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**Cold War Tourism? The Convergence of
Politics and Travel in Germany, 1945-1990**

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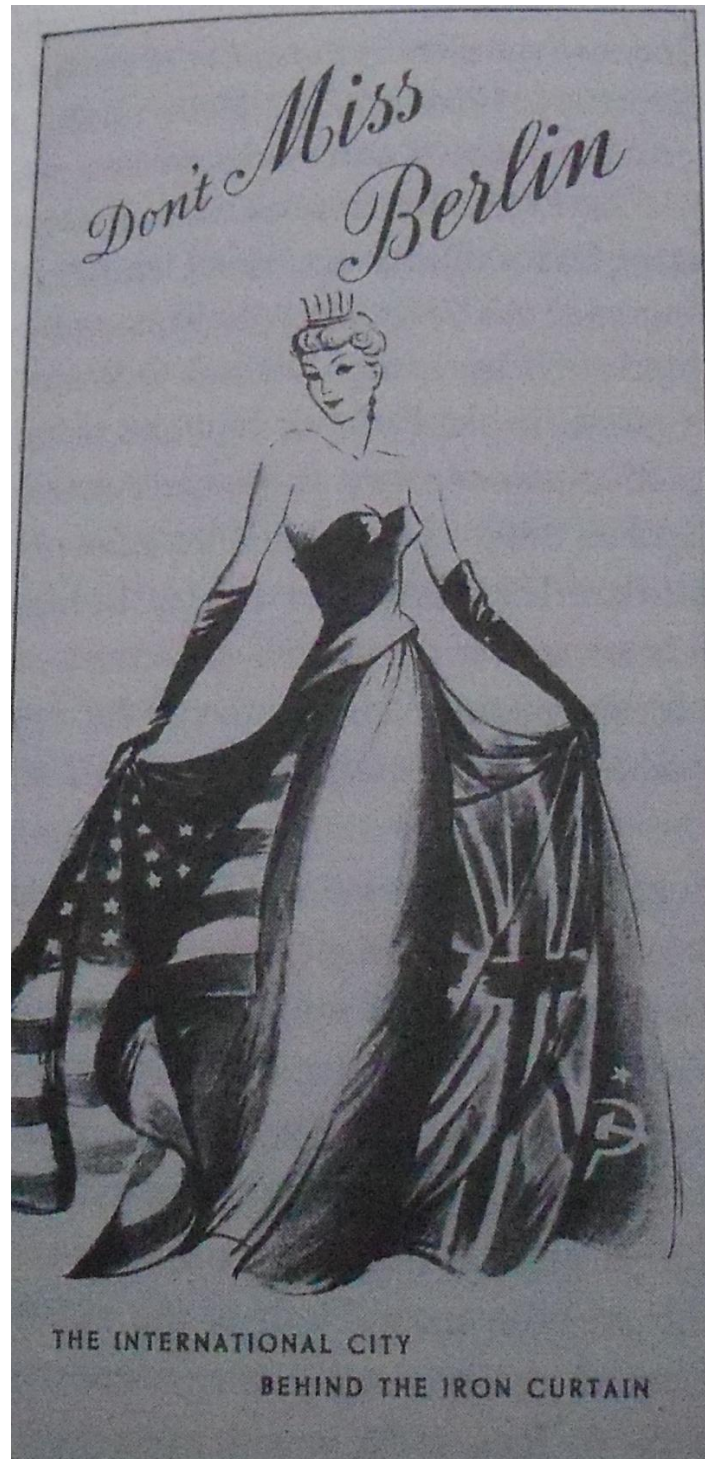


Figure 1: A Tourist Brochure Cover: *Don't Miss Berlin* (Verkehrsamt der Stadt Berlin, 1950b) in Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, p.171.

