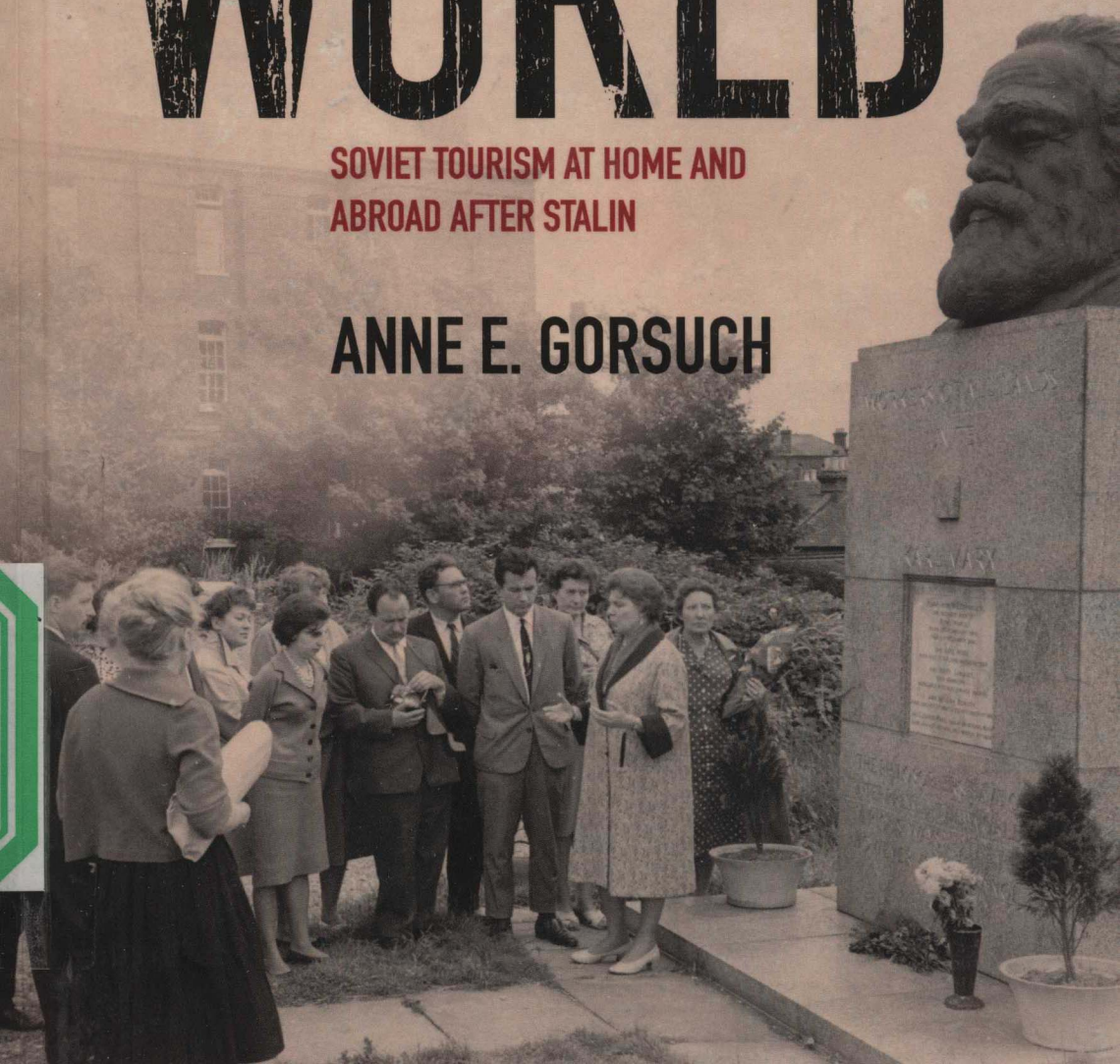


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# ALL THIS IS YOUR WORLD

SOVIET TOURISM AT HOME AND  
ABROAD AFTER STALIN

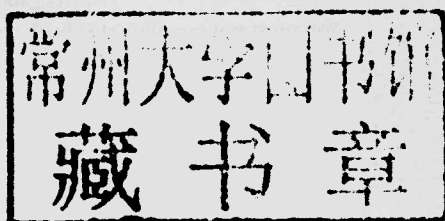
ANNE E. GORSUCH



# All This is Your World

*Soviet Tourism at Home  
and Abroad after Stalin*

ANNE E. GORSUCH



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OXFORD STUDIES IN  
MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*General Editors*

SIMON DIXON, MARK MAZOWER,

*and*

JAMES RETALLACK

For Hal, Ellie, and Hannah, as always.



