Moscow, built for the 1980 Olympiad.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

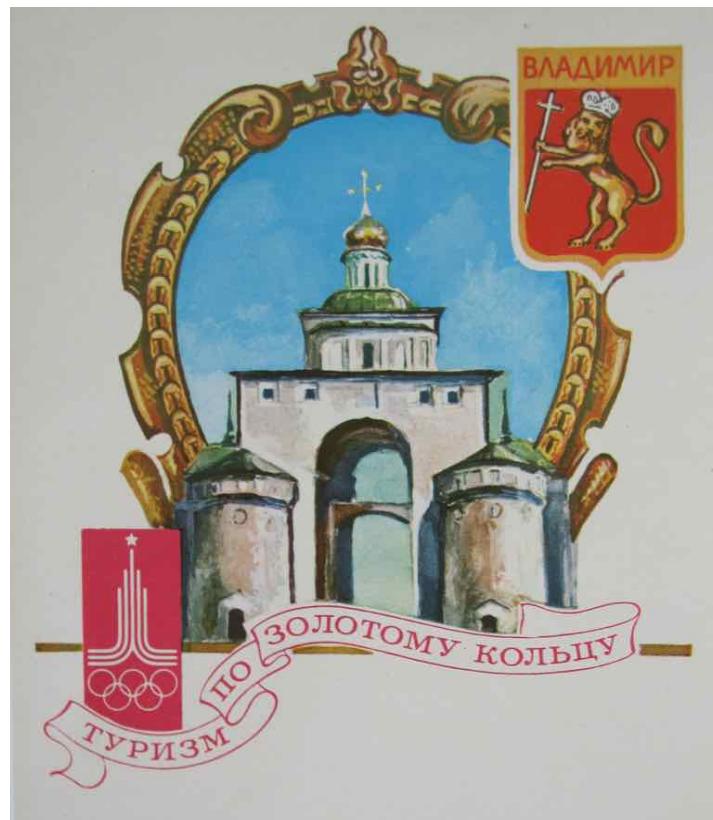


Figure 37: Postcard of Vladimir.
Source: Ministerstvo sviazi: 1977.

⁴⁶¹ A. A. Ivanov, *Istoriia rossiiskogo turizma (IX-XX vv.)* (Moscow: Forum, 2011), pp. 261-62.

Preservation

As mentioned above, the development of the Golden Ring route was initially led by VOOPIK, establishing a clear link with heritage preservation. According to W. C. Brumfield, most architectural preservation in Russia had stopped at the time of the Revolution.⁴⁶² However, during and after the Great Patriotic War preservation of the cultural heritage was linked to national pride.⁴⁶³ C. Kelly characterises the year 1965 as a ‘turning point’ in preservation, when VOOPIK was founded as a voluntary organisation with strong links with the establishment.⁴⁶⁴ The creation of an institution devoted to heritage preservation was, Y. M. Brudny argues, the ‘first public priority’ of the Russian nationalist movement in the Brezhnev era.⁴⁶⁵ VOOPIK’s main tasks were to promote the idea of heritage preservation, including organising exhibitions and school trips to monuments, and thereby to stimulate Soviet patriotism.⁴⁶⁶ Somewhat counter-intuitively, the organisation was given the leading role in the creation of the Golden Ring tourist setting, which was at a far grander scale than its usual educational excursions.

In a speech in 1968, Reviakin’s explanation of the case for tourism balanced the difficult task of saving ‘our’ historic heritage from its emergency situation, on the one hand, with the significant economic benefits from tourism, on the other.⁴⁶⁷ The basic premise of the Golden Ring was that earnings from tourism would pay for restoration work and new tourist infrastructure. However, while information on the costs of the new route was collated, which is examined later, income from tourism was more difficult for VOOPIK to forecast. A delegate to the VOOPIK conference in December 1968 said that there was experience of international tourism abroad, but this had not been studied in the USSR.⁴⁶⁸ He posed the question about how much foreign currency would be earned from foreign tourists on the Golden Ring, which VOOPIK could use for the process of restoration.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶² W. C. Brumfield, *Lost Russia: Photographing the Ruins of Russian Architecture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 8.

⁴⁶³ V. Donovan, ‘The “Old New Russian Town”: Modernization and Architectural Preservation in Russia’s Historic North West, 1961-1982’, *Slavonica*, 19:1 (2013), p. 24.

⁴⁶⁴ C. Kelly, *St Petersburg: Shadows of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), unpublished OL Chapter 3, pp. 163-164. Regarding VOOPIK’s semi-official status, see Donovan, p. 27.

⁴⁶⁵ Y. M. Brudny, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 45.

⁴⁶⁶ Donovan, p. 27.

⁴⁶⁷ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 31.

⁴⁶⁸ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 75.

⁴⁶⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 76.

Reviakin proposed gathering statistics on the number of visitors during 1969 and using foreign analogues for information on profitability, adding that, even without such data, everyone was convinced that ‘in our conditions, tourism will be profitable’.⁴⁷⁰

In the first edition of VOOPIK’s journal, published in 1980, the link between restoration and tourism was clearly articulated, with Vladimir and Suzdal cited as examples.⁴⁷¹ A large number of Soviet and foreign tourists were said to be attracted to the historical and cultural monuments in Vladimir oblast.⁴⁷² However, the report from Suzdal for 1978 and 1979 indicated that only approximately half the planned number of foreign tourists had arrived, leading to spare capacity in terms of visits to monuments, because the museum-reserve was unable to put on tours for domestic tourists instead.⁴⁷³ Although the tourist organisations in Suzdal were profitable, the authorities had used the profit for the upkeep of the tourist complex, rather than the preservation of historical and cultural monuments.⁴⁷⁴ This example illustrates the preservation movement’s difficulties in realising the benefits from the development of tourism in the Golden Ring.

The Brezhnev era saw a return to the hegemony of the military industrial complex over the Soviet economy, following the Khrushchev era’s prioritising of the consumer economy.⁴⁷⁵ V. Donovan argues that in Khrushchev’s time the seemingly opposing forces of restoration and preservation and those of industry and modernisation were actually united in building communism, because the preservation of cultural heritage strengthened the nation by promoting pride in its origins.⁴⁷⁶ However, in practice the conflict between these unequal forces was evident at both regional and local levels during late socialism, as the Golden Ring project. Figure 38 shows an example of the impact of modern development on a heritage site.

⁴⁷⁰ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 84-85.

⁴⁷¹ T. S. Sushkov, ‘Drevnie goroda – nashe bogatstvo’, *Pamiatniki otechestva: Al’manakh VOOPIK*, 1980:1 (1), pp. 134-39.

⁴⁷² Sushkov, p. 136.

⁴⁷³ Sushkov, p. 139.

⁴⁷⁴ Sushkov, p. 139.

⁴⁷⁵ Crump, pp. 88-89.

⁴⁷⁶ Donovan, p. 19.



Figure 38: A road to the Volga bridge and the 17th century Church of the Resurrection on the Debria, Kostroma.

Source: Lavrent'ev, Purishev and Turilov, *Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii*, p. 183.

In 1966 new legislation on heritage preservation had been approved.⁴⁷⁷ However, in a speech to the VOOPIK plenum in 1968, Reviakin pointed out that, despite having the results of scientific-historical research, the project and construction organisations mistakenly demolished valuable monuments and erected new buildings in the ancient parts of towns.⁴⁷⁸ He called for the public to be able to express their disapproval long before construction started.⁴⁷⁹ A delegate to the 1968 VOOPIK conference on the Golden Ring described the enemy of preservation as ‘ignorance, multiplied by careerism’.⁴⁸⁰

The Golden Ring project also conflicted with Soviet industry in its concern with the natural environment. At the 1968 VOOPIK conference one delegate pointed out that the lake on which Pereslavl'-Zaleskii stood was shrinking and becoming a ‘fetid pool’, because an enormous industrial plant was taking more water from the lake than it returned as outflow.⁴⁸¹ This environmental concern appeared to link VOOPIK to a similar, but much older organisation, the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature (Vserossiiskoe obshchestvo okhrany prirody, hereafter VOOP), which was founded in

⁴⁷⁷ Kelly, *St Petersburg*, unpublished OL Chapter 3, p. 163.

⁴⁷⁸ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 23.

⁴⁷⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 23.

⁴⁸⁰ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 67.

⁴⁸¹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 47-48.

1924.⁴⁸² However, in the mid-1950s VOOP had been taken over by Communist bureaucrats and a student-led environmental activism movement had emerged during the Khrushchev years, linked to anti-modernism and nationalism.⁴⁸³ For example, in 1960 students from Moscow State University founded a nature protection brigade (*druzhina* – a term associated with Ancient Rus).⁴⁸⁴ Arguably, some members of VOOPIK seemed to have more in common with these brigades than with VOOP. VOOPIK members' concerns over the natural environment of the Golden Ring differentiated their project from the BAM, whose propaganda promoted man's conquest of nature, and which came into conflict with environmental activists, notably over the pollution of Lake Baikal.⁴⁸⁵

Paradoxically for the Golden Ring project, tourism also represented an area of conflict for heritage preservation. Although tourism was a justification for preservation, and local branches of VOOPIK vied for access to expertise and funds from the centre for the preservation of their monuments, mass tourism was not welcomed by all. For example, the proposal from the Uglich branch of VOOPIK for their inclusion in the Golden Ring project described the problems they faced when crowds of 200-250 tourists from Volga cruise boats would suddenly descend upon a small local church.⁴⁸⁶ The tourists caused the temperature to rise, adversely affecting the frescoes, and if a large number of people visited the second floor it started to sag.⁴⁸⁷

An informant commented that Rostov Velikii, which she visited in 1981 or 1982, was 'fairly well cared-for and fairly tourist-focused (*turisticheskii*)', but the museum was neglected and semi-derelict.⁴⁸⁸ This comment suggests that, for her, to be 'tourist-focused' a place needed to be well cared-for. This informant with others from her school group clambered over some walls and towers on their own.⁴⁸⁹ The fabric of the towns thus clearly needed to be able to withstand mass tourism. However, specific destinations on the Golden Ring had no means of controlling the number of tourists, particularly the

⁴⁸² Vserossiiskoe obshchestvo okhrany prirody, 'O VOOP' <<http://www.runature.ru/text/about>> [accessed on 10 August 2014].

⁴⁸³ D. R. Weiner, *A Little Corner of Freedom: Russian Nature Protection from Stalin to Gorbachëv* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 312-13, 340.

⁴⁸⁴ Weiner, p. 313.

⁴⁸⁵ Ward, pp. 12, 21-22.

⁴⁸⁶ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 211.

⁴⁸⁷ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 211-12.

⁴⁸⁸ G3/2.

⁴⁸⁹ G3/2.

independent tourists who were not on the organised VTsSPS tours, whose numbers were controlled by the travel-pass system.

The process of preservation of the architectural heritage of the towns on the Golden Ring was complicated. An article in *SK* in 1969 contained a plea to VOOPIK and the RSFSR Ministry of Culture to free the revolutionary and historical monuments of Ivanovo from layers of subsequent epochs and to restore their original appearance.⁴⁹⁰ While achieving this aim would have been relatively easy for revolutionary monuments, for those from earlier centuries later additions and renovations to original buildings could lead to complex issues. For example, the Palace of the Romanov boyars at the Ipat'ev Monastery in Kostroma was originally built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in 1863 it was 'restored' in a sixteenth-century style following a visit by Tsar Alexander II (Figure 39).⁴⁹¹ The nineteenth-century version of the building, rather than the earlier original, was restored during late socialism, and this conforms to A. Schönle's argument that in the 1960s restorers attempted to preserve monuments' 'most glorious incarnation'.⁴⁹² Kelly presents a more systematic method of decision-making in preservation as the deployment of an 'aesthetic hierarchy', which had been used in St Petersburg to privilege the neo-classical, and in the post-war reconstruction of ancient towns to prioritise Old Russian architecture.⁴⁹³ Donovan, on the other hand, points out that the 1964 Venice Charter of international guidelines for preservation influenced heritage preservation in the USSR.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁰ N. Vvedenskii, 'Marshrutu "Zolotoe kol'tso": Ivanovo – Rodina pervogo soveta', *SK*, 11 September 1969, p. 2.

⁴⁹¹ V. N. Bochkov and K. G. Torop, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'* (Yaroslavl: Verkhne-volzhskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1970), pp. 80-81.

⁴⁹² A. Schönle, *Architecture of Oblivion: Ruins and Historical Consciousness in Modern Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), p. 22.

⁴⁹³ Kelly, *St Petersburg*, unpublished OL Chapter 3, p. 153; Donovan, p. 29.

⁴⁹⁴ Donovan, p. 30. *The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* <<http://www.gdrc.org/heritage/vienna.html>> [accessed on 21 September 2014].



Figure 39: Palace of the Romanov boyars, Ipat'ev Monastery, Kostroma.

Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

The concept of the museum-town recognised the need to preserve not single buildings in a piecemeal way, but whole architectural ensembles.⁴⁹⁵ At the 1968 VOOPIK conference Reviakin argued that protection of complexes and ensembles was easier to achieve than individual monuments.⁴⁹⁶ A similar idea of creating architectural reserves (*zapovedniki*) of groups of buildings had been suggested in the late 1940s, when addressing wartime destruction.⁴⁹⁷ In 1958-59 the Council of Ministers of the USSR designated a small group of museum-reserves (*muzei-zapovedniki*), including in the Golden Ring towns of Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Vladimir and Suzdal.⁴⁹⁸

The need for a large group of restoration specialists was recognised by Reviakin early in the Golden Ring project.⁴⁹⁹ In a speech to the 1968 VOOPIK plenum, he suggested that the educational establishments involved in preparing groups of architectural-restorers and artistic-restorers should also be centres for raising interest in the Golden Ring.⁵⁰⁰ In 1969 concerns were raised about the quality of restoration work in Ivanovo, because the restorers were inexperienced and weak.⁵⁰¹ The Golden Ring project involved a challenging combination of the significant restoration work required and a relatively short

⁴⁹⁵ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 39.

⁴⁹⁶ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 39.

⁴⁹⁷ Donovan, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁸ *Rossiiskaia muzeinaia entsiklopediia* <http://www.museum.ru/rme/sci_zap.asp> [accessed on 18 November 2014].

⁴⁹⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 30.

⁵⁰⁰ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 30.

⁵⁰¹ Vvedenskii, p. 2.

timetable. As the *Krokodil* cartoon below shows, the restoration process could be lampooned and undermined.

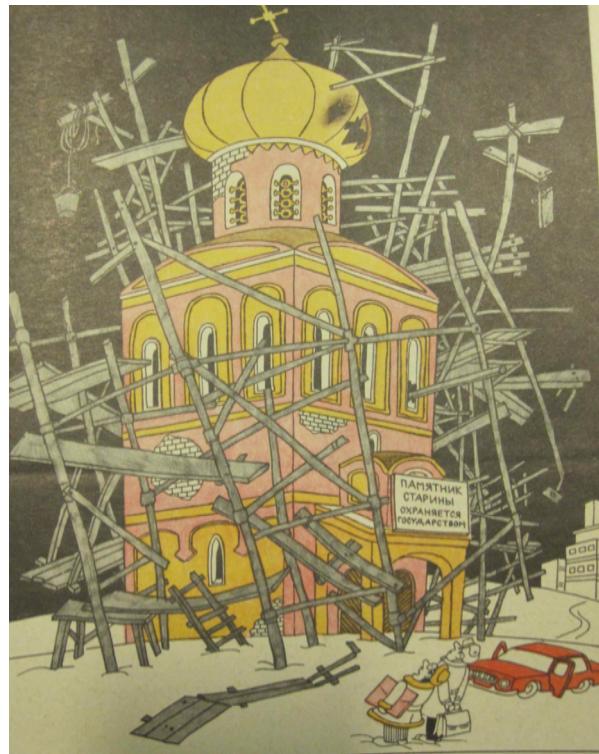


Figure 40: 'I suppose it's about time to restore this scaffolding!'

Source: *Krokodil*, 34 (1973), p. 11.

Practical issues

Establishing the route

The first part of the VOOPIK project to establish the Golden Ring involved obtaining information and proposals for monuments to be preserved from local VOOPIK branches and others. The proposals sent from the various locations during 1968 suggested preservation of both ancient monuments and locations with revolutionary connections. For example, the submission from the Uglich raion mentioned historical-revolutionary monuments first and then pre-revolutionary buildings, and included a request for the town to be preserved as a museum-town.⁵⁰² Recognising that they were in competition with other locations, this submission included statements (unsubstantiated by evidence) that

⁵⁰² GASF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 209-12.

the value of their monuments was not inferior to others, and that the numbers of visitors to monuments in Uglich were significantly larger than at several other locations.⁵⁰³

While the local submissions were still being made, a VOOPIK commission undertook an eleven-day expedition in the summer of 1968 to establish the condition of monuments and form preliminary conclusions about the Golden Ring route.⁵⁰⁴ The commission met the presidents of the local executive committees and other local organisations, which, according to Reviakin's report to the VOOPIK plenum in November 1968, unanimously approved of the expedition's proposals.⁵⁰⁵ The notes of the visit to Yaroslavl include the comment that money received so far from the RSFSR Ministry of Culture was clearly insufficient for the restoration work throughout the oblast.⁵⁰⁶ The commission did not visit Kostroma and the town is not included among the sixteen towns whose architectural monuments were listed for consideration.⁵⁰⁷ Presumably, this was because Kostroma was closed to foreigners until the mid-1980s owing to nearby military installations.⁵⁰⁸ This supports the contention, mentioned earlier, that foreign rather than domestic tourists were the primary focus of the project at this time.

A summary schedule of the architectural monuments on the Golden Ring included information on the condition and current use of particular buildings (e.g. living accommodation, market or library), and their proposed, tourist use (e.g. museum or restaurant).⁵⁰⁹ The standard contracts for renting architectural monuments in Kostroma in the first half of the 1970s included terms requiring the lessee to carry out repair and restoration work at their own cost.⁵¹⁰ Kelly notes a similar lease term for listed buildings since 1933, with the threat of termination of the lease if the required repairs were not carried out.⁵¹¹ However, in practice, the preservation of rented property was not assured. A submission to VOOPIK from Yaroslavl oblast in May 1968 asks for help in saving the

⁵⁰³ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 215.

⁵⁰⁴ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 28.

⁵⁰⁵ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 28.

⁵⁰⁶ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 113.

⁵⁰⁷ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 96-97.

⁵⁰⁸ G2/4.

⁵⁰⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 119-33.

⁵¹⁰ GAKO, f. P122, op. 1, d. 195, l. 2 ob.

⁵¹¹ Kelly, *St Petersburg*, unpublished OL Chapter 3, p. 149.

valuable buildings on the former estate of Count Sheremetev, then rented out, by putting them under state protection because of their neglected condition.⁵¹²

VOOPIK and the RSFSR Ministry of Culture held a conference in Yaroslavl in July 1969 to discuss the Golden Ring route.⁵¹³ Bychkov reported on the conference and the progress of the project in *SK*, commenting that the Golden Ring route still did not exist, but 'it was already alive'.⁵¹⁴ He described the route as 'the first circular all-embracing tourist route in our country'.⁵¹⁵ This is evidence to refute Kelly's assertion that the promotion of the Golden Ring as a brand started with F. Kudriavtsev's 1974 book.⁵¹⁶ Bychkov's original cartographical representation of the Golden Ring from 1967 showed a circular route (Figure 41).⁵¹⁷ His article in July 1969 included what he termed the 'VOOPIK version', a rhomboid shaped route with choices of additional destinations and a short cut between Rostov and Suzdal (Figure 42). Developing the Golden Ring route for tourism was a complex matter. The route traversed five oblasts of the RSFSR and involved various local authorities as well as those at the RSFSR level. While there were some facilities for tourists before the Golden Ring was established, there were gaps in the provision of services for tourism, which had to be addressed.

⁵¹² GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 170.

⁵¹³ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 151-61 (record of second day of the conference); Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵¹⁴ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵¹⁵ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2

⁵¹⁶ Kelly, *St Petersburg*, p. 412, note 10; F. Kudriavtsev, *The Golden Ring / Zolotoe kol'tso*, trans. by G. Strelkova (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1974). The text is in Russian and English.

⁵¹⁷ Bychkov, Fomin and Zhegis, 'Zolotoe kol'tso po starym russkim rogodam', p. 2.



Figure 41: Iuri Bychkov's map of the Golden Ring.
Source: Bychkov, Fomin and Zhegis, 'Zolotoe kol'tso po starym russkim rogodam', p. 2.



Figure 42: The 'VOOPIK version' of the Golden Ring.
Source: Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

A draft resolution of the RSFSR Council of Ministers concerning the creation of the Golden Ring tourist route proposed to accept the propositions of VOOPIK, VTsSPS and the RSFSR Ministry of Culture.⁵¹⁸ According to the draft resolution, Gosstroi was to set up a special all-Union institute for project planning for historic towns in 1970 and then to produce a detailed plan for the towns on the route.⁵¹⁹ Gosstroi and various RSFSR ministries were to implement the construction work by 1975, and the cost was to be included in the Five Year Plan for 1971-75.⁵²⁰ Bychkov's article in *SK* included a warning that special attention was required from Gosstroi, because the usual mechanism for allocating resources (according to the numbers of residents and the presence of key industries) did not suit the needs of the Golden Ring project.⁵²¹

In the VOOPIK archive on the Golden Ring project is a cost estimate for the creation of the route, using budgeted costs as at 1 January 1969.⁵²² Excluding restoration costs, the total cost of the new route was estimated to be 244 million roubles, 55 per cent of which was for hotels and boarding houses for 50,000 guests, 21 per cent for other buildings (e.g. restaurants, shops and museums) and 17 per cent for services for the area (e.g. renovating or constructing 2,500 kilometres of main roads and landscaping). The estimate also contained the costs of 10,000 square metres of living accommodation for service personnel and people to be resettled, presumably some from their accommodation within historic monuments.⁵²³ It is noted on the estimate that the cost of the restoration of monuments, which had been excluded, depends on the use of the monuments. However, some estimates of restoration costs were included in a separate schedule of architectural monuments entering the Golden Ring tourist route.⁵²⁴

Suzdal: Development of a gorod-muzei

The term *gorod-muzei* embodies the tension between a town as a place for its population to live and work, and as a museum space of preserved locations exhibited for the education of visitors. It also reflects the historical development of museums from closed

⁵¹⁸ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 90-95.

