

MEMORIA Y CIVILIZACIÓN

ANUARIO DE HISTORIA

14 / 2011

REVISTA DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTORIA /
FACULTAD DE FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS / UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA /
PAMPLONA / ESPAÑA



Universidad
de Navarra

MEMORIA Y CIVILIZACIÓN

ANUARIO DE HISTORIA DE LA FACULTAD DE FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA
PAMPLONA. ESPAÑA / FUNDADA EN 1998
2011 / VOLUMEN 14 / ISSN: 1139-0107

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Edita

Servicio de Publicaciones
de la Universidad de Navarra, S.A.
Carretera del Sadar, s/n
Campus Universitario
31009 Pamplona (España)
T 948 425600

Precios

Unión Europea
1 año / 18 €
Vía aérea 25 \$
Otros países
1 año / 18,5 €
Vía aérea 30 \$

Diseño y Maquetación

Ken

Imprime

GraphyCems

D.L.: NA 858/1998

Periodicidad

Anual

Tirada

200

Tamaño

170 X 240 mm

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<http://dspace.unav.es/dspace/handle/10171/7811>

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2011 / VOLUMEN 14 / ISSN: 1139-0107

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Popular National Culture and Advertising in the Soviet Travel Agencies, 1964 -1984

Cultura popular nacional y publicidad en las agencias de viaje, 1964-1984

SERGEI ZHUK
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RECIBIDO: JUNIO DE 2011
ACEPTADO: AGOSTO DE 2011

Abstract: Sergei Zhuk's article deals with problem of advertising of international tourism abroad during the Brezhnev Era. Commercial reasons made the Soviet administration of various travel agencies to incorporate in their advertising elements of nationalism and western rock music as well.

Keywords: International tourism, advertising, Brezhnev era, nationalism, western rock music.

Resumen: El artículo del Prof. Sergei Zhuk analiza el problema de la publicidad del turismo internacional en el extranjero durante la época de Brezhnev. Diversas razones comerciales hicieron que varias agencias de viajes gestionadas por la administración soviética incorporaran a sus campañas tanto elementos nacionalistas como música rock occidental.

Palabras clave: Turismo internacional, publicidad, época de Brezhnev, nacionalismo, música rock occidental.

INTRODUCTION

In July 1978, a group of one hundred Soviet tourists visited Algiers in northern Africa using travel plans of the Komsomol tourist agency *Sputnik*.¹ A central role in this group belonged to the Ukrainian folk vocal instrumental ensemble *Dniepriane* from the local university in Dniepropetrovsk, a big industrial city of eastern Ukraine. Before this trip eleven musicians of this band had a special and long conversation with the officials of the Soviet tourist agencies. These officials explained that the band's mission was to present the Ukrainian national culture abroad and at the same time to advertise "national elements" of tourism in Soviet Ukraine for foreign tourists.² During the tourist trip to Algiers, *Dniepriane* took an active part in the advertising campaign of the Soviet tourist agencies. The musicians "organized five concerts, three dance parties and six evenings of questions and answers which always ended in the meetings to honor friendship of Soviet and Algerian youth." As a result of this advertising campaign the Ukrainian musicians distributed to the local audience twelve national souvenirs, 200 badges, 300 brochures about tourism in the USSR for foreign visitors.³ The repertoire of *Dniepriane* consisted of a mixture of the popular Western rock music hits and Ukrainian folk songs. Their most popular song which was used by *Dniepriane* during their trip abroad for advertising the international tourism to Soviet Ukraine was a song "Zaporizhian Cossacks" about a national history of Ukraine. The paradox was that this song was a cover in Ukrainian of "Venus," the Western hit of the Dutch rock band Shocking Blue. This song and other Western music hits attracted foreigners to the concerts of *Dniepriane*. Despite the band's success in advertising national elements, a leader of the Soviet tourist group who supervised the band's activities during this trip complained about a lack of the Soviet popular music hits in a repertoire of *Dniepriane*.⁴ But the representatives of Soviet tourist agencies were satisfied with the results of the band's ad-

¹ See a report of a tourist group leader about the travel to Algiers People-Democratic Republic in *Sputnik* files: Derzhavnyi arkhiv Dnipropetrovs'koi oblasti (hereafter – DADO), f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, ll. 19-23.a

² Interview of Tatiana Yeriomenko, a former singer of the band *Dniepriane*, April 20, 1988, Dniepropetrovsk; Interview of Yurii Kolomoets, a former musician of the band *Dniepriane*, March 12, 1991.

³ DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, ll. 21, 22.

⁴ DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, ll. 22-23. Interview of Tatiana Yeriomenko, a former singer of the band *Dniepriane*, April 20, 1988, Dniepropetrovsk; Interview of Yurii Kolomoets, a former musician of the band *Dniepriane*, March 12, 1991.

vertising activities, promoted the musicians' career and sent them on regular basis to different countries all over the world. The main attraction for foreigners was Ukrainian national folk rock music performed by musicians from Eastern Ukraine. The most popular song in advertising international tourism in the USSR was a song about Ukrainian Cossacks. As we see, advertising Soviet tourism abroad involved not only such unusual forms as a concert tour of the Soviet folk rock band, but also the elements of both national and Western popular culture.

Using a story of the song about Ukrainian Cossacks as a case study and the archival documents and personal interviews as historical sources, this paper will analyze the ideological problems of advertising international tourism in the main travel agencies of the Soviet Union during the Brezhnev era, 1964-84. These agencies, Inturist, a Tourist Department of the Soviet Trade Unions and a Communist Youth League's organization *Sputnik*, encountered problems with advertising from the early beginning of their history. In the 1960s and the 70s they created special departments responsible for propaganda and advertising or advertising and mass media in Inturist. On the one hand, these tourist agencies had to provide interesting information to attract more Soviet and foreign tourists and more financial sources. On the other hand, the most attractive elements in advertising Soviet tourism were various national elements of different Soviet nationalities, including their costumes, music and handicrafts. As a result, such efforts exposed the limits of Soviet cultural homogenization project during the stage of developed socialism.⁵ In practice, it led to serious problems for the representatives of the Soviet tourist agencies in foreign countries. The most dangerous problem was nationalism. The paper explores how the problems of national identity were tied to advertising Soviet Union travel to foreign tourists as a new strategy of the Soviet tourist agencies during late socialism before *perestroika*. Despite strict KGB and ideological regulations, new "national" forms of advertising such as folk

⁵ Stephen LOVELL, *The Russian Reading Revolution: Print Culture in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), 22-23. See about the homogenization of Soviet Culture during the Stalin's time in Evgeny DOBRENKO, *The Making of the State Reader: Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature*, Transl. by Jesse M. Savage (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1997), and during the Brezhnev era in Natalia E. DOBRYNINA, *Cherty dukhovnoi obschnosti. Russkaia khudozhestvennaia literature v chtenii mnogonatsional'nogo sovetskogo chitatelia* (Moscow: Kniga, 1983), esp. pp. 51-69; and Yitzhak M. BRUDNY, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), esp. 7, 43, 92.

music survived after 1984 and contributed to growth and expansion of tourism, which brought increased profits and influence to the leaders of the local tourist agencies.

THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM IN THE USSR

As early as 1929, under Stalin the Soviet government created a special tourist agency, *Inturist* (an abbreviation from two Russian words “*Innostrannyi turist*” – “Foreign Tourist,” or “International Tourist”) to serve the foreign tourists who visited the USSR. Later on in 1964, with the transition to the consumerist society of developed socialism, the All-Union Administration for Foreign Tourism introduced state control over all forms of international tourism. In a few years it changed its name to the State Committee for Foreign Tourism. This committee established its control over the old agency, 1) *Inturist*, and two new ones: 2) the international youth tourist organization *Sputnik*, a Komsomol travel agency (existed since 1958), and 3) the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions’ international travel agency. According to G. P. Dolzhenko, the first historian of Soviet tourism, the number of foreign tourists who visited the Soviet Union increased from 486,000 to 711,000 between 1956 and 1960. 2 million foreign tourists visited in 1970, and more 6 million visited by 1985. More than 60% of all these tourists represented countries of the socialist camp. The number of Soviet tourists who traveled abroad also grew from 561,000 in 1956 to over 1,800,000 in 1970 and more than 4,500,000 by 1985.⁶

According to the official data, for only the first six months of 1972, 79,601

⁶ G. P. DOLZHENKO, *Istoria turizma v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii i SSSR* (Rostov, 1988), 150. See also Denis J. B. SHAW, “The Soviet Union,” in *Tourism and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*/ Ed. by Derek R. Hall. (London: Belhaven Press, 1999), 137-140. See about tourism and Soviet trade unions in Blair RUBLE, *Soviet Trade Unions: Their Development in the 1970s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). See also papers from the recent collection about tourism in socialist countries, especially Karl D. QUALLS, “‘Where Each Stone Is History’: Travel Guides in Sevastopol after World War II,” *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. by Anne S. GORSUCH and Diane P. Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 163-185; Shawn Salmon, “Marketing Socialism: *Inturist* in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s,” *ibid.*, 186-204; Anne E. GORSUCH, “Time Travelers: Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe,” *ibid.*, 205-226; Wendy BRACEWELL, “Adventures in the Marketplace: Yugoslav Travel Writing and Tourism in the 1950s-1960s,” *ibid.*, 248-265; Scott MORANDA, “East German Nature Tourism, 1945-1961: In Search of a Common Destination,” *ibid.*, 266-280; Christian NOACK, “Coping with the Tourist: Planned and ‘Wild’ Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast,” *ibid.*, 281-304.

Soviet tourists traveled in socialist countries, 15,156 Soviet citizens visited capitalist and developing countries through the trade union travel agency. All together, from January to June of 1972, 94,757 Soviet tourists visited 39 foreign countries. During the same period of time, 6,119 foreign tourists visited the Soviet Union. Among them - 1,943 tourists from capitalist countries and 398 from socialist countries - traveled on the equal exchange basis (*na bezvaliutnoi osnove* in Russian) without paying for travel plans in hard currency. In addition, 728 tourists came from West Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium and Finland with a payment in foreign currency (equivalent of 27,800 so-called *invaliutnykh* rubles). Between 1,600 and 1,800 foreign tourists traveled daily in the Soviet Union in 1972. Soviet trade unions gave Inturist 770 rooms in hotels and tourist bases, and 2,500 rooms in camping zones for reception of the foreign tourists.⁷ During the second half of 1972, the Central Council of the All-Union trade unions planned to send more than 165,000 Soviet tourists abroad and receive more than 9,000 foreign tourists in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the main emphasis was on profits. In 1973, Soviet trade union travel agency planned to increase a number of foreign tourists with payment in hard currency from 3,000 to 10,000.⁸

During *perestroika* and post-Soviet era, the Soviet and Russian scholars began the first studies of the main Soviet tourist agencies and their advertising efforts. None of these scholars tried to analyze a role of national elements in advertising foreign tourism.⁹ Only recently the Western historians began their own exploration of history of Soviet tourism. They found that Inturist was the most important All-Union Soviet administration for foreign tourism. Recent historians of Soviet tourism such as Diane Koenker demonstrated that “the question of profit was present and problematic even in early attempts to define proletarian tourism within the Soviet Union.”¹⁰ From the early beginning In-

⁷ Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii (hereafter GARF), f. 5451, op. 68, l.48.

⁸ GARF, f. 5451, op. 68, l.48.

⁹ See especially, Eduard V. LOIKO, *Reklamno-propagandistskaia rabota po turizmu i ekskursiiam* (Moscow: Profizdat, 1986); Victor M. AGAPOV, *Propaganda turizma i ekskursii* (Moscow: Tsentral'noe reklmno-informatsionnoe biuro “Turist”, 1987); Rita Yu. POPOVA, *Marketing, reklama i informatsia v turizme* (Moscow: Dialog – MGU, 1997); see also various publications of the Russian International Academy of Tourism: Valerii A. Kvartal'nov, *Turizm: teoria i praktika*: In 5 volumes (Moscow: Financy i statistika, 1998); idem, *Turizm: Istorია i sovremennost*: In 4 volumes (Moscow: Financy i statistika, 2002).

¹⁰ See especially Diane P. KOENKER, “The Proletarian Tourist in the 1930s: Between Mass Excursion and Mass Escape,” *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, 119-140.

turist became a commercial institution “with tasks tied closely to the financial needs of the state.”¹¹ During the Khrushchev era, this emphasis on profits and simultaneously on the openness of Soviet society became a very important element of tourist politics in the Soviet travel agencies. Vladimir Ankudinov, head of Inturist from 1947 to 1968, continued this focus on the market and profitability of foreign tourism at the beginning of the Brezhnev era. According to Ankudinov, Soviet tourism was a profitable industry which would bring foreign currency annually to the socialist country. Soviet officials “were encouraged to engage with the market in order to sell socialism.”¹² An American scholar, Shawn Salmon, interpreted the new policy of Inturist in post-Stalin period as “selling socialism to western tourists.”¹³ In 1964, Soviet leaders emphasized this element of profitability. They expected that 50% of Inturist profits in foreign currency would come from the sale of souvenirs and provisions of travelers.¹⁴ Soviet government opened the special *Beriozka* stores with goods for foreign tourists.¹⁵ Soviet factories were instructed to produce various souvenirs for foreign tourists with “national elements.” Such souvenirs included Russian national lacquer miniatures painted in the village of Fedoskino, dolls in national costume; Central Asian skullcaps etc.¹⁶ In 1964 Ankudinov issued a special order on “the organization of trade in foreign currency” and the establishment of bars and cafes in the main Inturist hotels throughout the Soviet Union.¹⁷

As Shawn Salmon noted, to attract foreign tourists, the elements of national culture were included in menus of the Inturist restaurants.¹⁸ “Having studied western tour firms, Inturist officials focused,” according to Salmon, “on creating more aggressive and smarter advertisements targeted to western mar-

¹¹ Following Elena OSOKINA, Shawn Salmon wrote, “an essential paradox of Soviet socialism” was that international capital “was critical to the construction of the new state.” See Shawn Salmon, “Marketing Socialism,” 187.

¹² V. ANKUDINOV and V. ROZEN, “Turizm kak otrasl’ ekonomiki,” *Novoe vremia*, 1966, No. 34, 21-22.

¹³ Shawn SALMON, “Marketing Socialism,” *Tourism: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, 187. See also her dissertation which covers both the Brezhnev period and perestroika: “Shawn Salmon, Showcasing Soviet Socialism: A History of Intourist, 1929-1991,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2007.

¹⁴ GARF, f. 10004, op. 1, d. 2, l. 12.

¹⁵ O. PARAMONOV, “Beriozkiy den’gi,” *Rodina*, 1999, No. 4, 74-75.

¹⁶ GARF, f. 10004, op. 1, d. 11, l. 12; f. 9612, op. 1, d. 558, l. 23.

¹⁷ See Shawn SALMON, “Marketing Socialism,” 193-194. See an order by Vladimir Ankudinov, head of Inturist from 1947 to 1968: “Prikaz po upravleniu po inostrannomu turizmu pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR no. 24,” November 19, 1964, GARF, f. 9612, op. 1, d. 598, ll. 66, and 67-72.

¹⁸ Shawn SALMON, “Marketing Socialism,” 195; GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 2, l. 113.

kets.”¹⁹ But Salmon dismissed the problems of nationalism created by this advertising. As we see, neither post-Soviet scholars, nor Western researchers explored the problems of nationalism and pop culture which became involved in the advertising efforts of the Soviet travel agencies and created problems for their officials.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITIONS AS A LOCATION OF TOURIST ADVERTISING

As an American historian of tourism noted, “Inturist became a regular presence in Soviet stands at exhibits abroad where representatives could be found handing out brochures, chatting with local businessmen, and displaying the latest in Soviet champagne, perfume, and cognac.”²⁰ The typical international exhibition in the West with a participation of Inturist was “the Russian Exhibit,” the big Soviet Industrial exhibition in the West German city of Düsseldorf. It took place on 500 square meters of the third floor of the textile super store Koch in downtown Düsseldorf from October 23 to November 10, 1965. An official part of Inturist in this exhibition attracted more than 300,000 visitors during fifteen days. It was the first Soviet exhibition of Inturist in West Germany.²¹ The Inturist exhibition in Düsseldorf demonstrates a typical approach to advertising tourism in the Soviet Union for the western visitors.