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## Introduction: Crossing Borders

In August 1955, *Pravda* proudly displayed on its front page a picture of smiling Leningrad tourists, suitcases in hand, leaving for the first Soviet tourist trip abroad, to Poland.<sup>1</sup> It was not only *Pravda* that paid attention. "Tourism is apparently beginning to be a two-way business at last for Soviet citizens," marveled *The Times* of London.<sup>2</sup> The ability to travel signaled a shift away from the ideological rigidity and unalloyed fear of the other under Stalin toward the comparative openness of the Khrushchev era. Stalin had promoted a defensive and largely static notion of Soviet identity, a construction requiring constant vigilance through propaganda, violence, and closed borders. Soviet vacationers were told that it was only within the boundaries of the Soviet Union that they could be confident of a warm welcome. Beginning in the Khrushchev era, Soviet citizens were newly encouraged to imagine themselves exploring the medieval towers of Tallinn's Old Town, relaxing on the Romanian Black Sea coast, even climbing the Eiffel Tower. By the mid-1960s, hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens traveled abroad as tourists each year. "Dance and then leap into your saddles," Victor encouraged his younger brother Dimka in Vasilii Aksenov's 1961 novel, *A Ticket to the Stars*: "Dive into the depths of the sea, climb mountains, fear nothing, all this is your world."<sup>3</sup> *All This is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* explores the meaning and experience of travel and encounter in late socialism. It examines the gradual integration of the Soviet Union into global processes of cultural exchange in which the Soviet Union increasingly, if anxiously, participated in the national and transnational circulation of people, as well as of ideas and items.

Tourist travel by Soviet citizens was part of a larger, well-documented, opening to the wider world in the Khrushchev era. The Moscow International Youth Festival, the Brussels World's Fair, and the American National Exhibition in Moscow are the best-known examples of an unprecedented exchange of art,

<sup>1</sup> "Sovetskieskie turisty vyekhali v Pol'shu," *Pravda* (August 13, 1955), 1; The National Archives, London, Foreign Office, FO 371 116783 (Report from the British Embassy, Moscow, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> "Russian Tourists Again: First Party Leaves for Poland," *The Times* (17 August 1955): 7.

<sup>3</sup> Vasilii Aksenov, *A Ticket to the Stars* (New York, 1963), 18.

music, material items, and people.<sup>4</sup> Foreign tourists were welcomed to the Soviet Union in record numbers, roughly one million foreigners visiting the Soviet Union between 1957 and 1965.<sup>5</sup> Khrushchev, who according to his biographer “loved to travel,” was the Soviet Union’s most famous international traveler and advocate for embodied nationalism.<sup>6</sup> His first trip abroad was to Poland with the Red Army in 1939, but reflecting the importance of the West, he later described Geneva, followed by Britain in 1956, as his “first official trip[s] abroad.”<sup>7</sup> His voyages included, among others, trips to China, Indonesia, and Burma, to Afghanistan and India, to Britain, France and Switzerland, and, most famously, to the United States in 1959. Khrushchev traveled for political purpose as the head of the Soviet Union, but also as tourist, drinking champagne in France, eating hot dogs in the United States, and taking in the sights everywhere. Khrushchev sometimes traveled with his wife and children, whose itineraries were even more touristic than his: in France they visited Fontainebleau and went shopping at the Galeries Lafayette. So too in the United States, where Khrushchev’s daughters told their American hosts that what they would most like to do while in New York would be “to see a big store.”<sup>8</sup> “Can we use the letter “T” to describe all of the leaders of the Soviet Union?” one Soviet joke asked in the mid-1950s. “We can: Lenin – Titan, Stalin – Tyrant, Khrushchev and Bulganin – Two Tourists.”<sup>9</sup>