⁵¹⁹ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 90.

⁵²⁰ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 90.

⁵²¹ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵²² GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 147-48.

⁵²³ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 147, 150.

⁵²⁴ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 119-33.

private collections to places open to everyone.⁵²⁵ St Petersburg is a notable and complex example of this genre. The idea of viewing the capital city as a ‘living museum’ originates from a feuilleton written in 1814.⁵²⁶ A. Ippolitov, a curator at the Hermitage, argued at the time of the city’s tercentenary in 2003 that St Petersburg had been ‘converted into a recollection’, ceasing ‘to exist in reality; only the brittle porcelain of an ancient snuff-box preserved Petersburg’.⁵²⁷ For Suzdal being a *gorod-muzei* created practical issues because of its small size and the large number of visitors attracted to its heritage sights.



Figure 43: A view of Suzdal.
Source: M. Orlov, ‘Mekka russkogo turizma’, p. 11.

The preparations for mass tourism started earlier in Suzdal than in other locations on the Golden Ring. Growing numbers of tourists arrived year-round before the Golden Ring was even named by Bychkov. The visitor numbers quoted vary: e.g. 75,000 in 1964, 300,000 in 1966, and a million being expected in 1969.⁵²⁸ In 1968 Suzdal could be reached in three hours by bus from Moscow, or slightly longer by public bus via Vladimir.⁵²⁹ However, there was no tourist base in 1968 and the town’s hotel could accommodate only sixty-four guests, with the nearest alternative hotel being in Vladimir, eighty kilometres away.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁵ For a history of Western museums, which was broadly replicated in Russia, see T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

⁵²⁶ K. Batiushkov, ‘Progulka v Akademii khudozhestv’ quoted in J. A. Buckler, *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityshape* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 97, 99.

⁵²⁷ A. Ippolitov, ‘Gorod v farforovoi tabakerke’, in E. D. Shubina, *Moi Peterburg* (Moscow: Vagrius, 2003), pp. 210-15, quoted in H. Goscilo and S. M Norris, eds, *Preserving Petersburg: History, Memory, Nostalgia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), x.

⁵²⁸ ‘Vpered v vek ... dvenadtsatyi: vstrecha s vozvrashchennoi Rus’iu’, *Turist*, 1968:4, p. 9; M. Orlov, ‘Mekka russkogo turizma’, *LG*, 8:4086, 22 February 1967, p. 11; GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 85.

⁵²⁹ O. Volkov, ‘Vossozdavaemaia poema’, *LG*, 8:4086, 22 February 1967, p. 11; ‘Vpered v vek ... dvenadtsatyi: vstrecha s vozvrashchennoi Rus’iu’, *Turist*, 1968:4, p. 9.

⁵³⁰ M. Orlov, ‘Mekka russkogo turizma’, p. 11; ‘Vpered v vek ... dvenadtsatyi: vstrecha s vozvrashchennoi Rus’iu’, *Turist*, 1968:4, p. 9.

In February 1967 divisions of Gosstroj USSR and Gosstroj RSFSR considered a general plan for Suzdal and proposals to develop the town into a centre for tourism, both of which were approved by VOOPIK.⁵³¹ The Council of Ministers of the USSR made a special proposal about the creation of a tourist centre in Suzdal in August 1967.⁵³² A tourist complex was to be built, including a hotel for 400 guests, a motel, and a concert hall and cinema, all of which were to be close to but invisible from the town centre.⁵³³ Figure 44 shows a model of the plan and the finished tourist complex is depicted in Figures 45 and 46. In addition, restaurants, cafes and shops for tourists were to be located in some historic buildings, and handicraft industries for souvenirs developed.⁵³⁴



Figure 44: Part of a model for the development of Suzdal.
Source: M. Orlov, 'Mekka russkogo turizma', p. 11.

⁵³¹ 'Suzdal' zapovednyi', *LG*, 8:4086, 22 February 1967, p. 11. The article mentions *Gorudarstvennyi komitet po grazhdanskому stroitel'stvu i arkhitekture SSSR*, which appears to have been part of Gosstroj USSR.

⁵³² M. Orlov, 'I snova o Suzdale!..', *LG*, 18:4148, 1 May 1968, p. 10; Iu. Belov, 'Otkrytie kino Suzdalia', *Turist*, 1988:4, p. 38.

⁵³³ M. Orlov, 'Mekka russkogo turizma', p. 11.

⁵³⁴ M. Orlov, 'Mekka russkogo turizma', p. 11.



Figure 45: The Suzdal Motel, part of the main tourist complex.
Source: *Seriia otkrytok "Suzdal"*.



Figure 46: The main tourist complex, Suzdal.
Source: Lavrent'ev, Purishev and Turilov, *Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii*, pp. 262-63.

Articles for and against the plans for Suzdal were published in *LG* in 1967 and 1968 and concerns were raised at the VOOPIK conference in December 1968.⁵³⁵ The key issue was establishing the highest priority – either preserving the ancient architecture, or creating a centre for tourism in a historic setting. These issues were not unique to Suzdal – for example, there were similar debates in Yaroslavl, Novgorod and St Petersburg – but the

⁵³⁵ M. Orlov, 'Mekka russkogo turizma', p. 11; Volkov, 'Vossozdavaemaia poema', p. 11; V. Vybornyi, 'Resavratsiia vpechatlenii', *LG*, 8:4086, 22 February 1967, p. 11; O. Volkov, 'Snova o Suzdale: Restavratsiia ili restoratsiia?', *LG*, 15:4145, 10 April 1968, p. 10; M. Orlov, 'I snova o Suzdale!..', p. 10; GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 45-47.

public debates about restoration and tourism indicate Suzdal's importance as a heritage site.⁵³⁶

Various arguments were put forward to support the preservation of the ancient architecture as the highest priority. An architect, V. Vybornyi, took a purist's view of the concept of a museum-town, and suggested that Suzdal's inhabitants should be moved to Vladimir and tourists allowed to visit for only a few hours.⁵³⁷ O. Volkov regarded encouraging large numbers of tourists, who needed to be managed to avoid a crush of people and endless queues and who were seeking entertainment, as incompatible with calling Suzdal a museum-town.⁵³⁸ He cited an instance in which a hall in an ancient building had been allocated for a café and souvenir sellers, even though an official wanted it for an exhibition space.⁵³⁹ In addition, Volkov was concerned with the preservation of the landscape around Suzdal.⁵⁴⁰ A member of the Central Committee of VOOPIK also raised serious concerns over the development of Suzdal as a tourist centre, because he supported the preservation of the town's existing appearance and argued for the needs of its inhabitants to be taken into account.⁵⁴¹

Putting the case for the development of tourism was M. Orlov, the head of a trading-domestic buildings organisation, which, Volkov argued, had taken over the Suzdal project and put aside the original Gosstroi plans.⁵⁴² Orlov set out the economic grounds for the development of mass tourism and the need for tourists to travel in comfort.⁵⁴³ He quoted the conclusion of experts at a conference in Venice that 'the best means of preserving monuments of architecture is to use them in contemporary ways, of course,

⁵³⁶ For details on Yaroslavl see B. A. Ruble, 'Reshaping the City: The Politics of Property in a Provincial Russian City', *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 21:3 (1992), pp. 203-33; for Novgorod see Donovan, p. 26; for St Petersburg see Kelly, *St Petersburg*, unpublished OL Chapter 3, pp. 143-206.

⁵³⁷ Vybornyi, p. 11.

⁵³⁸ Volkov, 'Snova o Suzdale: Restavratsiia ili restoratsiia?', p. 10.

⁵³⁹ Volkov, 'Snova o Suzdale: Restavratsiia ili restoratsiia?', p. 10.

⁵⁴⁰ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 47.

⁵⁴¹ V. Ivanov, 'Net, ne vse poka iasno!', *Turist*, 1968:4, pp. 10, 13.

⁵⁴² Volkov, 'Snova o Suzdale: Restavratsiia ili restoratsiia?', p. 10.

⁵⁴³ M. Orlov, 'I snova o Suzdale!..', p. 10; Volkov, 'Snova o Suzdale: Restavratsiia ili restoratsiia?', p. 10; GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 54.

without disturbing their appearance'.⁵⁴⁴ An example in Suzdal was the planned conversion of monastic cells into hotel rooms.⁵⁴⁵ This concept encapsulates the priority given to the preservation of the external appearance of historic buildings, while the interiors could be used for different purposes.

The Golden Ring tourist route

Despite being publicised in 1969, the VOOPIK version of the Golden Ring was not definitive. Books about the Golden Ring from the 1970s and 1980s include different lists of towns: for example, Kudriavtsev's 1974 guidebook mentions sixteen towns, including Nikola-Uleima, Tutaev, Krasnoe-na-Volge and Aleksandrova sloboda, which do not appear on either Bychkov's map or the VOOPIK version (Figures 41 and 42).⁵⁴⁶ Kudriavtsev comments that the Golden Ring 'is continuously expanding with the inclusion of additional places of interest as more and more monuments are restored and placed under the protection of the state'.⁵⁴⁷ With hindsight, this statement was over-optimistic. In an interview in 2011, Bychkov alleged that funds destined for the Golden Ring project were spent instead on rockets, because the Damanskii Island conflict with China escalated in 1969.⁵⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the flexibility of the definition of the Golden Ring was advantageous in organising tourism. The Golden Ring could be viewed as either a tour of a number of locations, or as a loosely defined set of tourist destinations to be visited.

The precise date when the Golden Ring tourist route opened is not apparent from the VOOPIK archival material on the project. However, the first item on the agenda for a meeting of the Presidium of the Kostroma oblast STE in October 1970 was 'the reception of tourists on the new all-union route "Golden Ring"'.⁵⁴⁹ According to this source, groups

⁵⁴⁴ M. Orlov, 'I snova o Suzdale!..', p. 10. This refers to using buildings for a 'socially useful purpose', see Article 5, *The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* <<http://www.gdrc.org/heritage/vienna.html>> [accessed on 21 September 2014].

⁵⁴⁵ Bychkov and Fomin, 'Zolotoe kol'tso: Staroe i novoe', p. 2.

⁵⁴⁶ Kudriavtsev, Contents page. Kostroma is not included in Iu. A. Bychkov and V. A. Desiatnikov, *Around the Golden Ring of Russia: An Illustrated Guidebook*, trans. by A. Miller (Moscow: Planeta, 1988). Planeta worked as Inturist's publishers, and so the omission of Kosroma from this publication was expected as the town was closed to foreigners (G2/5).

⁵⁴⁷ Kudriavtsev, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁸ 'Na Zolotom kol'tse sideli ...', *Strana*, 8 July 2011.

⁵⁴⁹ GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 21, ll. 53-54.

of domestic tourists were to arrive every two days from January 1971 in accordance with a VTsSPS resolution.⁵⁵⁰

In 1974 VTsSPS's Golden Ring tour, itinerary number 401, was an eighteen-day bus tour, with two days each in Moscow, Pereslavl'-Zaleskii, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Ples, Ivanovo and then Moscow again, and with four days in Vladimir.⁵⁵¹ It ran in two versions – clockwise and anti-clockwise – throughout the year.⁵⁵² A decade later itinerary number 401 was four days longer, but had been streamlined to run from May to October with fewer, longer stops in the larger towns, especially Moscow (namely four days each in Moscow, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Vladimir and then Moscow again, and with two days in Ivanovo).⁵⁵³

By 1987 children over twelve years old were allowed to join the Golden Ring tours.⁵⁵⁴ This represented a change since 1984 and suggests that VTsSPS had responded to the general demand for family holidays.⁵⁵⁵ In the 1980s the VTsSPS brochure of organised holidays disclosed more information than earlier brochures, indicating a growing consumer orientation. The hotels for each location on itinerary number 401 were listed, and included the Izmailovo tour-complex in Moscow and the Volga Hotel in Kostroma.⁵⁵⁶ The 1987 brochure gave a summary of the excursion programme for each location, the number of people per hotel room, and the fact that there would be three meals a day in a hotel.⁵⁵⁷

In 1984 the total number of travel passes for the Golden Ring tour was 2,560, divided equally between each variant.⁵⁵⁸ While the number of passes for this tour surpassed those for itinerary 402, 'Around the Places of War Glory' (1,360 *putevki*), the Golden Ring was

⁵⁵⁰ GAKO, f. P1024, op. 1, d. 21, ll. 54-56.

⁵⁵¹ VTsSPS, *Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiam. Turistskie marshruty* (1974), p. 4. In Soviet times tour buses were almost exclusively the red Hungarian Ikarus buses with mechanical doors (G2/2).

⁵⁵² VTsSPS, *Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i turistskie ekskursiam marshruty* 1974, p. 4. An informant used the verb *krutit'sia* (to spin) when talking about these tours (G2/5).

⁵⁵³ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1984 god* (Moscow: 1983), p. 3.

⁵⁵⁴ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1987 god* (Moscow: 1986), p. 8.

⁵⁵⁵ D. P. Koenker, 'Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51:2 (2009), pp. 420-23.

⁵⁵⁶ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1984 god*, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁷ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1987 god*, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁸ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1984 god*, p. 3.

dwarfed by itinerary number 1, Moscow (232,120 *putevki*).⁵⁵⁹ This indicates that the Golden Ring itinerary was not a particularly significant organised tour for domestic tourists. However, as the statistics for Suzdal quoted above show, large numbers of visitors travelled to the locations on the Golden Ring by other means. Alternatives to itinerary number 401 included other organised tours (e.g. the Volga cruises which called at some Golden Ring towns) and visiting as independent tourists and on excursions. Of course, these types of visitors had travelled to the locations on the Golden Ring before Bychkov named the route and before the establishment of VTsSPS's itinerary number 401.

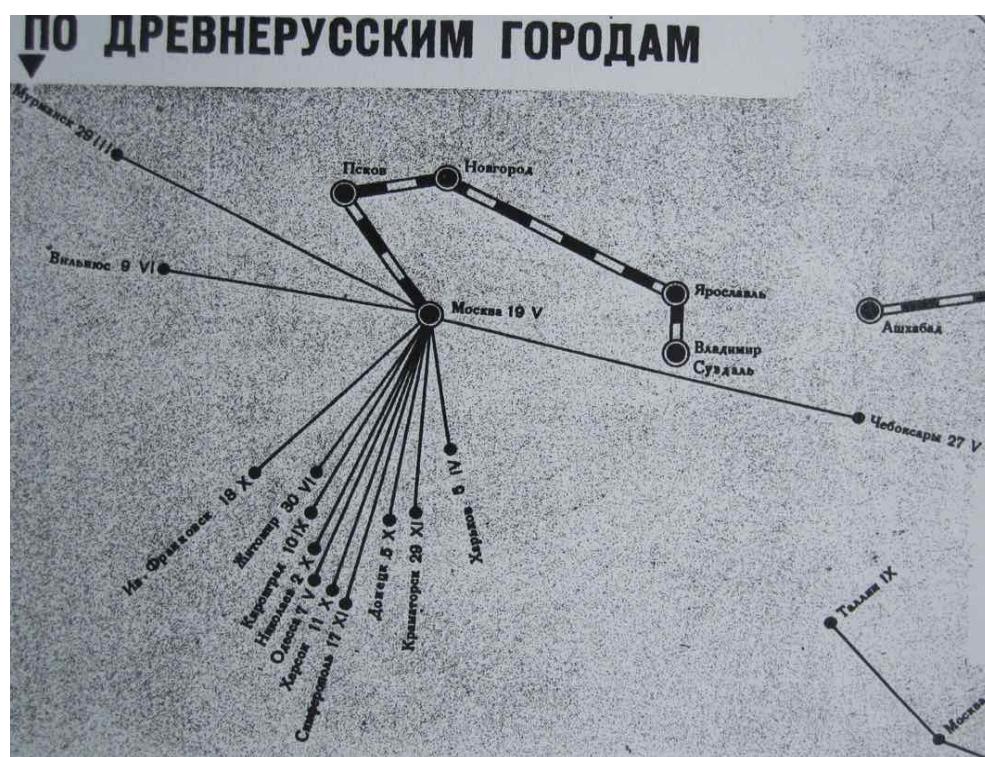


Figure 47: 'Travel by train around the ancient Russian towns.'

Source: *Turist*, 1968:2, p. 26.

⁵⁵⁹ VTsSPS, *Vsesoiuznye turistskie marshruty na 1984 god*, pp. 1, 3. Itinerary number 402 was very similar to number 401, being a 20-day circular tour starting in Moscow and also running from May to October. There were five variants of itinerary number 1, distinguished by the accommodation used (mainly the Izmailovo tour-complex), with a 6 or 12-day duration, and some were year-round.

In the second half of the 1960s the *Turist* magazine published several articles about the towns of Ancient Rus, including one showing a rudimentary tour by train (Figure 47).⁵⁶⁰ The magazine's regular feature 'A Hundred Roads, a Hundred Journeys' (Sto dorog, sto putei) disseminated information on a wide variety of tourist activities and destinations.⁵⁶¹ The Golden Ring first appeared in one of these features in 1974 together with a map, which showed the locations of tourist bases, hotels and petrol stations (Figure 48).⁵⁶² While the map would have been useful to independent tourists, the accompanying text was not tailored for their needs, and merely describes VTsSPS's itinerary number 401.

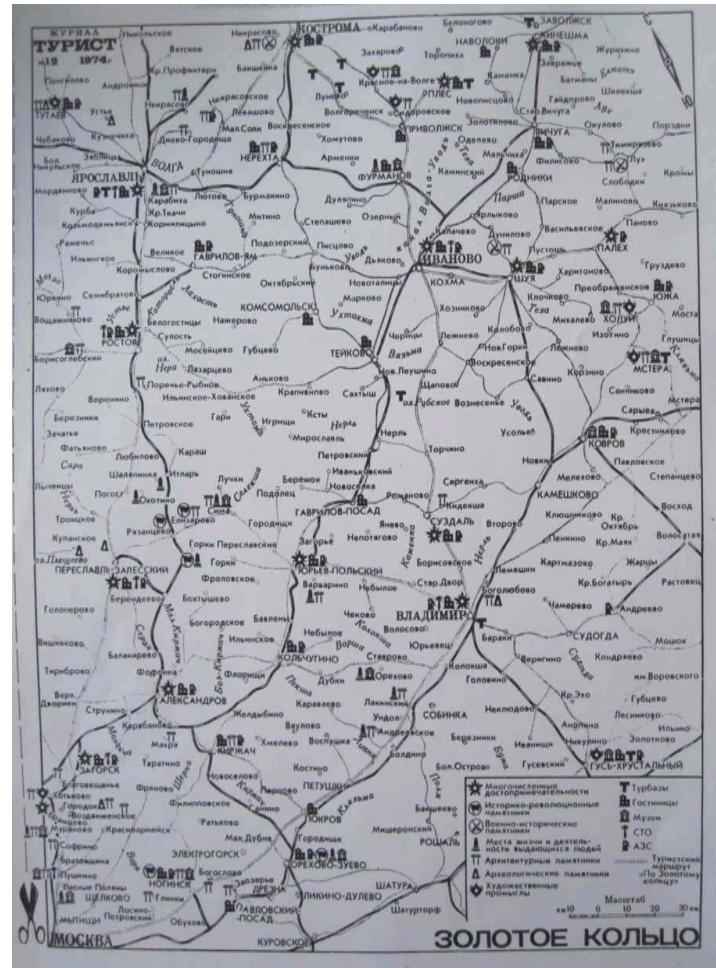


Figure 48: A map of the Golden Ring in 'A Hundred Roads, a Hundred Journeys'.
Source: *Turist*, 1974:12, p. 31.

⁵⁶⁰ For example, G. Vagner, 'Suzdal: Russkaia klassika', *Turist*, 1966:8, pp. 16-17, 22; N. Pomerantsev, 'Zvony Rostova Velikogo', *Turist*, 1966:9, pp. 14-15; Iu. Zel'venskii, 'Zolotoi Ples', *Turist*, 1966:11, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁶¹ The title is from the words of the song 'Son prikhodit na porog', from V. Lebedev-Kumach, *Pesni* (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1947), pp. 301-02.

⁵⁶² 'Zolotoe kol'tso', *Turist*, 1974:12, pp. 30-31.

Images of the Golden Ring

Although the individual locations on the Golden Ring route each had their own image, as promoted by local organisation in their submissions to VOOPIK in 1968, this section explores the idea of the Golden Ring as an overarching entity by looking at images of the Ring as a whole from different sources. In his 1969 article Bychkov wrote that the name of the Golden Ring was poetic and came from the soul and stressed that, for the journalists, the circular route drew everything together.⁵⁶³ However, the Golden Ring had no single unifying image or symbol, such as an official logo, despite the recognition of the importance of advertising tourism at this time, as noted in a speech by the chief editor of *Turist* at a TsSTE plenum in 1969.⁵⁶⁴ The lack of such a symbol may reflect the complexity of the idea of the Golden Ring.