According to the official report, the entrance to this exhibition was decorated with a high stand of bright posters “Welcome to Yalta and Sochi,” “Trans-Siberian Railway,” “The Soviet Railway System,” and numerous brochures advertising tourism in the USSR. Behind this stand the guests saw two large lightened transparencies with pictures of the Red Square and Russian troika on the All-Union Exhibition of People’s Economy in Moscow; two big photos of Moscow streets and electrified map of the international railway destinations in the USSR. Then guests followed by the row of the electrified maps of air, railway and car itineraries of Inturist, and nine big photos of Tbilisi, of a hotel “European” in Leningrad, of Kazan, Donetsk, Piatigorsk, of Moscow – Kremlin, Moscow – Bolshoi Theater and of Volga landscape. On the background of the Inturist stand, the visitors could see a big physical map of the USSR and

¹⁹ Shawn SALMON, “Marketing Socialism,” 196.

²⁰ Shawn SALMON, “Marketing Socialism,” 196. See especially in V. Ankudinov, “O merakh po obezpecheniiu vypuska ezhekvartal’nogo informatsionno-reklamnogo prospekta zhurnal’nogo tipa – Puteshestvie v SSSR,” January 1965, GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 2, l. 6; see also d. 194, l. 23.

²¹ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, ll.1, 4.

small models of the Soviet railway cars. This exhibit was decorated with a slogan “The Soviet Union is a country which is very interesting for the tourists!” “In front of the Inturist stand,” a report explained, “the guests saw a desk and chairs where the interested visitors could get assistance from the Inturist consultants who organized lectures and presentations and distributed various advertising material with the addresses of the tourist firms of Inturist foreign representatives.”²² Yet, in conclusion of their report, the Inturist representatives had to admit a failure of their advertising efforts and they recommended using more new tools and innovative methods for advertising tourism in the USSR. The new methods included the advertising movies, exhibits of national culture from Soviet republics, models of Soviet air planes, cruise ships, buses that Inturist described in its advertising brochures.²³

It is noteworthy that the Inturist report emphasized a presentation of **national elements** from various Soviet republics as the most important and attractive parts of the Inturist stand for the foreign guests. “The most precious additions to the Inturist exhibition,” the Soviet official continues, “were forty enlarged photographs on a theme ‘People and Landscape of Our Country,’ which were made with great artistic skill and taste by the Soviet photo reporters in 1964.”²⁴ All Inturist representatives on the Soviet exhibitions abroad followed the same model of presentation which their stand in Düsseldorf demonstrated. They eventually realized that the most important component in the Inturist advertising was “a stand portraying various **national** cultures of the USSR.”²⁵

In 1965 the Inturist officials in France who participated in numerous Soviet Industrial exhibitions also emphasized a necessity of propaganda for national cultures of the Soviet republics to attract more guests to the Inturist stands and in future, more western tourists to the USSR. During the International Fair in Nice from March 4 to 15, 1965, Inturist presented not only photos of representatives of national cultures but also various handicrafts from different Soviet republics. On March 12, 1965, three advertising movies were shown for guests of the Inturist stand, “The USSR is a Country of Big Tourism,” “The Winter in Moscow,” “Yalta is a Pearl of Crimea.” The first film included special fragments about national cultures of various Soviet republics, such as Ukraine and Geor-

²² GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, l. 2.

²³ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, ll. 3, 4, 5. See also the West German publications about the Inturist exhibit in Düsseldorf in 1965 in GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, l. 7-15.

²⁴ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, l. 2.

²⁵ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, l. 41.

gia. Besides Moscow and Leningrad, Kiev, a capital city of Soviet Ukraine, became the most popular destination for French tourists in 1965.²⁶ For another Inturist exhibition in Paris, from May 19 to 31, 1965, Soviet officials especially insisted on sending “**national** costumes of Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia and Georgia (two items for each republic) for decorating the front window of the Inturist stand.” To popularize the idea of tourism in the USSR, Inturist representatives organized the special “Tourism in the Soviet Union” days for each Soviet Industrial exhibition in France during 1965–66. According to the results of survey, which was organized by Inturist among French visitors of the Inturist stands in Paris and Bordeaux, June 17–28, 1965, the most popular tourist itineraries included visits to the Soviet resorts on the Black Sea, such as Yalta and Sochi, travels on board of the river ships along Dnieper and Volga rivers, pedestrian trips in Transcaucasia, hunting trips in Crimea and Siberia, and visits to the Arts Festivals, especially in Moscow and Leningrad. During a special Day of the Soviet Tourism event on the 23rd more than 400,000 guests visited Inturist exhibit and received 75,000 copies of the Inturist advertising brochures which presented the popular tourist destinations in various Soviet national republics.²⁷ Official Inturist representatives noted that the advertising was lacking elements of national culture, which showed the diversity of the Soviet Union.²⁸

LEARNING HOW TO ADVERTISE

The inefficient advertising of international tourism created problems for the local Soviet officials in both Inturist and trade union travel agencies. In his report about international tourism in Ukraine, P. Chernetskii, head of the Ukrainian republican council of tourism, noted that in 1965 the Ukrainian tourist agencies received 204 groups of 6,335 foreign tourists. A majority of these tourists had no information about the details of their trips. As it turned out only few of them knew something about the Inturist advertising. As a result of such bad advertising, in 1965 only 23 western tourists (21 from Austria and

²⁶ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, ll. 31, 35, 39.

²⁷ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, ll. 41, 50, 53, 56, 57–58, 59.

²⁸ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 33, l. 61. In 1965, Inturist also participated in international tourist fairs and industrial exhibitions of socialist countries to test its ability to compete with travel agencies of the socialist camp in advertising. Inturist officials realized that the Soviet advertising of international tourism was falling behind the advertising efforts of other European socialist countries. They agreed to co-operate with Czech film firm “Prague – Barrandov” about advertising technologies. See in GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 31, ll. 22–23.

two from Italy), of all 6,335 foreign tourists, mainly from European socialist countries, visited Ukraine.²⁹ Chernetskii complained of an absence of the artistic brochures with illustrations and descriptions of the tourist itineraries for tourists who traveled in Ukraine. Another serious complaint was about a lack of national souvenirs in Ukraine for foreign tourists. Chernetskii asked central tourist authorities to help with a production of Ukrainian national souvenirs which had to be more varied and of better quality. He reminded the Moscow administration of trade union tourism that foreign tourists were interested in the local, Ukrainian, cultural products. Therefore, the All-Union travel agencies had to help with production of various Ukrainian ethnic products popular among foreigners, such as national costumes, music instruments, records of Ukrainian folk music etc.³⁰

The administration of the trade union tourist agency decided to use the Inturist experience of co-operation with the travel agencies of socialist countries. According to the Soviet officials, the most advanced forms of tourist service existed in Yugoslavia. Since 1955 this socialist country used the most progressive and advanced methods of advertising international tourism. By 1968 Yugoslavia became the most popular travel destination in the socialist camp for western tourists. The representatives of Inturist and the Soviet trade union travel agency sent a special delegation to visit Yugoslavia during April 13-24, 1968, "to learn the advanced experience of this country in organization of international tourism" including the "progressive forms" of advertising and informing foreign tourists.³¹ After their official visit to Yugoslavia, the Inturist and trade union travel agency representatives submitted a report with their proposals how to use the Yugoslavian tourist experience. Among their recommendations was a creation of "a sector (department of tourism) on the government level at the State Planning Commission of the USSR." The Inturist representatives reminded how important "**national cultural elements**" were in a Yugoslavian advertising of foreign tourism and recommended using this "advertising experience of the Yugoslavian comrades."³²

²⁹ See his report of October 20, 1965 in GARE, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 8517, ll. 210-245, especially l. 210.

³⁰ GARE, f. 9520, op. 1, d. 8517, ll. 213, 214, 245.

³¹ GARE, f. 9520, op. 2, d. 30, ll. 52-64.