*All This is Your World* is situated at the intersection of a number of topics: the history of a post-Stalin Soviet Union; the history of tourism and mobility; the

<sup>4</sup> David Cauter, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (Oxford, 2003); Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York, 1997); Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park, 2003); Vladislav Zubok, *Zhivago’s Children: The Last Russian Intelligentsia* (Cambridge, 2009); “‘Loose Girls’ on the Loose: Sex, Propaganda, and the 1957 Youth Festival” in *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, ed. Melanie Ilic, Susan E. Reid, and Lynne Attwood (New York, 2004); Pia Koivunen, “The 1957 Moscow Youth Festival: Propagating a New, Peaceful Image of the Soviet Union,” in *Soviet State and Society under Nikita Khrushchev*, ed. Melanie Ilic and Jeremy Smith (London, 2009); Susan E. Reid, “Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959,” *Kritika* 9, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 855–904; Eleonory Gilburd, “Picasso in Thaw Culture,” *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 47, no. 1–2 (January–June 2006): 65–108.

<sup>5</sup> Shawn Salmon, “Marketing Socialism: Inturist in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s” in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker (Ithaca, 2006), 190.

<sup>6</sup> William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and his Era* (New York: Norton, 2003), 408.

<sup>7</sup> Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 355.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Cabot Lodge, confidential memorandum about Khrushchev’s trip to the US, 1959, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), RG 59, Box 4, File 3.4; Mrs. Llewellyn D. Thompson’s confidential memorandum about Khrushchev’s trip to the US, 1959, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, NARA, RG 59, Box 4, File 3.4; “M. ‘K.’ recevra treize caisses de champagne,” *Le Monde* 4723 (29 March 1960), 2; “Massée devant et à l’intérieur des Galeries Lafayette,” *Le Monde* 4721 (26 March 1960), 4; “Mme de Gaulle a fait visiter Fontainebleau,” *Le Monde* 4728 (3–4 April 1960), 2.

<sup>9</sup> With thanks to personal correspondence from Amandine Ragamey, the author of *Prolétaires de tous pays, excusez-moi! Dérision et politique dans le monde soviétique* (Paris, 2007).

cultural history of international relations, specifically the Cold War. Although rooted in Soviet history, the project is transnational, offering an enriched perspective on our view of the continent as a whole by exploring the Soviet Union's relationship with both Eastern and Western Europe through, in this case, the experience of Soviet tourists. The book begins with a domestic tour of the Soviet Union in late Stalinism, moving outwards in concentric circles to explore travel to the inner abroad of Estonia, to the near-abroad of Eastern Europe, and to the capitalist West. It returns home again with a discussion of Soviet films about foreign travel. I focus on the Khrushchev era as the key period of post-Stalinist transition to what Andrei Yurchak has called "late socialism."<sup>10</sup> Because most travel, by its very nature, crosses boundaries, tourism is an excellent vantage point from which to examine Soviet understandings and anxieties about what it meant to be Soviet after Stalin. Because tourism is by nature a fantasy-generating process, it is also a good entry into state-sponsored utopianism and its limitations.<sup>11</sup> A history of Soviet tourism in the 1950s and 1960s enables us to explore questions and contradictions fundamental to our understanding of late socialism. Could de-Stalinization be instituted without challenging the very legitimacy of socialism? What experiences or expressions of "difference" were now permitted, and which were regulated or forbidden? What was the significance of new opportunities for cultural exchange and transnational encounter on Soviet identity both individual and national? What, in sum, did it mean to be "Soviet" in a country no longer defined as Stalinist?

