



University  
of Glasgow

Matless, D. and Oldfield, J. and Swain, A. (2008) *Geographically touring the eastern bloc: British geography, travel cultures and the Cold War*. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 33 (3). pp. 354-375. ISSN 0020-2754

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/5234/>

Deposited on: 2 September 2009

# Geographically touring the eastern bloc: British geography, travel cultures and the Cold War

## David Matless, Jonathan Oldfield and Adam Swain

### Accounting for 'Odessa'

In April 1963 the Scottish Geographical Magazine published a 17-page article on 'Odessa' by David Fox of the Department of Geography, University of Manchester. The first footnote stated: 'This paper is partly based upon observations and interviews made during a private visit to Odessa in August, 1961, supplemented, where possible, by historical and contemporary records' (Fox 1963, 21). In our search for British geographers who had studied the USSR and Eastern Europe during the Cold War, Fox was one of the last names we encountered. Primarily known for his work on Latin America, 'Odessa' was Fox's single early career foray into the Soviet Union. Footnote one's allusion to a 'private visit' made it seem worthy of attention, and Fox, now retired, was traced to his Wilmslow home. 'Odessa' serves here to open up the relationship of geographical writing and travel experience. 'Odessa' moves from historical development to the contemporary city, giving a few clues to fieldwork, with Fox observing the 'ghosts' of former town walls (10), and footnote 38 indicating a visit to a machine-tool factory. Official statistics frustrate the author:

It is impossible, unfortunately, to give a quantitative picture of the trade of the port. Direct enquiry has yielded nothing and despite its 326 pages the latest statistical abstract for the Odessa oblast gives no indication that the oblast has a sea-frontage, let alone that Odessa is a major sea-port. (18)

Fox nevertheless offers a detailed urban geography, with 'Odessa' evidently the product of more than fleeting impressions; a development map is sourced to 'observations and interviews, 1961' (12–13). Interviewing Fox, 'Odessa' turned out to have emerged from a complex travel story. In summer 1961 Fox journeyed with two fellow junior Manchester lecturers to Georgia, then just opened to Western visitors. Fox's white Ford Consul, with lime-green top, took the group to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, back up through Romania, and into the USSR. Tbilisi was the final destination, the return trip encompassing Ukraine and Czechoslovakia. The whole journey took 10 weeks, with half the time in the USSR. The three were mostly unaccompanied, though with a detailed itinerary arranged in advance via state tourist agencies. Regulated movement mixed however with 'a country which was very disorganised, unprepared for us'. Thus on arrival in Odessa Fox and friends were unable to stay in the designated hotel and camped outside the city, only to find themselves surrounded by armed soldiers; shared wine and tinned food led to them parting 'on the best of terms'. Georgia included a champagne factory visit, with a tasting of four champagnes and a post-visit rapid drive being 'geographic field work at its very best'.<sup>1</sup>

Within 'Odessa' Fox comments that: 'most of the locally made motor vehicles shipped from Odessa leave from the quayside of the Quarantine harbour' (Fox 1963, 17), and thereby touches on the origins of his essay. Odessa was to have been a brief stop before a night boat to Yalta across the Black Sea. While the three men could travel, the Ford Consul would, it transpired, be held to follow three days later. Fox would not be parted from the car, and the result was an extended stay. Travellers were given access to a guide on the basis of spending so many days camping, and so Fox visited a machine-tool factory ('rather like a 1920s factory in east Lancashire'), met the Mayor ('a bit wary of me at first') for 90 minutes with an English teacher as interpreter, drove around the town, experienced public transport, 'poked around in various residences', watched the harbour.<sup>2</sup> Returning to England, Fox followed the pattern of earlier travel-derived articles on Mexico (Fox 1961) and British Honduras (Fox 1962), and wrote up Odessa. A piece of holiday turns into academic analysis, material gained from concern for a Ford Consul producing a nuanced urban geography. Accounting for 'Odessa' opens up questions of travel arrangement, observational practice, overseas conduct and disciplinary convention, which run across British geographical travels in the eastern bloc. How do leisure travel and geographical study combine? Is observation carried out incognito or with the approval of the host state? How does the regulation of movement shape geographical knowledge? What is the propensity of the traveller to adventure?

### British Cold War geographies of the eastern bloc

The connection between the academic and non-academic parts of the lives of academics has a particular inflection for geographers, where travel slips between categories of experience. Between 2001 and 2005 we interviewed those surviving British geographers who had researched, written and taught on the former USSR and Eastern European countries within the Soviet bloc, plus Albania and Yugoslavia.<sup>3</sup> We use the term 'eastern bloc' in this paper as a shorthand for all of these countries, as it conveys the general Western sense of a non-Western socialist sphere in the period, although Yugoslavia was of course never part of the Warsaw Pact and thus in military-political terms not part of an 'eastern bloc', and Albania left the Soviet military alliance in 1961. The circumstances of studying this part of the world during the Cold War gave travel, whether formally academic or ostensibly private and leisurely, a particular value. Geographers might visit as private tourists, their academic identity either disclosed or concealed, and use the opportunity for a form of fieldwork. Touring as a part of an academic delegation could likewise give a different angle on a country. Travel allowed a different experience of, and possibly a peering behind, the official face of the state. Observant travel might also entail watching one's own back, with the sense of possible or actual surveillance commonly present.

This paper explores the geographical touring of the eastern bloc through consideration of private travels, tours on formal state tourist agency excursions, and tours by academic delegations. The structure seeks to highlight different modes of travel experience, whether individual movement, accompanied group tourism, or delegation visits as representatives of a discipline. A mixture of sources is deployed throughout; oral histories, contemporary textbooks, travel essays, research papers, official reports, private and official archival material. Within a largely thematic structure, case studies are chosen in part to illustrate the variation between different countries and different periods, from relatively relaxed individual itineraries in late 1960s Romania through the rigid Inturist agency structures of the USSR to the strict monitoring in group tours of Albania. The latter, while politically exceptional and isolated for much of the period, offers a heightened example of tours under exceptionally tight control. Some sections consider one country in detail, while others combine material from across the eastern bloc, and in this we effectively echo the published output of the field, where general texts covered either the USSR or Eastern Europe as a whole, while Eastern European countries received individual book-length treatment.<sup>4</sup> This mixed coverage conveys the sense in which the region appeared on the one hand as a Soviet-dominated whole, defined by ideological affiliation, yet on the other as a set of individual states with their own national identities, where common European history might endure despite Cold War division. The format of a general text such as Osborne's *East-Central Europe* (1967) illustrates such a regional geographical representation of the eastern bloc, an introductory chapter including an outline of 'the road to socialism', sketching the political system pertaining (with variations) across the region, while the main body works country by country, conveying distinctive national histories and geographies, yet rendering each via standard geographical categories, chapters identically structured through historical background, the land, climate and soils, land-use and farming, industry and mining, distribution of population and chief cities, and transport and trade ([Osborne 1967](#)). *East-Central Europe* is gathered under a standard geographical vocabulary (and a common ideological system), yet nations persist and stand out. In their treatment of a common bloc whose nations and cities nevertheless deserved continuing attention, geographers in effect enacted an ethos present in one of the founding statements of the Cold War, Churchill's March 1946 'iron curtain' speech in Fulton, Missouri, with its evocation of European historic geography under a blanketing ideology:

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere . . . ([Wright 2007](#), 43)

The varied British geographies of the eastern bloc produced during the Cold War, holding to variation within a common political sphere, should perhaps caution against recent characterisations of such work as the projection of a uniform and othered Eastern Europe within a binary world view ([Kuus 2004](#)). Likewise the rich and complex travel experiences shown in this paper to have informed such work should make us think twice before dismissing earlier studies as a simple empiricist regional

geography against which to set a revitalised poststructural area studies (cf. [Gibson-Graham 2004](#); [Pickles 2005](#); [Stenning 2005](#)). Standard geographical accounts may be shaped by extraordinary experience, and deserve attention and appreciation as complex cultural and political documents. The time period under consideration here evidently encompasses geopolitical change, variation in conditions of travel, and shifts in the 'coldness' of the Cold War, and we attend to such variations in the paper where appropriate, selecting examples indicative of a range of political contexts ([Heffernan 1998](#)). The bulk of the examples here are from the late 1950s to the 1970s, reflecting both the memories of our interviewees and the political circumstance whereby academic travel opened up from the mid 1950s, though written accounts from the immediate post-war years are also drawn upon. Throughout the period there is a consistent sense of travel crossing a geopolitical boundary to somewhere other in its political system, and where travel brought risks beyond those deemed normal in Western leisure experience, notably concerning surveillance. Geographers travelled with awareness that their conduct could impact on the potential for continued study via the granting or denial of visas. Each geographer, while operating through common travel structures, also of course travelled as an individual, and the paper encounters a range of geographical personalities, of various British personae meeting the eastern bloc. Given the gender composition of geographers studying the region, in the main the paper offers a study of varieties of post-war British masculinity abroad; intrepid and/or diffident and/or suave and/or bluff and/or modest. Inclusion of specific narratives in this paper does not denote judgement on our part as to the importance of the individual or journey concerned for British geography, rather we have selected examples which best convey the paper's thematic arguments. Thus it is fair to say that while David Fox's Odessa account allows us to open up questions of geographical travel that run through the paper, his contribution to British geographies of the eastern bloc is minor compared to, say, Frank Carter or Judith Pallot, neither of whom feature strongly here.<sup>5</sup> The material here must also be understood against a distinction between those kinds of field research, often archival based, which entailed residence in the host country for a period of several weeks or months, and on which we have written elsewhere ([Matless et al. 2007](#)), and those more passing forms of travel which could serve as observational devices or the means to glean textbook material. The latter are the focus here, though of course the same geographers could undertake both, and indeed travel might be a key component of or supplement to any research stay.

### Cold War travels

Travel as ever was shaped by political circumstance, the Cold War traveller moving through a regulatory apparatus of state tour agencies such as the USSR's Inturist. Gorsuch and Koenker's collection *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, while concentrating on domestic or intra-eastern bloc tourism, notes: 'Socialist tourism was purposeful, and it perfected the socialist citizen by insisting on both the physically and the mentally restorative elements of tourism. Yet socialism too was part of the modern world, and socialist tourism also reflects the ineffable tension generated by travelling in groups, or according to officially arranged itineraries, in order to produce individual meaning' ([Gorsuch and Koenker 2006](#), 2). The British visitor, academic or otherwise, would step into such a field, with additional sensitivities around the production of experience for one who would return to the West. The British geographer also stepped into a version of tourism as improving experience which had a long European bourgeois pedigree, and was not unlike geographical fieldwork.<sup>6</sup> Salmon's essay on Inturist shows how in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a key moment for British geographical travel in the region, Inturist and parallel eastern bloc agencies engaged in 'marketing socialism', supplementing earlier displays of socialist achievement with broader presentation of Soviet life, and acting for commercial as well as ideological ends:

A study of Inturist in the postwar years suggests numerous ways in which hosts and guests understood and made sense of two worlds . . . upon returning home westerners often described the wealth of the experience of being in a nonmarket space (or the relief of witnessing the poverty of socialism). Ultimately, the ability to cross the imaginary 'curtain' dividing East and West was itself among the more valuable things Inturist provided tourists in the Cold War. ([Salmon 2006](#), 203)

All these elements can be traced within British geographers' experiences of the eastern bloc.