³² GARE, f. 9520, op. 2, d. 30, l. 63. They recommended "to provide a necessary advertising" and "to increase a production of the significant amount of brochures with a description of the resorts, tourist bases, and sanatoriums for foreign tourists, and also to produce the postcards and various national souvenirs for a sale for foreign tourists."

The similar problems of advertising foreign tourism were discussed at the special seminar meeting of the All-Union trade union officials responsible for foreign tourism on January 23, 1969, at the special trade union tourist base. A representative of the Ukrainian trade unions complained again about an absence of advertising foreign tourism in the Ukrainian republic. ("In 1968," he said, "Ukraine had not received any advertising materials about foreign tourism at all.") He noted a lack of the Ukrainian national souvenirs and recommended using more elements of the Ukrainian folklore and national culture in advertising Soviet tourism abroad.³³ A head of a Management of Foreign Tourism at the USSR Council of Ministers and a former leader of Inturist, Vladimir Ankundinov, accepted such a criticism. In his speech at this meeting, he repeated a necessity of the improvements in advertising foreign tourism to the USSR which brought annually more than one percent of all foreign currency receipts for the entire Soviet state. He also acknowledged an importance of national elements in this advertising. Ankundinov connected this to the ideological propagandist goals of foreign tourism. He reminded that "the West uses tourism for its anti-Soviet goals and transforms each tourist trip in a form of the open ideological struggle." Therefore the Soviet tourist agencies had to resist this ideological offensive in their tourist fields. "Even if only 200,000 Soviet citizens go abroad as our tourists every year, it is still a very important ideological factor," he noted in his speech, "Tourist trips of the Soviet citizens to any country, including the socialist one, play the greatest political significance in a sense of propaganda of our lifestyle, of our morality, and, of course, in the first place, of the peaceful politics of our Party and the Soviet government." He appreciated also a co-operation with socialist countries in advertising and developing the new forms of foreign tourism.³⁴ The resolutions of this meeting were incorporated in the special decree of the Central Committee of CPSU, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of May 30, 1969, "About measures on the further development of tourism and excursions in the USSR." Borrowing from the experience of other socialist countries of Europe this decree stressed the necessity of developing the material and technical base of tourism, and especially advertising tourism in the USSR and abroad. "**National cultural elements**" in advertising the inter-

³³ See a report of the Ukrainian representative, comrade Shemets in GARF, f. 9520, op. 2, d. 32, ll. 4-14; especially 4, 6, 10.

³⁴ GARF, f. 9520, op. 2, d. 32, ll. 122, 127, 129. See about 1971 in f. 9612, op. 3, d. 521, especially ll. 20, 29, 48, 76-77.

national tourism (especially national souvenirs and folk music) became a priority for the trade union tourist agency. The trade union representatives planned to use various forms of advertising such national elements in their activities abroad.³⁵

In 1970, Inturist used the practical results of a co-operation with socialist countries for their own international exhibitions in the Great Britain and the United States. The main conclusion after their experience in advertising Soviet tourism in Czechoslovakia was “to add to the Soviet stand the special windows with souvenirs of **national origin**, such as Khokhloma products, goods from Palekh, Georgian etching (*chekanka*) on the metal etc.” The same emphasis on the national cultures as a part of advertising the international tourism in the countries of Warsaw pact was obvious in all documents of the tourist international fairs in Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany in 1971.³⁶ In 1972, A. Abukov, a head of the central council of trade unions on tourism and excursions, planned to include various aspects of national cultures of Soviet republics in scenario of the special films advertising the foreign tourism in the USSR. He planned a production of 200 films portraying “various exotic and attractive to foreign tourists locations in different republics of the Soviet Union” every year.³⁷

The ideological directives strengthened this emphasis on the national elements in the Inturist advertising. In 1970 the Soviet Union celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Vladimir Lenin, and 1972 was a year of the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the Soviet Union. In the beginning of the 1970s the Soviet tourist agencies combined their ideological efforts to publicize the achievements in the solution of the national question in the USSR with their practical activities to sell the travel plans to western tourists who were attracted by national exoticism rather than by ideological propaganda of socialism. As a result, during the Inturist exhibitions in the United States (in Denver, Colorado, in March of 1971 and in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, June of 1971), the national themes and images from non-Russian republics prevailed over the traditional Russian tourist souvenirs in the stands of the Soviet tourist agency.

During the international “Sport, Boat, and Travel Show” organized by the Industrial Expositions Inc. in Denver, USA, from March 2 to 7, 1971, the most

³⁵ GARE, f. 5451, op. 68, d. 483, ll. 78-85, see especially ll. 80-81.

³⁶ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 437, ll. 1-5 (about an exhibition in London “The Ideal House” from March 3 to 30, 1970); d. 435, l. 10 (about an Inturist experience in the Ostrava exhibition in January of 1970).

³⁷ GARE, f. 5451, op. 68, d. 483, ll. 80-81.

popular brochures of Inturist were those which emphasized national elements in Soviet tourism. These booklets (all together 15,000 copies) included titles such as “Welcome to the USSR, the multi-national country,” “One hundred of nations invite you to visit the USSR,” “Please visit Georgia,” etc.³⁸ During another American tourist show in Wisconsin, “Travelorama-71,” organized by the American Automobile Association from July 22 to 25, 1971, “the Inturist stand was devoted to propaganda of successes and achievements of our country and its tourist opportunities, brotherly friendship and co-operation of all the nations of the USSR.” Inturist requested more propagandist films about sightseeing in the national republics of the Soviet Union for their advertising in the United States. To attract more American tourists the Inturist officials included in their stand the special advertising material about the tourist trips to “the less frequently visited cities” (*maloposeshchaemye goroda*) in the national republics, automobile tourism and the winter tourism in the USSR.³⁹

It is noteworthy that the Inturist campaign about the foreign tourism to “the less frequently visited cities” in the national republics became the most popular topic in advertising international tourism in the USSR during the 1970s. In France in 1971, the Inturist exhibitions started this campaign by organizing special advertising weeks of tourism to the national republics of the USSR. The most popular tourist destination for the French tourists during 1971-72 was the Soviet republics such as Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan.⁴⁰ Soviet officials considered as positive results of the Inturist advertising in France during this period of time the following achievements: an increasing of seasons and geography of tourism in the USSR for western tourists; growth of profits in foreign currency; propaganda of new types of tourism, including less known and previously unpopular in France forms of tourism; reaching the tourist market of French provinces. At the same time, all Soviet observers noticed the major deficiency of Inturist efforts in advertising. It was a lack of analysis of the effectiveness of advertising the Soviet tourism in foreign mass media. Despite this deficiency, the Inturist experts still reported that the most attractive in Soviet tourist expositions abroad were the “exotic national elements” such as national costumes, folklore or national handicrafts.⁴¹ For more efficient advertising the international tourism in national republics of the So-

³⁸ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 525, ll. 3-4.

³⁹ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 525, l. 16.

⁴⁰ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 525, ll. 41-42.

⁴¹ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 525, ll. 46, 48, 54.

viet Union, Inturist approved a plan of special activities in France which included “the financial support by Inturist of the trip for two French radio and TV journalists in all Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union” and an organization of the special trip of one French journalist to the “the less frequently visited cities” in the national republics. Inturist promised to pay all travel expenses of the French journalists.⁴²

ADVERTISING THE NATIONAL CULTURAL ELEMENTS

Despite all efforts to improve advertising and include more “ethnic elements” in expositions of Soviet tourism, Soviet tourist agencies still have problems with a presentation of national culture of different Soviet republics. It became obvious during the international exhibitions in Canada in 1973, when the Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Estonians of Canadian origin visited the Inturist stands and asked questions about political and cultural situation in the Soviet Ukraine and the Baltic republics. As it turned out the Soviet Inturist officials had no experts who could answer these questions. Moreover, they had no information and advertising about Ukraine at all. This failure became especially apparent during the National Exhibition in Toronto, Canada, August 15 – September 3, 1973.⁴³ The Inturist stand at this exhibition showed ten advertising films about tourism in the USSR, but none of them covered Ukraine. Among 2,500,000 guests (ten percent of them were Americans) who visited the Soviet stand the representatives of the numerous local Ukrainian community played a prominent role. They were especially frustrated that the Soviet exposition did not include enough information about the Soviet Ukraine. This absence of material about Ukraine provoked a scandal. As A. V. Skvortsova, an official responsible for the Inturist stand in Toronto, reported, the Canadian Ukrainians demonstrated hostility to the Soviet Union. They asked about an explanation of the official reasons of not allowing them to visit their relatives in Ukraine and vice versa. And she continued, “An especially dangerous situation” occurred between August 20 and August 23, 1973. “A group of young Canadians and Americans of the Ukrainian origin came to an Inturist stand with the specially prepared in advance provocative questions and started the discussions about ‘a releasing political prisoners in Ukraine,’ about ‘the Jewish question,’

⁴² GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 525, ll. 55-56.