At the VOOPIK conference in December 1968, Reviakin set out five categories of sights on the Golden Ring: historical-revolutionary, historical-cultural, archaeological, folk decorative applied art, and natural-therapeutic.⁵⁶⁵ These categories were made public in Bychkov's article in July 1969, together with a brief description of locations in which each category could be seen.⁵⁶⁶ For example, monuments in Ivanovo, Shuya and Moscow were in the historical-revolutionary category, while Palekh, Mstera and Gus'-Khrustal'nyi (famous for glass making) comprised the applied art category.⁵⁶⁷ The historical-cultural category is described as a 'richer' one, with a large number of sights of architecture and decorative art from several centuries of the history of the Russian people.⁵⁶⁸ However, it is difficult to synthesise a concept of the Golden Ring from these disparate categories of sights and locations.

M. de Certeau argued that people give diverse meanings to place names, which detach themselves from the places and become metaphors.⁵⁶⁹ He also indicated that the passage of time is needed for such metaphorical meanings to develop.⁵⁷⁰ Using these ideas, the

⁵⁶³ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵⁶⁴ GARF, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 1272, l. 220.

⁵⁶⁵ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, ll. 41-42.

⁵⁶⁶ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵⁶⁷ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵⁶⁸ Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁵⁶⁹ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by S. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 104.

⁵⁷⁰ de Certeau, p. 104.

work of VOOPIK in establishing a typology of tourist sights on the Golden Ring was simply the first step in the development of the route's meaning.

'The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus'

VOOPIK and the Ministries of Culture of the USSR and RSFSR presented an exhibition entitled 'The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus' (Kul'tura i iskusstvo Drevnei Rusi) at the Central Exhibition Hall or Manezh in Moscow from 20 June to 23 July 1969.⁵⁷¹ Although none of the press reports about the exhibition mention the Golden Ring, it is a notable coincidence that it took place at the same time as the initial stages of the development of the tourist route, and that the same organisations were involved. A long article about the exhibition appeared in *LG* on the day before Bychkov's article in *SK* introducing VOOPIK's version of the Golden Ring and the five categories of tourist sights located there.⁵⁷²

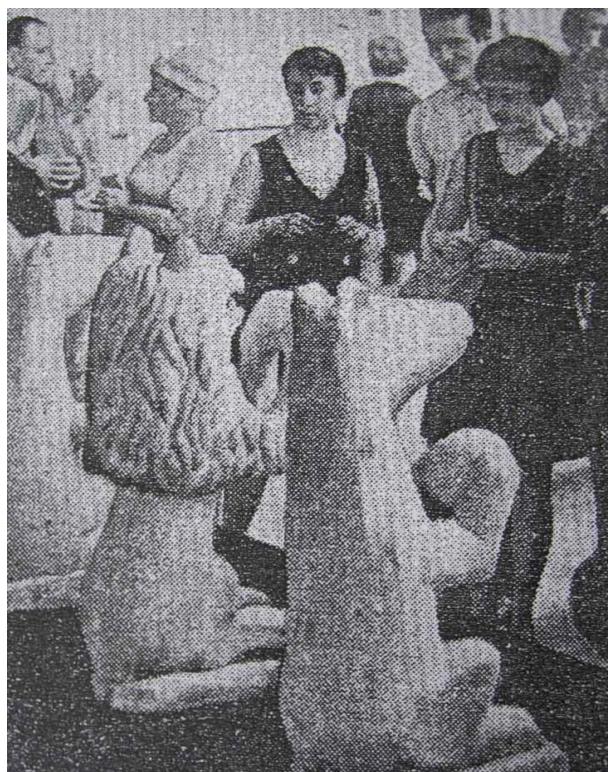


Figure 49: 'In one of the rooms of the exhibition 'The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus'.'
Source: 'Pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi', *LG*, 26:4208, 25 June 1969 p. 1.

⁵⁷¹ Akademiiia nauk SSSR institut istorii SSSR, *Kul'turnaia zhizh' v SSSR 1966-1967: Khronika* (Moscow: Nauka, 1981), p. 233.

⁵⁷² E. Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus' ...: Kartinki s vystavki', *LG*, 31:4213, 30 July 1969, p. 8; Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

The exhibition was a source for the development of people's imaginative geography about the Golden Ring. A mid-nineteenth-century forerunner of this idea was the Chernetsov brothers' Volga panorama, which was exhibited as part of a project to stimulate tourism.⁵⁷³ The Soviet ethnographic exhibitions of the 1920s and 1930s were, F. Hirsch argues, virtual tours of the USSR.⁵⁷⁴ Furthermore, imagery commonly transfers from one sphere to another: for example, nineteenth-century Russian landscape paintings influenced theatre set designs, advertisements and children's literature.⁵⁷⁵ In this case the imagery from an aesthetic and pedagogically orientated exhibition is connected to mass tourism. One newspaper article about 'The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus', headlined 'A Journey into Ancient Rus', clearly links the exhibition with imaginary travel in space and time.⁵⁷⁶ Another article went further by encouraging readers to visit the actual churches of Yaroslavl, monasteries and other locations.⁵⁷⁷

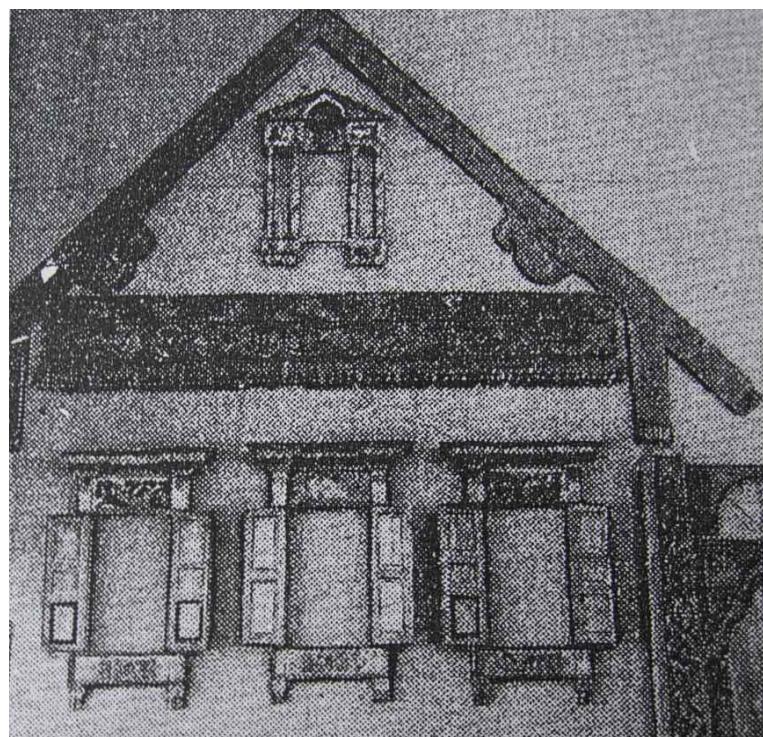


Figure 50: 'Façade of a house from Gor'kovskia oblast (wood carving).'
Source: 'Pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi', *LG*, 27:4209, 2 July 1969, p. 4.

⁵⁷³ C. Ely, *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), p. 76.

⁵⁷⁴ F. Hirsch, 'Getting to Know "The Peoples of the USSR": Ethnographic Exhibits as Soviet Virtual Tourism, 1923-1934', *Slavic Review*, 62:4 (2003), pp. 683-709.

⁵⁷⁵ Ely, *This Meager Nature*, p. 223.

⁵⁷⁶ A. Saltykov, 'Puteshestvie v drevniuiu Rus', *SK*, 31 May 1969, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁷ Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus' ...: Kartinki s vystavki', p. 8.

Three of the five categories of sights on the Golden Ring identified by VOOPIK, namely the historical-cultural, archaeological, and folk decorative applied art categories, were represented among the 1,600 items exhibited, which had been collected from museums in Moscow, Leningrad and the provinces, including from several Golden Ring locations.⁵⁷⁸ The objects were grouped into wooden and metallic articles, items from burial mounds, and decorative art from homes and churches, and some were said to be five thousand years old.⁵⁷⁹ There were also photographs and models of ancient buildings, including the Church of the Intercession on the Nerl at Bogoliubovo near Vladimir, and photographs of the restoration work underway.⁵⁸⁰ The exhibition evoked the mythical, not only through heroic figures like Aleksandr Nevskii but also by showing woodcarvings of dragons and rusalkas. The sounds of Ancient Rus were also included, with church bells from Rostov heard on the street outside the hall and ancient Russian and folk music, including songs about the Volga, in the concert hall.⁵⁸¹



Figure 51: 'In one of the halls of 'The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus' exhibition.'

Source: *LG*, 26:4208, 25 June 1969, p. 4.

⁵⁷⁸ A. Agopov, 'Predan'ia stariny glubokoi: Reportazh s vystavki "Kul'tura i iskusstvo Drevnei Rusi"', *Moskovskaia pravda*, 4 July 1969, p. 4; Saltykov, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁹ Agopov, p. 4; A. Berezin, 'Sviashchennaia drevnost', *Moskovskaia pravda*, 10 July 1969, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁰ Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus'...: Kartinki s vystavki', p. 8.

⁵⁸¹ Agopov, p. 4; Saltykov, p. 2; I. Ivanova, 'Göte i zhivopistsy Suzdalia', *SK*, 15 July 1969, p. 2.

Reports about the exhibition placed Russian art within the context of European artistic development. Gold Scythian artefacts, which reflected skills learned from ancient Greece, connected Russian and classical cultures.⁵⁸² According to another article, Giotto was interested in the icon painters from Suzdal and the ‘echoes of antiquity’ in their icons.⁵⁸³ Similar comparisons had been made at the exhibition called ‘Artistic Treasures of the Soviet Union’ at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1967.⁵⁸⁴ Another article about the exhibition noted that the recent jubilee of Andrei Rublev, whose work was included in the exhibition, was celebrated worldwide – a unique event for a Russian artist – and he was described as being on a par with Rembrandt and Shakespeare.⁵⁸⁵ Visitors to the Golden Ring could see Andrei Rublev’s art in Vladimir and in Moscow’s Tretiakov Gallery (Figure 52). In 1970, soon after the exhibition, the *Turist* magazine promoted a three-day tour organised by the Moscow tour bureau for those interested in Rublev’s work.⁵⁸⁶



Figure 52: “Trinity” shown in the State Tretiakov Gallery.
Source: ‘Vstrechi s Andreem Rublevym’, *Turist*, 1970:2, p. 28.

⁵⁸² M. Alpatov, ‘Kul’tura i iskusstvo Drevnei Rusi’, *SK*, 21 June 1969, p. 3.

⁵⁸³ Ivanova, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁴ Alpatov, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁵ The anniversary in 1960 was 600 years since Rublev’s birth. Osetrov, ‘Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus’...: Kartinki s vystavki’, p. 8.

⁵⁸⁶ E. Osetrov, ‘Vstrechi s Andreem Rublevym’, *Turist*, 1970:2, pp. 26-29.

The exhibits in the entrance hall were not only historic items but contemporary art works as well, such as pictures of ancient towns and P. Korin's triptych including a portrait of Aleksandr Nevskii (Figure 53).⁵⁸⁷ This Soviet art featured prominently in some press reports about the exhibition. For example, *Moskovskaia pravda* described the contemporary paintings as 'many excellent works of Soviet fine art, connected with the culture of Ancient Rus' and listed the artists and titles of fourteen pictures.⁵⁸⁸ *LG*'s longest article about the exhibition, headlined 'Living Ancient Rus ...', included the artists and titles of several pictures and commented on Korin's picture of Aleksandr Nevskii.⁵⁸⁹ The final patriotic words of the hero of S. Eisenstein's film *Aleksandr Nevskii* were reproduced in this article and the journalist noted that they had become like a law during the Great Patriotic War.⁵⁹⁰



Figure 53: 'Workers of the I. A. Likhachev car factory in the exhibition rooms.'
Source: Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus' ...: Kartinki s vystavki', p. 8.

One could argue that these prominent contemporary exhibits 'sovietised' the exhibition, despite the fact that they did not show Soviet modernity, but were Soviet interpretations of historic subjects. The exhibition's layout ensured that visitors linked the Soviet and

⁵⁸⁷ Berezin, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁸ Berezin, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁹ Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus' ...: Kartinki s vystavki', p. 8.

⁵⁹⁰ Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus' ...: Kartinki s vystavki', p. 8; *Aleksandr Nevskii*, dir. by S. Eisenstein (Mosfil'm, 1938).

ancient Russian cultures by walking through the Soviet-era exhibits first and then continuing to those from Ancient Rus. The press reports reflected this paradox, and emphasised how the works of art fused the Soviet present and Ancient Rus, praising the artistic merit of the contemporary works shown in the same setting as those of ancient masters. This idea of the Soviet present adjoining or reintegrating with the glorious past of the *Rodina* (homeland) was developed further in the context of the Golden Ring, as outlined below.

Images from other sources

Although the Golden Ring, as conceived by VOOPIK, contained five categories of sights for tourists, from looking at a sample of Russian language guidebooks from the late socialist period it can be concluded that the predominant images became those of the historical-cultural category, with the historical-revolutionary category assuming lesser importance.⁵⁹¹ Kudriavtsev's richly illustrated bi-lingual guidebook only contains photographs of historic buildings and artworks.⁵⁹² The preface to a 1984 guidebook suggests an earlier parallel to the Golden Ring route in the journey of Prince Vsevolod III to Rostov, Pereslavl and Suzdal in 1190, which a surviving manuscript documents.⁵⁹³ This is another attempt to root the Soviet-era Golden Ring in Ancient Rus, as seen in the exhibition at the Manezh in Moscow.

The predominance of the historical-cultural images of the Golden Ring was reflected in the new tourist hotel Kliaz'ma in Vladimir. This hotel was built in a modern style, but its feature window showed a pastiche of historic buildings from towns on the Golden Ring, rather than modern images, say from the historical-revolutionary category, more in keeping with its own architecture (Figure 54). The folk decorative applied art category appeared in guidebooks and journals about tourism on the Golden Ring as the basis for tourist souvenirs and, like the archaeological category, in museum exhibits. Even though in the draft resolution of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR the Golden Ring is described as a 'historical-cultural and natural-therapeutic tourist route', the natural-

⁵⁹¹ V. Popadeikin and V. Strukov, *Zolotoe kol'tso* (Moscow: Fizkul'tura i sport, 1975); A. V. Lavrent'ev, I. B. Purishev and A. A. Turilov, *Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii* (Moscow: Proizdat, 1984).

⁵⁹² Kudriavtsev.

⁵⁹³ Lavrent'ev, Purishev and Turilov, p. 9.

therapeutic category is almost entirely absent from the materials reviewed, and seems to have disappeared from view.⁵⁹⁴

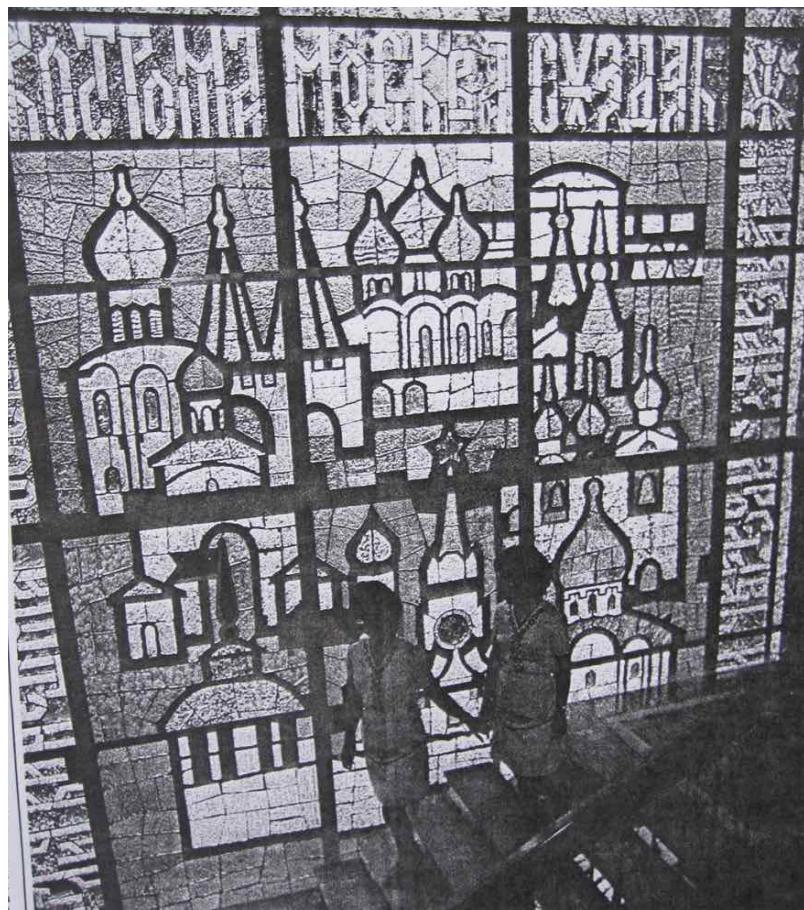


Figure 54: 'The tourist hotel Kliaz'ma successfully blended together an ensemble of towns.'
Source: E. Simonov, “‘Kliaz’ma” vladimirskaya’, *Turist*, 1975:8, p. 6.

The towns of the Golden Ring were used as the historical and contemporary settings for films during the period of late socialism, and these comprise another source of imagery. For example, *Andrei Rublev* was filmed in several locations in the Golden Ring, including Vladimir, Suzdal and Bogoliubovo.⁵⁹⁵ The film shows how stonemasons, painters and a bell maker created works of art. By showing the difficulties and hardships suffered in the construction of the cultural heritage of Ancient Rus, this film presents a different perspective of these objects in comparison with the completed works of art shown in the guidebooks and the exhibition at the Manezh in Moscow.

⁵⁹⁴ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 92.

⁵⁹⁵ *Andrei Rublev*, dir. by A. Tarkovskii (Mosfil'm, 1966); R. Bird, *Andrei Rublev* (London: BFI Publishing, 2004), pp. 27, 29.

The popular comedy film from 1973 *Ivan Vasil'evich Changes Profession* depicts a very different view of Rostov Velikii compared with the images in other sources.⁵⁹⁶ The film involves an inventor's time machine, which sends two contemporary characters back to the time of Ivan the Terrible. While most of the historical scenes are shot in studio interiors, there are several exterior shots of Rostov Velikii's ancient Kremlin (Figure 55). The film presents the ancient buildings as locations for farce, where any form of behaviour is acceptable, including chases along the walls. A tour guide informant called this film a 'distinctive advertisement for the town' and said that tourists were interested to see the locations shown in the film.⁵⁹⁷ However, there was no indication in the interviews carried out for this project that tourists chose to visit destinations because they were featured in films or on television, as has been identified in studies of tourist practices elsewhere.⁵⁹⁸



Figure 55: A chase along the walls at Rostov Velikii.
Source: *Ivan Vasil'evich meniaet professiu*, 32:58.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ivan Vasil'evich meniaet professiu*, dir. by L. Gaidai (Mosfil'm, 1973) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nK-87LKoZDg>> [accessed on 15 February 2014].

⁵⁹⁷ G1/1.

⁵⁹⁸ Research includes R. Riley, D. Baker and C. S. Van Doren, 'Movie Induced Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25:4 (1998), pp. 919-35; J. Connell, 'Toddlers, Tourism and Tobermory: Destination Marketing Issues and Television-Induced Tourism', *Tourism Management*, 26:5 (2005), pp. 763-76.

A more somber image of a Golden Ring town is presented in the film *The Theme (Tema)*, which was one of several films made in Suzdal during late socialism.⁵⁹⁹ Although this film has a contemporary theme, the image of Suzdal is rooted in the past and its main theme is death. The Soviet present and the future are almost non-existent, and the town's tourist-complex is not visible. The film depicts a few days in winter, when Suzdal is snow-covered and almost empty. The film's hero, a privileged, well-known writer from Moscow, asks himself why he has come.⁶⁰⁰ Only a naive young student is excited to visit Suzdal, commenting on its beauty and calling it 'our roots'.⁶⁰¹ The town seems to be dying – its population is shrinking through emigration and death, and its cultural heritage is being fossilised as museum exhibits. Although these images contrast strongly with Orlov's portrayal of Suzdal as a 'tourist Mecca', the town's image on screen is closer to the literal meaning of a *gorod-muzei*.⁶⁰²

The Russian *Rodina*

Both Reviakin in a speech to the Central Council of VOPIK in 1968 and Bychkov in his article in *SK* in July 1969 connected the Golden Ring to nurturing feelings of Russian patriotism.⁶⁰³ This connection also emerged in reports about the Manezh exhibition. For example, in *LG*, it was argued that visitors 'experience a feeling of love and pride towards their *Rodina*', and that feelings for the Russian *Rodina* were inseparable from feelings about the past.⁶⁰⁴

The showcasing of Ancient Rus conformed to the retreat to a 'radiant past' and rural life, which R. Stites identifies as a feature of one side of the 'culture wars' during the

⁵⁹⁹ *Tema*, dir. by G. Panfilov (Mosfil'm, 1979, released in 1986)

<<http://cinema.mosfilm.ru/films/film/1970-1979/tema/>> [accessed on 15 February 2014]. The film was one of 60 films, which had been banned (here because of its emigration theme) or had restricted release but were taken 'off the shelf' during *glasnost*. See I. Christie, 'The Cinema', in *Culture and The Media in the USSR Today*, ed. by J. Graffy and G. A. Hosking (London: Macmillan in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1989), pp. 47-49. Iu. Belov, 'Otkrytie kino Suzdalia', *Turist*, 1988:4, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁰⁰ *Tema*, 12:04-12:13.