Geographers were not the only academics moving in the region. The rituals of academic work are conveyed well in *Adventures in Russian historical research*, in which US historians reflect on research in the USSR, its 'adventures and agonies' ([Baron and Frierson 2003](#), xiv), its experiences of place, and the sense of being at the mercy of global politics. Such experiences are pertinent to British geographers, though the disciplinary place of travel in geography lends their journeys still greater complexity, with the very procedures of movement constituting observational method, and everyday experience furnishing material in a way distinct from historians' archive-centred reflections. The British geographical experience may also depart from the American historical in terms of the differential reception of Americans and Western Europeans in host countries, and the ways in which European identity could play across ideological divides.<sup>7</sup> Connections between travel and geographical knowledge are of course not unique to this time and place. Driver, Ryan, Blunt and others have explored how particular modes of travel were central to the emergence of geography as a discipline ([Blunt 1994](#); [Driver 2001](#); [Ryan 1997](#); [Stoddart 1985](#)). The veracity of geographical knowledge was bound up with approved ways of travel and writing, with the identity of geographer fashioned through conventions of conduct in the field. Geography as a science in the field emerges through wider cultures of scientific travel ([Kuklick and Kohler 1996](#); [Livingstone 2003](#)), and scientific travel makes sense within wider travel cultures ([Revill and Wrigley 2000](#); [Duncan and Gregory 1999](#)), whether those cultivating the appreciation of landscape as a means to good citizenship ([Matless 1996](#)), or those fostering the encounter of Western subject and non-Western other ([Said 1978](#); [Pratt 1992](#)). This paper extends consideration of geography's 'travelling cultures' in those fields less obviously heroic, colonising or demonstrative ([Clifford 1997](#); [Lorimer 2003](#)), moving beyond eighteenth and nineteenth century imperial and scientific exploration to examine twentieth century excursions into the territory of another political system (and for some, another form of empire). While carrying significant elements of risk, eastern bloc geographical travels are seldom styled as daring, and, in emerging from a sub-discipline considered something of a backwater, are rarely presented as at any forefront of intellectual exploration. As in earlier geographical travels, questions of the traveller–host relationship, the state regulation of movement, the strategies for obtaining information, and the means to read landscape and culture, pertain here, but the forms of authority carried by the traveller are different, with geographical knowledge no longer in such clear alignment with colonising power. Travel nonetheless remained a geopolitical act, and geographers could indeed effectively claim intellectual authority over territory via field experience. Travel in mid-twentieth century British geography was the subject of Frank Debenham's 1952 Presidential Address to the Geographical Association, with travel presented as 'the essence of geography' ([Debenham 1953](#), 117), though not as 'mere roaming . . . pleasant as roaming can be' (118). The geographer had the urge to 'travel intelligently' (119), and 'the ability to see more than others on his travels because he has cultivated special faculties for seeing' (124). Intelligence did not however preclude field pleasure: 'it is possible to be too earnest about one's purpose in travelling and to forget that one can study a country in its Biergartens or at sundowner parties nearly as profitably as at its Department of Statistics' (119). British geographers in the eastern bloc enacted such a travel ethos.<sup>8</sup>

### **Geographical travel narratives of the eastern bloc: the Geographical Magazine**

Mid-twentieth-century disciplinary conventions meant that while academic geographical writing gained authority from travel experience, it was emphatically not travel writing; we reflect below on the peripheral registering of travel in textbook production. British geographers however travelled into a Cold War region already scripted through various forms of travel narrative, and less formally academic spaces such as the *Geographical Magazine* (hereafter GM) offered the possibility of writing personal experience into publication. While academic geographers occasionally sought other media outlets for their work, the GM was the most obvious and frequent venue for moving beyond conventional academic writing; indeed it was the only such British outlet with a clearly geographical label, a site where academics appeared alongside a broader constituency of geographical writers, of various scientific, political, commercial or artistic affiliation.<sup>9</sup> Relevant GM accounts are drawn upon throughout the paper, but in this section we consider the magazine as a space indicative of the political and stylistic range within British geographical renditions of the eastern bloc. Such work is produced against a background political fault-line between anti-Soviet writings journeying beyond the Iron Curtain to reveal horrors and privations, and pro-Soviet accounts proclaiming achievement and happiness (cf. [Saunders 2000](#); [Shaw 2005](#)). The politics of British geographers studying the eastern bloc is varied, but it is notable that very few declared their

motivations for work as being strongly political, on whatever side. Disciplinary conventions, and the desire to return to the countries under discussion, also tended to preclude published political commentary. Accounts in the GM and elsewhere also make sense against a longer history of western European stories about Eastern Europe, Russia and the USSR, which offer a cultural repertoire to be drawn upon or departed from. As with any region, the eastern bloc carries a particular cultural register available for geographical writing. In *Inventing Eastern Europe* Larry [Wolff \(1994\)](#) argues for the key role of travel accounts in shaping Enlightenment images of Eastern Europe as a backward and barbarous other to the West, and traces the persistence of such tropes. This perspective is however rare in British geographical accounts during the Cold War, in contrast to those Orientalist tropes identified in US Cold war geopolitical discourse ([ÓTuathail and Agnew 1992](#)); instead a sense of Eastern Europe and the USSR as European and modern predominate, a view of course corresponding to that projected from within the eastern bloc. In terms of Mark von Hagen's characterisation of Cold War scholarship on Russia and Eastern Europe as falling into paradigms of 'Russia/Orient' or 'Soviet Union/modernization', British geography in general belongs with the latter ([Hagen 2004](#)). Here there is also some affinity with pre-war and wartime positive accounts of the USSR, highlighting the progress of planning and industrialisation. In *Iron curtain* Patrick Wright has traced the image of the iron curtain predating the Cold War, assessing inter-war accounts by visitors to the USSR. Wright considers how in this earlier phase of a 'long Cold War' (2007, 18), Soviet travel agencies offered a vision of a new civilisation, which enthusiast visitors delighted in seeing, though some slipped their guides to gain a more nuanced impression. Wright emphasises how by 1939 the trope of the duped British visitor was firmly established; post-war geographical travels thereby took place in a context where any hint of fellow travelling eulogy might be quickly identified and condemned. If many GM accounts give a positive view of the eastern bloc, authors, whatever their intention, steer away from uncritical praise. Geographers thus wrote in a context where travel writing was subject to sceptical scrutiny, though at the same time the relative lack of information about eastern bloc countries, and restrictions on other media, could give individual travel accounts greater cultural currency. Wright notes Hans Magnus Enzensberger's argument that in the 1920s, despite new communications revolutionising Western media, for the USSR the new barriers set around the country by the Soviet state and by outside powers gave new weight to the 'anachronistic system of the traveller's eyewitness account' ([Wright 2007](#), 228; [Enzensberger 1974](#)). This, combined with disciplinary conventions placing authority in field experience, could lend post-war British geographical travel extra weight.

Reading through all the GM accounts of the region by academic and non-academic writers between 1945 and 1991, five themes emerge, some overlapping, some antagonistic: political hostility, travels in a Europe across a political divide, post-war empathy with a wartime ally, admiration for planned achievement, and the civilising planned development of backward lands. The prominence of each of course varies between time periods and political events, with wartime allusion declining from the mid 1950s, and civilisation and planning narratives predominant between the late 1950s and the mid 1970s, especially in periods of relative Cold War 'thaw'. These writings deserve more detailed attention; here only a broad summary can be given, working through the themes listed above in turn. Direct criticism of the Soviet system in the GM is rare, a notable exception being Paul [Tabori's February 1957](#) 'The endurance of Hungary', with a picture of Russian tanks in 1956 and praise for children who responded with Molotov cocktails; the same year Zev Katz produced two accounts highlighting inequality and privilege within the USSR ([Katz 1957a 1957b](#)), one of which preceded a benign June 1957 account of Black Sea resorts by photographer J Allan Cash.<sup>10</sup> The editor mischievously noted at the head of Cash's piece: 'Intelligent readers of the following article will ask themselves: "Who gets the tickets to go to these Black Sea resorts?" Another article in the present number tells how the selection is made' ([Cash 1957](#), 94). GM accounts of the eastern bloc in general, however, lean more towards Cash than Katz. Political differences may be commented on, but typically in a spirit of understanding and appreciation of this other Europe in order to peacefully coexist. Thus the anonymous March 1966 'By train to Moscow' highlights a journey 'now possible' for any 'prospective tourist' ([Anon 1966](#), 842), while Ralph Jones' 'Climbing with the Russians', on Caucasian mountaineering, shows how 'Genuine holes in the Iron Curtain are becoming more frequent' ([Jones 1959](#), 67). In April 1961, Left folklorist A L Lloyd described 'The city of Sofia', with a concluding passage worth quoting at length, the tenor of emerging British cultural studies, with its interest in consumption and identity, registering in the GM:

So in the evening the foreigner may sit in, say, the 'Bulgaria' bar-restaurant, wondering why the jazz is so awful when the local peasant music is rhythmically more exciting and farther out than any dreamed of by Brubeck or Ornette Coleman. He may smile indulgently at the local equivalent of our Teds, snapping their fingers like hep-cats to music that is squarer than Victor Silvester's (Sofia has her drifting teenagers, but they are nothing like the problem of the stilyagi are in Moscow). He may be approached by eager youngsters from the English faculty, married already (early marriage is all the rage in Sofia), who do not want to discuss Western literature or 'conditions', but are full of unanswerable enquiries about English motor-bikes. Then the youngsters go off to their night-school course on the history of the class-struggle, or to the old National Theatre to see the Gorky play, and the foreigner drifts out into the night, past the floodlit mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, past the poster advertising a lecture on Henry Fielding (of all people), past the tenement yard in which a furious game of volleyball, boys versus girls, is going on under arc-lights, past the vaguely reassuring sight of a policeman kissing a policewoman in a dim side-turning, towards the international anonymity of the vast Balkan Hotel, where amid the overblown stateliness that is felt to be suitable for visiting foreigners and out-of-town delegates to conferences on dairy-production, he may reflect on the candours and reticences of a city of ancient traditions, invaded and transformed by the earnestness of youth, a far, far stranger place than would seem on the surface. ([Lloyd 1961](#), 691; see also [Lloyd 1962](#))

Appreciative engagement with the eastern bloc is rooted in part in wartime alliance, as in geographer James Gregory's popular Penguin book *Land of the Soviets*, paying tribute through positive accounts of Soviet regions and republics ([Gregory 1946](#)). Wartime GM accounts such as agriculturalist Sir John Russell's 'Collective farming in Soviet Russia' ([1941](#)) were followed by sympathetic post-war studies of reconstruction, of new societies emerging, in Donald Seager's account of Moscow and Leningrad ([1946](#)), Lovett Edwards' essays on 'The new Albania' (1946) and 'The new Bulgaria' (1947), and Cash's wholly positive 'Contrasts in Bulgaria', seeking to counter prevailing negative accounts of 'the other side of the "Iron Curtain"' ([Cash 1949](#), 132). Admiration for reconstruction recurs in writings on Yugoslavia ([Calder-Marshall 1946](#); [Maclean 1951](#)), the theme of non-aligned planned achievement continuing through Wilson Stephens' 'Yugoslavia's experiment' ([1962](#)) and geographers Frank Carter and Tony French's 'New era in Slovenia' (1975).<sup>11</sup> Negative themes dominate only in accounts of post-war population transfer ([Davidson 1947](#)), though even here stories of orderly transition appear ([Usborne 1955](#)). Accounts of the eastern bloc could also follow tropes of civilisational development common in accounts of British colonies or ex-colonies, notably in writings on Soviet progress overcoming Siberian climatic challenges ([Smith 1965](#); [Le Fleming 1966](#); [Watson 1966](#); [Smith 1978](#)) or Oriental/Islamic backwardness ([Manton 1952](#); also see pre-war accounts by [Saunders 1935](#); [Lehmann 1935](#); [Jenkins 1938](#)). The USSR here appears less as scheming superpower than the latest pioneer European civilisation.