Introduction

The links between totalitarian states and the politicisation of tourism are well known. In Nazi Germany the *Strength Through Joy* (KdF) program helped both to build and promote the virtues of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*.¹ At the same time the Soviet Union developed its *Intourist* organisation which, through organised tours, promoted Soviet ideology and acted as an important source of pro-Soviet propaganda.² Less well known is the convergence of politics and tourism in democratic societies. However, in 1949 *Readers Digest* published a travel article which provided American tourists with instructions on how to behave abroad. This article suggested that although Americans travelling in Europe were likely to encounter ‘the anti-American venom distilled first by Hitler and now by Stalin’, they still needed to speak virtuously and graciously about American foreign policy. More pertinently, this point was then substantiated with the notion that friendly relations with western Europe were vital in ensuring the survival of the free world. As far as this article was concerned, ordinary American tourists had assumed the status of a skilled plenipotentiary: each one was ‘truly an Ambassador of Good Will’.³ Therefore what did it mean to be a tourist during the Cold War? Was it really possible that travel writers believed individual tourists could somehow influence the course of the Cold War? Was it at all believable that tourism provided a platform on which Cold War conflicts could be staged? If the answers to these questions were overwhelmingly positive, does it make any sense to speak of a distinct and unique form of Cold War tourism?

While many travellers could easily dismiss these questions and any link between politics and tourism as largely chimerical, when set in the context of the Cold War these questions seem much more realistic. The post-war era witnessed a dramatic increase in international tourism. It is well known that this boom was influenced by, among other things, the growth of the middle class, employee vacation benefits, easy credit, the advent of affordable air travel and growing trade and communications links. Once established, post-war tourism became not only an important form of leisure and consumer culture, but also a pivotal force in the global economy.⁴ By the early 1960s, for instance, Americans travelling abroad were already spending \$3 billion

¹ See S. Baranowski *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich*, (June, 2004)

² A. Gorsuch, There’s no place like home, Soviet Tourism in late Stalinism, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union (Winter, 2003)p.760

³ George Kent, ‘How to be an American Abroad’, *Readers Digest* 54 (June 1949), pp.116-118

⁴ D. Merrill, ‘Negotiating Cold War Paradise: U.S. Tourism, Economic Planning and Cultural Modernity in Twentieth Century Puerto Rico’ *Diplomatic History* 25, (Spring 2001), pp.179-214

dollars annually. This growth continued to accelerate throughout the next thirty years with the international tourist industry generating \$3.4 trillion per year by the mid 1990s: second only to oil as the world's largest industry.⁵ Despite receiving considerable attention among economists, anthropologists and sociologists, few historians have questioned how this post-war transformation emerged, the role played by the Cold War in its development and the resulting political implications of this growth for the Cold War itself. According to the majority of accounts, the changes tourism experienced took place in a post-war and not necessarily in a Cold War world.⁶

This oversight was borne, in part, out of the commonly held view that the Cold War was predominantly a 'specialist's war'.⁷ While many knew of the propaganda efforts of socialist countries during the Cold War, few understood that in democratic countries the Cold War was also fought outside nuclear and intelligence warfare. Recently, however, a more sophisticated literature has emerged which revealed a number of other forums through which Cold War altercations were disseminated. Inspired by the infamous 'kitchen debate' between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and US Vice-President Richard Nixon, this literature prompted historians to consider the importance of cultural and psychological conflict as an alternative to 'real' war. Accordingly, numerous studies emerged which demonstrated that virtually everything – including channels as wide and diverse as abstract expressionism, sport, advertising, consumerism and film – assumed political significance during the Cold War. Theoretically, these various forums could be used not only to shape opinions at home but also to undermine the

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For instance H. Sutton, *Travellers: The American Tourist from Stagecoach to Space Shuttle* (New York, 1980); Towner, J., 'Approaches to Tourism History', *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, (1988) pp.47-62; Parsons, N., *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook*, (Gloucestershire, 2007); S. Baronwski and F. Furlough, (Ed.), *Being Elsewhere; Tourism, Consumer Culture and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, (Ann Arbor, 2001); P. Brandon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (1991), P. Goldstone, *Making the World Safe for Tourism* (Yale, 2001); F. Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of American Travel* (Ann Arbor, 1964) and D. Engerman, 'A Research Agenda for the History of Tourism: Towards an International Social History', *American Studies International* 32 (October 1994): 3-31