⁴³ See a report about this in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, ll. 5-12.

about ‘Czech events’ etc. During the same days, people of Jewish origin approached the Inturist stand with the hostile criticism of the national policy of the Soviet state.”⁴⁴

A similar situation happened in front of the Inturist stand at the International Exhibition “Man and His World” in Montreal, Canada, during June 21 – September 3, 1973. The Soviet exposition had no material about the national culture of Ukraine and the Baltic region. As a result the “local Ukrainian, Russian and Baltic nationalists” began anti-Soviet demonstration explaining to the guests of the Soviet stand that the Soviet government ignored the national interests of the Soviet republics. As an official report noted, they “blamed the Inturist representative for misinforming the foreign guests of the Soviet exposition, and explained to the visitors that the representative’s main goal was to attract more foreign funding into the Soviet tourist business and support financially the Soviet tourist officials with the Western money.”⁴⁵

The main exhibitions of Inturist tried to avoid such a situation and represent all republics of the USSR on their stands. An exemplary Inturist exhibition which covered the cultural developments of all Soviet republics was opened at the International Trade Center in New York City from December 4, 1972, to January 5, 1973. The Inturist representatives organized a special stand “The USSR – Fifty Years” especially for this exhibition.⁴⁶ The main structure, themes and advertising techniques of this stand were incorporated in other exhibitions of the Soviet tourist agencies in the North America and Western Europe during the 1970s.⁴⁷ This time the Inturist introduced a new element in its advertising foreign tourism in the national republics of the

⁴⁴ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, l. 9. Scandals with persons of Jewish origin took place regularly during the 1970s. See about the similar incident in Basel, Switzerland, in June 1971, in *ibid.*, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 525, l. 114-115.

⁴⁵ See a report in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, ll. 13-19, especially l. 17 and 17-18.

⁴⁶ See an official report about a New York’s exhibition in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, ll. 49-51.

⁴⁷ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, ll. 49-50. The official description of this stand looked like this: “The colored relief political map of the USSR with the insignia and flags of all Soviet republics took a central position of this stand. Ten colored and enlightened slides with pictures of Moscow and the capital cities of all Soviet republics were put on both sides of the stand. The golden band with a line “The USSR – the fiftieth anniversary” crowned the stand. The important dates followed this line below: 1922-1972. The stand has the special advertising materials such as “A Tourist Map,” “Please, Visit the USSR,” “Kiev,” “Armenia,” “Azerbaijan,” “Please, Visit Georgia,” “Central Asia and Kazakhstan,” “Please, Visit Moldavia,” “Please, Visit Byelorussia,” “Soviet Baltic Republics,” “Caucasian Mineral Waters,” “The Resorts of the Soviet Black Sea Coast.” The stand was decorated with various national souvenirs of all Soviet republics. During the entire month of the exhibition the Inturist showed an advertising movie in color with sound, “Russian Winter.”

USSR. Every day a new national music collective (either a folk band, or dance group, or ethnic chorus) from each Soviet republic performed its music show for the numerous guests of the Inturist exposition. A special guide dressed in the national attire of each Soviet republic met the visitors and organized a tour for them demonstrating the achievements of every national culture of the Soviet multi-national state.⁴⁸

The same scenario of advertising international tourism in the national republics of the Soviet Union with a concert of ethnic music or folk band was organized also in Amsterdam, in the Netherlands, in April 1973; in the building of the headquarter of the National Guard of the United States in Washington, D.C., between January 27 and February 4, 1973; during March 30–April 8, 1973 in Los Angeles at the 28th Annual Exhibition “Sportsmen’s Vacation & Travel Show”; at the Texan National Tourist Exhibition in Huston during March 13–18, 1973; and during six smaller tourist exhibitions in the United States in 1974.⁴⁹

After a participation in the tourist exhibitions of the socialist countries during 1973, the representatives of the Soviet tourist agencies summarized the new forms of advertising tourism which they learned from their colleagues. The major conclusion was a skilful adjustment of the tourist agencies of the European socialist countries to the changing situation on the international tourist market. All countries used not only national souvenirs to attract foreign guests, but also various forms of ethnic music show, emphasizing the peculiar and distinguished elements of their national culture in songs, dances and theater. According to the Soviet experts, the exemplary country in the field of marketing and advertising tourism was Yugoslavia with usage of “national elements” including music performances as a crucial component of advertising tourism to foreigners.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, l. 51.

⁴⁹ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 746, ll. 26–30, 61–62, 66–70, 77–79, 91.

⁵⁰ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 741, ll. 10, 39, see a collection of Yugoslavian periodicals about tourism on ll. 142–151, a digest of Yugoslavian mass media about international tourism – on ll. 159–166. In practice, such an idealization of Yugoslavian tourist experience could lead to scandals in the Soviet customs. Some Yugoslavian brochures advertising foreign tourism had photos of half-naked women. According to the strict puritan norms of the Soviet customs service, such pictures were not allowed into the Soviet Union. Even Soviet tourist officials sometimes were punished for using Yugoslavian brochures when the customs officers requisitioned the advertising material with “provocative pictures.” “Pictures of the half-naked women did not correspond to the ethical norms of the Soviet morality,” explained the Soviet customs officer. See DADO, f. 1860, op. 1, d. 2637 (for 1980), l. 86.

The representatives of Inturist, trade union and Komsomol tourist agencies discussed the problems of advertising international tourism at the special meeting of the All-Union Council on Tourism of the Main Management of the Foreign Tourism at the USSR Council of Ministers on January 28, 1975. Officially this meeting was devoted to “the tasks of the development of the material technical base of foreign tourism in the USSR.”⁵¹ The main presenters and organizers of this meeting were S. S. Nikitin, a head of the Management of the Foreign Tourism at the USSR Council of Ministers, and V. A. Goviazin, a deputy chair of the Komsomol travel agency *Sputnik*. According to the documents presented at this meeting, a number of the foreign tourists traveling to the Soviet Union increased to 1.5, and amount of the Soviet tourists traveling abroad grew to 1.7. In 1974 more than 3,000,000 foreign tourists from 150 countries visited the USSR. During 1971-74, one Soviet travel agency, *Sputnik*, organized trips for more than 500,000 tourists from the foreign countries (130,000 of these tourists visited the Soviet Union in 1974).⁵² In addition, each regional *Sputnik* branch in Ukraine annually organized more than one thousand lectures delivered for the local audience and hundreds of articles for the local periodicals.⁵³

During this meeting, the major criticism was about inefficient and outdated forms of the advertising international tourism. Despite the obvious successes and achievements in organizing foreign tourism to the Soviet Union, all participants noted that the system of advertising in the Soviet travel agencies was lagging behind of the modern requirements and the existing forms of tourist advertisement and information in the western countries and even in the socialist European countries such as Yugoslavia. Everybody complained about the inefficient and incompetent usage of various forms of music shows to attract foreign tourists. Concerts of national bands, ethnic dances, folk singers and other performers in national languages and national costumes were considered as the advanced means of advertising international tourism. Both Nikitin and Goviazin emphasized the links between the ideological goals of propaganda of

⁵¹ See documents of this meeting in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 931, ll. 1-156.

⁵² See a Nikitin's report in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 931, ll. 91-116, see also ll. 5, 93, 85.