While ostensibly apolitical, such British geographical accounts inhabit a space of topographic convention paralleling pro-Soviet eulogy, of tours around the achievements of a country, with photography and maps illustrating progress. In form as well as content the GM is far from an anti-Soviet genre of truth exposure and hardship revelation. Just as geographers were not the only academics travelling in the eastern bloc, so non-geographical academics and expert commentators published in the GM; biologist Manton praising Soviet progress in Central Asia (1952), physicist Christopher [Watson \(1966\)](#) and Russianist Stephen [Le Fleming \(1966\)](#) recounting scientific and social advances in Siberia, cultural historian Robin [Milner-Gulland \(1962\)](#) seeing the historical sights of 'Moscow's countryside'. Other kinds of expert observer appeared, in essays by advertising executive Barrie St Clair McBride on suburban Moscow life ([1969](#)), and British members of parliament [M Philips Price \(1958\)](#) on Poland and [F J Erroll \(1955\)](#) on Russia.<sup>12</sup> In essays such as social anthropologist Caroline Humphrey's 'East of Lake Baikal' ([1968](#)), the processes and encounters by which knowledge is acquired, and the author's presence within the scene, are foregrounded in a way which came less readily to academic geographers of the time.<sup>13</sup> The same is true of non-academic travel accounts by Lois [Mitchison \(1957\)](#) on the 'Trans-Siberian, 1956' and novelist Alan Sillitoe on a car journey from Finland to Moscow and Kiev ([Sillitoe 1976a 1976b](#)).

To what degree then did academic geographers turn travel writer in the GM? Examples are drawn upon in the remainder of the paper, but to conclude this section we consider as indicative Ian [Hamilton's August 1965](#) essay 'Bulgaria: land of change', an account leaning more to celebration than critique. Over half the 14 pages are taken up by photographs, unattributed and by implication taken by the author; a country map illustrated locations visited.<sup>14</sup> Hamilton begins with the historic shaping of Bulgarian identity and the role of the Soviet-backed government from 1947, 'bent on transforming a poverty-stricken land into a more prosperous, developing country' ([Hamilton 1965](#), 278). Urbanisation and industrialisation is described, and the daily rhythms of town life. Hamilton enters the account in first-person a few pages in, when describing country life: 'One of the villages I visited was Borovan in north-west Bulgaria'. Collectivized agriculture gives 'a new pattern of life' (281), with new if 'not particularly attractive' buildings, as people build their own new houses in their spare time: 'I saw many peasants engaged on this in the afternoons and weekends' (283). Accounts of the social and economic situation of unnamed individuals met are given, and people in the village square described, with the dance hall 'full of young people dancing to popular Bulgarian "beat" music which still retains the jerky rhythms of folk music', and the loudspeakers in the square carrying radio programmes from 6 am to 11 pm, curtailing Hamilton's sleep (286). Hamilton's camera confirms an intelligent eye for signs of changing Bulgarian life; photographs convey the evening stroll in Sofia, new housing, parks and trams, the village bakery queue and a Sofia department store shoe counter, a Black Sea hotel and crowded beach. Hamilton ends with a note of a Bulgarian quirk which at once conveys scarcity and state control yet suggests national distinctiveness and personality, as experienced and noticed by the author. Electricity shortages have necessitated a rota whereby different cities and regions have a different day off work through the week:

Life has changed, and the degree of state control has increased. Bulgaria is the only country I know where one can find a "Sunday" every day of the week! (289)

If the article is hardly conventional travel writing in the sense of the author as much as the place being the organising principle of the story, and if Hamilton only seems ready to ease himself somewhat tentatively into the account half way through, the academic geographer emerges from the story as an observant traveller, present in the scene and with travel a means to geographical understanding. For Hamilton, like other British geographers, being there was both a source of authority and a key to knowing. We now consider the various strategies deployed by academic geographers for geographically touring the eastern bloc.

### Private travels

When British academic geographers made private holiday visits to the eastern bloc, working eyes were never left at home, indeed private touring could be a deliberate fieldwork device, whether to inform research or teaching.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes the academic outlook of the tourist would be known to the host country, at other times travel would be effectively incognito, geographical interests undeclared. Here we consider contrasting stories from Romania and East Germany to illustrate the possibilities of private excursions.

A sense of free private movement in the eastern bloc, unaccompanied by any official guide, is most apparent in accounts of Romania in the 1960s and early 1970s, the country then marking itself out from other Eastern states in part by giving Western visitors licence. The British geographer most associated with Romania was David Turnock, who first visited on a summer holiday, travelling by train via Vienna and Budapest with his wife, observing the countryside, society and transport infrastructure at leisure, gathering material for teaching and research. When Turnock came to write textbooks such travels were evident only in preface rather than main text: 'although the author has made annual visits there since 1967 it is not easy for a foreigner to convey a realistic impression' ([Turnock 1974](#), xiii); we return to the presence of travel in textbooks below.<sup>16</sup> Further private excursions, alone or with his wife, preceded Turnock's first visit as an academic geographer with British Academy sponsorship: 'The first three visits were entirely sort of incognito, just going in there on a tourist visa and just swanning round'. Of one visit Turnock recalls:

we selected about half a dozen centres and hopped around, mainly by train and occasionally by bus . . . you could go round with remarkable ease and just knock on a



door and get a bed, and you didn't even have to register with the authorities, we could stay for a couple of days and then move on.<sup>17</sup>

A similar observational range is conveyed in Derek Hall's memories of Romanian travels in summer 1969, a trip which would produce a Geography article on the Danube Iron Gates electricity scheme ([Hall 1972](#)),<sup>18</sup> and in journalist Alberto Tessore's GM essay on 'Cooperatives in Rumania', where travel by car produces a positive account of new agricultural organisation, illustrated by author's photographs ([Tessore 1963](#)). Turnock also travelled to photograph, though was wary of appearing a camera spy:

I was trying to collect a photographic record. I thought I won't stand in one place gawping at the landscape in case someone notices me and wonders what I'm doing . . . Years later I realised that most of them thought I was actually a communist party official because I walked round with a beret and a briefcase. And I had the briefcase because my camera was in it, and if I took a photograph it was whipped out of the briefcase quick and back again.

Turnock also cites useful pre-academic fieldwork training as a youthful trainspotter:

I'm sure that years of going round loco sheds trying to avoid the foreman was really very good training for going to Eastern Europe in the communist period and avoiding unwelcome attention.<sup>19</sup>

The GDR offered different arrangements for geographical travel, with private journeys only granted via official permit. A contrasting sense of roaming observation emerges. The first British geographical textbook treatment of the GDR was within T H Elkins' Germany, which devoted around 30 pages to the East, though with no registering of authorial travel experience ([Elkins 1960a](#)). The GM, however, allowed a different writing space, Elkins' June 1960 essay 'Journey into East Germany' accompanied by his own and official agency photographs (1960b). One of the latter, of the gigantic construction site of the Schwarze Pumpe power station, stretches under the opening two pages of text. Elkins' own pictures show everyday scenes of urban life, volunteer construction work, socialist architecture, new town planning and forest playgrounds (on leisure travel within the GDR, see [Koshar 2000](#); [Moranda 2006](#)). Mixing mild criticism and admiration ('Whatever one may think of this society, it is impossible not to be impressed by the visible evidence'), Elkins considers how 'a new landscape is being created' ([Elkins 1960b](#), 100) in the formerly undeveloped zone along the Polish border, and explains his access:

Fortunately the kindness of my geographical colleagues in East Germany caused the barriers separating East Berlin from East Germany proper to be lifted, permitting me to make a journey through this country of sand and forests, the former Prussian province of Brandenburg. (89)<sup>20</sup>

A similar permitted passage shaped Geoffrey North's studies of East Germany from the late 1950s, travel mixing high cultural tourism with the gathering of material for teaching at the University of Manchester, and facilitated by an 'informal contact' made at West German geographical conferences. Fluent in German, North would visit annually for a couple of weeks, with a pass allowing travel across the country, acquired via his contact, a retired former East German foreign ministry employee, a communist from the 1930s whose wife had high political connections:

I moved all over the country, I could take photographs of industrial sites, . . . I moved extensively around East Germany, I knew it like the back of my hand.<sup>21</sup>

Contacts and accommodation were provided, along with visits to galleries, concerts, opera etc. North was driven in part via an enthusiasm for German culture as high European art, and indeed thereby shows how cultural judgement could shape British geographical interest as much as political curiosity. If North travelled for opera, another British geographer, Roy [Mellor, whose 1978](#) *The Two Germanies* covered East and West, and whose German experience began with a post-war Foreign Office student

placement, travelled from the other side of a British cultural faultline: 'I'm not that end of the spectrum. I was interested in people, trains, buildings, towns, food, beer'.<sup>22</sup>

North also made repeated visits to a West Berlin research institute, with the sense that both sides were using him to generate informed judgement on East Germany. North's officially sanctioned GDR movement could however invite official suspicion. On a Baltic beach, photographing coastal features for a Manchester physical geography colleague, armed guards threatened to confiscate North's camera. The production of his 'magic' pass, and a comment to the effect that he was photographing the progress made by the country, defused the situation.<sup>23</sup> North's experience indicates how the supposedly neutral status of the academic, a form of disinterested interest, could be used by all sides, as well as the individual concerned, to allow a particular form of conduct facilitating the transmission of impressions and information across political boundaries. The private travelling academic here occupied a distinctively Cold War space.