⁶⁰¹ *Tema*, 3:52-4:04.

⁶⁰² M. Orlov, 'Mekka russkogo turizma', p. 11.

⁶⁰³ GARF, f. A639, op.1, d. 207, l. 31; Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

⁶⁰⁴ 'Pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi', *LG*, 26:4208, 25 June 1969, p. 1; Osetrov, 'Zhivaia Drevniaia Rus' ...: Kartinki s vystavki', p. 8.

Brezhnev era.⁶⁰⁵ An informant for this project commented that the pre-revolutionary past had only been spoken about negatively and people generally knew little about it, and so she found it surprising that the Golden Ring provided a ‘little window’ to the past.⁶⁰⁶ Another informant recalled that ‘there was a craving for history’.⁶⁰⁷ Not only did the Golden Ring focus on the pre-revolutionary period, but it was an exclusively Russian past. Bychkov called the Golden Ring ‘the cradle of Russian culture.’⁶⁰⁸ Official ideology stated that national differences would erode as socialism developed.⁶⁰⁹ The promotion of Russian history and culture through the Golden Ring seems paradoxical given this ideological position.

Ely argues that Soviet writers and artists both preserved the aesthetic images of the Russian landscape that had been developed in the late nineteenth century in connection with the development of Russian nationalism, and adapted them for their own concerns.⁶¹⁰ In the paintings of the 1870s-80s, the Russian landscape was depicted as vast and empty – even peasants had been removed – but the landscape was still meant to be replete with national feelings.⁶¹¹ Moreover, these empty landscapes, such as those by Shikshin, ignored two traditional institutions of Russian identity: Orthodoxy and autocracy.⁶¹² In contrast to the empty landscapes of nineteenth century painters, the Soviet era images of the Golden Ring were of towns, local centres of population, and especially of Orthodox churches and monasteries (Figure 56). While it may be argued that the Golden Ring was developed primarily for foreign tourists who were especially interested in Russian history, the route was also promoted to Soviet tourists.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁵ Stites, pp. 149-50.

⁶⁰⁶ G2/4.

⁶⁰⁷ G2/3.

⁶⁰⁸ Bychkov and Desiatnikov, *Around the Golden Ring of Russia*, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁹ S. Lovell, *The Shadow of War: Russia and the USSR, 1941 to the Present* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 218.

⁶¹⁰ Ely, *This Meager Nature*, pp. 25-26.

⁶¹¹ Ely, *This Meager Nature*, pp. 197, 214.

⁶¹² Ely, *This Meager Nature*, p. 204.

⁶¹³ The first Intourist survey of foreign tourists from the West in 1974 showed that the most important reason for visiting the USSR was its history and culture. See Bagdasarian, Orlov, Shnaidgen, Fedulin and Mazin, p. 154.

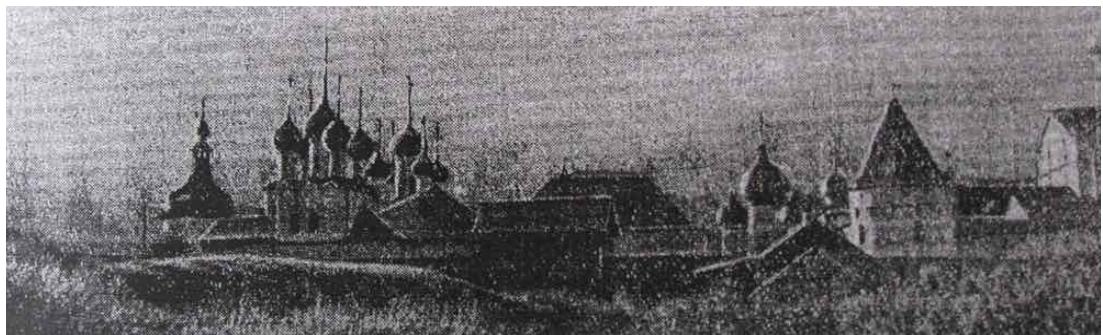


Figure 56: 'A panorama of ancient Rostov.'
Source: Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

The restoration of Orthodox buildings was, according to Brudny, a 'key catalyst in the emergence of Russian nationalism in the 1960s'.⁶¹⁴ The promotion of such buildings for tourism in the late 1960s suggests that there was a change in the Brezhnev era compared to Khrushchev's atheist campaign. According to G. Hosking, although official religious policy in the USSR did not fundamentally alter under Brezhnev, but was applied in a 'much more hesitant and even reluctant manner', religion formed part of a revival of Russian patriotism.⁶¹⁵ In Kostroma the continuation of the atheist policy can be seen in protocols of the local KPSS in 1971, but the authorities knew that despite this campaign the income of churches was growing and that children and young people were attending services.⁶¹⁶ Stites views the increased interest in religion as part of the nostalgia for the past and a rural way of life, which also encompassed nationalism and the preservation of culture.⁶¹⁷ The Golden Ring tourist route suited these trends because of its focus on small towns in the Russian countryside and their religious buildings (Figure 57).

It seems paradoxical that considerable efforts were made to restore buildings originally built for Orthodox religious purposes, but limitations remained on the promotion of their religious aspects. A tour guide told how, in Brezhnev's time, the crosses on the top of the cathedral in Kostroma's Ipat'ev Monastery were in place, but had been erased from photographs used for postcards.⁶¹⁸ Other informants in Kostroma explained that describing the external architecture of churches – the pillars, cupolas and decoration –

⁶¹⁴ Brudny, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State*, p. 138.

⁶¹⁵ G. Hosking, *Russia and the Russians: From Earliest Times to 2001* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 567-68.

⁶¹⁶ Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (hereafter RGASPI), f. 17, op. 139, d. 557, ll. 331, 387; RGASPI, f. 17, op. 139, d. 564, ll. 207-09, 217.

⁶¹⁷ Stites, p. 149.

⁶¹⁸ G2/5.

was considered acceptable for tour guides working with Soviet tourists, while references to their religious meanings were not deemed appropriate.⁶¹⁹ According to official instructions to tour guides working with foreign tourists visiting the Golden Ring, the guides were to say that the role of Christianity in the formation of Russian culture had not been determined.⁶²⁰

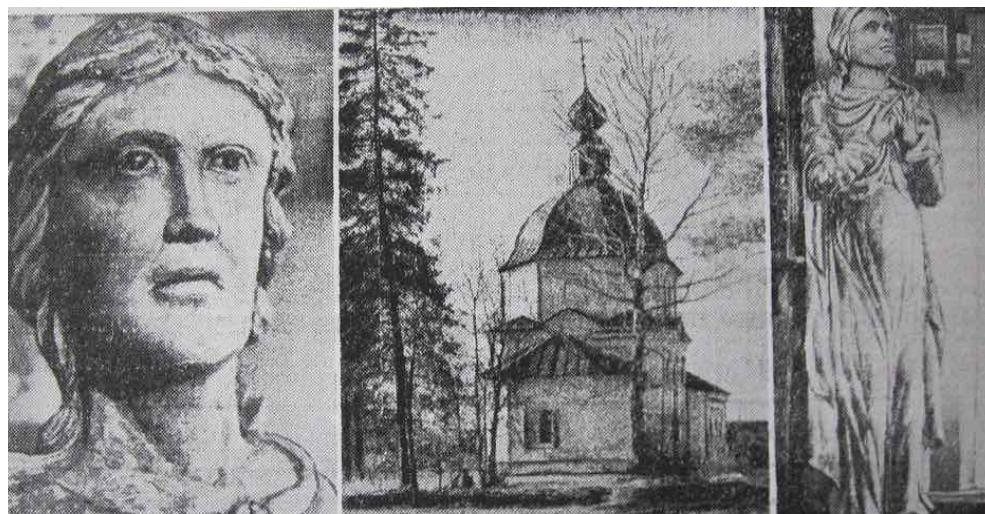


Figure 57: 'A fragment of a statue of Mary, a church in the village of Ugol'skoe and a statue of Mary Magdalene.'

Source: Bychkov and Fomin, 'Zolotoe kol'tso: Nakhodka v Ugol'skom', p. 2.

There were instances where the boundaries of the atheist policies applied to tourism were tested, albeit without official sanction. For example, in a speech in 1973 A. Abukov, the President of TsSTE, mentioned that it had been reported that in Vladimir oblast tour guides had invited tourists to visit churches during services, because 'it was very interesting and rewarding'.⁶²¹ A tour guide in Kostroma recalled that a high-ranking official on a special individual excursion had asked to visit a functioning church, which was absolutely forbidden for domestic tour groups, and, moreover, made that request in the presence of a member of the *obkom* (oblast council) who accompanied him.⁶²²

As mentioned above, the Golden Ring originally encompassed the contrasting images of Ancient Rus and Soviet modernity, as seen in Bychkov's map (Figure 41, page 110).

⁶¹⁹ G2/4; G3/1.

⁶²⁰ Gosudarstvennyi komitet SSSR po inostrannomu turizmu, glavnoe upravlenie propagandy i informatsii, *Opisanie avtomarshrutka "Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii"*, p. 3.

⁶²¹ GARF, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 1746, l. 29.

⁶²² G2/6.

However, as the preceding analysis demonstrates, the predominant image of the Golden Ring as an overarching entity was that of Ancient Rus, which was linked to the rise of Russian patriotism during late socialism. The interplay between these two images of the Golden Ring – Ancient Rus and Soviet modernity – will be re-examined at the local level in Kostroma in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Kostroma

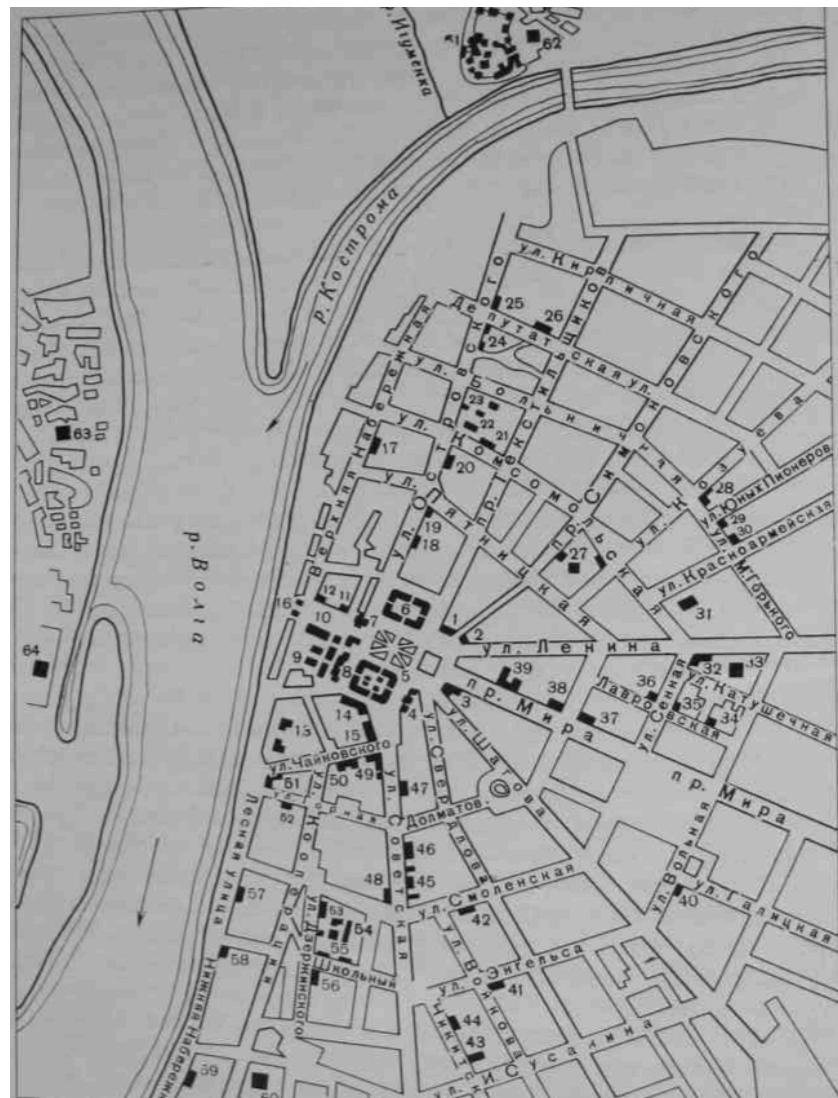


Figure 58: Kostroma in 1970.
Source: V. N. Ivanov, *Kostroma*, p. 10.

First impressions

As the train from Moscow crosses the Volga, the eye immediately searches for the view of the distant, white buildings of the Ipat'ev Monastery, Kostroma's most-visited tourist sight, reflected in the Kostroma River close to its confluence with the Volga.⁶²³ The

⁶²³ These impressions are from a visit from 20 April to 3 May 2014. Kostroma's population was 223,000 in 1970 and 271,000 in 2013. See V. N. Bochkov and K. G. Torop, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'* (Yaroslavl:

overriding impression of the town is of a horizontal space spread along both banks of the Volga and linked by a busy, modern road bridge. The Volga Hotel is clearly visible on the skyline beside the bridge, and is prominent when arriving by rail, road or along the Volga. Only when approaching the main square do the famed neoclassical buildings and the whitewashed trading rows come into sight.



Figure 59: A nineteenth-century view of the Ipat'ev Monastery.
Source: N. G. Chernetsov, 'Vid Ipat'evskogo monastyria', 1859.⁶²⁴

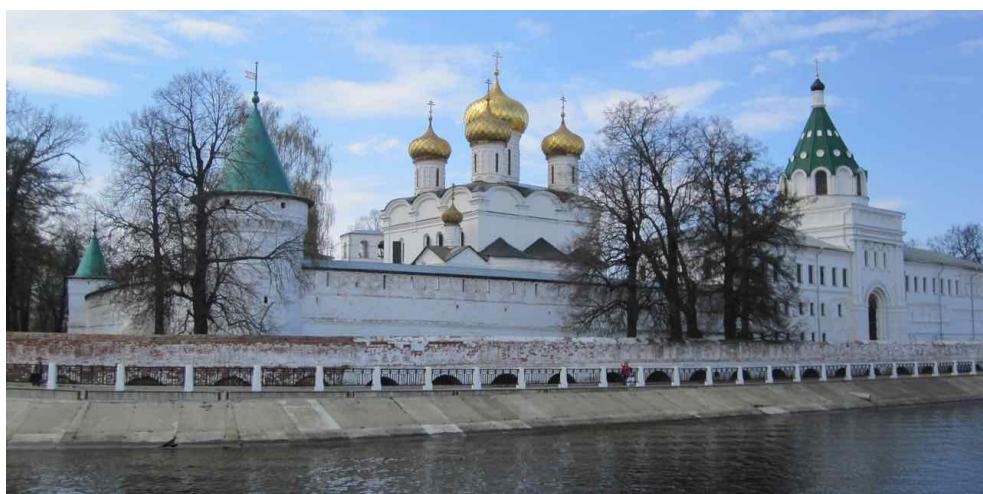


Figure 60: The Ipat'ev Monastery from a river cruise.
Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

Verkhne-volzhskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1970), p. 18; <<http://костромские-деревни.рф/численность-населения-костромы/>> [accessed on 12 January 2014].

⁶²⁴ The artist is one of the brothers who painted the Volga panorama (Chapter 2).

Kostroma seems to have two centres, separated by a stretch of Sovetskaia Street, whose architecture morphs from neoclassical to modern. At one end an ensemble of elegant, early nineteenth-century, neoclassical buildings surround the traditional centre of Susanin Square. Its atmosphere is best enjoyed at a leisurely pace on foot. Tour groups mass in this vast space during the tourist season, with residents crowding the square for civic rituals and events like the May Day rally. The rival, modern centre is October Square, which is dominated by late Soviet constructions, namely the concert hall, the department store (the modern double of the historic centre's trading rows), the nearby Volga Hotel, and the wide road to the Volga bridge (the vehicle-filled double of the tree-lined Prospekt Mira) (Figures 61 and 62). This square is a busy crossroads and public transport interchange, and is bustling with the city's residents. October Square is a place for passing through, preferably at speed, as befits a showcase for modernity. Even after a concert people do not linger, but hurry to catch their transport home.



Figure 61: October Square.

Source: Belov, Kudriashov and others, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'*, pp. 54-55.



Figure 62: The department store on October Square.
Source: Belov, Kudriashov and others, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'*.

Even though Lenin's silhouette looms above the town when seen from the river, he remains invisible from most of the vast space of what used to be Revolution and is now Susanin Square (as it used to be before the Revolution) (Figure 64). In contrast, Kostroma's local hero, Ivan Susanin, is visible throughout the long traverse across the city's traditional centre: up the hill from the Volga, across Susanin Square and along Prospekt Mira, now advertised as an avenue of culture, housing the city theatre and the renamed Romanov museum (Figure 83, page 159). Susanin himself seems disinterested in the town, however, his back turned towards it, his front reserved for the photographers.

Visitors arriving before 1934 would have gained a very different impression of Kostroma, though, with the Kremlin cathedrals providing the city with a vertical axis (Figure 63). The demolition of these soaring buildings, which one informant dubbed the 'beheading of Kostroma', changed the city's dimensions, allowing the Lenin statue to appear on the city's horizon.⁶²⁵ Kostroma did not, fortunately, suffer any damage during the Great Patriotic War and so only the Soviet authorities have changed the townscape. It is

⁶²⁵ G2/1.

possible to imagine the bold strokes to remove signs of tsarism and Orthodoxy and add those of socialism. Ironically, Kostroma's historic connection to the Romanov family has been widely used as a distinctive feature in promoting the city to post-Soviet tourists.



Figure 63: Kostroma's Kremlin at the start of the twentieth century.
Source: *Kostroma tsarstvennaia*, p. 16.



Figure 64: The statue of Lenin from the Volga.
Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

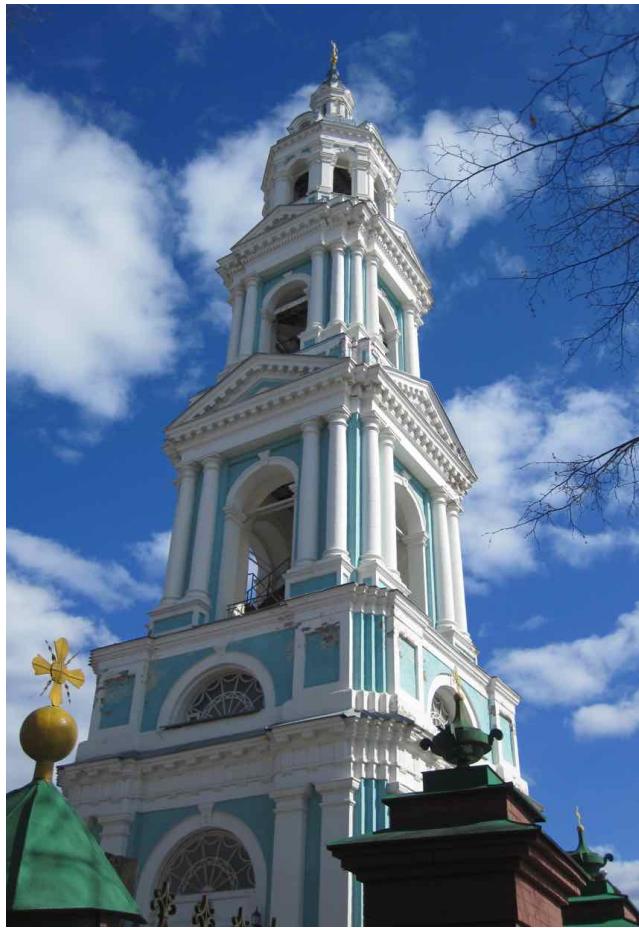


Figure 65: The bell tower by the Church of the Resurrection on the Debria.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

One soaring bell-tower remains in Kostroma and makes a striking photograph (Figure 65). Both this bell-tower and the domes and bell-tower of the church in the trading rows were not 'original', but were actually reconstructions of buildings destroyed in the 1930s (Figures 66 and 67).⁶²⁶ Comparing pre-revolutionary, Soviet and today's photographs, in which these bell-towers stand, disappear and then reappear, is like using a simple flipbook. Is the satisfied photographer of these reconstructions so very different from the happy duped tourist in Moscow in the *Krokodil* cartoon (Figure 14, page 64)? The question of what is an authentic tourist sight in post-Soviet Russia is complex.

⁶²⁶ L. S. Vasil'ev, *Kostroma vchera i segodnia / Kostroma, yesterday and today* (Kostroma: GUIPP Kostroma, 2002), pp. 84, 86.