⁷ P. Hennessey, *The Secret State*, p.3. Others have adopted a similar stance. For example: R. J. McMahon, *The Cold War: a very short introduction* (Oxford, 2003), W. Mason, *The Cold War, 1945-1991* (London, 1996); D. Miller, *The Cold War: a military history* (London, 1998) and D. Painter, *The Cold War: an international history* (London, 1999)

fabric of socialism abroad.⁸ For many historians these cultural and psychological conflicts were more important than military and intelligence warfare. As Peter G. Boyle concluded:

‘The Hollywood film, rock 'n' roll music, television soap operas, Coca-Cola, blue jeans and McDonald's hamburgers had much greater influence in undermining communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, it might be suggested, than the deterrent power of SDI or Pershing missiles.’⁹

It is within this context that the wider importance of a potential juxtaposition between politics and tourism can be found. As tourism held such an important position in the post-war world, and if it can be shown that tourism assumed political significance during these years then it could be argued that, ostensibly, tourism had a tangible impact on the course of the Cold War. My aim here is to situate tourism within these wider debates surrounding the nature of Cold War conflict.

Although no work specifically addresses the extent to which the Cold War contributed to cultural and psychological warfare during the Cold War¹⁰, historians have examined tourism within these years before, starting in 1998 with the publishing of a number of works which

⁸See especially W. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945 – 1961*, (1997); L. Schwartz, *Political Warfare Against the Kremlin: US and British Propaganda Policy at the Beginning of the Cold War*, (May 2009); S. Schwarzkopf, ‘They do it with mirrors: advertising and British Cold war consumer politics’, *Contemporary British History*, vol.19 (2005), no.2, pp. 135-50; G. Scott-Smith and H. Krabbendam, (Ed.), *The cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, (London, 2003) T. Shaw, ‘The politics of Cold War culture’, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol.3 (2001), S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); D. Shlapentokh and V. Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography, 1918-1991: Ideological Conflict and Social Reality*, (New York, 1993); P. Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society 1917-1953*, (Cambridge, 1992); Hazan, *Soviet Impregnational Propaganda* (1982); V. L. Allen, *The Russians Are Coming: The Politics of Anti-Sovietism* (Shipley, 1987); P. Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Post-War Europe* (New York, 1989); D. Cate, *The dancer defects: the struggle for cultural supremacy during the Cold War* (Oxford, 2003); R. Conquest, ‘Orwell, socialism and the Cold War’ in J. Rodden (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to George Orwell* (Cambridge companions to literature) (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 126-32; J. Black, *The politics of James Bond* (Westport, 2000); Andrew Ross, ‘Containing culture in the cold war’, *Cultural Studies*, vol. 1 (1987), pp. 328-48 and S. J. Whitfield, *The culture of the cold war* (Baltimore, 1991).

⁹ Peter G. Boyle, ‘The Cold War Revisited: Review Article,’ *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (July, 2000), p. 488.

¹⁰ Although no works have specifically assessed tourism as a potential forum of Cold War conflict, others have looked at the Soviet tourist industry during the cold war and travel writing more generally. See A. Gorsuch, ‘There’s no place like home”: Soviet Tourism in late Stalinism, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union (Winter, 2003), pp. 760-785, A. Gorsuch, and D. Koenker (Ed.), *Turizm: The Russian And East European Tourist Under Capitalism And Socialism*, (2006); M. Hardesty, *The Ambivalent American: Political Travel Writing During the Cold War*, PHD Thesis, Columbia University, (2007); Hershberger, M., *Travelling to Vietnam: American Peace Activists and the War*, (Syracuse, 1998); P. Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in the Search of the Good Society*, (1981); S. Laderman, (2002) ‘Shaping Memory of the Past: Discourse in Travel Guidebooks for Vietnam’, *Mass Communication and Society*, 5: 1, 87 — 110 and Parsons, N., *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook*, (Gloucestershire, 2007).