### Textbook Intourist

Formal state Intourist excursion itineraries could echo field trips, accompanied tours showing industrial and agricultural scenes alongside standard touristic sights, and indeed were used by some as the basis for undergraduate field teaching.<sup>24</sup> Intourist tours were crucial for those preparing textbooks in the late 1950s and 1960s, especially in the USSR, but also enabled researchers to experience regions beyond their archival destinations; thus Denis Shaw supplemented research stays with travels 'on a private basis as a tourist'.<sup>25</sup> While the writing of textbooks usually came after Intourist travels, in John Cole's case his 1961 and 1967 USSR textbooks predated his first 1976 Intourist visit ([Cole and German 1961](#); [Cole 1967](#)); Cole had been wary of travelling before due to potential sensitivities regarding his British military service.<sup>26</sup>

The value of Intourist as gleaning device is conveyed by Leslie Symons, author and editor of textbooks on the USSR ([Symons 1972 1983](#); [Symons and White 1975](#)). Symons lectured in New Zealand between 1962 and 1971, and travelled within the USSR en route between there and the UK, alone or with family: 'They were tourist visits but I was picking up geography material all the time, as indeed I do everywhere'.<sup>27</sup> Symons continued tourist visits after his 1971 appointment at Swansea, around twice a year for two or three weeks at a time. Intourist visits from 1960 similarly shaped John Dewdney's standard texts on the USSR ([Dewdney 1965 1976](#)). Dewdney would suggest destinations, 'on the whole' approved, with exceptions such as the industrial Urals and Donbass. Tours would be 'carefully controlled': 'Intourist was efficient but rigid'. A guide would know Dewdney's academic background, and that his books had been 'not unfavourably' received; a member of the Soviet Embassy had attended a launch at Collett's bookshop in London and commented on the value of such works. Tours were sometimes less than compelling, with visits to 'ball bearing factories and god knows what else . . . "you will go to a ball bearing factory"'. Controlled tours did not however necessarily convey order: 'you think of it as this incredibly organised dominant state and in fact things were more shambolic than in most parts of the world'.<sup>28</sup>

If the textbooks produced by Dewdney, Symons, Turnock, Mellor and others were grounded in travel observation as well as official statistics, the author-as-traveller seldom figures in the text. This is in part a matter of disciplinary convention, geographical authority stemming from the disappearance of the author behind an objective parade of information. The relentless density of information in some of these texts is astonishing, with the consequent sense of authorial reliability also directed at state authorities, who might thereby permit the author to revisit. The author's absence from the text is however accompanied by a crucial registering of authority from field experience in prefaces and forewords (on authorship, authority and geographical travels see also [Blunt 1994](#); [Blunt and Rose 1994](#); [Duncan and Gregory 1999](#)). Thus series editor W B Fisher introduces Dewdney's *A geography of the Soviet Union* by stating that 'Mr Dewdney has first-hand experience of those parts of the USSR that a foreigner may visit' ([Dewdney 1965](#), xii), while Dewdney's *The USSR* bills the author as having 'visited and travelled widely in the USSR' ([Dewdney 1976](#)). The preface to Hamilton's *Yugoslavia: patterns of economic activity* notes 'extensive travel', with acknowledgement to those Yugoslavs 'who have given me an insight into the Yugoslav system as well as the "Slav soul"' ([Hamilton 1968](#), viii).<sup>29</sup> Photographs credited to the author also lend field authority. The many author photographs in David Hooson's *The Soviet Union*, whose preface notes extensive travel, mix city prospects and street snapshots, appearing alongside official agency images ([Hooson 1966](#)). Norman Pounds, like Hooson a British geographer working in North America, took all but two of the 58 photographs in his 1969 *Eastern Europe*; the author had 'travelled extensively' there since 1956: 'Only Albania has eluded him,

and he has so far been obliged to content himself with a Pisgah-view of the promised land from hilltops on Greece and Yugoslavia' (Pounds 1969, v).

Textbook Intourist geography is exemplified by Roy Mellor's (1964) *Geography of the USSR*. Mellor recalls:

When I was doing my *Geography of the USSR* I'd had six weeks travelling around Russia, I got a bus from Vienna to Moscow, . . . and this was about three months after Captain Powers had arrived somewhat less conventionally.<sup>30</sup>

Mellor took his 1960 tour on an Austrian Tourist Board bus with around 10 people, via Czechoslovakia and Poland, and including Kiev and Smolensk: 'I was on the job. I was collecting information'. Typical Intourist sights were not always available:

we asked, could we see a collective farm. "We will make enquiries", you know. And they phoned up, no, no, afraid it's not possible, all the collective farmers are too busy, and we'd driven for two days across fields without a soul in sight.

Mellor liked the people he met but in general 'thought it was ruddy awful'.<sup>31</sup> The dustjacket of *Geography of the USSR* billed Mellor as 'among the very few British geographers who have travelled extensively in Russia in recent times', and his introduction acknowledged that 'the generosity of the Carnegie Trust made possible extensive travel in the Soviet Union' (Mellor 1964, xiv). If, however, elements of the text refer to a generic visitor experience ('Western travellers sometimes find the wide summer diurnal range of temperature unpleasant' (57)), the author-in-the-field does not himself feature. Guidebook style language is deployed, though the sense is of an author drawing on guidebook accounts more than personal visits, indeed recent accounts in Russian are cited. Mellor maintained the same style for places he had and had not visited, suggesting an authoritative survey of the country as a whole; citing individual experience of one region might have undermined claims to authority on unvisited places. Mellor's general travel-informed authority is conveyed when the author offers a generic map of a Soviet town, 'drawn from experience in small and medium-sized provincial towns' (159), and showing residential and industrial zones, transport links and civic services: 'an attempt to construct an idealized diagram of the morphology of the typical Soviet town about 1960. Data were collected in towns in European Russia' (160). To help understanding, Mellor quotes a 1914 Baedeker Guide to Russia on the Russian town, a general description which remains 'remarkably true', and then takes the reader on a tour. In interview Mellor recalled that the layout was based on a town plan of Stockport, turned upside down.

Most of the 32 photographs in *Geography of the USSR* are from Western photographic agencies, but one is taken by Mellor, 'A main street in Smolensk, with flats built after wartime destruction and the beautifully restored cathedral' (Mellor 1964, Plate 6b). This place carried particular memories for Mellor, who had met his wife, a German with family in Poland, through post-war visits to Germany:

we came back through Smolensk and there's a wooden hospital, typical Russian wooden building, elaborate woodwork around the windows and everything, and I have a picture here of my brother-in-law, who was an officer in the German army, medical officer, walking by the side of this hospital, and I thought, oh god, that's where Walter was, and when I came back I asked him, I said what happened to that hospital? Oh he said, we burnt it down before we retreated. So they'd burnt it down in 1943 or so, and the Russians had built it up exactly as it was. I thought that was an incredible commentary on the system, you know.<sup>32</sup>

The conventions of reticence shaping geographical texts of the time, with information conveyed and bolstered by the setting of private experience to one side, absent this personal miniature of war, geopolitics and population movement from *Geography of the USSR*, though the story and its associated images accompanied its author on his Intourist travels. Traumatic events and emotions stalk the driest books.

## Reaching Albania

As a state distinct in its political allegiances – variously aligned to the USSR, China and nobody – and particular mode of authoritarianism, Albania figured in the British academic geographical imagination as an exceptional Eastern example. British geographical accounts of Albania offer an instructive case study in cultural and political argument, the role of strictly organised touring, the legacy of wartime, the sharing of space with fellow Cold War travellers, and the responsibilities felt by geographers to their subject matter.

Of Eastern European countries, only Albania and Yugoslavia had been the subject of wartime Admiralty Handbooks, exhaustive geographical accounts by the Office of Naval Intelligence which, as Clout and Gosme note, informed many later regional textbooks (2003). The 'New Albania' also featured in the GM in July 1946, with Lovett Edwards, prisoner of war in Albania in 1941 and now Daily Telegraph correspondent in Belgrade, offering a pro-partisan account of a country moving from feudal backwardness to something new:

Whatever may be said of the parades and processions in the capital, this sort of thing is not faked, and it is this, rather than the shouting and the reiterated inscriptions, that makes the strength of the movement. (Edwards 1946, 110; also Edwards 1947)<sup>33</sup>

Edwards asked: 'Of this vast experiment, what is to be born?' (1946, 104). The GM becomes the surprising venue for a picture of Enver Hoxha, 'ex-schoolmaster and leader of the "Democratic Front"', addressing his followers, with a caption on the party's partisan roots and strong support in the peasantry (114). Hoxha led Albania until his death in 1985.

Albania's subsequent political course closed off public British geographical engagement until the early 1960s, although the release by 1955 of the Admiralty Handbooks into the public domain gave academic geographers a readily available account of the country pre-1945 (Myres et al. 1945). The GM revisited in September 1963 with Venetia and John Newall's 'Crossing into Albania', which left Edwards' strictures against Ruritanian Balkan satire behind to portray communism as barely scratching the surface of a pre-modern society 'about 500 years behind our own' (310). Such intrepidly superior British travel was absent however in the first British academic geography of Albania, a textbook Albturist account within Osborne's 1967 East-Central Europe. Osborne visited in 1965, assessing the continued accuracy of the Admiralty Handbook, and sceptical over official statistics. Travelling with the British company Progressive Tours, Osborne met fellow tourists in Titograd (Podgorica), Montenegro, before flying to Tirana:

the doors opened and there was an Albanian soldier with a rifle slung, and he said, welcome to Albania. Funny little miniature airport surrounded by fields of sunflowers, and we stayed in Tirana and two other centres, we were taken around by coach, which I enjoyed, and I was allowed to take photographs.

Osborne retains the Progressive Tours itinerary, giving notes on history, currency, food and drink, mosquitoes, tipping etiquette and hotels: 'Hot water must not be expected in all cases, and in summer water is apt to be turned off for some hours during the day and also at night'. The tour ran from 27 July to 10 August, with visits to historic towns, archaeological sites, a State Fruit Farm and a Vineyard Co-operative. Albturist would provide 'guide-interpreters'. Occasional days or mornings allowed 'leisure for swimming and sunbathing'.