Khrushchev's de-Stalinizing Soviet Union has long been described as a period of "Thaw," a term taken from Ilya Ehrenberg's 1954 novella of that name and used as a metaphor to describe Khrushchev-era challenges to Stalinist authority, greater tolerance of diversity and difference, and cultural internationalism. Ehrenberg himself was more ambiguous about the concept of Thaw. For Ehrenberg, Nancy Condee has argued, the idea of a Thaw implied "the notion of instability, and impermanence, incompleteness, of temperature fluctuations in nature, when it is hard to foresee what turn the weather will take," a conception that Khrushchev, not surprisingly, objected to.<sup>12</sup> Recent work on the Khrushchev era has tended to emphasize this aspect of the Thaw, some focusing on the limits of Khrushchev-era reforms, some emphasizing the continuing, even expanding, intervention of the state into private affairs, and some questioning the uniqueness of the era's liberalizing tendencies, situating the roots of reform in late Stalinism and/or extending them well past Khrushchev's ouster into the

<sup>10</sup> Andrei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> On vacationing as "an arena in which fantasy has become an important social practice" see Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley, 1999, 2002), 7.

<sup>12</sup> Nancy Condee, "Cultural Codes of the Thaw," in *Nikita Khrushchev*, ed. William Taubman, Sergei Khrushchev, and Abbott Gleason (New Haven, 2000), 69.

Brezhnev period.<sup>13</sup> A history of international encounter allows for possibilities sympathetic to the notion of the Thaw both as optimistic opening and as anxiously authoritarian. Soviet citizens were newly treated, if unevenly and within definite limits, as responsible and reliable, as individuals confident in their Soviet identity and trustworthy to send abroad. These very changes permitted, however, behaviors and beliefs which threatened to outrun a sometimes apprehensive regime.<sup>14</sup>

A history of Soviet tourism also helps us consider the place of the 1950s and 1960s in the longer sweep of Soviet history, and in comparison to other national and international projects of modernization, consumption, and empire building. Socialist *turizm* as a tool of self-improvement and socialist state-building did not begin with the Khrushchev era. Domestic tourism as a Soviet project for building knowledge, strengthening the body, and encouraging patriotism began in the 1920s. Even international tourism was not a product of de-Stalinization alone. The Soviet international tourist agency, Intourist, was founded in 1929, and the possibility of permitting limited Soviet tourist travel abroad was openly discussed in the press in the late 1920s, if firmly rejected.<sup>15</sup> If this book looks backwards to the connections between the period of the New Economic Policy and the Khrushchev era, however, it also looks forward, seeking to understand how the 1950s and early 1960s helped establish the nature of the Soviet state and its relationship to Soviet society in late socialism. Travel abroad did not end with Khrushchev's ouster in 1964; the number of Soviet citizens traveling

<sup>13</sup> For some examples of work which address these and other questions related to the Thaw, see Priscilla Johnson and Leopold Labedz, ed. *Khrushchev and the Arts: The Politics of Soviet Culture, 1962–1964* (Cambridge, 1965); Elena Zubkova, *Russia after the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments, 1945–1957*, trans. Hugh Ragsdale (Armonk, 1998); Julie Hessler, "A Postwar Perestroika? Towards a History of Private Enterprise in the USSR," *Slavic Review* 57, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 516–42; Robert D. English, *Russian and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals, and the End of the Cold War* (New York, 2000); Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 & 1999* (Ithaca, 2002); Susan E. Reid, "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 2 (2002): 211–52; Iurii Aksiutin, *Khrushchevskaia 'otpepel' i obshchestvennye nastroyeniia v SSSR v 1953–1964 gg* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004); Polly Jones, ed. *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization. Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era* (London and New York, 2006); *Repenser le Dégel: versions du socialisme, influences internationales et société soviétique*, a special issue of *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 47, no. 1–2 (January–June 2006); Juliane Fürst, ed. *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between reconstruction and reinvention* (London, 2006); Stephen V. Bittner, *The Many Lives of Khrushchev's Thaw: Experience and Memory in Moscow's Arbat* (Ithaca, 2008); Ilic and Smith, ed. *Soviet State and Society*; Zubok, *Zhivago's Children*; Miriam Dobson, *Khrushchev's Cold Summer: Gulag Returnees, Crime and the Fate of Reform after Stalin* (Ithaca, 2009); Juliane Fürst, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism* (Oxford, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Khrushchev's was not the first Russian Thaw to enable travel abroad. Alexander II's reforms 100 years earlier included easing foreign travel restrictions put in place by Nicolas I. Susan Layton, "The Divisive Modern Russian Tourist Abroad: Representations of Self and Other in the Early Reform Era," *Slavic Review* 68, no. 4 (Winter 2009), 855.