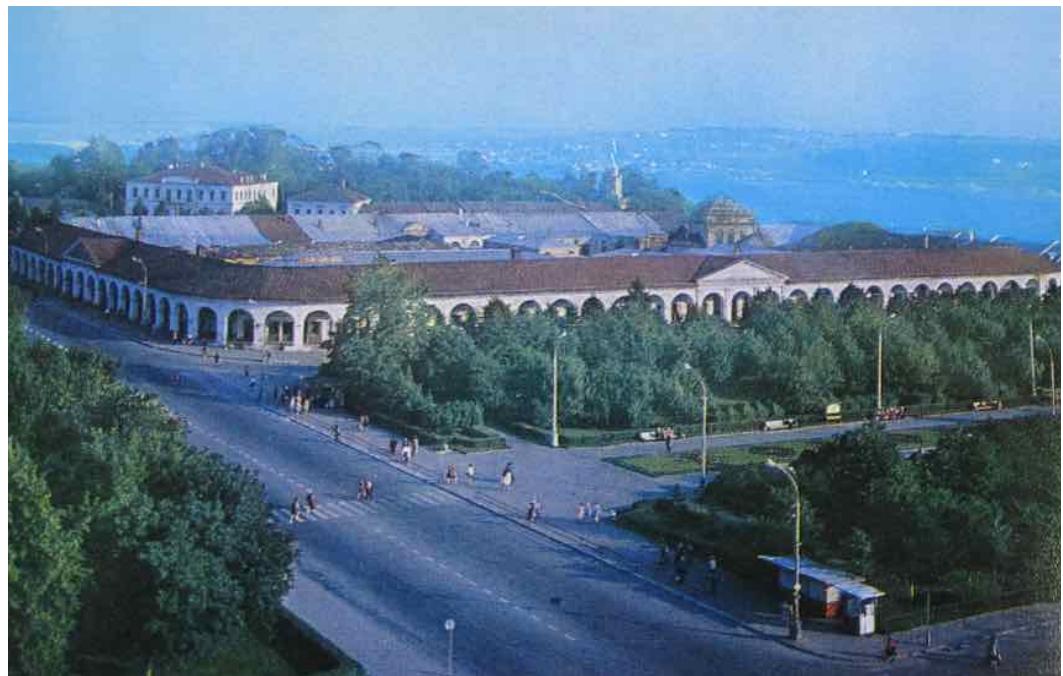


Figure 66: A 1972 postcard of the Krasnye riady.
Source: *Seriia otkrytok "Kostroma"*.⁶²⁷



Figure 67: The Krasnye riady.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

Of course, not everything destroyed in the mutilation of the townscape in the 1930s has been, or is in the process of eventually being, restored. The Planetarium barely disguises

⁶²⁷ The church domes and bell-tower (right) were destroyed in the 1930s and rebuilt during the 1970s. See Vasil'ev, p. 86.

a church minus its bell tower and half of its main tower. Near Lenin's statue a small collection box for the restoration sits beside the few remaining bricks of the destroyed Kremlin churches and a tiny new chapel. Another approach to re-presenting the past is simply to use a photograph. When travelling along Sovetskaia Street from the centre, one can compare the contemporary and historic views by looking at the photograph on the side of a *produkty* (Figure 68). The domes and tower of the church were demolished in the early 1930s, but the other buildings in the foreground remain today.⁶²⁸



Figure 68: A historic view displayed at 14, Sovetskaia Street.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

Even late Soviet constructions are concealed as time passes. The Kostroma department store occupies one side of October Square and was a key ingredient in Kostroma's Soviet modernity, featuring on the front cover and inside Belov's 1983 guidebook (Figure 62, page 137).⁶²⁹ The store is barely recognisable today with its shiny post-Soviet facade (Figure 69). Kostroma seems to invite the tourist to interpret the townscape and use the different strata of architecture visible today to connect to the city's long history. One

⁶²⁸ Vasil'ev, pp. 74-75.

⁶²⁹ M. N. Belov, E. V. Kudriashov and others, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'* (Yaroslavl: Verkhne-volzhskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1983), front cover.

might wish to use a guide for this form of travel through time, either a person or a book to narrate the landscape.



Figure 69: The refurbished department store at October Square.

Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

Kostroma is virtually devoid of tourists prior to the start of the tourist season on 1 May, although some souvenir sellers wait with their linen goods and paintings near at the Ipat'ev Monastery and the Susanin statue. Repainting the white lines in the Volga Hotel's car park and cleaning the fountain in Soviet Square signal that the tourist season is about to start. From 1 May tourists arrive in cars (mostly bearing Moscow number plates) and buses and from Volga cruise ships (Figures 70 and 71). Some clutch Golden Ring guidebooks. Others are on bus tours and are shepherded from location to location by tour guides. The essentially passive nature of Kostroma's role is clear, especially as the town has few hotels and its tourism business is overshadowed by nearby Yaroslavl's more assertive tourist industry.⁶³⁰

⁶³⁰ Yaroslavl is now the self-proclaimed 'capital of the Golden Ring' (G2/3).



Figure 70: The car park and souvenir stalls at the Ipat'ev Monastery.

Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

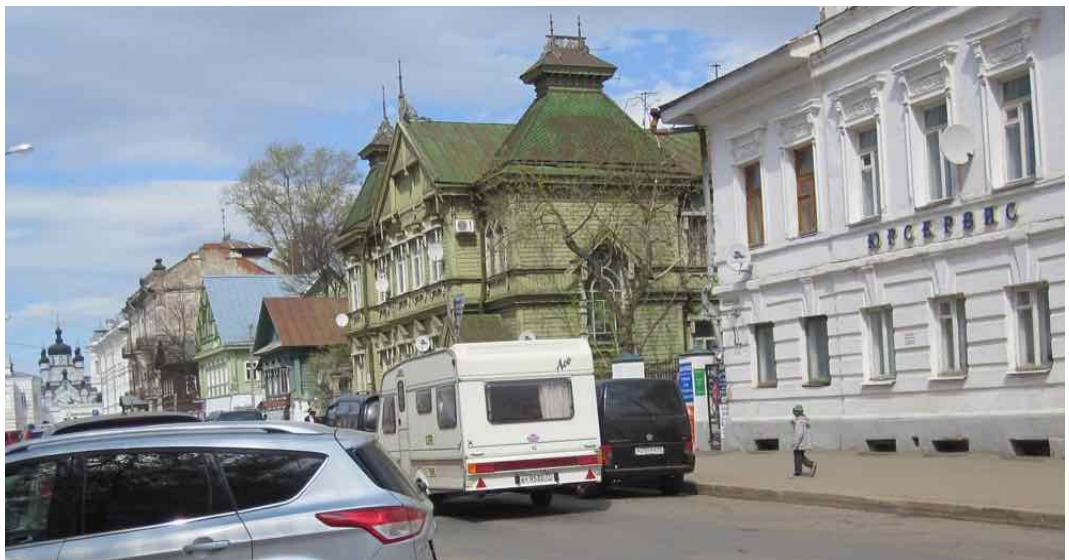


Figure 71: An unexpected caravan on Ul. Simanovskogo.

Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

People in Kostroma have a reputation for being very polite and friendly. A Volga sailor wanders out of his apartment near the station early on a Sunday morning and helps two strangers find the correct bus stops. He is extremely surprised to find that one is English, almost a Martian. The sole exception to the city's customary politeness is to be found at the Volga Hotel, whose staff look bored and unfriendly (Figure 72).⁶³¹ Only the owner of the hotel gift shop is energised, chatting happily about memorable visitors from the past.

⁶³¹ Apparently, the hotel staff are not paid well (G1/1).



Figure 72: The Volga Hotel and its restaurant.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

First impressions are valuable because, as W. Benjamin argues, the original image of a landscape is lost with familiarity, just as a building's facade vanishes as we enter.⁶³² Also, as M. de Certeau explains, a walker selects a path in a townscape, choosing some places to visit and ignoring others.⁶³³ Walkers could gain different impressions of a place, depending on the path they chose. The above impressions are from one visitor's path and, of course, are not those of a Russian tourist and most certainly not those of a Soviet tourist in an organised tour group or an independent tourist in the period of late socialism.

Tourism during late socialism

It is not immediately obvious that Kostroma would have developed a tourism industry. The city is the furthest of the Golden Ring towns from Moscow (300 kilometres northeast of the capital) and impossible to reach on a day-trip. Kostroma had a significant industrial base before and after the Revolution, with the largest factory being the Tretiakov family's linen factory (later renamed after Lenin) located on the Kostroma River. On the opposite bank is the Ipat'ev Monastery, which had close connections with the Godunov and Romanov dynasties. The city lost its status as a provincial centre after the Revolution,

⁶³² W. Benjamin, *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. by J. A. Underwood (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 84.

⁶³³ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by S. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 98-99.

which some attribute to its tsarist connections, until Kostroma oblast was established in 1944.⁶³⁴ Some of Kostroma's industrial enterprises were dismantled and moved to other towns during Stalin's industrialisation and infrastructure developments bypassed the area, but this did assist in preserving the historic townscape.⁶³⁵ Kostroma was left as a more backward periphery compared to neighbouring areas. As if to underline Kostroma's peripheral status, the 1952 film version of Gogol's play *The Government Inspector* (*Revizor*), which satirises the provincial, was filmed in the city.⁶³⁶

A brief description of Kostroma is included in a 1956 tourist itinerary for a Volga cruise from Moscow to Astrakhan, which did not stop in the city.⁶³⁷ The itinerary describes Kostroma as being famous for its linen factories and a nearby state farm. Kostroma's 800th anniversary in 1952 and a few celebrated *kostromichi*, including the poet A. N. Pleshcheev and the Decembrist K. F. Ryleev, are mentioned.⁶³⁸ It omits the Ipat'ev Monastery and two nineteenth-century literary figures now associated with Kostroma, namely Aleksandr Ostrovskii, who had estates nearby, and the poet N. A. Nekrasov, who mentioned the area in his verse.⁶³⁹ From this description it seems unlikely that Kostroma would have developed into a tourist destination. However, improvements to infrastructure during late socialism, the establishment of new tourist attractions and the construction of the Volga Hotel facilitated the development of Kostroma's tourism industry when tourism became a mass activity.

Kostroma's local tourism organisation, its STE, was founded in the mid-1960s, with fewer than ten full-time staff and a much larger group of freelance tour guides.⁶⁴⁰ At that time the STE's work tended to be somewhat spontaneous rather than highly organised, with enthusiastic and energetic tour guides, who improvised when necessary.⁶⁴¹ A more

⁶³⁴ The number of oblasts varied in the decades after the Revolution. See J. Pallot and D. J. B. Shaw, *Planning in the Soviet Union* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 58-59; G2/6.

⁶³⁵ G2/6.

⁶³⁶ Bochkov and Torop, p. 119. *Revizor*, dir. by V. Petrov (Mos'film, 1952).

⁶³⁷ VTsSPS, *Turistskie marshruty po SSSR* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1956), pp. 74-83.

⁶³⁸ VTsSPS, *Turistskie marshruty po SSSR* (1956), p. 78.

⁶³⁹ For details of the Nekrasov connection see N. K. Nekrasov, *Nekrasovskie mesta Rossii: Greshnevo, Abakamtsevo, Jaroslavl', Kostroma, Karabikha, Peterburg, Chudovskaia Luka* (Yaroslavl: Verkhnevolzhskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1971).

⁶⁴⁰ G2/5.

⁶⁴¹ G2/5; G2/6.

organised and even industrialised style of tourism developed in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁴² This reflects the growth of tourism into a mass activity, and the prevalence of group tours in Kostroma.

The Volga was key to the development of tourism in Kostroma, because river cruises were the primary source of organised tourists. One of the STE's roles was to produce a mass of tour guides when each Volga cruise ship arrived, so that its 300 passengers could be quickly organised into groups of thirty tourists for excursions, each with a tour guide (Figure 73).⁶⁴³ The methodologist calculated how long the tour guide should remain at each point on the tour, because the cruise ship stops in Kostroma were strictly limited to two or three hours.⁶⁴⁴



Figure 73: Tourists from two Volga cruisers hurry to their tour buses.
Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

A second source of tourists was the bus tours of the Golden Ring, which were for domestic tourists only until Kostroma was opened to foreigners in the mid-1980s. The Volga Bridge opened in 1970 and new routes to Yaroslavl, Ivanovo and Vladimir were developed around that time as well.⁶⁴⁵ These infrastructure developments were crucial to Kostroma's participation in the Golden Ring because the city centre and the Ipat'ev Monastery are located on the opposite bank of the Volga to neighbouring towns on the route. The Golden Ring was especially significant for Kostroma's tourism industry

⁶⁴² G2/1; G2/4.

⁶⁴³ G2/5.

⁶⁴⁴ G2/5.

⁶⁴⁵ RGASPI, f. 17, op. 139, d. 557, l. 255; G2/4.

because it transformed the city from being solely a destination for brief excursions by visitors from cruise ships into a tourist town.⁶⁴⁶ The Golden Ring tours spent several nights in Kostroma and could be taken to more sights.⁶⁴⁷ In addition, the Golden Ring tours prolonged Kostroma's tourist season, which had previously been confined to the five-month sailing season for Volga cruises.

Visitors from the Kostroma and neighbouring oblasts, some of whom had travelled hundreds of kilometres to reach Kostroma, comprised a third source of tourists.⁶⁴⁸ Putting their journeys into context, driving 120 kilometres from Kostroma to the Ostrovskii Museum at Shchelykovo took four hours during late socialism, because the roads were cobbled not asphalt.⁶⁴⁹ Without such tours these people could have lived their whole lives without seeing Kostroma, let alone other parts of the USSR.⁶⁵⁰ A member of the Kostroma STE staff recounted how she contacted the union councils at factories by telephone or by travelling around the oblast to suggest excursions and trips for their workers.⁶⁵¹ Kostroma's STE accommodated three hundred of these tourists in a train parked in a siding as a quasi-hotel.⁶⁵²

The tour guides' accounts of these tourists from the countryside reveal a friendly attitude (they are often called 'folks' (*rebiata*)), but the visitors were seen as coming from a backward, uncultured periphery.⁶⁵³ One guide expected a group of ladies in peasant shawls from a small town in a neighbouring oblast to be inattentive and unpleasant.⁶⁵⁴ A group of loggers came on a lorry from the taiga in winter, sitting on planks under an awning and singing accompanied by an accordion.⁶⁵⁵ This conforms to the idea that the

⁶⁴⁶ G2/4.

⁶⁴⁷ VTsSPS, *Tsentral'nyi sovet po turizmu i ekskursiam. Turistskie marshruty* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1974), p. 4; G2/4; G2/5.

⁶⁴⁸ G2/5. Parts of Kostroma oblast are almost 500 kms from Kostroma, further away than Moscow.

⁶⁴⁹ G2/6.

⁶⁵⁰ G2/5.

⁶⁵¹ G2/6.

⁶⁵² G2/5.

⁶⁵³ G2/5; G2/6.

⁶⁵⁴ G2/6.

⁶⁵⁵ G2/6.

Soviet centre-province was a continuum.⁶⁵⁶ In this case further peripheries were identified from areas, which were already seen as provincial from the centre.

Tour groups could be made up of similar sorts of people, such as from the same workplace. One memorable group comprised famous actors who were in town for a festival.⁶⁵⁷ However, there were also individuals who had bought their own ticket for the tour: one tour guide called them 'loners' (*odinochki*).⁶⁵⁸ The visitors came from different parts of the USSR and their ages ranged from school children to the elderly. Several tour guides agreed that the best groups, described by one as 'the excursionary elite', were from Leningrad, because they were knowledgeable and interested.⁶⁵⁹ The poorer intelligentsia from the lower decks of the Volga cruise ships were seen as more interesting than those from the upper decks.⁶⁶⁰ Muscovites were less popular, because they were condescending to the guides and arrogantly claimed to know more about everything, just because they were from the capital.⁶⁶¹ The STE staff had to remind their tour guides that they themselves were the experts on Kostroma.⁶⁶² This example embodies ideas of Soviet centre-periphery relations, which were reinforced in mass media descriptions of the city in opposition to the backward, rural periphery.⁶⁶³

In late socialism Kostroma offered a composite setting for tourism comprised of two approximately separate areas, reflecting the Soviet planning principle of zones of land use and local efforts to preserve Kostroma's historic heritage.⁶⁶⁴ One Kostroma was the museum-town, made up of three areas of historic buildings, while the other was a modern Soviet town (Figure 74). The situation of the Soviet space in Kostroma mirrors, albeit on a smaller scale, the development of Mezhdunarodnyi Prospekt (now Moskovskii

⁶⁵⁶ E. Iarskaia-Smirnova and P. Romanov, 'At the Margins of Memory: Provincial Identity and Soviet Power in Oral Histories, 1940-1953', in *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917-1953*, ed. by D. J. Raleigh (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), p. 326.

⁶⁵⁷ G2/1. One of the group was Andrei Mironov, who was the doctor-tourist in *Byd'te moim muzhem* and the smuggler-tourist in *Brilliantovaia ruka*.

⁶⁵⁸ G2/2.

⁶⁵⁹ G2/1; G2/3; G2/6.

⁶⁶⁰ G2/5.

⁶⁶¹ G2/6.

⁶⁶² G2/6.

⁶⁶³ Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov, 'At the Margins of Memory', in *Provincial Landscapes*, ed. by Raleigh, p. 316.

⁶⁶⁴ Pallot and Shaw, p. 253; L. I. Sizintseva, ““Gorod-skazka, gorod-mechta ...”’: Mechty i realnost’ Kostromy 1950-60-kh gg.’, *Kostromskoi gumanitarnyi vestnik*, 3 (2012), p. 42.

Prospekt) in St Petersburg, which was located outside the fan-shaped street plan of the city's historic centre. During the 1930s this area was planned using socialist ideals as a Soviet showpiece, including a modern administrative centre.⁶⁶⁵



Figure 74: The three areas of the *gorod-muzei* (opaque).
Source: Based on a map in V. N. Ivanov, *Kostroma*, p. 10.

The contradictory images of Kostroma recall the presentation of the Soviet present together with Ancient Rus seen at the 1969 exhibition ‘The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus’ in the Moscow Manezh. Kostroma’s two, rival centres – Susanin (then Revolution) Square and October Square – on Sovetskaia Street also reflect this opposition and fusion: a city looking both backwards at its long history, and forwards to a bright Soviet future. This is considered further below when looking at the guides to Kostroma. Both images reflect considerable congruity with their respective genres, celebrating sameness rather than individuality. Similarly, some of the new tourist attractions constructed during late socialism, which could have promoted uniqueness, in fact conformed to types established elsewhere, such as the Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture, also found in Suzdal.

⁶⁶⁵ A. L. George with E. George, *St Petersburg: A History* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2006), p. 482.

Three significant tourist sights in Kostroma were established or constructed during late socialism: the historical-architectural museum-reserve (*istoriko-arkhitekturnyi myzei-zapovednik*), the Berendeevka, and the Ivan Susanin monument, which is examined in detail below. While all three were new Soviet-era sights, they all had origins dating back several centuries and linked the Soviet period with Ancient Rus or traditional folk culture. Arguably, all three were like J. Baudrillard's simulacra mentioned in Chapter 2: attractions moulded to a narrative suitable for tourism, which became 'real'.⁶⁶⁶



Figure 75: A 1972 postcard of the Spasskaia Church from Vezh, 1628, in the Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture.

Source: *Seriia otkrytok "Kostroma"*.



Figure 76: Interior of the Bogoroditskaia Church from Kholm, 1552, in the Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture.

Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

⁶⁶⁶ J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. by S. Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 1.

Kostroma's museum-reserve was established as an officially designated museum-reserve in 1958 along with others in the Golden Ring, as mentioned in Chapter 3.⁶⁶⁷ It comprised: the former Ipat'ev Monastery complex, including its museum with departments of pre- and post-revolutionary history, nature and ethnography; the adjacent Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture (Figures 75 and 76); and the art museum on Prospekt Mira, which the Tsar had opened in 1913.⁶⁶⁸ The Ipat'ev Monastery was closed in 1918 and used for communal apartments before becoming a museum in 1946.⁶⁶⁹ Kostroma's Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture contained churches, windmills, houses and other buildings, which were moved from their original, peripheral locations around Kostroma oblast to preserve them as museum exhibits in the oblast centre. This is an example of a simulation, which replaced traditional Russian rural culture with a museum that was organised along lines approved in the centre.⁶⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Ipat'ev Monastery and the buildings in the Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture were not used for their original purpose in the museum-reserve, but took on a 'second life' as exhibits of Russian heritage.⁶⁷¹

The Berendeevka was a new attraction established on the outskirts in 1973, taking its theme from Ostrovskii's 1873 play *The Snow Maiden (Snegurochka)* (Figures 77 and 78).⁶⁷² It comprised a forested park with ten izbas, a windmill, a palace of 'tsar' Berendei and a popular restaurant around a lake.⁶⁷³ Some of these constructions had originally been part of the set for the 1968 film *The Snow Maiden (Snegurochka)*, shot at Ostrovskii's former estate at Shchelykov.⁶⁷⁴ A local guidebook (*putevoditel'*) noted that the attraction, described as an 'artistic-folklore ensemble', was famous in many parts of the USSR thanks to reporting on Central TV.⁶⁷⁵ A visit to Berendeevka was included in longer tours of Kostroma.⁶⁷⁶ Another play by Ostrovskii was the basis for the late Soviet film *Cruel*

⁶⁶⁷ Rossiiskaia muzeinaia entsiklopedia <http://www.museum.ru/rme/sci_zap.asp> [accessed on 18 November 2014].

⁶⁶⁸ Bochkov and Torop, p. 87; G2/4.

⁶⁶⁹ Bochkov and Torop, p. 87; G2/6.

⁶⁷⁰ Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov, 'At the Margins of Memory', in *Provincial Landscapes*, ed. by Raleigh, p. 310.

⁶⁷¹ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 150.

⁶⁷² The play is a fairy tale about 'tsar' Berendei and his daughter Snegurochka in a setting of Ancient Rus.

⁶⁷³ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 35.

⁶⁷⁴ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 36; *Snegorochka*, dir. by P. Kadochnikov (Lenfil'm, 1968).

⁶⁷⁵ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 36.

⁶⁷⁶ G2/6.

Romance (*Zhestokii romans*), which was shot in Kostroma.⁶⁷⁷ Even today Russian tourists ask to be shown various locations connected with the film, including a floating mooring on the Volga which appears in many key scenes.⁶⁷⁸ These sights are examples of what Baudrillard termed ‘hyperreal’ or ‘models of a real without origin or reality’.⁶⁷⁹ Even though these locations were not ‘real’ houses or a ‘real’ Volga steamer mooring and hardly have a pedagogical value, they were, nevertheless, of interest to tourists.