The academic geographer travelled alongside other interested parties; a retired senior civil servant, a former military man revisiting an old haunt, communist enthusiasts, a coal board employee. Another 'admitted after a while' to occupying the Albanian desk at the Foreign Office during the war: 'he said such a pity the situation got out of hand . . . there were people we had in mind to take over'. Another was a journalist touring for a story:

When I got back to this country, at that time I used to take the Economist . . . there was an article on Albania and I thought . . . blow me this is exactly something deriving from our tour . . . you see the journalist couldn't have gone if he'd declared himself to be a journalist.<sup>34</sup>

Osborne is recalling the Economist for 4 September 1965, with its 'Trading with revisionists' by 'A correspondent lately in Albania', reporting consumer goods now supplied by China following Albania's

1961 split with the USSR, and noting a recent French delegation: 'Is General de Gaulle looking that way?' ([Economist 1965](#), 869). Geographical knowledge accompanies other forms of intelligence. The most regular British geographical visitor to Albania was Derek [Hall, whose 1994](#) Albania and the Albanians reflected on travels since the early 1970s:

the simple fact of wanting to return was sufficient to inhibit action and enquiry, often to an excruciatingly frustrating degree, not only out of self-interest but also so as not to compromise the guides, drivers and other Albanians with whom officially sanctioned contact was made, not to mention those whom one was supposed not to befriend. ([Hall 1994](#), xxiii)

In a 1984 academic journal article Hall had outlined the structures of Albanian tourism, and the role of Albturist: 'the tourist finds his/her role becoming one of passive sponge' ([Hall 1984](#), 549).<sup>35</sup> The GM again provided a space for reflection, Hall writing with Ann Howlett in January 1976 on 'Neither East nor West'; the limited tour groups allowed, history, geography and official xenophobia, church and mosque demolition and conversion, the occasional atheist museum. Population was youthful, and 'we were left with an impression of the country's vigour' ([Hall and Howlett 1976](#), 196). Hall and Howlett gave what was by then a comic trope of Albanian description, the conservative adjustments to dress made on entry, with flared trousers straightened and male hair shortened: 'At our exit point near Shkoder in the north, liberally scattered chunks of human hair told their own stories' (194).<sup>36</sup> Albania was the last European eastern bloc country visited by Hall, his initial engagement in part fuelled by a collector's desire to complete the set: 'here clearly was somewhere different to go'. Hall notes two resonant Cold War images, Len Deighton's 1962 novel *The Ipcress File*, made into a 1965 film starring Michael Caine as agent Harry Palmer – 'Albania isn't featured in the book, but it did feature in the film' – and the broadcasts of Radio Tirana, with the Albanian call sign providing an enigmatic domestic experience: 'by this time Radio Tirana's broadcast frequency was interfering with Radio 4 on medium wave, and you hear this call . . . dah, dah, de dah, dah de dah'. Hall wrote to Radio Tirana to ask how one might visit, playing on their image of Albania as 'paradise' in an exercise somewhere between an 'intellectual challenge' and 'a big joke'. To his surprise he received a reply: 'the envelope didn't have a stamp on it, I was looking forward to an Albanian postage stamp because I'd been a philatelist in my youth. It just had some sort of official red mark on it'. Hall was directed to Regent Holidays, Shanklin, Isle of Wight, approved tour operators. Hall's group met at Heathrow, were briefed on conduct, and flew via Belgrade to Titograd, from where a bus took them to the border. Hall found 'a bureaucratised peasant society', mixing Stalinism and nationalism, and took a dozen similar tours, acting as guide on the later ones. While not sympathetic to the regime, as the one academic geographer publishing on Albania Hall would seem to have felt protective responsibility to his isolated subject matter:

There were always loads of journalists on every trip masquerading as teachers, and one guy actually wrote for the South Wales Post [sic] in Port Talbot, and he sent me a copy, and it was so outrageously anti-Albanian and putting everything down, which I felt really angry about . . . So I felt there needed to be a balance redressed somewhere, even if it was only in academic terms.<sup>37</sup>

Hall's Albanian tours offer fascinating miniatures of the Cold War cultural and geopolitical encounter.

### Delegations on tour

Geographical tours also accompanied visits to the eastern bloc by official academic delegations. The detail of events such as the 1976 International Geographical Union meeting in Moscow, and the many seminars organised through the Institute of British Geographers by which parties of British geographers visited Poland, the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania for conferences and post-conference excursions, with reciprocal events held in the UK, is beyond this paper.<sup>38</sup> Here we consider the tours following the first two such events, the Anglo-Polish seminars of 1959 and 1962, to illustrate the forms of travel deemed appropriate to academic parties. Travel becomes a prompt for geographical discourse, an exchange of conventions of seeing, and a means to show life and achievement across a political divide.

The 1959 Anglo-Polish seminar was held in Nieborów, a former stately home near Warsaw, 12 British geographers led by K C Edwards attending four days of talks around the theme of 'The practical applications of geographical research', interspersed with local excursions. A six-day tour of Poland followed, 17 Polish geographers accompanying the British party.<sup>39</sup> A report on the event, published in English in Poland as Problems of applied geography, meticulously records each talk and social occasion, the seminar run as an event to be properly recorded, with the meeting and tour projecting Polish geography ([Polish Academy of Sciences 1961](#)). The tour took in Łódź, Częstochowa, Silesia, including 'the Museum of Oświęcim' (Auschwitz), Kraków, Nowa Huta, and the Tatra Mountains. Polish cultural and tourist sights appear alongside industrial cities and regions; the mountain resort of Zakopane, the monastery and pilgrimage site of Jasna Góra at Częstochowa, the old city of Kraków ([Figure 1](#) and [Plate 1](#)). A parallel sense of a country with old and new working together would appear in [Hamilton's \(1967\)](#) GM essay 'Ancient road through modern Poland', Hamilton presenting Kraków and the new steel town of Nowa Huta as symbolically complementary, a photograph of old Kraków captioned: 'Today, students from its university (founded 1364) mingle in a renaissance arcade café with steel workers from nearby Nowa Huta' ([Hamilton 1967](#), 206).<sup>40</sup> Tradition and modernity are here, as in the UK at the time, seen to be reconciled via planning, a theme uniting British and Polish geography, and prominent in the 1959 tour, with lectures given by Polish geographers on planning in the regions visited. Days would indeed often mix talks and travel. Thus on Monday 21 September breakfast in Katowice was followed by an hour lecture on the 'Geographic and economic problems of the G.O.P./Upper Silesian industrial district', after which, between 10 am and 3 pm, the tour passed through Katowice, stopped at Tychy and Oświęcim, before reaching Kraków for a late lunch. The rest of the day was free time. The next day saw a solid itinerary from 9 am until 6.30 pm with visits to the Geographical Institute, Nowa Huta, and Wieliczka with its salt mine museum. The free time of Monday afternoon was the only break on the entire tour; all other time was scheduled.

Figure 1 Map of Anglo-Polish Seminar tour route, 19–24 September 1959

Source: Collection of R H Osborne



Plate 1 Scenes from the Anglo-Polish Seminar tour, 19–24 September 1959. Clockwise from top left: tour bus in unidentified town square; tour bus held up behind sheep in Tatra mountains; tour bus parked opposite new church in Łódź; seminar participants observing steelworks at Nowa Huta

Source: Collection of School of Geography, University of Nottingham

Delegates received a 23-page digest of 'Information on the excursion route', prepared by M I Mileska and A Werwicki, describing each town and village visited with its history and socio-economic characteristics.<sup>41</sup> The information conveys a positive national story, indeed Michael Wise recalls that: 'the Polish did use the opportunity to impress upon us the spirit of Poland, the nationality, the independence of Polish culture, and that they weren't Russian, they were quite separate'.<sup>42</sup> Official British reaction was conveyed by Edwards in the Geographical Journal, with the tour 'highly instructive' and 'an invaluable experience'. The rebuilding of Warsaw was 'nothing less than the re-creation of a capital city worthy of an heroic nation', while 'a sombre note was given to the itinerary by a call at the concentration camp museum at Oświęcim (Auschwitz)' ([Edwards 1960](#), 117). This exhibition of Poland in 1959 was reciprocated with a 1962 field excursion in the UK. The Polish delegation to the second Anglo-Polish seminar spent four days in London before a three-day seminar in Keele, papers interspersed with excursions to the Potteries and Shropshire coalfield. The subsequent four-day coach tour, the party staying one night in Grange-over-Sands and two in Durham, offered a tour of British modernity, 1962, to match that of Polish modernity, 1959 ([Polish Academy of Sciences 1964](#), xiii–xv; cf. [Gilbert et al. 2003](#)). Geographical narratives of ordered modern progress cross ideological boundaries. Industrial, scenic and historic sites mix, with visits to the Lake District and Hadrian's Wall alongside the Team Valley Trading Estate, and commentary highlighting state planning. For the 20 September trip from Durham to London along the Great North Road, during which the party visited the grave of wartime General Sikorski in the Polish Air Force cemetery at Newark, the delegates were provided with a detailed itinerary, prepared by K C Edwards, its tone

matching the Polish tour guide of 1959. Nine pages of notes described the physical and human geographic sights:

On leaving Baldock a portion of the Garden City of Letchworth (25,515), founded in 1905, can be seen (right). After a short distance the road skirts the industrial zone (left) of Stevenage New Town, 1946.

The long Doncaster By-pass (27 kms.) as a motorway opened in 1960 represents one of the major improvements made to the Great North Road in recent years. Unfortunately, owing to the numerous cuttings (excavated in the Magnesian Limestone), no good views of Doncaster (86,402) and its industrial district are obtainable.<sup>43</sup>

Polish geographers could take in characteristic scenes of modern British geographical interest, just as British colleagues had in Poland three years before. The geographies and geographers of British and Polish modernity connect across a political divide, representing their country by travel.

### Conclusion

Accounts of travel in the production of geographical knowledge have tended to focus on issues of exploration, empire and intrepid journeying up to the early twentieth century. This paper has sought to extend thinking on geographical travel cultures via a different and later example, often touristic, often textbookish, sometimes comfortable, though with elements of adventure; the private traveller observing under surveillance, the exotic austerities of Hoxha's Albania. Travel played a crucial role in the production of British geographies of the eastern bloc, working alongside archival research, the scrutiny of statistical yearbooks, and the reading of newspapers and accounts by geographers based within the eastern bloc. In these particular historical-geographical circumstances, observant travel following disciplinary conventions had a special role in generating academic geographies. Travelling through acutely political terrain yet claiming via disinterested interest to move beyond politics, learning via social encounter alongside formal academic engagement, appearing as official representatives of a discipline or private tourists enjoying the country, British geographers geographically toured the eastern bloc. A particular style of disciplinary movement makes for a notable travel culture, which could be brought to bear on scenes Polish, Soviet, Albanian or, in reciprocal visits, British.

The circumstances of the Cold War, with its restrictions of movement and writing, whether via self-policing or state instruction, may have effectively allowed an earlier geographical convention of regional description based on general touring experience to persist in geographies of the eastern bloc, where otherwise it lost status earlier. This is not to say that the region became a refuge for old-fashioned geographers, rather that such conventions lasted here as useful means to produce valuable accounts, especially in textbook form. If a number of those British geographers studying the eastern bloc were sympathetic to quantification and statistical analysis, for example John Cole and Andrew Dawson, the statistics available from official sources were not deemed sufficiently robust to warrant sophisticated treatment. Travel observation could carry an objective credibility in a territory where statistics drew caution and scepticism from Western commentators. In retrospect it may be that the persistence of travel-based regional description in textbook geographies of the eastern bloc served in effect to confine and relegate such a method to an exceptional other Europe, helping cultivate the sense that such work and writing was not worth pursuing under 'normal' geographical circumstances. As geographers continue to revisit questions of writing, travel and disciplinary convention and ritual, it may be that here, as elsewhere, we are still to get over the end of the Cold War.