assessed the impact of the Marshall Plan on tourism in France.¹¹ These studies put forward proposals which suggested tourism acted as a discernable link between the need to ensure the flow of American dollars to France and the desire for friendly relations between the two countries. Two years later and taking leave from these findings, Rudy Koshar provided a comprehensive analysis of tourism in Germany, providing an overview of the Cold War in his final chapter. Drawing on the familiar concept of national identity, Koshar demonstrated that guidebooks could be used to forge collective identities within Cold War Germany.¹² Following this a third group of commentators, such as Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, briefly touched upon the convergence of the Cold War and tourism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, persuasively arguing that there was certainly something in the notion that tourism, at least in eastern Europe, could provide a platform for the formation of Cold War ideologies.¹³ Following the arguments put forward by these studies, the two most recent works to examine tourism within these years have been perhaps the most useful. Firstly, Dennis Merrill analysed the impact of the Cold War on Tourism in Puerto Rico. Here it was not only shown that tourism impacted upon the creation of modernity and modern identities within this region but that US visitors ‘unavoidably became participants in a Cold War cultural experience’.¹⁴ Secondly, Christopher Endy provided a comprehensive analysis of the links between tourism and the Cold War until 1970. Despite drawing on previous works undertaken on the Marshall Plan, Endy also offered a significant amount of original scholarship: for instance, the role played by tourism in informing Cold War debates within American foreign policy in the 1950s and 60s.¹⁵

However, the argument that the Cold War influenced tourist practices is considerably different from one which suggested tourism provided an additional forum for the dissemination of Cold War conflict. While these works have been useful to show the former, they have raised a number of intriguing and unanswered questions regarding the latter. Indeed, their findings, although

¹¹ E. Furlough, ‘Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s’, *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 40 (April 1998), pp.247-286; B.A. McKenzie, ‘Creating a Tourists Paradise: The Marshall Plan an France, 1948 to 1952’, *French Politics, Culture and Society* 21 (Spring 2003), pp.35-54

¹² R. Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, (2000) pp.161-203

¹³ A. Gorsuch, “There’s no place like home”: Soviet Tourism in late Stalinism, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union (Winter, 2003), pp. 760-785, Gorsuch, A. and Koenker D., (Ed.), *Turizm: The Russian And East European Tourist Under Capitalism And Socialism*, (2006)

¹⁴ D. Merrill, ‘Negotiating Cold War Paradise: U.S. Tourism, Economic Planning and Cultural Modernity in Twentieth Century Puerto Rico’ *Diplomatic History* 25, (Spring 2001), pp.179-214

¹⁵ C. Endy, *Cold War Holidays* (North Carolina, 2004), pp.182-203

providing an answer as to the extent the Cold War impacted on tourism in their specific areas, fail to show the reverse: how tourism had a paradoxical influence upon the Cold War. Moreover, even in showing that a discernable link could be drawn between politics and tourism in these years – aside from the notion of Cold War conflict – the chronological frameworks of these studies have only extended to the 1970s, missing out twenty years of potential interaction between these two bodies.¹⁶ With my closer focus on the nature of Cold War conflict throughout the period in question, rather than on the ostensible influence of the Cold War upon tourism up until the 1970s, I hope to go some way to provide answers to the questions raised by these previous studies. As I will also be exploring the politicisation of tourism not just from the perspective of the tourist industry, but also from the viewpoints of leading politicians, some reflections may be made on how far both of these groups accommodated the overlap between politics and tourism within these years.

To demonstrate these points I will seek to show, using Germany as a case study, how tourism was used, within travel narratives, as a cultural and psychological weapon during the Cold War. On the one hand I will attempt to demonstrate that tourism provided America with an important, hitherto neglected, context for the dissemination of Cold War conflict. On the other I will argue that the culture of the Cold War – with its conflicts over political alliances, human freedom, economic competition and political ideologies – was incorporated by the American tourist industry in order to make sense of tourism in the post-war world. Germany serves as a particularly useful case study for a number of reasons. Significantly, Germany was, in many ways, lying in the heart of the Cold War. It was a country where western and eastern ideologies and tensions juxtaposed. Yet unlike a number of other places these divisions were not only felt psychologically, but they were also experienced physically: the Berlin wall being a prime example. Germany was also, through its situation in the centre of Europe, enveloped by the pressures for a supranational strong Europe as a bulwark to communist expansion.¹⁷ Finally, Germany was a popular destination for tourists from democratic countries and although many visitors undoubtedly travelled to Germany in single-minded pursuit of leisure and relaxation, it will be shown that they would have unavoidably, and perhaps subconsciously, become