<sup>15</sup> With thanks to Diane P. Koenker, "The Proletarian Tourist in the 1930s: with the masses or away from them?" unpublished paper.



internationally continued to increase annually. In 1970, more than 1.8 million Soviet citizens traveled abroad. In 1985, this figure had risen to 4.5 million.<sup>16</sup>

The significant growth of international tourism (echoed by an even more impressive rise in domestic travel<sup>17</sup>) resembles the meteoric increase in tourism throughout much of the world in the postwar period. A recuperating economy encouraged people, middle-class but also increasingly working-class, to travel via bus tour from Northern Europe to sunny beaches on the Adriatic, on double-decker train cars with panorama windows throughout the United States, and on Pan Am's new eight-hour transatlantic flights between New York and Paris.<sup>18</sup> Pan Am's 1960 annual report proudly concluded that, with its new worldwide routes to Europe and Africa, South America, Australia, and the Middle East, "the free world has become a neighborhood."<sup>19</sup> As this suggests, tourism was closely tied to a rising commitment to cultural internationalism.<sup>20</sup> Travel was "fundamental to the internationalism of the postwar years," Richard Ivan Jobs has argued. "[R]econstruction projects, exchange programs, and hostel networks were organized in Western Europe to facilitate travel by the young for the purpose of promoting international understanding and cooperation among populations who had been engaged in brutal and repeated warfare." Europeans, Jobs argues, "were now encouraged to travel abroad, to visit other nations and meet and interact with other nationalities."<sup>21</sup> This book adds the communist world to this equation. *All This is Your World* integrates and compares tourist experiences under socialism and capitalism, considering both the similarities—a commitment to modernity, mobility, internationalism, state building, and consumption—and the fundamental differences.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The exact numbers vary according to source, but are roughly commensurate. Randolph M. Siverson, Alexander J. Groth, and Marc Blumberg, "Soviet Tourism and Détente," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1980): 364; *Turist*, no. 10 (1975): 29; V.I. Azar, *Otdykh trudiashchikhsia SSSR* (Moscow, 1972), 41; G.P. Dolzhenko, *Istoriia turizma v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii i SSSR* (Rostov, 1988), 154.

<sup>17</sup> See Diane P. Koenker, "Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2009): 409–11.

<sup>18</sup> Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley, 1999, 2002), 41, 170–71; George E. Burns, "The Jet Age Arrives," [www.panam.org/default1.asp](http://www.panam.org/default1.asp).

<sup>19</sup> Burns, "The Jet Age Arrives."

<sup>20</sup> For a history of cultural internationalism, see Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 1997) and *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, 2002).

<sup>21</sup> Richard Ivan Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (April 2009): 376–404. A first influential book on tourism and politics was Colin Michael Hall, *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place* (Chichester, 1994).

<sup>22</sup> On socialist tourism in Russia and the USSR, see Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, ed. *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (Ithaca, 2006); Diane P. Koenker, "Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure," *Slavic Review* 62.4 (2003): 657–65; Koenker, "Whose Right to Rest?," On the history of Intourist see Shawn Connelly Salmon, "To the Land of the Future: A History of Intourist and Travel to the Soviet Union 1929–1991," (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2008) and V.E. Bardasarian et al, *Sovetskoe zazerkal'e: Inostannyi turizm v SSSR v 1930–1980 gg* (Moscow, 2007).



