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Book Review: *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, edited by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2006.

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In the name of tourism, moderns have carried out missions of exploration and expansion, cultural imperialism and commercialization, espionage and escape, time travel and—lest we forget—leisure. If for the breadth of topics alone, *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* illustrates how Russia and East Europe are no exceptions to the strange complexities of modern travel.

Anne Gorsuch and Diane Koenker's fine edited volume brings to light understudied and significant historical perspectives in its two parts: one, travels in capitalist Russia and parts of Eastern Europe (i.e., Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Latvia) before 1917 and, two, socialist tourism ranging from Sevastopol to London after 1917. The volume's fourteen articles widely examine the tradition of tourism from Tsarist Russia to the 1970s Soviet Union, developing topics such as nation-making and empire maintenance, the geographic margins of European-ness, the regulation and utopianism of socialist tourism, individual and collective preoccupations with self-interest and self-improvement, and the reconciliation of labor and relaxation in the Soviet mind. In the editor's introductory think-piece Rudy Koshar reminds us the word "travel" derives from "travail," or suffering and labor—which should surprise few familiar with travel in the former Soviet Union. Leisure travel is importantly hard work.

McReynolds points out Peter the Great was the "quintessential Russian traveler" who "journeyed to western Europe to find not only himself but, more to the point, to find a nation he embodied"—a trend that correlated cultural sophistication with consumption abroad and that persisted throughout the nineteenth-century capitalist Russia. It is then no surprise the period's travel literature, let alone the works of Pushkin or Tolstoy, should require an appreciation of the French language, ennui, and silk blouses. Yet tourist authorities also leveraged nationalism in imperial Russia, *fin de siècle* Hungary (Vari), and interwar Latvia (Purs) to deepen an appreciation of native lands, to bolster national economies against foreign spending, and to protect citizens from exposure to undue "difference."

Travel in the Soviet Union is also an education in the complexities of contradiction: as Shawn Salmon reads in Western travelogues, the experience of traveling to the Soviet Union became marketable for the very absence of leisure and consumption: Inturist—the Soviet state apparatus for foreign tourism—struggled to sell everything to a controlled flow of consumers with foreign currency, tourists complained there was nothing to buy: the top selling good, it seems, was the experience of non-market conditions. In "Time Travelers" Anne Gorsuch extends Larry Wolff's useful phrase "demi-Orientalism" to the Western European construction of Eastern Europe during the Enlightenment with an inversion: "for Soviet citizens, Eastern Europe was 'a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion,' Soviet but not Soviet." Ever on the margins of and at once directly between European and Slavic identities—as Gorsuch, Koenker, Gilburd,

Bracewell, Moranda, and others examine—Eastern Europe remains a perplexingly rich region for the sociological study of human travel.

In lieu of a full review of the fine volume, consider a few points on why the historical study of tourism in these regions may claim broader interest to students of communication. In few other corners of the world have so many nations existed in so little space and over so little time. As Ernest Gellner notes in *Language and Solitude*, centuries of instable Eastern Europe states have sped the modern invention of culture as a social constant and counterbalance to regime change. Long under the influence of others, culture can be understood as something of an Eastern European experiment in locating people in places. There the past still blows especially strong in the wind: we need only stand still to find ourselves transported through past times of transition.

Russia too makes a useful geographic lens for focusing study of the Cold War employment and exacerbation of the same language of foreignness and bipolar difference implicated in tourism. The justification of both (the threat of) state-sponsored violence and state-sponsored temporary citizen exchange (i.e. tourism) depends on a subsequent separation between Self and Other, native and foreigner, and a popular acquiescence to such ideas of cultural difference best sustained over long distances by the symbols, signals, and media so firmly rooted in the province of communication studies. Studies of how such ideas materialize and migrate, from currency controls to passport stamps, can try tourism, together with Cold War politics, for enabling and profiting on the symbolic separation of foreigner and native. Travel places us in physical proximity; tourism sanctions and approximates our cultural differences; and as the case of Eastern Europe illustrates beautifully, we are left somewhere between.

In short, tourism may be to the modern study of cultural difference what glass (think beakers and test tubes, lenses and windows) was to modern science: i.e., both media make possible sterilized observation at very close and very far distances. This fine volume offers a rare look at the understudied complexities of tourism in a comparative approach to a fascinating part of the world. Students and scholars alike would do well, with this book in hand, to carry on the conversation it has begun.

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