The material considered in this paper may also extend our sense of the term 'Cold War geographies'. Trevor Barnes and others have demonstrated a compelling alignment of geographical research, military science and new technology, notably in the USA, which establishes a historiography of geography and the Cold War whereby the discipline contributes to and is shaped by a meeting of science and the Cold War state, notably in the fostering of regional science and quantitative modelling: 'the discipline's very centre was displaced, shifted and realigned, mangled, in part because of its connections to the military, its connections to the Cold War' (Barnes 2008, 15; also Barnes and Farish 2006; Kirsch 2005; Cloud 2003). This paper supplements such a presentation of Cold War

geography with other stories, also shaped by the state (in the provision of academic posts, the funding of research travel, etc.) and overlapping with intelligence in the widest sense, but focused on different dimensions of geographical experience, in the field rather than the laboratory, travelling rather than modelling (for another kind of Cold War field culture, see [MacDonald 2006](#)). Direct travel encounters with the eastern bloc gave rise to geographical publications far from self-consciously modern, akin to an established regional geography rather than an emerging regional science. The Cold War fosters the persistence of certain geographical traditions as well as their overturning. There is variation here of course between countries and individuals within British and Anglo-American geography, and some could at the same time mathematically model and regionally describe, but an understanding of geography's Cold War travel culture adds complexity and cultural richness to the story of Cold War geography. Geography's Cold War travel culture was not of course confined to the eastern bloc, and further study might explore travel cultures elsewhere in the Cold War world, notably in Africa, Latin America and South-East Asia (cf. [Glassman 2005](#)).

The experiences of individual geographers travelling of course varied according to temperament, with different propensities to being intrepid, cautious, careless or carefree. Versions of post-war Britishness, primarily British masculinity, met a world variously labelled as socialist, communist, totalitarian, eastern, bringing skills and appetites derived from enthusiasm for high culture, transport systems, adventurous travel. All of the figures interviewed in our research presented travel experience as a key dimension of their understanding of their particular region of interest, whether their aim was original academic research or the production of a general or specialist textbook. If travel has often been an experience challenging the compartmentalisation of geographical lives into the academic and non-academic, the circumstances of research and study in the eastern bloc gave geographical touring a peculiar purchase on things.

### Acknowledgements

We thank Mike Heffernan for discussion and advice, Ruth Craggs for comment on an earlier draft, three referees for their insightful suggestions, and all of our interviewees for their cooperation and hospitality.

### Notes

- 1 Interview with David Fox, 14 October 2004, Wilmslow.
- 2 Interview with David Fox, 14 October 2004, Wilmslow.
- 3 Thirty-two interviews were conducted in total between 2001 and 2005. Interviews lasted between one and six hours, and typically covered issues of personal and academic biography, with travel experience in the eastern bloc an important theme. Twenty interviewees were British-based geographers studying the USSR and Eastern Europe; one was the widow of a British geographer who studied Eastern Europe; one was a British geographer who taught for a number of years at a university in Poland; two were North American based geographers studying the USSR; three were geographers in Moscow who subsequently emigrated and took up academic positions in the USA; three were prominent figures in British geography; and two were non-geographers involved in Slavonic and East European Area Studies. For a fuller discussion of methodology see [Matless et al. \(2007\)](#). The full list of interviewees is: Roger Bivand, Michael Bradshaw, Krystyna Carter, John Cole, Paul Compton, Andrew Dawson, John Dewdney, Alan Dingsdale, David Fox, Tony French, Clifford German, Derek Hall, Cyril Halstead, David Hooson, Melvyn Howe, Grigory Ioffe, Emrys Jones, Bill Mead, Olga Medvedkov, Yuri Medvedkov, Roy Mellor, Arthur Morris, Geoffrey North, Robert North, Dick Osborne, Judy Pallot, John Sallnow, Denis Shaw, Leslie Symons, Alan Smith, David Smith, David Turnock, James White, Michael Wise. In addition, Colin Thomas was interviewed by correspondence.
- 4 Comprehensive reviews of literature in the field can be found in [Pallot \(1983\)](#) and [Turnock \(1984\)](#).
- 5 Carter died in 2001, shortly before we commenced our project. The role of travel in his work came through strongly in an interview with his widow Krystyna in May 2003; see also [Clout \(2005\)](#). Pallot's experience as a researcher in the USSR is discussed in [Matless et al. \(2007\)](#). On Carter and Pallot's field trip excursions in the eastern bloc, see note 24 below.
- 6 See, for example, [Moranda \(2006\)](#), cf. [Matless \(1996\)](#). [Noack \(2006\)](#) discusses planned and 'wild' tourism on the Black Sea coast, indicating that Fox and his colleagues may simply have been acting



out the latter, a permitted if not promoted practice, in their impromptu camping outside Odessa. In this paper we use Intourist as a generic term for eastern bloc tourist agencies, with Inturist used to denote the USSR organisation.

7 In this connection Lutz Holzner's AAAG review of [Elkins' \(1988\)](#) study of Berlin is pertinent in showing conceptions of national outlook within academic geography: 'only a British scholar could have produced such a value-neutral analysis of a divided city . . . German geographers, East or West, would be hard-pressed to avoid partisan emotion. American geographers, by and large, might lack the European touch of understanding the nuances that clearly are at the heart of the geography of this city' ([Holzner 1989](#), 620). The experience and role of US geographers in the eastern bloc is beyond this study; on parallel issues see [Barnes and Farish \(2006\)](#), [Farish \(2005\)](#) and [Turnock \(2004\)](#). A number of British geographers worked in North America, including Norman Pounds and, of our interviewees, David Hooson and Robert North.

8 There is a further inflection here in that this disciplinary culture of observational travel had been shaped in part through the work of the Le Play Society (LPS), the travel and fieldwork group whose regional survey work, combining geography and sociology and shaped by the ideas of Patrick Geddes, included visits to central and eastern Europe in the 1930s ([Beaver 1962](#); [Matless 1992](#); [Merchant 2000](#)). The LPS's central and eastern European studies are found in [Davies \(1934\)](#), [Fleure and Pelham \(1936\)](#), [Fleure and Evans \(1939\)](#) and [Stamp \(1933\)](#). David [Boardman's \(1973\)](#) GM essay revisited the LPS's Slovene Studies area to survey subsequent changes ([Boardman 1973](#)). In the 1970s David Turnock also accompanied a party from the Geographical Field Group, an offshoot of the LPS, to areas in Romania visited by the LPS in the 1930s. Some geographers visiting the eastern bloc in the 1950s and 1960s, such as Stanley Beaver and Kenneth Edwards, had attended 1930s LPS excursions, notably in Poland, and could present this disciplinary travel culture as cutting across the historical divides of war and Cold War, reinstating cross-cultural academic contact.

9 Another publication space at the edge of the university academic world was provided by *Geography*, the journal of the Geographical Association, with geography teachers as a key readership. From 1954 *Geography* included a section on 'This changing world', providing up-to-date information on issues and events around the world. A number of academic geographers provided pieces on the eastern bloc, the first being by [Mellor \(1954\)](#), but these rarely mention any travel experience, in keeping with the style and aims of the section. Editor L S Suggate declared the intention to provide information from 'the man on the spot', 'the man with special knowledge', and 'the man with access to special sources of information' ([Suggate 1954](#)), but even if the writer had been on the spot their presence was seldom given away (though see the brief referencing of personal experience in [Elkins 1959](#)). Geographers might also broadcast from their eastern bloc travel experiences, as when Melvyn Howe spoke on the Welsh Home Service on 26 March 1957 on 'The Soviet Union as a geographer sees it'; interview with Melvyn Howe, 14 August 2003, Porthcawl. On popular coverage of the USSR in the US see [Sharp's \(2000\)](#) study of Reader's Digest magazine and the subsequent discussion in [Toal \(2003\)](#). Sharp describes a conservative popular geopolitics of generally strict bipolarity, a pattern less obvious in the different format and politics of the British GM.

10 Katz would go on to be a notable writer on Soviet affairs in the US, including on issues of nationality and dissent. The GM introduces him: 'Born in Poland, he was expelled with his parents to the Soviet Union at the time of the German invasion and lived there up to the age of 20. The family then migrated to Israel and, after graduating at the Hebrew University, Katz came to London University on a research scholarship. Last year he revisited the Soviet Union with a group of tourists' ([Katz 1957](#), 303). Paul Tabori was a prolific journalist, novelist and screen writer, including for Hammer Films. The GM introduced him as already the author of 29 books: 'born in Budapest, took University degrees there and at Berlin, settled in England in 1937 and was naturalized in 1947' ([Tabori 1957](#), 505). Academic geographers appeared in the GM alongside a notably wide range of contributors.

11 Fitzroy MacLean had commanded the British military mission supporting the Yugoslav Partisans during the war, and his 1951 GM essay had a picture of Tito at its head.

12 Erroll's essay derived from a British Parliamentary Delegation visit in October 1954. Erroll was Conservative MP and businessman, later economic secretary to the Treasury and minister of state at the Board of Trade. Price was a Labour politician, MP for various seats in various periods between 1929 and 1959, who had been sympathetic to the Russian Revolution, which he covered as a journalist.

13 Humphrey, now Professor of Asian Anthropology at Cambridge, would become one of the leading figures in British social anthropology, continuing to work on the USSR and post-soviet Russia

and Central and East Asia. Her essay in the GM indicates both the presence of non-geographer academics, and the possible role of the magazine as an early career outlet, as also suggested by [Milner-Gulland's \(1962\)](#) essay, and works such as [Hamilton \(1965\)](#), considered below.

14 Hamilton also produced later orthodox urban geography accounts for the GM ([Hamilton 1973 1978](#)). Such essays echoed the tone of Geography's 'This changing world' section (see note 8 above).

15 Some British geographers had family connections in the eastern bloc via marriage, for example Frank Carter, Paul Compton and Alan Dingsdale, and might make private visits in connection with this.

16 Turnock worked at Aberdeen from 1964 to 1969, and subsequently at Leicester. Turnock's journal publications on Romanian tourism also gave no indication of his own travel presence ([Turnock 1977 1990](#)), likewise research articles such as [Turnock \(1970\)](#).

17 Interview with David Turnock, 10 February 2003, Leicester.

18 Interview with Derek Hall, 18 August 2003, Ayr. Hall's Geography piece does not mention travels; he had journeyed with Alan Burnett, one of his Portsmouth Polytechnic anthropology lecturers (and later dedicatee of [Hall 1994](#)), and Burnett's wife. In summer 1968 Hall had been on a student field trip run by Burnett to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey.

19 Interview with David Turnock, 10 February 2003, Leicester.

20 Elkins produced two further GM essays on Berlin, in February 1969 and April 1989. The latter, 'The wall – a way of life', with its conclusion that 'there seems to be little prospect of its disappearance' ([1989](#), 30), ironically confirmed Elkins' assertion on Berlin that 'anyone who writes of it is in danger of having his words rendered obsolete overnight' ([1969](#), 383); see also Elkins' book on divided Berlin ([Elkins with Hofmeister 1988](#)). A [1954](#) GM essay by Gordon Joseph traces 'The Iron Curtain in the Harz', following the western side of a rural barbed wire fence, with 'little to indicate that this line divides two armed worlds' (602).

21 Interview with Geoffrey North, 14 October 2004, Wilmslow. North recalls presenting a paper on East Germany at an IBG conference, but this was never written up for publication.