¹⁶ See C. Endy, *Cold War Holidays* (North Carolina, 2004) and D. Merrill, 'Negotiating Cold War Paradise: U.S. Tourism, Economic Planning and Cultural Modernity in Twentieth Century Puerto Rico' *Diplomatic History* 25, (Spring 2001), pp.179-214

¹⁷ M. Fulbrook, *Interpretations of the Two Germanys* (2000), pp.1-23.

participants in the Cold War's cultural and psychological conflicts.¹⁸ Whilst I will use a number of sources in this dissertation, narratives such as travel articles, travel guidebooks, travel literature and tourist advertisements will be frequently utilised. Travel articles will be particularly important in influencing either those who may not have travelled or those planning to travel. English language travel guidebooks will be assessed from a number of publishers throughout our period across America and Europe. As these guides are designed to be used both at the site as well as in preparation for the trip it is crucial to identify what messages they convey. Travel literature will provide a more personal account of how individuals experienced and interpreted certain Cold War prerogatives when travelling. Both travel guidebooks and literature, barring a few exceptions, can be found either in the British library or in online or second hand book stores.

Crucial in analysing these sources is the study of discourse – broadly defined as language set in context. This is extremely important, not least because society and culture are not only shaped by discourse but, at the same time, they constitute discourse.¹⁹ As tourism assumed such an important part of society in the post-war era it is well suited to a discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is also a particularly useful tool in identifying power relations, and so the extent to which the Cold War exhibited hegemony over the tourist industry, as it provides a window into the ways in which language is used by the powerful, or in this case the tourist industry, to confuse and exploit the less powerful.²⁰ Consequently, this dissertation will firstly seek to ascertain both the Cold War's power within and over travel discourse and then, having established this, these discourses will be related back to their influence over the Cold War itself.²¹ When attempting to identify discourses I will draw on the methodology used by

¹⁸ Whilst the politicisation of tourism in Germany has been overlooked by English language historians, two studies in German language have emerged which have analysed tourism in these years, see Hasso Spode (Ed.), *Goldstrand und Teutonengrill: Kultur-und Sozialgeschichte des Tourismus in Deutschland 1945 bis 1990* (Berlin, 1996); Herman Bausinger (Ed.), *Reisekultur: Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*, (Munich, 1991); Ulrike Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reisefuhrer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 1995). However, these studies aim to show how German tourist activities changed rather than that of the foreign tourist in Germany. Moreover, although demonstrating the Cold War context which these changes emerged that have not considered whether tourism was used as a tool in informing wider Cold War conflicts. These German language studies can only therefore be taken as a starting point to ask further questions about the nature of Cold War conflicts.

¹⁹ S. Titscher, M. Meyer, R. Wodak and E. Vetter (Ed.), *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis* (2000) p.146

²⁰ P. Burnham, *Research Methods in Politics* (2008), p.252 and M. Atkinson, *Our Masters Voices: The Language and Body Language of Politics* (London, 1984), pp.1-14

²¹ J. Bentley, *Travel Narratives* <<http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/unpacking/travelmain.html>> 5/1/10

Laderman in his analysis of travel writing on Vietnam. Here I will not only assess recurring themes, explicit or implied, but also the language that constructed ways of talking about certain subjects: and in this instance those that described democratic and communist countries. To develop this methodology further I will also include a more critical discourse analysis by highlighting the common sense, or natural, socio-cultural assumptions which were embedded in the more common language of the post-war world. Finally, special attention will be given to the numerous and subtle techniques employed by travel boosters – such as the selective use of facts, use of metaphors, generalisations, inferences and presumptions – to convey certain political messages.²²