⁵³ See a report for 1973 in DADO, f. 22, op. 19, d. 156 (for 1973), l. 10. According to this official report, in the Dniepropetrovsk region of eastern Ukraine “the young tourists delivered 1,018 lectures during 1973. They created the clubs of international friendship, established a correspondence with the youth of foreign countries. The effective form of propaganda of international tourism is the participation of former tourists who visited foreign countries in radio and TV shows, their publications in local mass media about their trips abroad. With this goal in mind, we include in each tourist group a young journalist, a writer, or teacher, who is able to tell about their impressions from their travels abroad in local periodicals or TV shows.”

the socialist way of life, on the one hand, and the advertising various national forms of socialist culture as an attraction to foreign visitors and the same time as a proof of an advantage of socialism over capitalism, on the other hand. Many participants in the meeting emphasized a necessity of the high level of professionalism of the Soviet music bands which were used for both entertaining tourists and advertising international tourism. Concerts of folk and pop music from the Soviet republics had to become the most important component of the advertising campaign of international tourism to the Soviet Union.⁵⁴

Since 1975 this requirement became a rule for all Soviet travel agencies. In 1977 the Inturist representatives in the western countries combined the ideological propaganda of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution with advertising the international tourism to the Soviet Union. The innovative moment of this advertising campaign was a combination of the concerts of folk music and variety shows from various Soviet republics with an obligatory “national cultural elements.”⁵⁵ *Sputnik*, Komsomol tourist agency, followed the Inturist pattern and included propaganda of the Soviet way of life in its advertising of national forms of culture as an attraction for young tourists from West Germany.⁵⁶ Since 1975 *Sputnik* always included the ethnic music bands typical for each Soviet republic in its advertising campaigns. To advertise foreign tourism to Soviet Ukraine, the *Sputnik* officials sent the Ukrainian folk bands such as ensembles of bandura-players to foreign countries.⁵⁷

Every year the Inturist officials abroad collected information from the foreign mass media to analyze an effectiveness of the advertising international tourism in the Soviet Union. In the early 1980s, using foreign tourist experience, the officials of Inturist, trade union and Komsomol tourist agencies published special recommendations about ideological and advertising work with both domestic and foreign tourists.⁵⁸ During the 1970s and 80s the trade union and Komsomol travel agencies used their special schools, organized for train-

⁵⁴ GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 931, ll. 7, 10, 11, 49, 80-84.

⁵⁵ See the Inturist reports for 1977 in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 1130, ll. 1-119.

⁵⁶ See DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 67, l. 13.

⁵⁷ Bandura is an old Ukrainian string instrument similar to large mandolin. See about the concerts of this band abroad in April of 1976 in: DADO, f. 22, op. 23, d. 88, l. 14.

⁵⁸ See a digest of foreign periodicals for 1980 in GARE, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 1458, ll. 1-21. See also a published bibliography of foreign literature on tourism and advertising in tourist agencies for the officials in Soviet tourist agencies in: *Inostrannaia literature po voprosam turizma za 160-1981 gg.: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (Moscow: IPK Glavinturista, 1983). Compare with a Soviet Ph.D. dissertation on ideological and advertising work in Soviet tourism in Inna F. SADZHAIA, *Turizm kak sfera kul'turno-prosvititel'noi raboty*. Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoi spepeni kan-

ing their officials, for teaching the classes on tourism, tourist services and advertising. They not only published special literature on tourism, but also organized various seminars on the All-Union level, republican and regional levels. They discussed incorporation of films, folk music and variety show in advertising domestic and international tourism.⁵⁹

Soviet officials of tourist agencies complained that propaganda of national cultural forms and inclusion of these forms in the advertising of the Soviet tourism abroad led to unexpected problems. All of them stressed problems of nationalism “which were used in an ideological struggle by the imperialist opponents of the Soviet Union.” In 1980 the officials responsible for ideological work in the trade union agencies organized the special meetings devoted to these problems in Kiev, Ukraine. Problems of ideological work in advertising international tourism were discussed during February–December 1980 in Novgorod, Riazan’ and other cities, popular destinations for foreign tourists in the USSR.⁶⁰ The local Komsomol tourist agencies in national republics added a special ideological requirement to an advertising Soviet tourism through national culture, which was a traditional Marxist doctrine of international solidarity. Already during the 1970s, almost each report of the Ukrainian branch of *Sputnik* included a phrase: “A tourist trip abroad and meetings with progressive youth of foreign countries contributed to a strengthening of the international connections of All-Union Komsomol with the progressive youth organizations of other countries, especially in the issues of a struggle for peace, in an aspiration to be helpful to their people, to a business of communist construction.”⁶¹ At the same time, during the

didata pedagogicheskikh nauk. (Leningrad: Leningradskii gosudarstvennyi institut kul'tury im. Krupskoi, 1981). See also about Komsomol tourism in Yulii A. ANATOLIEV, *Zvezdy nad dorogami: (Molodizhnyi turizm kak shkola vospitania)* (Moscow; Znanie, 1980), and trade union and other forms of Soviet tourism in Nikolai P. KRACHILO, *Osnovy turizmovedeniia* (Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1980). See also published documents on the All-Union Soviet trade union travel agency in VTsSPS. Tsentral'nyi Sovet po turizmu i eskursiiam. *Sbornik ofitsial'nykh materialov* (Moscow, 1982).

⁵⁹ See a result of such activities in publications: 1) about films in advertising tourism in V. M. GORBOV, *Ispol'zovanie kino v propaganda turizma i eskursii: Metodicheskie rekomendatsii Tsentral'nogo Soveta po turizmu i eskursiiam. Otdel propagandy i reklamy* (Moscow: TsRIB “Turist”, 1986); 2) about advertising tourism in a textbook of the development of Soviet tourism in Vadim V. DVORNICHENKO, *Razvitiie turizma v SSSR (1917-1983 gg.) Uchebnoe posobie* (Moscow: Tsentr reklamno-informatsionnogo biuro “Turist”, 1985). Both Sputnik and Inturist had developed special two-year course on tourist services for their officials since 1975.

⁶⁰ GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 1459, ll. 1-19.

⁶¹ See a Dniepropetrovsk Sputnik report for 1978 in DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, l. 6.

1970s, the Ukrainian *Sputnik* established a system of tourist advertising jointly with European socialist travel agencies and the special connections with the youth tourist organizations of other socialist countries such as Bulgarian *Orbita*, Polish *Almatour*, Hungarian *Express* and Yugoslavian *Naromtravel*.⁶²

POPULAR MUSIC IN ADVERTISING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Attempts to include in advertising “the elements of national culture” such as the concerts of folk music by the Soviet tourist officials during the international exhibitions and propagandist trips in foreign countries exposed a controversial situation in a presentation of the national cultural elements of Soviet republics, especially in the western, capitalist, countries. In practice, this presentation of Soviet national cultures was used by ideological opponents for criticism of official Russification on national cultures inside the USSR.⁶³ An experience of the rock musicians from the east Ukrainian city of Dnepropetrovsk who were sent for advertising the international tourism is a good illustration of such a controversial situation.

From the beginning, these musicians dealt with not the Soviet musical products, but the Western cultural products known as rock (or “beat”) music in Soviet Ukraine. According to the KGB officers, the first Western rock-n-roll records came to the black market of Dnepropetrovsk, a city closed to foreigners, from the West Ukrainian city of Lviv through foreign tourists.⁶⁴ Beatlemania, a mass popularity of the British band⁶⁵ in Dnepropetrovsk, began in the late fall of 1964 when local engineers from the secret rocket factory brought

⁶² DADO, f. 22, op. 19, d. 73 (for 1972), ll. 33-35; op. 24, d. 141 (for 1978), ll. 24-26, 27-29.

⁶³ See the complaints about the problems of advertising in Denmark, Canada, Mexico, the Netherlands and France in 1980 in GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 1461, ll. 1-120. See also problems of national souvenirs in practical exchange abroad during the Mediterranean cruise of 1983 in DADO, f. 1860, op. 1 pr., d. 3158, l. 59.

⁶⁴ DADO, f. 19, op. 60, d. 85, l. 7, 17; f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, l. 25.