22 Interview with Roy Mellor, 17 June 2003, Aberdeen. Mellor made his first visit to Germany in 1946 on a Foreign Office student scheme to Munster, and subsequently conducted research on population and refugee problems there through a British Council scholarship. Mellor met his German wife in this period.

23 Interview with Geoffrey North, 14 October 2004, Wilmslow.

24 Field trips might be officially approved or undertaken in the guise of a private tourist party. [Carter and French's \(1975\)](#) GM essay, 'New era in Slovenia', derives from an April 1974 UCL geography field trip in collaboration with the University of Ljubljana. French recalled an incident on Yugoslav limestone, where, while a Yugoslav authority on karsts explained landscape features, camouflaged soldiers gathered such that 'we ended up with him in the middle, a group of students round, and a group of bushes all sitting around'; interview with Tony French, 17 July 2003, London. Incognito field trips would demand care en route, as in the two, month-long trips run by Judith Pallot in the USSR: 'fortunately our guide would always go off to a hotel at night so we'd sit round the camp fire and have good discussions'; interview with Judith Pallot, 26 March 2003, Oxford. Pallot's group, from Christ Church in the University of Oxford, were held up on the Czech/USSR border for 24 hours on suspicion of being an evangelical Christian organisation, a political-cultural issue especially sensitive in west Ukraine. Approved tours could also be subject to surveillance. Turnock, who had led field trips to Yugoslavia through the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (1966) and Geographical Field Group (1977), and to Romania with Leicester undergraduates in the mid 1970s, took an adult education group to Romania in 1988, travelling in a minibus with the Romanian driver and guide. Security police followed throughout: 'We evaded them for about two hours: we stopped on the road just before we got to this village and they came rushing past in a car and then went on ahead of us, so with them ahead of us then we dodged into this village'; interview with David Turnock, 10 February 2003, Leicester.

25 Interview with Denis Shaw, 21 November 2002, Birmingham.

26 Interview with John Cole, 6 August 2001, Nottingham. Cole had attended the Joint Services School for Linguists during his national service, learning Russian; see [Elliott and Shukman \(2002\)](#). Intourist trips also featured pre-war, as in John [Jenkins' \(1938\)](#) GM essay on 'Climbing in the Caucasus', an expedition from Oxford University arranged and conducted via Intourist and their officials: 'usually charming ladies with lacquered fingernails' (55). Not all textbooks were the products of Intourist tours. [Osborne's \(1967\)](#) East-Central Europe was predominantly informed by academic-hosted travels in 1958 and 1962, with a twist from a personal linguistic enthusiasm: 'In addition I must place on record my debt to the many Esperanto speakers, whose help with mundane details of

travel and accommodation eased my path on a number of occasions in several of the countries concerned. Their ready companionship also enlivened many hours and, coming from all walks of life, they greatly deepened my understanding of their homelands' (6).

27 Interview with Leslie Symons, 31 July 2003, Pontesbury.

28 Interview with John Dewdney, 14 November 2001, Durham.

29 Hamilton writes with evident sympathy for the post-war Yugoslav state, commenting of the post-war emergence of 'a remarkable group of leaders with new ideals, fresh ideas and a strong will. Under Josip Broz Tito they were to rise to the occasion' ([Hamilton 1968](#), 93).

30 Mellor is referring to Gary Powers, pilot of a US U2 spyplane shot down over the USSR on 1 May 1960.

31 Interview with Roy Mellor, 17 June 2003, Aberdeen.

32 Interview with Roy Mellor, 17 June 2003, Aberdeen.

33 Edwards is in part undercutting the satirical stereotypes of Ruritanian Stalinism offered by writers such as Evelyn Waugh in his Scott-King's Modern Europe, a tale of British scholars and poetry festivals in 'Neutralia', loosely modelled on Yugoslavia ([Waugh 1947](#)). Edwards does though note 'bad sides' to this 'national revolution', with some echoes of 'the early days of Fascism' (1946, 114–15). The GM followed Edwards with Henry Heathorn on 'The Albania of Edward Lear', his paintings and travel accounts providing a comparison from the nineteenth century ([Heathorn 1946](#)).

34 Interview with Dick Osborne, 18 July 2003, Nottingham.

35 Hall also notes that 'pre-selection through the group-visa system theoretically ensures that no journalists, clergy, or citizens of the US, USSR and China (and formerly Greece, Spain, and Portugal) are admitted. In practice, journalists have long entered the country under various guises . . . and are now being openly accepted' (1984, 547–8). See also [Hall \(1990\)](#), noting 'personal observation based upon multiple visits to Albania and North Korea', and 'the author's role as a tour guide to and within both countries' (40); also [Hall \(1986\)](#).

36 The article appeared within a regular section headed 'The Geographical Magazine Travel Guide', with a byline 'The Possible Dream', a short essay each month describing an intrepid destination. [Hall \(1984\)](#) also notes sartorial adjustments by the barber and tailor at the airport, and Frank Carter's widow Krystyna recounts the same with a 1978 party of Balkan specialists from London and Cambridge; interview with Krystyna Carter, 8 May 2003, London. An Economist account from March 1978, sardonically entitled 'Tales from Albania's beaches', likewise noted: 'On landing at Tirana, all male passengers whose hair was considered too long or who had full beards were taken to the airport barber's shop'. This 'special correspondent', reporting on an autumn 1977 holiday, gave a damning account of the country and his fellow visitors: 'The British agents for this tour described it as one for thinking people. By and large those who went seemed to be unthinking, and tamely accepted all the restrictions imposed on them' ([Economist 1978](#), 50). Other Economist reports were more positive, for example in May 1977 a 'special correspondent in Tirana' gave an ironic though sympathetic account of 'Hoxha's happy land' ([Economist 1977](#)).

37 Interview with Derek Hall, 18 August 2003, Ayr. Hall's Albania and the Albanians includes reference to Jenkins, 'Albania – the land of eagles', Port Talbot Guardian, 13 April 1976, noting it alongside his and Howlett's (1976) GM account as one of several 'first-hand reports of brief and manipulated visits' ([Hall 1994](#), xxi).

38 A list of seminars is given in [Steel \(1984](#), 156–7). See also [Matless et al. \(2007\)](#) on the political role of such events.

39 The British party was mixed in seniority and degree of regional expertise and interest. The participants are listed in the following order in the published seminar report, seemingly from senior to junior: K C Edwards, H C K Henderson, A E Smailes, M J Wise, S H Beaver, F J Monkhouse, M R G Conzen, A A L Caesar, R A French, R H Osborne, E Brooks and G North. North had already published on Poland, which may have helped him gain a place on the seminar ([North 1958](#)), and was able to arrange further individual post-seminar travel with a interpreter-guide from the Polish Academy of Sciences, taking in the east of the country up to the Russian border; interview with Geoffrey North, 14 October 2004, Wilmslow.

40 Hamilton's essay appeared in July 1967, describing a journey across southern Poland. The third Anglo-Polish seminar was held in September 1967, the British party led by Osborne, and the post-seminar tour covering different regions to 1959. The seminar had a stronger physical geography element, plus elements of spatial science; attendees included Marjorie Sweeting, Keith Clayton and David Harvey. Hamilton was not a participant. For other GM essays on Poland see [Price \(1958\)](#) and [Williamson \(1965\)](#).

41 Mileska and Werwicki, 'Information on the excursion route'. We are grateful to Dick Osborne for access to his copies of documents relating to this and other seminars.

42 Interview with Michael Wise, 2 September 2004, London.

43 'Notes of the itinerary Durham–London along the Great North Road', prepared by Edwards, quotations from pages 9 and 3.

## References

- Anon 1966 By train to Moscow *Geographical Magazine* 38 842–6
- Barnes T 2008 Geography's underworld: the military–industrial complex, mathematical modelling and the quantitative revolution *Geoforum* 39 3–16
- Barnes T and Farish M 2006 Between regions: science, militarism and American geography from World War to Cold War *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96 807–26
- Baron S H and Frierson C A eds 2003 *Adventures in Russian historical research* Sharpe, London
- Beaver S H 1962 The Le Play Society and field work *Geography* 47 225–40
- Blunt A 1994 *Travel, gender, and imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* New York, Guilford
- Blunt A and Rose G eds 1994 *Writing women and space: colonial and postcolonial geographies* Guilford, New York
- Boardman D J 1973 Solcava forty years after Stamp *Geographical Magazine* 45 726–30
- Calder-Marshall A 1946 Reconstruction in Yugoslavia *Geographical Magazine* 19 40–6
- Carter F W and French R A 1975 New era in Slovenia *Geographical Magazine* 47 556–61
- Cash J A 1949 Contrasts in Bulgaria *Geographical Magazine* 22 132–41
- Cash J A 1957 Black Sea holiday *Geographical Magazine* 30 94–6
- Clifford J 1997 *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* Harvard University Press, Cambridge
- Cloud J 2003 Introduction: special guest-edited issue on the earth sciences in the Cold War *Social Studies of Science* 33 629–33
- Clout H 2005 Francis William Carter 1938–2001: an appreciation in Turnock D ed *Foreign direct investment and regional development in east central Europe and the former Soviet Union* Ashgate, Aldershot xxvii–xxxvii
- Clout H and Gosme C 2003 The naval intelligence handbooks: a monument in geographical writing *Progress in Human Geography* 27 153–73
- Cole J P 1967 *Geography of the USSR* Penguin, Harmondsworth
- Cole J P and German F C 1961 *A geography of the USSR* Butterworth, London
- Davidson L 1947 A village goes to Hungary *Geographical Magazine* 20 295–301
- Davies A ed 1934 *Polish studies* Le Play Society, London
- Debenham F 1953 *Travel Geography* 38 117–24
- Dewdney J C 1965 *A geography of the Soviet Union* Pergamon, Oxford
- Dewdney J C 1976 *The USSR* Folkestone, Dawson
- Driver F 2001 *Geography militant* Blackwell, Oxford
- Duncan J and Gregory D eds 1999 *Writes of passage: reading travel writing* Routledge, London
- Economist 1965 Trading with revisionists *Economist* 216, 4 September 869
- Economist 1977 Hoxha's happy land *Economist* 263, 14 May 54–7
- Economist 1978 Tales from Albania's beaches *Economist* 266, 4 March 50
- Edwards K C 1960 British–Polish geographical seminar *Geographical Journal* 126 115–17
- Edwards L E 1946 The new Albania *Geographical Magazine* 19 104–15
- Edwards L E 1947 The new Bulgaria *Geographical Magazine* 19 540–9
- Elkins T H 1959 West and East Berlin in 1959 *Geography* 44 268–71
- Elkins T H 1960a *Germany* Chatto and Windus, London
- Elkins T H 1960b Journey into East Germany *Geographical Magazine* 33 88–100
- Elkins T H 1969 Both sides of Berlin *Geographical Magazine* 41 382–92
- Elkins T H 1989 The wall – a way of life *Geographical Magazine* 61 26–30
- Elkins T H with Hofmeister B 1988 *Berlin: the spatial structure of a divided city* Methuen, London