Figure 77: Advertising for the Berendeevka outside the Kostroma Hotel (under renovation) at 120 Sovetskaia Street.
Source: Author’s collection (May 2014).



Figure 78: Detail of the advertising for the Berendeevka.
Source: Author’s collection (May 2014).

⁶⁷⁷ *Zhestokii romans*, dir. by E. Riazanov (Mosfil’m, 1984).

⁶⁷⁸ G1/1.

⁶⁷⁹ Baudrillard, p. 1.

The statue of Ivan Susanin

According to legend, Ivan Susanin lived in a village near Kostroma. Susanin perished in February 1613 after leading some murderous Polish soldiers into the forest and away from the young Tsar Mikhail Romanov, the founder of the Romanov dynasty, who had been staying with his mother in Kostroma. Some have suggested that the heroic deed could have occurred in the autumn of 1612, prior to Romanov's election as tsar in 1613, and that the Polish soldiers were looking to hold the young nobleman for ransom.⁶⁸⁰ In 1619 the Tsar granted Susanin's descendants the right to be free peasants. Little is known about Susanin, other than that he was a steward and most probably an older man, and this made the legend malleable.⁶⁸¹

Some have suggested that Susanin's feat was invented for the Romanovs to use for dynastic purposes.⁶⁸² The legend reappeared in the nineteenth century, when Russian national identity and peasant emancipation were important issues. Monuments were erected in Susanin's name, recognising the role of a peasant in the Romanov dynasty's founding and in saving Russia from invaders (Figure 79).⁶⁸³ Soon after the Revolution the Soviet authorities conferred the Order of the Red Flag on the Susanin family.⁶⁸⁴ However, Susanin was not adopted into Soviet culture at this time and, given its connections to the Romanov family, the myth required significant adaptation.

Susanin's place in Russian culture was established in the nineteenth century, principally through Mikhail Glinka's 1836 opera *A Life for the Tsar* (*Zhizn' za tsaria*), which was the first opera sung entirely in Russian.⁶⁸⁵ Just as the Romanov dynasty used the Susanin myth to promote Russian national ideas, Glinka used *A Life for the Tsar* as part of his attempt to create distinctively Russian music. Glinka has been widely recognised as the founding father of Russian music, a parallel to Pushkin's role in Russian literature.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁰ N. A. Zontikov, ““Za sluzhbu k nam, i za krov’, i za terpenie ...” (Ivan Susanin. Legendy, predaniia, istoriiia), *Kostromskaia zemlia: Kraevedcheskii al’manakh Kostromskogo oblastnogo otdelenia Vserossiiskogo fonda kul’tury*, 2 (1992), p. 43.

⁶⁸¹ Zontikov, pp. 41-42.

⁶⁸² Zontikov, p. 48.

⁶⁸³ Zontikov, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁸⁴ Zontikov, p. 52.

⁶⁸⁵ M. Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 59-60; Zontikov, p. 50.

⁶⁸⁶ Frolova-Walker, pp. 52, 58. For more details see Chapter 2, pp. 52-73.



Figure 79: Kostroma's Monument of Mikhail Romanov and Ivan Susanin in the early twentieth century.
Source: *Kostroma tsarstvennaia*, p. 22.

After the Revolution *A Life for the Tsar* disappeared from the repertoire until 1939, when there was a resurgence of anti-Polish sentiment. The opera was renamed *Ivan Susanin*, which removed the tsar and elevated the position of the people's hero, and the libretto was significantly modified, giving the opera a socialist realist character suitable for the new Soviet nationalism.⁶⁸⁷ Susanin now saved Moscow (i.e. Russia/USSR) not the tsar, which necessitated relocating the action closer to Moscow and losing the Kostroma connection.⁶⁸⁸ The final chorus was re-phrased from glorifying Rus to praising the Soviet

⁶⁸⁷ Frolova-Walker, pp. 53, 67.

⁶⁸⁸ Frolova-Walker, p. 63.

system, and later to glorifying the Russian people.⁶⁸⁹ M. Frolova-Walker describes *Ivan Susanin* as ‘a perfect vehicle for a Stalinist show’.⁶⁹⁰

In Soviet times Susanin was well known from the everyday expression, ‘You Ivan Susanin’, meaning making a selfless sacrifice.⁶⁹¹ The Susanin myth was also parodied, which confirms that he was a well-known and puffed-up cult figure. Daniil Kharms’ 1939 short story, ‘A historical episode’ (Istoricheskii epizod), punctured Susanin’s heroic image by portraying him as cowardly and uncultured.⁶⁹² The Susanin jokes included:

Ivan Susanin arrived at the Central Committee.

– Lets go boys, I’ll lead!⁶⁹³

– Who invented the semiconductor?

– Ivan Susanin was the first semiconductor.⁶⁹⁴

Susanin disappeared from Kostroma’s townscape after the Revolution. In 1918 Susanin Square was renamed in honour of the Revolution and the Mikhail Romanov and Susanin monument was removed, with the remaining plinth used to display portraits of Marx and Lenin.⁶⁹⁵ The ubiquitous faces of socialism replaced Kostroma’s unique hero. A proposed statue of Susanin, part of the monument for the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty in 1913, also morphed into Lenin (Figures 80 and 81).⁶⁹⁶ At the time of the Revolution this monument was partially constructed. In 1928 it was decided to place Lenin’s statue on the existing plinth, fusing together old Russian and Soviet designs (thus echoing N. Tumarkin’s argument that the Lenin cult was rooted in the pre-revolutionary

⁶⁸⁹ L. L. Sabaneev, *Vospominaniia o Rossii* (Moscow: Klassika-XXI, 2005), http://www.belousenko.com/books/memoirs/sabaneev_vosp_o_rossii.htm [accessed on 6 February 2014].

⁶⁹⁰ Frolova-Walker, p. 68.

⁶⁹¹ G1/1.

⁶⁹² ‘Istoricheskii epizod’, in D. Kharms, *Polet v nebesa: Stikhi, proza, dramy, pis’ma* (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel’, Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1988), pp. 387-89.

⁶⁹³ *1001 izbrannyi sovetskii politicheskii anekdot*, ed. by Iu. Telesin (Tenafly: Hermitage, 1986), p. 95.

⁶⁹⁴ Telesin, p. 68.

⁶⁹⁵ Zontikov, p. 52.

⁶⁹⁶ In a more literal version, the tsarist-era statues were melted down at the *Rabochii metallist* factory and eventually became the Lenin statue. See Zontikov, p. 52.

past).⁶⁹⁷ Of course, tour guides were at one stage forbidden to relate that the Lenin monument's foundations were in fact those of the Romanov monument.⁶⁹⁸ However, later tour guides used the monument as an example of the victory of socialism over the monarchy.⁶⁹⁹



Figure 80: The model of the monument for the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty, including Ivan Susanin (right).

Source: *Kostroma tsarstvennaya*, p. 17.

⁶⁹⁷ N. Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!: The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 3.

⁶⁹⁸ G2/4.

⁶⁹⁹ G2/1.

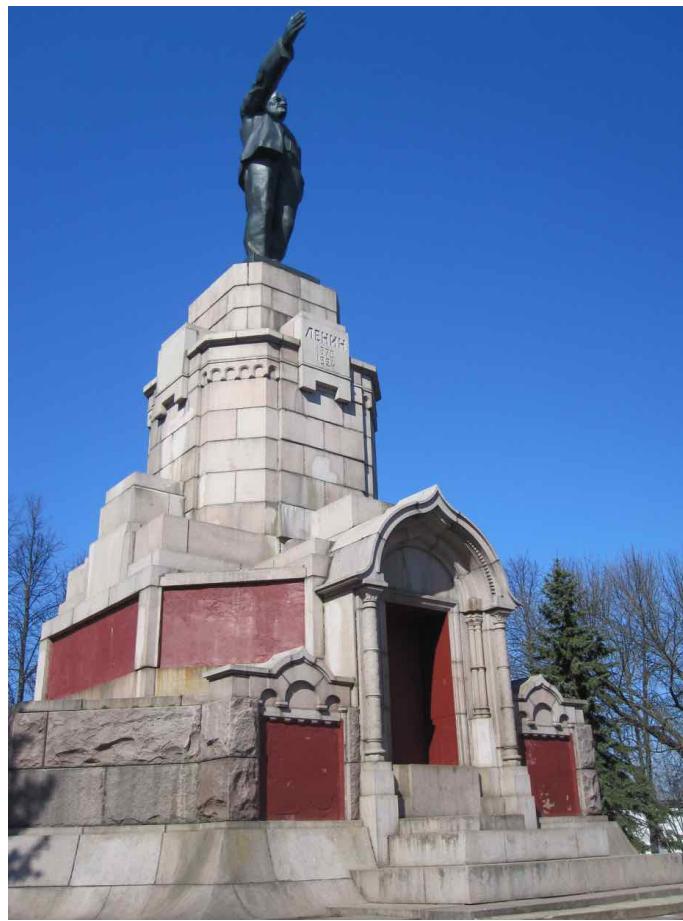


Figure 81: The Lenin monument.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

Although Susanin was prominent in Soviet culture from the late 1930s and well known to Soviet tourists, few knew that he was from Kostroma.⁷⁰⁰ On the one hand, Susanin was a unique feature of Kostroma but, on the other, the Susanin story was connected to the Romanovs and required careful handling. Kostroma was still distancing itself from its association with the Romanovs during late socialism. Its townscape had no trace of Susanin from the Revolution until the unveiling of the new Susanin monument in 1967, which coincided with the establishment of the Golden Ring and the rise of mass tourism. The new statue of Ivan Susanin is prominent in Bychkov's montage of photographs in *SK* accompanying his article about the new tourist route (Figure 82).⁷⁰¹ Bychkov describes Kostroma as 'the land of Ivan Susanin and of many, many Russian bogatyrs', who rose up 'in defence of the Fatherland'.⁷⁰²

⁷⁰⁰ G1/1.

⁷⁰¹ Iu. Bychkov and V. Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', *SK*, 31 July 1969, p. 2.

⁷⁰² Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.



Figure 82: Kostroma's Soviet-era statue of Ivan Susanin.
Source: Bychkov and Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', p. 2.

The project to construct a new Susanin monument in Kostroma started in 1958, but ceased in 1961 (following a Government decision to halt construction of all monuments) and only recommenced in 1965.⁷⁰³ A model of the monument, which had been stored at the Ipat'ev Monastery during the hiatus, needed repairing when the project resumed.⁷⁰⁴ At a meeting in November 1965 the artist and architect for the monument explained the details of the statue and its proposed location between the trading rows, where the model had been placed, to members of the public.⁷⁰⁵ The artist compared the statue's gesture with that of Falconet's Bronze Horseman monument in St Petersburg.⁷⁰⁶ However, local people expressed considerable opposition to the plans.⁷⁰⁷ A local pensioner was concerned about the portrayal of Susanin as a kulak not an ordinary peasant, and suggested adding a bas-relief and alternative wording for the plinth.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰³ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59, l. 1, 4.

⁷⁰⁴ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59, l. 6.

⁷⁰⁵ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59.

⁷⁰⁶ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59, l. 4.

⁷⁰⁷ Practically all the local creative intelligentsia were against the plans. See K. Gaev, "Propiska" ponevole: Kak Ivan Susanin proshel na Molochnuiu goru', *Argumenty i fakty Kostroma*, 16-22 November 2011, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁸ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59, ll. 24-25.

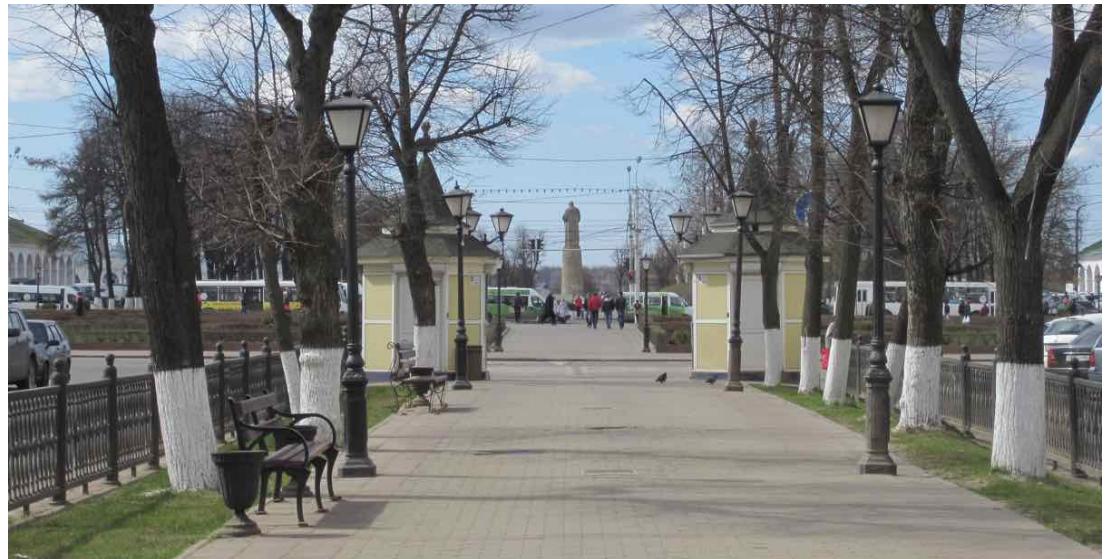


Figure 83: The Susanin statue: View from Prospekt Mira, across Susanin Square and towards the Volga.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

The two key issues were the location of the monument amid the historic architecture of the trading rows, representing a Soviet-era intrusion into this preserved ensemble, and its orientation facing the Volga and with its back to Revolution Square. The project's architect explained that the Volga was the 'main thoroughfare of the whole country', and that the monument was in a sunny position on the skyline.⁷⁰⁹ A local resident countered this by pointing out that the Volga is only navigable for half the year and that Susanin would be visible for about half a minute from passing boats; moreover, in twenty years' time, when hydrofoils would be used, Susanin's head would be seen for just a second.⁷¹⁰ Although the point that the monument was mainly for the benefit of tourists on passing boats was not explicit at the meeting, it seems reasonable to speculate whether tourism was a factor leading to the monument's orientation towards the Volga.

In the new statue Susanin was changed from the subservient peasant of the pre-revolutionary monument to a commanding hero and there was no trace of the Romanov tsar, which echoes the Soviet-era revision of Glinka's opera (Figure 84). This re-working of the representation of Susanin is similar to the post-revolutionary changes to the townscape of Kostroma mentioned earlier: the tsar has been removed and the people's

⁷⁰⁹ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59, l. 7.

⁷¹⁰ GAKO, f. P122, op. 2, d. 59, l. 9.

representative foregrounded. The figure of Susanin has been used to fuse the Soviet era with Ancient Rus.

The all-Union level publicity surrounding the unveiling of the new Susanin statue in 1967, including an article in *SK*, drew attention to the link between peripheral Kostroma and a hero of national significance.⁷¹¹ The new Susanin monument differed from the usual images of historic architecture in Golden Ring towns and it featured prominently in guidebooks on the Golden Ring produced in the centre.⁷¹² However, in a locally-produced guidebook on Kostroma from 1970 written by Viktor Bochkov, a prominent local historian, and the town architect, the new monument only appears in a three-line paragraph and one photograph.⁷¹³ This dutiful but unenthusiastic reference to the monument may reflect local opposition to the project, and is one example of how this guidebook was out of step with the other local *putevoditeli*.



Figure 84: A tour group at the Susanin monument, while children play on its base.
Source: Author's collection (May 2014).

⁷¹¹ 'Monumenty Kostromy', *SK*, 16 November 1967, p. 1.

⁷¹² V. Popadeiskin and V. Strukov, *Zolotoe kol'tso* (Moscow: Fizkul'tura i sport, 1975), p. 112; A. V. Lavrent'ev, I. B. Purishev and A. A. Turilov, *Zolotoe kol'tso Rossii* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1984), p. 198.

⁷¹³ Bochkov and Torop, pp. 36-37.

A tour guide commented that that ‘poor Ivan Susanin suffered constantly’, because his name was tied to that of the Romanovs and attitudes towards him changed continually.⁷¹⁴ Around 1970 the staff of the Kostroma STE were excited to read an article about Susanin in *Pravda* because it said in print that Susanin had saved the tsar.⁷¹⁵ This meant that the tour guides could now include that aspect in narrating the Susanin story. However, the permitted narrative was that Susanin was the people’s hero, whose story had unfortunately been appropriated by the Romanovs in order to show that the peasants supported Mikhail Romanov’s election as tsar.⁷¹⁶ It was ‘categorically forbidden’ to show visitors a photograph of the tsarist-era monument (Figure 79, page 154).⁷¹⁷

Explaining the Susanin monument to a large group from Kostroma’s Polish twin town during the 1980s proved challenging to one tour guide.⁷¹⁸ She had already had to cope with a question about whether the police cars with flashing lights driving before and behind the tourists’ vehicle meant that they were about to be arrested.⁷¹⁹ Her plan to take the Poles around the town centre without them noticing the Susanin statue succeeded until a visitor found a postcard of the statue. Then the Susanin story had to be told, including the part about Susanin leading the Polish soldiers deep into the forest. One Polish tourist concluded that ‘Ivan Susanin was Kostroma’s first tour guide for Poles’.⁷²⁰

Guides to Kostroma

Two different but interrelated means of presenting Kostroma to visitors were guidebooks and actual tour guides. Both shared didactic language to instruct their audiences where to direct their gaze and how to interpret and value objects, and narrated excursions around the town, as K. D. Qualls suggested was usual in Soviet guidebooks.⁷²¹ While it was possible to visit Kostroma unaided as an independent tourist during late socialism, and

⁷¹⁴ G2/6.

⁷¹⁵ G2/6.

⁷¹⁶ G2/6.

⁷¹⁷ G2/6.

⁷¹⁸ G2/6.

⁷¹⁹ G2/6.

⁷²⁰ G2/6.

⁷²¹ K. D. Qualls, “‘Where Each Stone is History’: Travel Guides in Sevastopol after World War II”, in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. by A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 165, 170.

use the techniques of a *kreaved* to investigate the city, most tourists had limited time and used a guide.⁷²²

The tour guide's audience was limited to actual visitors to Kostroma. The Soviet tour guide's narrative has not been preserved and comments from informants necessarily involve selected reflections on the past filtered through their post-Soviet experience. The tour guides were supposed to keep to the prescribed narrative and its delivery was monitored. One informant was told by the STE's methodologist that one must not say that a church had been 'blown up', but instead to say euphemistically that that it 'had not survived' (lit. 'had not reached our time' – '*ne doshel do nashego vremeni*').⁷²³ The guides admitted that, despite the various censorious controls, they enlivened their narrative by using legendary anecdotes, even if they were hardly a proven fact, such as about how Ekaterina II used her fan to suggest the town plan of Kostroma.⁷²⁴ This sort of embellishment of 'reality' and blurring of what is 'authentic' is typical of tourism practices, and by sharing this practice Soviet tourism again appears ordinary rather than unusual.⁷²⁵

Not only did the guide have to know the approved narrative, but they also had to be able to deliver their lines: 'the tour guide who knew how to perform could hold their group to the very end'.⁷²⁶ One group grumbled when their special guide, Bochkov, droned on in his quiet voice, and they could not hear him above the noise of the traffic.⁷²⁷ One guide still remembers how the STE's methodologist judged her performance by hiding in some bushes to observe how many of her group actually finished the tour.⁷²⁸

In the summer season tour guides took several tours a day, and some recalled working twelve hours from 8 a.m.⁷²⁹ One commented that by the second excursion of the day she was on autopilot and started to wonder whether she had said things on that excursion or

⁷²² The techniques of the *kraeved* are outlined in I. S. Jun'ev, *Kravedenie i turizm* (Moscow: Znanie, 1974).

⁷²³ G2/4.

⁷²⁴ G2/4; G2/6.

⁷²⁵ For Western tourism marketing and tour guide scripts, see C. Rojek, *Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993), pp. 180-85.

⁷²⁶ G2/5.

⁷²⁷ G2/5.

⁷²⁸ G2/4.

⁷²⁹ G2/4; G2/6.

on the previous one.⁷³⁰ The freelance guides were paid for each group they led and this was likened to being at a manufacturing machine or conveyor belt.⁷³¹ Some tour guides managed to work without a day off and were called ‘champions’, akin to industry’s Stakhanovites.⁷³² However, ‘production line excursions’ were not popular with independent tourists.⁷³³

Bochkov provided a link between the two types of guide – guidebooks and the tour guides – and used various means to disseminate his wide-ranging knowledge of Kostroma’s history. He was the author of a local *putevoditel’*, gave lectures in the training programme for tour guides and acted as a tour guide for special visitors.⁷³⁴ Involvement in tourism was a means for local historians to use their knowledge, as in Bochkov’s case and for others who worked as tour guides or in museums in Kostroma.⁷³⁵

The guidebooks offered a fixed narrative to an unknown readership of both travellers and those visiting only in their imagination. Informants’ views on Soviet guidebooks varied. Some used them as a souvenir rather than during a visit, and others were not interested in them at all. One had read a guidebook and articles before visiting Kostroma and found them rather unsatisfactory, but purchased a different guidebook while in Kostroma and read it on the return journey.⁷³⁶ Another only read a guidebook after a visit as a means of re-visiting the places he had seen.⁷³⁷ The recollection of a third was that she and her friends did not read guidebooks, either because there were no guidebooks to particular places at the time or because they were ‘not interesting and of a Soviet design’.⁷³⁸ Another described Soviet era guidebooks as ‘terribly boring’.⁷³⁹ According to a tour guide, people on bus tours buy guidebooks solely as a souvenir because their tour guide not only delivers information, but also tries to make his group’s visit interesting for them.⁷⁴⁰ As guidebooks were rarely read before a visit, a tour guide recalled an

⁷³⁰ G2/4.