⁶⁵ On the historical significance of the Beatles music for the Soviet youth during the sixties and seventies, see in David GUREVICH, *From Lenin to Lennon: A Memoir of Russia in the Sixties* (San Diego, 1991), 128. On the veneration of the Beatles among the Soviet youth, see in Yuri PE-LYUSHONOK, *Strings for a Beatle Bass: The Beatles Generation in the USSR* (Ottawa: PLY Publisher, 1999). Even the older generation of those who grew up in the Russian provincial city of Saratov during the late fifties and early sixties were exposed to the Beatles influences. See a wonderful collection of the interviews in English: *Russia's Sputnik Generation: Soviet Baby Boomers Talk about Their Lives*, transl. and ed. by Donald J. Raleigh (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 2006), 38, 65, 68, 69, 139, 166, 237, 256.

the first Beatles records they had bought on the black market in Lviv.⁶⁶ Popularity of the Beatles triggered interest in other forms of rock music. As a result, by 1968 Anglo-American rock music became the main goal of cultural consumption for the majority of Dniepropetrovsk youth.

In 1970, the fifty officially registered Dniepropetrovsk rock bands (known as vocal instrumental ensembles) incorporated the major international rock music hits in their “repertoire” for dance parties. These hits included “Girl” by the Beatles, “As Tears Go By” by Rolling Stones, “Suzie Q” by Creedence Clearwater Revival, and “Venus” by Shocking Blue. Musicians covered these songs with their own lyrics in Ukrainian language. While Ukrainian versions of “Girl,” “As Tears Go By” and “Suzie Q” represented romantic poetry about love, a topic traditional for Soviet bands, their cover of “Venus” in Ukrainian was very different.⁶⁷

Originally the Dutch band Shocking Blue composed the song “Venus” in 1969 for a single. In 1970 these rock musicians included this song in their album “At Home” which became very popular not only in Great Britain, but also in other European countries.⁶⁸ The Shocking Blue hit “Venus” was aired on BBC radio shows through all 1970. Even Aleksandr Tatarskii, a Soviet radio

⁶⁶ Author interview of Vitalii Pidgaetskii at the Department of History, Dniepropetrovsk University, February 10, 1996. Evgenii Chaika, a student of Dniepropetrovsk high school No. 42, who was 16 years old, wrote numerous letters to BBC radio station about his love for rock-n-roll music. “It is impossible not to love the Beatles (*bitlov*),” he wrote in one of his letters, “I have listened to their music since 1963. I want to listen to their song “19th Nervous Breakdown” again. (Apparently, he confused the Beatles with the Rolling Stones. – S.Zh.) And I have something else in mind. Please send me chewing gum as well.” See about this the KGB files. DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, l. 25-26. As KGB documents witnessed, by 1967 the Beatles music had become the most popular object of consumption not only among students but also among their young teachers. A KGB officer reported to the regional Communist Party official in 1968 that Elena Surotova, a 43 years old English language teacher from Chemical Mechanical Vocational School (*Technikum*), “brought the records with music of foreign songs, performed by “bitly”, which she had received from the foreigners to her school, and organized a regular collective listening to the Beatles music by her students.” DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, l. 26.

⁶⁷ Author interview of Mikhail Suvorov, June 1, 1991; Author interview of Andrei Vadimov, Dniepropetrovsk, July 20-21, 2003; Author interview of Eduard Svichar in Vatutino, Cherkassy region, Ukraine, June 8, 2004. DADO, f. 17, op. 7, d. 1. 31-33. See about Soviet rock bands’ music style in Yu. Ferkel’man, “VIA – moda ili novyi zhanr?” *Klub I khudozbestvennaia samodeiatel’nost’*, 1974, No. 10, 30-31; Ivan Lepsha, “VIA-78: Shtrykhy do biografii I perspektyvy zhanru,” *Ranok*, 1978, No. 6, 18-19.

⁶⁸ As a Dutch sociologist wrote, “Shocking Blue played brilliant, concise, almost classical American rock ‘n’ roll, and its song ‘Venus’ with the alien, mechanical vocal sound of Mariska Veres became a major hit in Holland and the rest of Europe in the second part of 1969 and number 1 in America in early 1970.” See Mel van Elteren, *Imagining America: Dutch Youth and Its Sense of Place* (Tilburg University Press, 1994), 138. The American consumers of pop music know the disco version of a song “Venus” by the band Bananarama.

journalist, included this song in his popular radio show on the Moscow radio station *Maiak* in December 1970. At the beginning of the 1970s this song became a music symbol of beat music all over the Soviet Union.⁶⁹

To some extent the immense popularity of this song was connected to its new Ukrainian version of the lyrics for this song. Many local Ukrainian rock bands covered “Venus” with very unusual lyrics in Ukrainian, unlike traditional poetry of Soviet pop songs. The most popular Ukrainian version of “Venus” became a song about the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Cossacks who fought with foreign enemies of the Ukrainian people trying to defend their native land and religion. The new Ukrainian lyric was simple but catchy: “Dnipro flows into the Black Sea, and there will be a disaster for the Turks, when the Cossacks will arrive and kill all the Turks. Hey, Cossacks, Zaporizhian Cossacks etc.”⁷⁰

The tremendous popularity of the Ukrainian version of “Venus” was an interesting example of new cultural consumption among young Ukrainian rock music consumers. Even Russian-speaking dance hall visitors in Dniepropetrovsk did not feel offended by the song that idealized the Ukrainian Cossacks. They preferred the Ukrainian version to the English original when they danced. To some extent, the popularity of patriotic themes about Ukrainian Cossacks reflected the growing consumption of the Soviet Ukrainian historical novels among the population of Dniepropetrovsk during the 1970s. According to librarians’ statistics, young readers of Dniepropetrovsk increasingly turned to the Ukrainian historical novels about Ukrainian heroes.⁷¹

Ten year after a Shocking Blue song reached Ukraine the Dniepropetro-

⁶⁹ Even in 1974 the central Komsomol magazine published an article about Shocking Blue as a response to an immense popularity of the Dutch rock band among the Soviet youth. See M. Freed, “Tochnyi pritsel “Shocking Blue”,” *Rovesnik*, 1974, No. 10, p. 24. See also a recent novel about the Soviet youth culture of the 1970s: Sergei Soloukh, *Shizgara* (Moscow: “Vremia”, 2005). This novel demonstrates a popularity of a song “Venus” among the Siberian youth in the 1970s. The very title of the novel is derived from “She’s got it,” a mispronounced refrain of this song. In Russian this phrase was mispronounced as *Shizgara*. See about this in Sergei SOLOUKH, *Shizgara*, 92-93.

⁷⁰ “Dnipro vpadae v Chorne more, to turkam bude gore, koly kozaky pryplyvut’ i turkiv vsikh ub’iut’. Kozaky, zaporiz’ki kozaky...” in Ukrainian. The Ukrainian musicians transformed a refrain “She’s got it, Your baby, she’s got it, I’m your Venus I’m your fire At your desire” in a refrain about Cossacks. Author interview of Mikhail Suvorov, June 1, 1991; Author interview of Andrei Vadimov, Dniepropetrovsk, July 20-21, 2003; Author’s interview of Eduard Svichar in Vatutino, Cherkasy region, Ukraine, June 8, 2004. Eduard Svichar still remembers all lyrics of this song in Ukrainian. See my recent interview of Eduard Svichar, Vatutino, Cherkasy region, July 28-29, 2007.