- Elliott G and Shukman H 2002 *Secret classrooms* St Ermin's Press, London
- Enzensberger H M 1974 *The consciousness industry* Seabury Press, New York
- Erroll F J 1955 *Industrial life in Russia today* *Geographical Magazine* 27 585–99
- Farish M 2005 *Archiving areas: the Ethnogeographic Board and the second world war* *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95 663–79
- Fleure H J and Pelham R A eds 1936 *Eastern Carpathian studies: Roumania* Le Play Society, London
- Fleure H J and Evans E E eds 1939 *South Carpathian studies: Roumania II* Le Play Society, London
- Fox D 1961 *Henequen in Yucatan – a Mexican fibre-crop* *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29 215–29
- Fox D 1962 *Recent work on British Honduras* *Geographical Review* 55 523–45
- Fox D 1963 *Odessa* *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 79 5–22
- Gibson-Graham J K 2004 *Area studies after poststructuralism* *Environment and Planning A* 36 405–19
- Gilbert D, Matless D and Short B eds 2003 *Geographies of British modernity* Blackwell, Oxford
- Glassman J 2005 *On the borders of Southeast Asia: Cold War geography and the construction of the other* *Political Geography* 24 784–807
- Gorsuch A E and Koenker D P eds 2006 *Turizm: the Russian and East European tourist under capitalism and socialism* Cornell University Press, Ithaca
- Gregory J S 1946 *Land of the Soviets* Penguin, Harmondsworth
- Hagen M von 2004 *Empires, borderlands, and diasporas: Eurasia as anti-paradigm for the post-Soviet era* *American Historical Review* 109 445–68
- Hall D R 1972 *The Iron Gates scheme and its significance* *Geography* 57 51–5
- Hall D R 1984 *Foreign tourism under socialism: the Albanian 'Stalinist' model* *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 539–55
- Hall D R 1986 *North of the divide* *Geographical Magazine* 58 590–2
- Hall D R 1990 *Stalinism and tourism: a study of Albania and North Korea* *Annals of Tourism Research* 17 36–54
- Hall D R 1994 *Albania and the Albanians* Pinter, London
- Hall D and Howlett A 1976 *Neither east nor west* *Geographical Magazine* 48 194–6
- Hamilton F E I 1965 *Bulgaria: land of change* *Geographical Magazine* 38 276–89
- Hamilton F E I 1967 *Ancient road through modern Poland* *Geographical Magazine* 40 200–8
- Hamilton F E I 1968 *Yugoslavia: patterns of economic activity* Bell, London
- Hamilton F E I 1973 *Muscovites move away from the centre* *Geographical Magazine* 45 451–9
- Hamilton F E I 1978 *The East European and Soviet city* *Geographical Magazine* 50 511–15
- Heathorn H 1946 *The Albania of Edward Lear* *Geographical Magazine* 19 116–21
- Heffernan M 1998 *The meaning of Europe* Arnold, London
- Holzner L 1989 *Book review: Berlin* *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 79 619–20
- Hooson D J M 1966 *The Soviet Union* University of London Press, London
- Humphrey C 1968 *East of Lake Baikal* *Geographical Magazine* 40 762–73
- Jenkins J 1938 *Climbing in the Caucasus* *Geographical Magazine* 7 55–72
- Jones R 1959 *Climbing with the Russians* *Geographical Magazine* 32 67–78
- Joseph S G 1954 *The Iron Curtain in the Harz* *Geographical Magazine* 26 601–5
- Katz Z 1957a *Social differences in Soviet Russia* *Geographical Magazine* 30 65–73
- Katz Z 1957b *Forty years after the Bolshevik Revolution* *Geographical Magazine* 30 303–16
- Kirsch S 2005 *Proving grounds* Rutgers University Press, New York
- Koshar R 2000 *German travel cultures* Berg, Oxford
- Kuklick H and Kohler R E eds 1996 *Science in the field* *Osiris* 11 1–258
- Kuus M 2004 *Europe's eastern expansion and the reinscription of otherness in East-Central Europe* *Progress in Human Geography* 28 472–89
- Lehmann J 1935 *Change in the Caucasus* *Geographical Magazine* 2 125–41
- Le Fleming S 1966 *Novosibirsk: the city* *Geographical Magazine* 39 495–503
- Livingstone D N 2003 *Putting science in its place: geographies of scientific knowledge* University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL
- Lloyd A L 1961 *The city of Sofia* *Geographical Magazine* 33 682–90

- Lloyd A L 1962 Rio: sunstruck city *Geographical Magazine* 35 228–33
- Lorimer H 2003 Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 197–217
- MacDonald F 2006 Geopolitics and 'the vision thing': regarding Britain and America's first nuclear missile *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31 53–71
- Maclean F 1951 Yugoslavia: the land and the people *Geographical Magazine* 24 22–31
- Manton S M 1952 A biologist in Soviet Central Asia *Geographical Magazine* 25 255–64
- Matless D 1992 Regional surveys and local knowledges: the geographical imagination in Britain 1918–39 *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17 464–80
- Matless D 1996 Visual culture and geographical citizenship *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 424–39
- Matless D, Oldfield J and Swain A 2007 Encountering Soviet geography: oral histories of British geographical studies of the USSR and Eastern Europe 1945–1991 *Social and Cultural Geography* 8 353–72
- McBride B St C 1969 Life in a Moscow suburb *Geographical Magazine* 41 534–9
- Mellor R E H 1954 The present situation in East Prussia *Geography* 39 204–6
- Mellor R E H 1964 *Geography of the USSR* Macmillan, London
- Mellor R E H 1978 *The two Germanies* Harper and Row, London
- Merchant P 2000 *Observant travel: distant fieldwork in British geography, 1918–1960* PhD thesis, University of Nottingham
- Milner-Gulland R 1962 Moscow's countryside *Geographical Magazine* 35 215–27
- Mitchison L 1957 *Trans-Siberian, 1956* *Geographical Magazine* 29 451–9
- Moranda S 2006 East German nature tourism, 1945–1961: in search of a common destination in Gorsuch A E and Koenker D P eds *Turizm: the Russian and East European tourist under capitalism and socialism* Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY 266–80
- Myres J, Winterbotham H S L and Longland F 1945 *Albania* Naval Intelligence Division, London
- Newall V and Newall J 1963 Crossing into Albania *Geographical Magazine* 36 304–13
- Noack C 2006 Coping with the tourist: planned and 'wild' mass tourism on the Soviet Black Sea coast in Gorsuch A E and Koenker D P eds *Turizm: the Russian and East European tourist under capitalism and socialism* Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY 281–304
- North G 1958 Poland's population and changing economy *Geographical Journal* 124 517–27
- Osborne R H 1967 *East-Central Europe* Chatto and Windus, London
- Pallot J 1983 Recent approaches in the geography of the Soviet Union *Progress in Human Geography* 7 519–42
- Pickles J 2005 'New cartographies' and the decolonization of European geographies *Area* 37 355–64
- Polish Academy of Sciences 1961 *Problems of applied geography* Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw
- Polish Academy of Sciences 1964 *Problems of applied geography II* PWN-Polish Scientific Publishers, Warsaw
- Pounds N J G 1969 *Eastern Europe* Longman, London
- Pratt M L 1992 *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation* Routledge, London
- Price M P 1958 Impressions of Poland *Geographical Magazine* 30 419–29
- Revill G and Wrigley R eds 2000 *Pathologies of travel* Rodopi, Amsterdam
- Russell E J 1941 Collective farming in Soviet Russia *Geographical Magazine* 14 71–81
- Ryan J 1997 *Picturing empire* Reaktion, London
- Said E 1978 *Orientalism* Routledge Kegan and Paul, London
- Salmon S 2006 Marketing socialism: Inturist in the late 1950s and early 1960s in Gorsuch A E and Koenker D P eds *Turizm: the Russian and East European tourist under capitalism and socialism* Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY 186–204
- Saunders S 1935 Soviet Samarkand *Geographical Magazine* 1 309–19
- Saunders F S 2000 *The cultural Cold War* New Press, New York
- Seager D 1946 Impressions of Moscow and Leningrad *Geographical Magazine* 95–101
- Sharp J P 2000 *Condensing the Cold War: Reader's Digest and American identity* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN

- Shaw T 2005 Introduction: Britain and the cultural Cold War *Contemporary British History* 19 109–15
- Sillitoe A 1976a Road to Moscow *Geographical Magazine* 48 273–77
- Sillitoe A 1976b Road to Kiev *Geographical Magazine* 48 360–5
- Smith A 1965 Siberia: Soviet land of promise *Geographical Magazine* 38 37–57
- Smith D M 1978 Siberian city of science *Geographical Magazine* 51 238–42
- Stamp L D ed 1933 *Slovene studies* Le Play Society, London
- Steel R 1984 *The Institute of British Geographers: the first fifty years* Institute of British Geographers, London
- Stenning A 2005 Out there and in here: studying Eastern Europe in the West *Area* 37 378–83
- Stephens W 1962 Yugoslavia's experiment *Geographical Magazine* 35 339–45
- Stoddart D R 1985 *On geography* Blackwell, Oxford
- Suggate L S 1954 This changing world *Geography* 39 35
- Symons L 1972 *Russian agriculture* Bell, London
- Symons L ed 1983 *The Soviet Union* Hodder and Stoughton, London
- Symons L and White C eds 1975 *Russian transport* Bell, London
- Tabori P 1957 The endurance of Hungary *Geographical Magazine* 29 505–15
- Tessore A 1963 Co-operatives in Rumania *Geographical Magazine* 36 351–63
- Toal G ed 2003 Geopolitics debate III: commentaries on Joanne Sharp's *Condensing the Cold War: Reader's Digest and American identity* *Geopolitics* 8 157–206
- Tuathail G O' and Agnew J 1992 Geopolitics and discourse: practical geopolitical reasoning in American foreign policy *Political Geography* 11 190–204
- Turnock D 1970 The pattern of industrialization in Romania *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60 540–59
- Turnock D 1974 *An economic geography of Romania* Bell, London
- Turnock D 1977 Rumania and the geography of tourism *Geoforum* 8 51–6
- Turnock D 1984 Postwar studies on the human geography of Eastern Europe *Progress in Human Geography* 8 315–46
- Turnock D 1990 Tourism in Romania: rural planning in the Carpathians *Annals of Tourism Research* 17 79–102
- Turnock D 2004 American geographers and the geography of East Central Europe *GeoJournal* 59 77–89
- Usborne J 1955 The flight of the eagles *Geographical Magazine* 28 242–5, 355–64
- Watson C 1966 Novosibirsk: the experiment *Geographical Magazine* 39 504–13
- Waugh E 1947 *Scott-King's modern Europe* Chapman and Hall, London
- Weber D 1976 Borodino niet! 49 *Geographical Magazine* 75–83
- Williamson D 1965 The new Warsaw *Geographical Magazine* 38 596–607
- Wolff L 1994 *Inventing Eastern Europe* Stanford University Press, Stanford CA

Wright P 2007 *Iron curtain: from stage to Cold War* Oxford University Press, Oxford