⁷³¹ G2/1.

⁷³² G2/5.

⁷³³ G2/4.

⁷³⁴ G2/3; G2/4; G2/5.

⁷³⁵ G2/4.

⁷³⁶ G3/1.

⁷³⁷ G3/3.

⁷³⁸ G3/4.

⁷³⁹ G3/2.

⁷⁴⁰ G1/1.

exceptional family who had prepared thoroughly before arriving in Kostroma, including reading some pre-revolutionary publications.⁷⁴¹

Two distinct types of guidebooks to Kostroma were available, each offering a differing view of the city and requiring quite different rhetorical and presentational approaches. In two art history guidebooks published in Moscow and Leningrad, the view from the centre was exclusively of a *gorod-muzei*.⁷⁴² No signs of modernity were visible and this could be construed as continuing the traditional view of the provinces as generally backward.⁷⁴³ In contrast, three locally produced *putevoditeli* prioritise contemporary Soviet Kostroma, but reflect a tension between contradictory images from the eight centuries of Kostroma's history.⁷⁴⁴

In the locally produced *putevoditeli* a hierarchy of importance of the various periods of Kostroma's history was discerned as: firstly contemporary Kostroma; next its revolutionary past; then the more distant past of Ancient Rus; and finally the recent tsarist past, which was in greater ideological conflict with the Soviet present.⁷⁴⁵ The co-existence of the Soviet present with Ancient Rus was also found in the earliest imagery of the Golden Ring, in which a church onion-dome from Ancient Rus was shown alongside the electricity pylon of Soviet modernity (Figure 34, page 96). While the central tourism authorities approved of the passing over of the recent pre-revolutionary period, Bochkov's 1970 guidebook contains several references to the Godunov and Romanov families, including the Tsar's visit for the anniversary celebrations in 1913.⁷⁴⁶ It is also notable that, while generally ignoring the recent tsarist past, all three *putevoditeli* use pre-revolutionary names for some locations, which had been renamed during the Soviet era in

⁷⁴¹ G2/4.

⁷⁴² S. Maslenitsyn, *Kostroma: Goroda-muzei* (Leningrad: Avrora, 1968); V. N. Ivanov, *Kostroma* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1970).

⁷⁴³ S. Smith-Peter, 'Bringing the Provinces into Focus: Subnational Spaces in the Recent Historiography of Russia', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12:4 (2011), pp. 838-40.

⁷⁴⁴ *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik* (Kostroma: Kostromskoe khizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1963); Bochkov and Torop; Belov, Kudriashov and others.

⁷⁴⁵ From an analysis of the number of pages on different topics in *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik* and Belov, Kudriashov and others. Bochkov and Torop uses excursions and cannot be analysed.

⁷⁴⁶ GARF, f. 9520, op.1, d. 1746, ll. 29-30; Bochkov and Torop, pp. 59-62.

accordance with Soviet toponymic policy, such as ‘Eleninskaia Street (today Lenin Street)’.⁷⁴⁷

Kostroma – *gorod-muzei*

The art history guidebooks show a view of Kostroma from the centre as a place for educational leisure. This can be viewed as a development of the older conception of the periphery as a ‘playground for the centre’, as had been the case with the Black Sea resorts from the nineteenth century.⁷⁴⁸ In these guidebooks the setting for this education is not the actual city of Kostroma or a coherent townscape, but a depopulated space defined by sights of interest – separate buildings and works of art – with *terra incognita* in between (Figure 74, page 149). Photographs of buildings occasionally include one or two people, generally in the background or as silhouettes or blurred figures, but no cars or buses appear in the streets.⁷⁴⁹ The black and white images of buildings in S. Maslenitsyn’s guidebook are almost always in winter, suggesting a landscape frozen centuries earlier, indeed like a museum exhibit (Figure 85). In contrast, the tour guides were unable to present such a dissected and unchanged view of Kostroma. Their tours passed through a townscape in which modern features were visible, like the Lenin factory close to the Ipat’ev Monastery.

In addition to their particular style of presentation of Kostroma’s townscape, the art history guidebooks contain detailed descriptions and photographs of the interiors of buildings, including churches which actual visitors were not allowed to see. For example, Maslenitsyn’s guidebook has colour photographs of the frescoes in the Church of the Resurrection on the Debria, which was off limits to domestic tour groups.⁷⁵⁰ This guidebook also has pictures of icons from Kostroma located in Moscow’s State Tretiakov Gallery, which adds to the sense of the artificiality of the *gorod-muzei* as a geographical space.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁷ J. Murray, *Politics and Place-Names: Changing Names in the Late Soviet Period* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2000), p. 1; Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 76; Bochkov and Torop, p. 128.

⁷⁴⁸ E. Widdis, *Visions of a New Land: Soviet Film from the Revolution to the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 139.

⁷⁴⁹ V. N. Ivanov, pp. 12, 85, 113; Maslenitsyn, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁵⁰ Maslenitsyn, pp. 74-76, 78-81, 83-84; G2/6.

⁷⁵¹ Maslenitsyn, pp. 45, 61-67, 74-76, 78-81, 86-87, 90, 92-93.

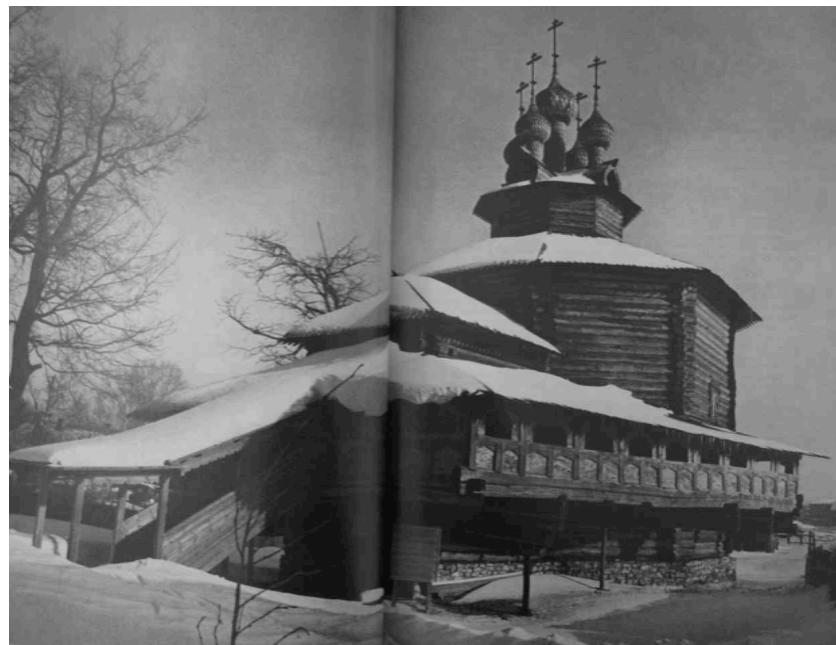


Figure 85: Bogoroditskaia Church from Kholm, 1552,
in the Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture.

Source: Maslenitsyn, pp. 12-13 (also Figure 76, page 150).

The two art history guidebooks both belonged to series of books, which serve to highlight Kostroma's similarity to other towns. V. N. Ivanov's guidebook is part of the series of at least thirty-one volumes called 'Architectural-artistic Monuments of Towns of the USSR' (Arkhitekturno-khudozhestvennye pamiatniki gorodov SSSR), commonly known as the 'white series', as opposed to the 'yellow series' (Figures 86 and 27, page 82).⁷⁵² Maslenitsyn's guidebook was in the 'Museum Cities' (Goroda-muzei) series, which was much more limited in scope but more homogeneous, focussing on a few of the Golden Ring towns and published between 1968 and 1975 in Russian and English. A 1967 booklet advising how to choose a tourist route recommended the 'white series' to tourists interested in historical monuments.⁷⁵³ However, Lovell notes that complete series were avidly collected and that the ownership and use of books, especially series, had 'socially symbolic value' in the USSR, frequently connected with ideas of social standing and

⁷⁵² The number of volumes has been determined from collections advertised on Ozon, <<http://www.ozon.ru>> [accessed on 29 October 2014]. G2/4.

⁷⁵³ O. Arkhangelskaya, *Kak vybrat' turistskii marshrut* (Moscow: Fizkul'tura i sport, 1967), p. 8.

prestige.⁷⁵⁴ This suggests that the art history guidebooks on Kostroma could have been collected for reasons other than tourism.⁷⁵⁵

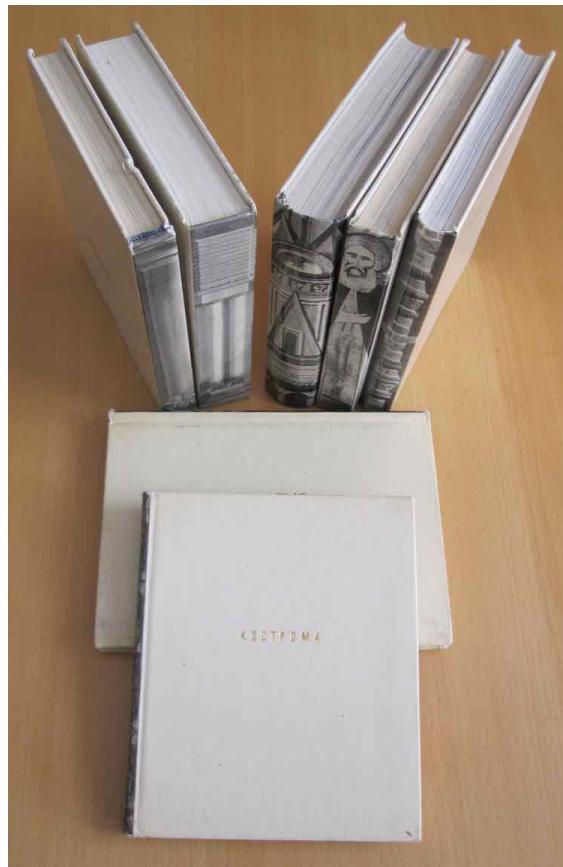


Figure 86: Some of the ‘white series’.
Source: V. N. Ivanov, *Kostroma* and other titles.

Kostroma’s image as a *gorod-muzei* was not unique but similar to other such towns, especially the towns of Ancient Rus on the Golden Ring and along the Volga. A tourist disembarking from a Volga cruise boat in Kostroma was overheard asking his wife, ‘Liusia, where are we? Is it Rybinsk?’⁷⁵⁶ The uniformity of these towns was compounded by the restrictions on tour guides’ narrative. All tours of churches were the same: analysis of art history was allowed and tour guides could only describe church architecture – ‘How it was decorated; that it was marvellous; how difficult it was to build; and how mighty were the people who built such a monument of architecture’.⁷⁵⁷ Although the

⁷⁵⁴ S. Lovell, *The Russian Reading Revolution: Print Culture in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), pp. 1, 2, 61, 62.

⁷⁵⁵ There was also a ‘book boom’ of large print runs. Lovell, *The Russian Reading Revolution*, p. 55.

⁷⁵⁶ G2/4. Rybinsk is upstream of Yaroslavl, the opposite direction to Kostroma.

⁷⁵⁷ G2/4.

architectural terminology was beyond some tourists' understanding, the tour guides were required to use such lofty language to educate visitors.⁷⁵⁸

It was compulsory for tourists on Volga cruises to join tours when the vessels docked, even though some may have preferred to stay in their cabins to avoid yet another town which looked the same as all the others.⁷⁵⁹ There was more flexibility in the itineraries for the Golden Ring tour groups, which spent longer in Kostroma. The tour guides noticed that some Golden Ring tourists had become fed up of seeing churches by the time they reached Kostroma, the halfway point on the standard tour from Moscow.⁷⁶⁰ Some groups were delighted to be entertained at Kostroma's puppet theatre, instead of seeing yet more churches.⁷⁶¹ An informant differentiated the tourists from the 1960s, who had a thirst for history, from the later mass tourists, whose unions paid for their tickets and saw their holidays as recreation not education.⁷⁶² From these comments it seems that over time Kostroma changed from being solely a *gorod-muzei* to a tourist destination offering a wider variety of experiences to visitors.

Kostroma – a modern Soviet town

The Order of the October Revolution was conferred on Kostroma on 22 June 1977 for its great success in economic and cultural construction (Figure 87). The prominence of this symbol in Belov's 1983 guidebook is part of Kostroma's self-promotion, first and foremost, as a Soviet town conforming to Soviet ideals and making its own contribution to the overarching Soviet history. This honour coincided with, but did not mention, the 825-year anniversary of Kostroma's founding. The image in this *putevoditel'* accords with the later impression of M. de Villiers, who visited Kostroma in 1990, that there were more posters promoting Leninism in Kostroma than he saw elsewhere on his Volga journey, and that the local authorities were renowned as conservatives.⁷⁶³ The emphatic display of Soviet Kostroma may be a form of atonement for Kostroma's pre-

⁷⁵⁸ G2/4.

⁷⁵⁹ G2/4.

⁷⁶⁰ G2/4; G2/5.

⁷⁶¹ G2/5.

⁷⁶² G2/4.

⁷⁶³ M. de Villiers, *Down the Volga in a Time of Troubles: A Journey Revealing the People and Heartland of Post-perestroika Russia* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 103.

revolutionary past, and related to L. S. Vasil'ev's contention that the Soviet powers neither forgot nor forgave Kostroma's connections to the Romanovs.⁷⁶⁴



Figure 87: Kostroma's Order of the October Revolution.
Source: Belov, Kudriashov and others, *Kostroma: Putevoditel'*, inside front cover.

Soviet Kostroma is most prominent in the *putevoditeli*, taking up well over half the text in the 1963 *putevoditel-spravochnik* and the two longest chapters in Belov's 1983 guidebook.⁷⁶⁵ The privileging of Soviet Kostroma also occurred in the organisation of the museum-reserve, where the Soviet department was described as 'enormous', with ten staff for the few decades of Soviet rule compared to only five covering many centuries of pre-revolutionary history.⁷⁶⁶ A tour guide recalled that in the mid-1980s many guides did not want to work on the Soviet period because it was 'all nonsense'.⁷⁶⁷ However, all city tours had to include some of Kostroma's factories and discussion of Soviet achievements, as well as the historic sights.⁷⁶⁸

In the local *putevoditeli* Kostroma is presented as part of the Soviet collective. The narrator and the imagined community of readers were part of the same collective identity

⁷⁶⁴ Vasil'ev, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁶⁵ Bochkov and Torop uses excursions and cannot be analysed.

⁷⁶⁶ G2/4.

⁷⁶⁷ G2/4.

⁷⁶⁸ G2/1.

through use of terms like ‘our country’ and ‘our native land’, and at the local scale ‘our area’ and ‘our town’.⁷⁶⁹ The pronoun ‘we’ was used to describe a route around the town, emphasising the unity between the narrator and reader, as they are part of the same Soviet society, the same local area, and the same virtual tour around the town.⁷⁷⁰ This accords with E. D. Johnson’s findings that St Petersburg *putevoditeli* were aimed at a diverse group of possible readers, including long-term residents as well as real and virtual travellers.⁷⁷¹ The readership of Kostroma’s *putevoditeli* may also have included figures in the establishment whom Kostroma wanted to impress, as evidenced by references to achievements in the planned economy.⁷⁷² Kostroma also had a role to impress the inhabitants of its oblast and neighbouring peripheral areas, for whom Kostroma was the nearest place to see Soviet modernity in an urban setting.

A packet of eighteen postcards of Kostroma from 1972 includes not only a majority of images of Soviet modernity, but also shows a self-image from the periphery comparable of that of the centre, as revealed through a packet of twenty-seven postcards of Moscow dated 1965 (Figures 88 and 90).⁷⁷³ Both sets of postcards showcase Soviet modernity by means of monuments to Soviet heroes, bridges, new blocks of flats, shops, and places for cultural enlightenment and leisure. Naturally, Moscow has images exclusive to its role as the centre of politics and learning and the vanguard of modernity, but the degree of congruity between the images of the centre and of the periphery is notable. This conforms to E. Widdis’ argument, based on analysing films, that the province is ‘transformed into a symbolic image bank through which the centre is consolidated and Soviet identity constructed’.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁶⁹ *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik*, p. 335; Bochkov and Torop, p. 58; Belov, Kudriashov and others, pp. 3, 60.

⁷⁷⁰ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 60. This form is especially prevalent in this guidebook.

⁷⁷¹ E. D. Johnson, *How St. Petersburg Learned to Study Itself: The Russian Idea of Kraevedenie* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 13-14.

⁷⁷² Belov, Kudriashov and others, pp. 15, 31, 48, 72.

⁷⁷³ *Seriia otkrytok “Kostroma”* (Moscow: Pravda, 1972); *Seriia otkrytok “Gorod-geroi Moskva”* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhhnik, 1965).

⁷⁷⁴ Widdis, p. 183.



Figure 88: A 1972 postcard of the Volga Bridge.
Source: *Seriia otkrytok "Kostroma"*.

While the postcards of Moscow show that Lenin remains at the heart of the USSR in his mausoleum, Lenin's symbolic presence in Kostroma, by means of his statue, is included in the Kostroma postcards. In Belov's 1983 guidebook Lenin is prominent, with the Lenin monument heading the list of sights marked on the map and being depicted first in the group of colour photographs. Lenin also appears frequently in the text, such as in street and factory names and in the biographies of revolutionaries. This prominence of Lenin appears to reflect efforts during the period of late socialism to reconnect with the Revolution.⁷⁷⁵ However, Bochkov's 1970 guidebook, published in the year of Lenin's centenary, ignores the Lenin monument.

The self-presentation of Kostroma in the *putevoditeli* includes prominent discussion of the heroes of the Revolution, the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, who were presented as key figures in the path to Soviet modernity. For example, the chapter on revolutionary activity in Belov's 1983 guidebook is illustrated with many photographs of Kostroma's revolutionaries. By comparing the different *putevoditeli*, it is possible to discern that changes at the centre of Soviet politics were reflected in the presentation of heroes in peripheral Kostroma. For example, the 1963 *putevoditel-spravochnik* mentions the heroine Nata Babushkina, a young, record-breaking parachutist from Kostroma, who

⁷⁷⁵ Tumarkin, pp. 252-68 (pp. 262-64).

died in an accident in 1936, and after whom a street is named.⁷⁷⁶ In contrast, Belov's 1983 guidebook connects Babushkina with the military (she was selected to study at the Air Force Academy) rather than *fizkul'tura*, in keeping with the rise of cult of the Great Patriotic War in the Brezhnev era.⁷⁷⁷ Unlike the earlier *putevoditeli*, Belov's 1983 guidebook contains lengthy details of the biographies and feats of the local heroes of the Great Patriotic War, who are commemorated in monuments and street names.⁷⁷⁸ The newly constructed war memorial features in the fourth colour photograph in this guidebook, just after the Lenin statue (Figure 89).



Figure 89: Memorial to the Great Patriotic War, Ploshchad' Mira.
Source: Author's collection (April 2014).

The local *putevoditeli* introduce an array of different industries and educational, health, cultural and entertainment facilities, as well as new living accommodation, thereby showing that Kostroma has all the elements of a modern Soviet town.⁷⁷⁹ Locations for entertainment, including the theatre, puppet theatre and cinemas, are prominent and their telephone numbers are given.⁷⁸⁰ In the 1963 *putevoditel-spravochnik* no hotels or restaurants are listed. By 1983 a list of four hotels and seven restaurants appears in

⁷⁷⁶ *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik*, pp. 264-66.

⁷⁷⁷ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 118; S. Lovell, *The Shadow of War: Russia and the USSR, 1941 to the present* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 9.

⁷⁷⁸ *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik*, p. 38; Belov, Kudriashov and others, pp. 17, 57-58, 62-65, 115-17, 119-21.

⁷⁷⁹ *Kostroma: Putevoditel'-spravochnik*, pp. 44-77; Belov, Kudriashov and others, pp. 29-72.

⁷⁸⁰ Bochkov and Torop, pp. 188-89; Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 174.

Belov's guidebook.⁷⁸¹ No details of the facilities of hotels are mentioned in the text of this guidebook, even though there is a photograph of the modern Volga Hotel. By being concerned only with the external appearance of the hotels, the authors of the *putevoditeli* appear to be maintaining a distance from these spaces. This suggests that while hotels and restaurants were an element in the profile of a modern Soviet city, they were assumed to be places of limited interest to readers.

A tour guide recalled that a group of architects on a Golden Ring tour had been reassigned to her because her less experienced colleagues were unable to manage them.⁷⁸² She decided to show them the manufacturing side of Kostroma, which they were delighted with and even applauded her. No one in the other Golden Ring towns had shown them such sights.⁷⁸³ In this instance modern Kostroma was a useful tonic to those who had suffered a surfeit of similar towns of Ancient Rus.

A group of old ladies from Kostroma oblast were unimpressed with their tour of Kostroma's historic buildings, and kept asking, 'Where's the town?', by which they meant the micro-raions of apartment blocks on the outskirts (Figure 90).⁷⁸⁴ According to Belov's 1983 guidebook, from the mid-1960s 'ancient Kostroma had significantly changed its appearance' and around 14,000 families had 'celebrated a housewarming' during the 10th Five Year Plan (1976-80).⁷⁸⁵ This image of celebration invoked similar scenes in other locations seen in official media.⁷⁸⁶

These ladies from Kostroma's own periphery were requesting to see a vision of their future, as promised by rhetoric from the centre. Officially, one of the goals of Soviet planning policy was levelling living standards across the country.⁷⁸⁷ Khrushchev's 1957 housing decree aimed at ending the housing shortage in twelve years with every family having the right to separate living accommodation, labelled by M. B. Smith as a utopian

⁷⁸¹ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 174.