⁷¹ These books were written by the Ukrainian Soviet writers such as Semen SKLIARENKO, Ivan BILYK and Pavlo ZAGREBEL’NYI. See Semen SKLIARENKO, *Sviatoslav* (Kyiv, 1961); idem, *Volodymyr* (Kyiv, 1963), Ivan BILYK, *Mech Areia* (Kyiv, 1972); Pavlo ZAGREBEL’NYI, *Roksolana* (Kyiv, 1980). Dniepropetrovsk City Library, Yearly Reports, 1972-1977. Author interview of Andrei Vadimov,

vsk folk rock musicians brought their Ukrainian version of this song back to Europe. Komsomol tourist agency sent 40 local tourists from Dnepropetrovsk to Hungary for a trip from August 3 to August 15, 1981. This group included a rock band *Maki* (Poppies) from the local Engineering Construction Institute with a singer V. Makovskii. During their trip *Maki* performed mainly the Soviet popular songs. The band played also their old hit from the seventies, the Ukrainian version of Shocking Blue sensation, a song “Cossacks” for their Hungarian audience.⁷²

Another tourist group of 40 people was sent to Great Britain on a trip from October 2 to October 11, 1981. *Dniepriane*, a folk rock band from Dnepropetrovsk University was a part of this group.⁷³ As Tatiana Yeriomenko, a singer of this band, recalled, they visited London and Bradford where they gave three concerts. The major part of their repertoire consisted of Ukrainian folk songs. But they played also the Ukrainian version of the Shocking Blue song “Venus.” According to Yeriomenko, for her friends, the Ukrainian rock musicians who grew up in the closed city listening to the British rock, it was the first visit to the real West, a place of the origin of their favorite bands. “Before our trip to England,” Yeriomenko recalled, “we had already visited our Soviet West, the Baltic republics, the socialist substitute (*zamenitel'*) of the West such as Poland, and the developing countries such as Algeria. Now we lived for ten days in the real capitalist West and saw all the real Western things, including our favorite music records. Unfortunately, we did not have enough hard currency to buy what we liked. But, still, as far as I know, everybody bought at least a one music record in Bradford. And, finally, I bought the Shocking Blue record with a song that we used to play so often. It was an original record, not the Yugoslavian or Hungarian compilation.”⁷⁴ As we see young Ukrainian mu-

Dnepropetrovsk, July 20-21, 2003; Author interview of Vitalii Pidgaetskii at the Department of History, Dnepropetrovsk University, February 10, 1996. See also an interview of Evgen D. Prudchenko, the Central Library of Dnepropetrovsk Region, July 18, 2007 and an interview of Galina V. Smolenskaia, the Central Library of Dnepropetrovsk Region, July 18, 2007. See also Myroslav SHKANDRIJ, “Literary Politics and Literary Debates in Ukraine 1971-81,” *Ukraine after Shelest*, Ed. by Bohdan Krawchenko (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), 55-72.

⁷² DADO, f. 22, op. 30 (1981), d. 85, l. 46-49.

⁷³ DADO, f. 22, op. 30 (1981), d. 85, l. 57-62. There were 16 people, with a leader V. K. Bogoliub, in the band during that time.

⁷⁴ Interview of Tatiana Yeriomenko, April 20, 1988, Dnepropetrovsk. Her native language was Ukrainian. But she preferred to speak in Russian. Yeriomenko referred to a trip to Algeria in July of 1978, when *Dnepriane* gave five concerts. See in DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, ll. 19, 21.

sicians had their own hierarchy of the imagined West with capitalist countries such as England at its top. Their music fixation with the Western rock music affected their perception of the West as well. In their imagination the real West was associated only with authentic (i.e. good) rock music like the old Shocking Blue hits. The musicians from *Dniepriane* were the lucky representatives of a minority (usually less than 10%) of the Soviet tourists who visited the real capitalist countries. For a majority of local tourists from Dniepropetrovsk the real capitalist West was unattainable. They satisfied their curiosity visiting either the “Soviet West” (usually the Baltic region, and the city of Lviv) or the “West substitute” (European socialist countries).⁷⁵

The east Ukrainian band’s trip to advertise for international tourism led to the unexpected results. A leader of the tourist group complained in his official report to the KGB about the ideological provocations organized by British Ukrainian nationalists during the performance of the songs about Zaporizhian Cossacks by *Dniepriane* in Bradford on October 7, 1981. After this concert the nationalists greeted the tourists as Ukrainians. The British Ukrainians in the conversation with Dniepropetrovsk tourists emphasized that the Soviet guests were real Ukrainians not “the Soviets.”⁷⁶ As Yeriomenko recalled, “after this meeting we were received as Ukrainians by everybody in Bradford. Everybody recognized us on the streets as the Ukrainians. I was proud for the first time in my life to call myself a Ukrainian, not just a Soviet citizen.”⁷⁷ It is noteworthy that the catalyst for this meeting was a concert where the Soviet musicians performed a Ukrainian version of the Western rock song. As we see this context of engagement with foreign cultural products such as rock song influenced the Ukrainian musicians’ perceptions both of place and of cultural product and added their own national element to this perception. As some scholars argue such an engagement with foreign cultural products during the tourist trips could become “a growing source of self-identity as well as national identity.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See numbers of the tourists in DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 67, l. 16. Numbers of the tourists see in Sputnik reports: DADO, f. 22, op. 19, d. 156 (1973-74), l.1, 2, 14; f. 22, op. 26, d. 102 (1979-80), l. 1, 2, 4, 5; f.22, op. 22, d. 61 (1974), l. 8; op. 22, d. 403 (1975), l.4ob.; op. 23, d. 86 (1976), l. 4; op. 24, d. 67(1977), l. 10. See also about Soviet tourism in the Khrushchev era and a notion of the West in Anne E. Gorsuch, “Time Travelers: Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe,” especially pp. 224, 225.

⁷⁶ DADO, f. 22, op. 30 (1981), d. 85, l. 60-61.

⁷⁷ Interview of Tatiana Yeriomenko, April 20, 1988, Dniepropetrovsk.

⁷⁸ See Anne E. GORSUCH and Diane P. KOENKER, “Introduction,” *Turizm*, 14. See also about the young tourists from Dniepropetrovsk who emphasized their Soviet rather than Ukrainian identity in Roman Solchanyk, “Politics and the National Question,” 19; *Molod Ukrainy*, 1982, February 3.

CONCLUSION: DIFFICULTIES OF SELLING SOCIALISM

The experience of east Ukrainian musicians who were advertising the international tourism demonstrated the practical difficulties of “selling socialism” mixed with local national cultural elements. Since the end of the 1970s the Soviet tourist officials had complained about the problems of nationalism and promotion of the Western cultural forms such as rock music during the advertising music shows abroad similar to the *Dniepriane*'s concerts in England.⁷⁹ As it turned out, the innovative practices of advertising, which were borrowed from the western and Yugoslavian tourist firms undermined in practice the ideological basis of the Soviet tourist propaganda in western countries and revealed the purely practical issues of making money and attracting foreign currency to the USSR. An insistence on the ideological purity would lead to a failure in the advertising. That is why the central Soviet tourist agencies had to tolerate both an expression of nationalism and rock music in advertising in order to get more profits from international tourism. In 1982 the USSR Ministry of Culture interfered and tried to stop the local music bands from a participation in advertising the international tourism abroad. In February of 1982, this Ministry introduced the limits one trip abroad in three years for any music bands from national republics.⁸⁰ But the Ukrainian tourist agencies ignored this rule. The band *Dniepriane* continued their trips abroad on regular basis after 1982. This band became a good advertising tool for foreign tourism in the Soviet Ukraine.

As Shawn Salmon noted, “foreign tourism to the Soviet Union was a business, of course, but it was one that was critical to the socialist project [during the Khrushchev era]. By the early 1970s, having established a greater dependence on income from the sale of arms and oil, the state seemed to call upon Inturist in a less harried fashion for receipts of foreign currency.”⁸¹ During the Brezhnev era the representatives of the Soviet travel agencies became more involved in practical issues of making money in advertising the international tourism, and eventually, they ignored the serious questions of ideological struggle such as issues of Ukrainian nationalism and “capitalist rock music.” As a result, in their practical activities they borrowed and implemented more westernized forms and paid less attention to the ideological discourse of developed socialism.

⁷⁹ On this see documents in GARF, f. 9612, op. 3, d. 1130, ll. 1-119, and DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 67, l. 13.

⁸⁰ See this decree in Ministerstvo kul'tury SSSR. Upravlenie kul'turno-prosvetitel'skikh uchrezhdenii, *Sbornik rukovodiasbchikh materialov i normativnykh dokumentov po kul'turno-prosvetitel'skoi rabote*, edited by A. Ya. Gavrilenko and I. M. Galichenko (Moscow, 1983), 21-24, see especially 24.

⁸¹ Shawn Salmon, “Marketing Socialism,” 203-204.