## DOMESTIC TURIZM

For American tourists traveling by cruiseship to Alaska, or British tourists enjoying the sun in Spain, tourism is a leisure activity involving travel away from home and work for the sake of pleasure, relaxation, education, and consumption.<sup>23</sup> The Russian term *turizm* has a different flavor, emphasizing the purposeful and the physical, and often referring to walking, hiking, biking, and camping. A set of four forty-kopeck stamps issued in 1959 showed young men (and one young woman) canoeing, rock climbing, cross-country skiing, and reading a map. A second series of stamps showed places of natural beauty, including mountains, lakes, and seashores.<sup>24</sup> *Turizm* was self-improving and socially constructive: building knowledge, restoring and strengthening the body, encouraging patriotism. "The Soviet vacation did not provide an escape from the mobilization of citizens toward a common goal," Diane Koenker has argued. "From its beginning it was a continuation of that mobilization using an alternate setting."<sup>25</sup> An emphasis on the purposefully civic rather than the idly pleasurable, was not exclusively Soviet. In mid-nineteenth century Russia, Susan Layton demonstrates, writers and journalists across the political spectrum agreed that Russian travel to Western Europe should yield educative, moral, and civic benefits, a belief that distinguished them from their compatriots among the English traveling elite, for example.<sup>26</sup> In the USSR, this was held to be true of

On tourism in socialist China, see Pál Nyíri, *Scenic Spots: Chinese Tourism, the State, and Cultural Authority* (Seattle, 1996); Suggestively, Yugoslavia, with its unique place between east and west, is the subject of much of the recent work on socialist tourism. See *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)*, ed. Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (Budapest, 2010); Wendy Bracewell, "Adventures in the in Marketplace: Yugoslav Travel Writing and Tourism in the 1950s–1960s," in Gorsuch and Koenker, *Turizm*; Patrick Hyder Patterson, "Dangerous Liaisons: Soviet-Bloc Tourists and the Yugoslav Good Life in the 1960s & 1970s," in *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith and History*, ed. Philip Scranton and Janet F. Davidson, (Philadelphia, 2006), 186–212; Igor Tchoukarine, "Politiques et représentations d'une mise en tourisme: le tourisme international en Yougoslavie de 1945 à la fin des années 1960" (PhD dissertation, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, June 2010).

<sup>23</sup> Amongst scholars, tourism has rarely been so simply defined and there is a large literature exploring distinctions (or not) between tourism, travel, and most recently, vacationing. On the distinction sometimes made between the "mass" tourist and the "sophisticated" and superior traveler, see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993). Jean-Didier Urbain introduced the question of tourism's relationship to the "vacation." Jean-Didier Urbain, *Sur la plage: Moeurs et coutumes balnéaires* (Paris, 1994). See also Löfgren, *On Holiday*.

<sup>24</sup> H.E. Harris, ed. *Statesman Deluxe Stamp Album*, 1968 (no publisher, no page number).

<sup>25</sup> Koenker, "Whose Right to Rest?," 1.

<sup>26</sup> Layton, "The Divisive Modern Russian," 870. On tourism in Imperial Russia also see Louise McReynolds, "The Prerevolutionary Russian Tourist: Commercialization in the Nineteenth Century," and Susan Layton, "Russian Military Tourism: The Crisis of the Crimean War period," both in Gorsuch and Koenker, *Turizm*; Sara Dickenson, *Breaking Ground: Travel and National Culture in Russia from Peter I to the Era of Pushkin* (Amsterdam, 2006); Christopher Ely,



**Figure 1** Enjoying the outdoors. With permission from the Estonian Film Archive.

domestic and international travel, and it was made an official project. Some tourist excursions were nature-based, such as the day hike of sixty young people to a picnic site on the Moscow River in 1952, but others were explicitly ideological.<sup>27</sup> In the early 1950s, travelers earned the badge of “USSR Tourist” for traveling to Gori, Baku, and Tbilisi in a touristic re-enactment of the childhood and early revolutionary life of Stalin.<sup>28</sup> Often, the two were combined—the student group that enjoyed the “picturesque” beauty of the Moscow River also stopped in the pouring rain to listen “with attention” to a lecture relating to nearby Borodino.<sup>29</sup> Tourists were also supposed to be of assistance to local people along the way. This same group took a break from their hike to help peasants with their mowing. *Turizm* was a form of mass action through *doing*, similar to other forms of active mass participation such as “collectivizing the

“The Origins of Russian Scenery: Volga River Tourism and Russian Landscape Aesthetics,” *Slavic Review* 62, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 666–82.