⁷⁸² G2/5.

⁷⁸³ G2/5.

⁷⁸⁴ G2/4.

⁷⁸⁵ Belov, Kudriashov and others, p. 23.

⁷⁸⁶ C. Varga-Harris, 'Forging Citizenship on the Home Front: Reviving the Socialist Contract and Constructing Soviet Identity during the Thaw', in *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era*, ed. by P. Jones (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 102.

⁷⁸⁷ Pallot and Shaw, p. 55.

housing policy.⁷⁸⁸ New housing in rural settlements was to be in four-storey buildings with services, similar to urban areas.⁷⁸⁹ The provincial tourists wanting to see Kostroma's new housing recall the hikers in the *Krokodil* cartoon, a few steps from utopia (Figure 29, page 85).



Figure 90: A 1972 postcard of Sovetskaia Street, beyond October Square and towards the station.

Source: *Seriia otkrytok "Kostroma"*.

A group from the most remote part of Kostroma oblast was taken to the agricultural institute at Karavaevo, because these tourists 'had to be acquainted with their future'.⁷⁹⁰ The Kostroma breed of cattle, used for both dairy products and beef, had been bred at the Karavaevo state farm. This tour had been tailored by Kostroma's STE to meet the needs of this particular group. This instance shows that the pedagogical aims of tourism could be practical as well as teaching tourists about Soviet culture and history.

In the summer, group excursions sailed on the Volga in Kostroma STE's own twin-decked boat, the *Omk*, to see the hydroelectric power station, which supplied Kostroma with electricity.⁷⁹¹ A tour guide described it as a 'remarkable sight'.⁷⁹² This display of a

⁷⁸⁸ M. B. Smith, *Property of Communists: The Urban Housing Program from Stalin to Khrushchev* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010), pp. 17, 100.

⁷⁸⁹ J. M. Gilison, *The Soviet Image of Utopia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 160.

⁷⁹⁰ G2/5.

⁷⁹¹ G2/5.

⁷⁹² G2/5.

gigantic Soviet construction harnessing nature for man's benefit to tourists from Kostroma's periphery echoes the 1960 film *Russian Souvenir* (*Russkii suvenir*).⁷⁹³ In this film a group of foreign tourists from various Western countries follow a sign indicating the 'Path to Communism' and see a hydro-electric dam and other Soviet projects in Siberia, accompanied by political discussions with the archetypal positive heroine, Liubov' Orlova.⁷⁹⁴ While in the film foreigners are educated about Soviet achievements, in reality the film's message was for the Soviet audience. The groups visiting Kostroma from the periphery were able to see similar achievements of socialism for themselves.

⁷⁹³ *Russkii suvenir*, dir. by G. Aleksandrov (Mosfil'm, 1960) <<http://cinema.mosfilm.ru/films/film/1960-1969/russkij-suvenir/>> [accessed on 15 February 2014].

⁷⁹⁴ *Russkii suvenir*, 21:03-26:00; 48:40-50:38.

Conclusion: The Ambivalences of Soviet Tourism

The principal theme found throughout the preceding examination of different aspects of Soviet tourism during late socialism has been the ambivalence associated with tourism. The seemingly fundamental paradox of finding a place for tourism within a socialist economy was noted in the Introduction. Officially, the purpose of Soviet tourism was its benefits for the Soviet worker's health and education and to improve his or her productivity at work. The worker's right to rest was enshrined in the RSFSR's 1922 labour laws and subsequent Soviet constitutions. In late socialism, as holidays lengthened and the working week was cut short, tourism was promoted as an essential part of modernity. However, as tourism became a mass activity, the contradictions surrounding tourist practices and the figure of the tourist grew.

In the 1959 *Krokodil* cartoon (Figure 29, page 85) three hikers gaily stride towards a utopian scene of welcoming parties and official transit bases.⁷⁹⁵ The cartoon reflects the tension between tourism as a creative performance and as an organised and controlled activity, akin to an industrial production process. Unlike the cartoon's orderly Soviet tourist utopia, the most developed form of Soviet domestic tourism was a parallel arrangement of the controlled state-run system with unofficial private enterprise. In order for the mass of the Soviet population to participate in tourism, there had to be numerous independent tourists or *dikari*. In the popular destinations, like the Black Sea Coast, entrepreneurially minded hosts served the independent tourists, and the local officials accommodated and even assisted the unofficial arrangements.⁷⁹⁶ In this situation tourism can be seen as being liminal – involving official/unofficial practices in a littoral location.

According to the official statistics and estimates of the numbers of *dikari*, tourism became a mass activity during late socialism. The crowds of tourists thronging the popular destinations in the summer months were further evidence of this. Even in peripheral Kostroma the tour guides had to work long hours to ensure that everyone on the numerous Volga cruise ships had been taken on an excursion. Nevertheless, many

⁷⁹⁵ ‘Turistskii marshrut “Po nekhozhenym tropam ...”’, *Krokodil*, No. 24, August 1959, back cover.

⁷⁹⁶ C. Noack, ‘Coping with the Tourist: Planned and “Wild” Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast’, in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. by A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 285-86.

people could only dream of being a tourist on a cruise or at a popular destination. The shortage of travel passes compared to the demand meant that only some – the privileged and the lucky few – were organised tourists. Only some of the remainder were able to travel independently. Given this situation, the figure of the tourist was often depicted as someone else and even ‘the other’.

Soviet tourism encompassed a variety of activities during late socialism. The ‘authentic’ active tourists practiced energetic activities in the natural environment, some using equipment they had made themselves. Alternatively, many preferred ‘softer’ forms of tourism, such as enjoying the pleasures of the seaside at the Black Sea Coast on an organised holiday or as an independent tourist. Touring – being on the move – was popular at this time and suited tourism’s official status as a constituent of Soviet modernity. Nevertheless, many of the tourists ostensibly visiting Kostroma as part of an organised cultural tour, actually preferred shopping to hearing their tour guide’s formulaic narrative about yet more old churches. Similarly, when a tour guide in Kostroma made the obligatory mention of *Pravda* and the political leaders, the tourists turned away in silence.⁷⁹⁷ Even though the state had subsidised the cost of their tour, the tourist’s private desires took precedence and their holiday belonged to the private sphere, free of ideology.

The Soviet tourist was an ambivalent figure in the culture of late socialism, although the nature and extent of this ambivalence varied. On the one hand, the tourist was a serious figure to be given information and inspiration by the *Turist* magazine. Iurii Senkevich, a genuine enthusiast, presented the *Club of Travellers* television programme to armchair travellers for decades. On the other hand, the tourist was regularly lampooned in *Krokodil*, especially in the summer editions coinciding with the height of the tourist season. *Krokodil* and Mikhail Zhvanetskii satirised even the armchair tourists, who only dreamed of travelling. The romantic *dikari*, associated with non-conformism and the ideals of ‘freedom’, were particularly problematic figures to official eyes. These *dikari*

⁷⁹⁷ G2/6.

were seen as uncontrolled and were accused of selfishly spoiling the areas in which they stayed.⁷⁹⁸

Ambivalent attitudes towards tourism were evident in the case study that this dissertation focused on. V. Donovan has argued for the unity of the seemingly opposing forces of restoration and modernisation in the building of communism, on the basis that heritage preservation bolstered the foundations of Soviet society. However, my examination of the Golden Ring and Kostroma reveals and emphasises persistent conflicts, contradictions and ambivalences within the rise of the phenomenon of ‘tourism’ in the context of ‘developed socialism’.⁷⁹⁹

The establishment of the Golden Ring included animated arguments between the proponents of historic restoration, on the one hand, and those of developing tourism as a new industry, symbolising modernity, on the other. These conflicts occurred even though the Golden Ring was created (albeit not as its primary purpose, which was for foreign tourists) as a constituent of the Soviet project to improve the cultural understanding and education of citizens through cultural tourism, with a focus on the past as well as the present and looking to the future. On the one hand, VOOPIK supported the establishment of the Golden Ring tourist route as a means to fund the preservation of the architectural and cultural heritage; yet, on the other, the negative effects of mass tourism within confined spaces were a serious concern. The public debate over the plans for the development of Suzdal as a *gorod-muzei* revealed the depth of feeling on either side of the argument. This case also demonstrates that the concerns of institutions at the centre, which had taken a special interest in the development of mass tourism in Suzdal even before the Golden Ring was devised, could be at odds with the views of those on the periphery.

When focusing on a more specific example, such as the siting of the new Ivan Susanin statue in Kostroma, the ambivalence of feelings towards tourism is again revealed. Local residents hotly debated the proposal for the statue’s orientation towards the Volga, so that

⁷⁹⁸ I. Pecherkin, ‘Saving the Caves from Tourist Despoilers’, *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 31 July 1979, p. 4, trans. in *CDSP*, 31:35, 26 September 1979, pp. 12-13; Figure 18 (page 72).

⁷⁹⁹ V. Donovan, ‘The “Old New Russian Town”: Modernization and Architectural Preservation in Russia’s Historic North West, 1961-1982’, *Slavonica*, 19:1 (2013), p. 19.

Susanin would be visible to tourists on passing Volga cruisers. They wanted 'their' Susanin to look over the historic town centre for the residents to enjoy, although others thought that this was not the key concern. They would have preferred Susanin to be sited elsewhere altogether in order to preserve the centre's historic ensemble intact, without the intrusion of a large socialist realist sculpture.

The case study revealed a second key theme, which is specific to the Golden Ring and Kostroma, rather than concerning Soviet tourism in general – how could tourism reconcile the presentation of the heritage of the past of Ancient Rus with the achievements of the modern Soviet present. This point was illustrated in Bychkov's very first map of the circular Golden Ring route, which was embellished with both an Orthodox, onion dome, church cupola and an electricity pylon (Figure 34, page 96). This issue was part of the problem produced by the phenomenon of tourism itself – namely, how a particular place (both a peripheral city like Kostroma, and the larger and less clearly defined space of the Golden Ring) is to be presented to tourists and to the Soviet nation as a whole.

During late socialism the predominant images of the Golden Ring were as a destination for historical and cultural tourist sights. Many of these were originally religious buildings, which had been in a precarious and anomalous position in the context of Soviet social and cultural life, but then acquired a 'second life' as tourist attractions.⁸⁰⁰ Others, including the wooden buildings moved to create new architectural museums, were like Jean Baudrillard's simulacra: attractions moulded to a narrative suitable to tourism, which became 'real'.⁸⁰¹ The 1969 exhibition 'The Culture and Art of Ancient Rus' coincided with announcement of the 'VOOPIK version' of the Golden Ring route.⁸⁰² This exhibition included Soviet art works on historic themes in an attempt to 'sovietise' the exhibition: the Soviet present thereby adjoined the glorious past of the Russian *Rodina*.

⁸⁰⁰ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 150.

⁸⁰¹ J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. by S. Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 1.

⁸⁰² Iu. Bychkov and V. Lednev, 'Zolotoe kol'tso', SK, 31 July 1969, p. 2.

Nevertheless, when looking at a single destination on the Golden Ring, Kostroma, the idea of joining the Soviet present and the historic past into one united entity no longer holds. Instead, two opposing images of Kostroma were presented in the guidebooks about the town. The view from the centre, as evidenced by the Moscow and Leningrad-produced art history guidebooks, was of a *gorod-muzei* with no sign of Soviet modernity. Nevertheless, included within the *gorod-muzei* was the Museum of Wooden Folk Architecture, a simulacrum of an old Russian settlement which had been created during late socialism. By contrast, the image created by the locally produced *putevoditeli* was of Kostroma as, first and foremost, a Soviet town. In the townscape itself, on the other hand, there was a clear separation between the Soviet town and the non-contiguous *gorod-muzei* (Figure 74, page 149). As the research visit in April-May 2014 revealed, there were also two different centres in Kostroma – the historic centre of the *gorod-muzei* at Susanin (formerly Revolution) Square and the bustling, modern October Square.

Irrespective of Kostroma's self-presentation in the local *putevoditeli* as a town fully integrated into Soviet socialist modernity, its most important tourist attraction during late socialism was the museum-reserve, including the Ipat'ev Monastery, which showcased Ancient Rus. However, the oral history interviews revealed useful insights into the nuances of actual tourist practices in a peripheral location, such as Kostroma. In one example, the sights of Soviet modernity provided welcome relief to people suffering from a surfeit of churches on Golden Ring tours. In another case, the modern housing districts were exactly what the tourists from Kostroma's own, more rural, less-developed periphery wanted to see. Of course, visitors from Moscow or other large cities – the vanguards of Soviet modernity – would not have been so impressed with such sights. Having two different types of tourist sights within one destination, or to use the dramaturgical metaphor two stage-sets, was actually helpful in the performance of tourism.

Putting aside the issue of what type of image Kostroma promoted to an audience through the guidebooks and to actual visitors through its tour guides, tourism provided the city with a reason to re-examine itself. This involved considering how the city was to be projected to a wider audience, whether its uniqueness was to be emphasised or its congruity with other places, and how far the city should be moulded to fit into the Soviet space. Kostroma had to negotiate the complex issue of its historical connections to the

Godunov and Romanov dynasties and its unique (himself highly ambivalent) hero, Ivan Susanin.

Epilogue

The continuity of tourist activities and destinations from the pre-revolutionary era into the Soviet period has been referred to during this study. Similarly, the continuity and adaptation of Soviet tourism practices has continued beyond the collapse of the USSR. Both the Golden Ring, a legacy of tourism in late socialism, and Kostroma have continued as tourist destinations, but have been adapted to the new commercial tourism. Competition between travel firms and destinations led one travel guide to describe the Golden Ring as a ‘strained ring’ (*napriazhennoe kol’tso*) today.⁸⁰³ The designation of a number of locations on the Golden Ring as UNESCO World Heritage sites – namely Sergiev Posad (Zagorsk during late socialism), Yaroslavl, Suzdal and Vladimir – has elevated the status of this tourist route more generally.⁸⁰⁴ This designation affirms the work done by VOOPIK and others during late socialism to preserve the heritage of Ancient Rus. However, the designated destinations on the Golden Ring are now seen by the tourism industry as more important than the others.

The Golden Ring tours have been amended to meet the needs of today’s tourists, with the standard variants being the ‘large’ seven-day tour (*bol’shoe kol’tso*) and the ‘small’ four-day tour (*maloe kol’tso*).⁸⁰⁵ Japanese tourists are the fastest, visiting the Ring’s World Heritage sites (except Yaroslavl) and returning to Moscow all in one day.⁸⁰⁶ One tour guide observed that the Russians tourists on the Golden Ring tours are genuinely interested in national heritage sights (presumably in the increasingly patriotic and pious spirit of contemporary Russia); otherwise they would go to Turkey or Egypt, which are rather more prestigious.⁸⁰⁷ In general, less well off, older tourists tour the Golden Ring in

⁸⁰³ G2/6.

⁸⁰⁴ Included in the Russian Federation’s sixteen World Heritage cultural sites are: the White Monuments of Vladimir and Suzdal, including the Church of the Intercession on the Nerl (listed in 1992); the Trinity Sergius Lavra in Sergiev Posad (1993); and the historical centre of Yaroslavl (2005). UNESCO World Heritage List, Russian Federation <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ru>> [accessed on 30 January 2015].

⁸⁰⁵ G1/1.

⁸⁰⁶ G1/1.

⁸⁰⁷ G1/1.

the first half of the season, followed by the richer ones after they return from their first summer holiday abroad or on the coast.⁸⁰⁸

Tourism in Kostroma itself has declined in the post-Soviet era, losing out in competition to other destinations on the Golden Ring and suffering from the reduction in Volga cruises. Such cruises are now considered an expensive holiday.⁸⁰⁹ Kostroma has reverted to being primarily an excursion town, its status before the start of the Golden Ring tours in the 1970s.⁸¹⁰ The historical-architectural museum-reserve has been dismantled into several sites in the post-Soviet era, with the Ipat'ev Monastery returned to the Orthodox Church and the museum-reserve's artefacts divided between the Monastery and the other sites.⁸¹¹ One tour guide lamented the loss of the Soviet-era camaraderie between the museum-reserve and the tourism organisations.⁸¹² Then the museum staff hurried to help with excursions, but this rarely happens now.⁸¹³ The Ipat'ev Monastery remains Kostroma's leading tourist destination, leaving other parts of the former museum-reserve to compete for visitors.⁸¹⁴

Kostroma's Romanov connection, which was eschewed during late socialism, is now central to its tourism marketing. The first of seven tourism brands for Kostroma oblast – 'Kostroma – Cradle of the Russian State!' (Kostroma – istoki rossiiskogo gosudarstva!) – celebrates the city's connections to the Godunov and Romanov tsars and to Ivan Susanin.⁸¹⁵ Prominently displayed in the renamed Romanov Museum in Kostroma are replicas of the bust of Mikhail Romanov and the statue of Susanin from the tsarist-era monument, which was removed after the Revolution. This signifies a complete reversal of the hierarchy of importance of the periods of Kostroma's history identified in the locally produced *putevoditeli* outlined in Chapter 4, which showed off the self-presentation of the city during late socialism. The contemporary hierarchy of historical periods places the recent tsarist past in prime position, followed by the more distant past

⁸⁰⁸ G1/1.

⁸⁰⁹ G1/1.

⁸¹⁰ G2/4.

⁸¹¹ G2/4.

⁸¹² G2/6.

⁸¹³ G2/6.

⁸¹⁴ G2/4; Field notes, Kostroma, 25 April 2014.

⁸¹⁵ Kostroma's tourism brands <<http://kostroma.ru/tur-brends/index.aspx>> [accessed on 2 February 2015].

of Ancient Rus. The revolutionary past and Soviet modernity are not showcased to tourists today.

An echo of the agitprop activities of proletarian tourism of the 1920s was seen in Kostroma in early May 2014. The Volga cruiser *Andrei Rublev* brought political activists from the nationalistic party LDPR (Liberal'no-demokraticheskaia partiia Rossii) from Moscow.⁸¹⁶ A rally in Kostroma's historic centre included many LDPR supporters, who later returned to the vessel with their banners and loud hailers.

The oral history interviews conducted for this project revealed a certain degree of nostalgia for the Soviet system of state-organised domestic tourism. They showed that Soviet domestic tourism had produced fond and enduring memories in both tourists and their tour guide hosts. Fred Inglis describes such memories as 'the immortality' of a holiday, and they were one of the ingredients making up his idea of 'the perfect holiday'.⁸¹⁷ Moreover, one informant recalled the time when being a tourist was free, with everything paid for by the unions.⁸¹⁸ A tour guide described the union-run tourism as 'a wonderful event in our lives', and added that nowadays children from distant parts of Kostroma oblast are never taken anywhere.⁸¹⁹ In stark contrast, an article in a glossy magazine from Kostroma, *The Bridge*, promoted Spain, Turkey and the Dominican Republic as ideal destinations where citizens of Kostroma could spend their May holidays.⁸²⁰ One can imagine therefore that in the post-Soviet era tourism as a phenomenon is still destined to engender complex feelings of ambivalence.

⁸¹⁶ Liberal'no-demokraticheskaia partiia Rossii, 'Galichane na teplokhode!', 20 May 2014, <http://ldpr.ru/party/regions/Kostroma_region/Kostroma_events/ldpr_teplohod_2014/> [accessed on 17 July 2014].

⁸¹⁷ F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of The Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 12.

⁸¹⁸ G1/1.

⁸¹⁹ G2/5.

⁸²⁰ 'Maiskie prazdniki: Kuda poekhat?', *The Bridge*, March 2014, pp. 24-25.

INTERVIEWS

Group 1: People currently working in tourism in Kostroma, but not during late socialism

G1/1 An experienced tour guide and group escort (male, 50+) from Kostroma, who works on tours of the Golden Ring.

Group 2: People who worked in tourism during late socialism

G2/1 A female (60+) who worked in the Kostroma museum-reserve, including as a supplementary tour guide, throughout the 1980s.

G2/2 A tour guide (male, 60+), who trained in Moscow and worked at the Moscow City Excursions Bureau. He specialised in the towns of Ancient Rus and sights connected with Russian literature and, from 1979, mainly led excursions from Moscow to Vladimir and Suzdal.

G2/3 Two females (60+) who worked in the Kostroma museum-reserve: one for three years at the end of the 1970s, and the other from the mid-1970s.

G2/4 A lady (50+) who worked in the Kostroma museum-reserve, including as a supplementary tour guide, from the mid-1980s into the post-Soviet era.

G2/5 A lady (60+) who worked at the Kostroma museum-reserve from the late 1960s until the mid-1970s, then as a methodologist at the Kostroma STE, and continued working in tourism in the post-Soviet era.

G2/6 A tour guide (60+) who started working as the organiser (*organizator*) at the Kostroma STE in the late 1960s and has continued working as a tour guide in the post-Soviet era.

Group 3: Tourists during late socialism, including to the Golden Ring and Kostroma

G3/1 An academic (female, 60+) from Moscow, who visited Kostroma for the first time in 1985, and went on a Volga cruise in 1987.

G3/2 A female (40+) from Moscow, who went on a school excursion to Rostov Velikii in 1981 or 1982.

G3/3 A medical professional (male, 40+) from the southern Urals, now living in Moscow, who spent his honeymoon in Rostov Velikii in 1987.

G3/4 A female (60+) from Moscow, who first visited Vladimir and Suzdal in 1973 and took holidays at the Black Sea Coast during late socialism.

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