<sup>27</sup> Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (hereafter GARF), f. 9520, op. 1, d. 252, ll. 2–4 (Tourist journals, 1952).

<sup>28</sup> *Trud* (29 February 1952), 4/ *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (hereafter CDSP) 4:9 (12 April 1952).

<sup>29</sup> GARF, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 252, ll. 2–3

countryside and industrializing the periphery, doing mass calisthenics, [and] writing poetry in workers' clubs."<sup>30</sup>

The purposeful physicality of proletarian tourism distinguished it from a vacation for the purposes of healing "rest" (*otdykh*). Soviet citizens in need of healing or relaxation traveled to a health spa (*kurort*) or rest home (*dom otdykha*). The visitor to a *kurort* enjoyed a three- to four-week stay for treatment and relaxation. Health professionals were available to design diet, exercise, and mineral water regimes specific to the needs of a particular client such as "milk days" for those with cardiovascular problems, and "apple days" for colitis and dysentery.<sup>31</sup> Rest homes were vacation rest houses, often in natural settings, that provided meals and simple lodging. They were condemned by at least one observer as places of slothful indulgence in which a "young, healthy man whose organism craves physical activity . . . falls into the hothouse environment of a *dom otdykha* where he spends idiotic . . . numbing hours of fattening and obesity, putting on weight."<sup>32</sup> Other recreational opportunities included sports and sunbathing, as well as cultural entertainment in the evening—amateur concerts, film, dancing. Despite the supposed difference between *turizm* and *otdykh*, however, the boundary between the two was porous, increasingly so by the 1960s and 1970s. Trips to health spas, and certainly to rest homes, were often closer to what we might consider a vacation than a hospital sojourn.<sup>33</sup> Although health spas were intended for those sent under doctors' orders, well-connected people sometimes managed to maneuver the system so as to enjoy a month's holiday in the relative luxury of the Black Sea.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> James von Geldern, "The centre and the periphery: cultural and social geography in the mass culture of the 1930s," in *New Directions in Soviet History*, ed. Stephen White (Cambridge, 1992), 71.

<sup>31</sup> GARF, f. 9228, op. 1, d. 302, ll. 64–76, 106–108, 143–45 (Medical reports). In 1937 there were over 60,000 All-Union and republic health resorts of various kinds, d. 3, l. 1 (Report on expansion of *kurorti*).

<sup>32</sup> The supposed "hothouse" environment of the rest home (and the sanatorium) may refer to their reputation as places of illicit sexual encounter, fostered in part because husbands and wives so rarely traveled together due to the challenges of obtaining authorized passes for the same location. GARF, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 69, l. 7 (TEU meeting, 1948); Mary M. Leder, *My Life in Soviet Russia: An American Woman Looks Back* (Bloomington, 2001), 121, 132–33; Anna Rotkirch, "Traveling Maidens and Men with Parallel Lives—Journeys as Private Space During Late Socialism," in *Beyond the Limits: The Concept of Space in Russian History and Culture*, ed. Jeremy Smith, *Studia Historica* 62 (Helsinki, 1999); Koenker, "Whose Right to Rest?" 407.

<sup>33</sup> On sanatoria as vacation resorts in the late Imperial period, see Louise McReynolds, *Russia at Play: Leisure Activities at the End of the Tsarist Era* (Ithaca, 2003), 171.

<sup>34</sup> Ronald Hingley, *Under Soviet Skins: An Untourist's Report* (London, 1961), 45. In 1919, the new Soviet state published a decree on sanatoria and health resorts that nationalized pre-revolutionary resorts and opened them to a wider public. However, there were still special sanatoria for the cultural and political elite including members of the Academy of Sciences and the Union of Soviet Writers. In the 1970s, the "thirteenth-month" bonus Soviet elites took home was sometimes called "hospital" or "cure" money. S.V. Kurashova, L.G. Gol'dfailla, G.N. Pospelovoi, ed. *Kuroty SSSR* (Moscow, 1962), 10–11; Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 101;