Within this methodology, however, it is worth remembering that, traditionally, travel writing generally has been viewed as a problematic source of historical evidence.²³ The problems experienced by using travel articles and travel narratives are broadly comparable. Perhaps the biggest problem is that the genres of travel narratives tend to reflect the bias, prejudices and interests of their authors. Rather than promoting a common view of certain political circumstances then, these travel narratives could merely be seen to be a collection of individualised and subjective accounts of personal opinions.²⁴ Similarly, as travel writers often cannot account for every aspect of the society they have visited, large portions of valuable information could either be left out or misrepresented. Equally problematic is the fact that these travel narratives draw on literary techniques, such as adventures stories or novels, which may act to distort the meaning portrayed. Due to these problems travel narratives can only be taken so far by historians. However, as a discourse these types of travel narratives provide strong examples of the extent to which individual travellers incorporated Cold War concerns. By treating it in this way these texts become useful illustrations not only of how the Cold War affected tourism, but also of how tourism could ostensibly impact upon the Cold War.

Unfortunately, the methods used to analyse travel narratives are rarely applicable to guidebooks. Although travel narratives are written as a record of visits hitherto undertaken, guidebooks aimed to anticipate future travel. Moreover, rather than presenting an interpretation of travel within broader themes - as many narratives seek to do - guidebooks try, in various degrees, to provide an unbiased and unmediated view. Subsequently, as guidebooks have occupied this

²² R. Barthes, *The Discourse of History* in <<http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/pcraddoc/barthes.htm>> 11/1/10 and N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995), pp.91-105

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid

unique genre of travel writing, no general history of it exists and only a few have attempted to use them as historical sources. Moreover, the increasing number and variability of guidebooks makes it difficult to understand their genre as a conceptual whole: for example, the fact that some guidebooks offer accounts of geography and art history where others focus on hotel listings. This is also linked to the fact that different guidebooks originate from different traditions, are aimed at varying groups and occupy contrasting niches. For example, the *Rough Guide* is aimed at poor students where the *Michelin Guides* appeals to rich motorists. Yet these problems do not mean they cannot be of use here especially in appreciation of these wider influences. When read on an individual basis it is clear that many guidebooks, such as *Fodor* and *Let's Go*, refer to political situations explicitly throughout the text. These texts, therefore, provide useful examples of the political discourses incorporated by the travel boosters of the time. However others, such as the *Baedeker*, are remarkably less political and can be seen, as Rudy Koshar has shown, as objective formal devices.²⁵ In these cases it is important to read between the lines to determine the potential infiltration of Cold War ideas.²⁶

In this dissertation I will argue that tourism to Germany was subjected to three discourses, all of which, while dependent and mutually reinforcing of each other, ultimately served the same ends: to provide both a context for the dissemination of Cold War conflict and to help travel writers make sense of the world around them. I will argue that this was testimony to the infiltrating nature of the Cold War as well as a reflection of how various aspects of society were appropriated for Cold War purposes throughout this period. Thus it will be contended that the nature and extent of tourism's contribution to Cold War conflicts was inextricably linked to the values and ideological messages propagated by foreign policy experts. To demonstrate these contentions chapter one will highlight the first discourse which encouraged friendly relations with Germany. Here I will show travel literature took the initiative after the Second World War and remodelled both Germany and America as a fundamental part of the post-war Atlantic Community. Chapter two will identify a second discourse which incorporated the psychological and cultural nature of Cold War conflict in order not only to provide tourism with an important role during the Cold War, but also to win the hearts and minds of the millions of tourists who travelled to Germany every year during the Cold War. It will also be shown that, through a number of stylistic devices, travel narratives incorporated overarching Cold War goals: in effect, making them relatable, accessible and relevant to the large body of tourists who travelled to

²⁵ R. Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (2000), pp.13-15.

²⁶ *Ibid*

Germany between 1945 and 1990. Chapter three will illustrate a final discourse which helped in creating an economically strong Germany. Ultimately I will conclude by summarising the main arguments and by suggesting that mass tourism to Germany developed distinctively and uniquely around Cold War imperatives, and so has made it difficult for travel writers to construct a view of Germany separate from this legacy.

Chapter 1: Discourses promoting friendly relations with Germany

Allied diplomatic relations with Germany at the end of the Second World War were remarkably fragile: not only had the allied powers fought against her in two World Wars, not only had they lost the lives of countless soldiers and civilians, Germany also defaulted on her debts from the First World War and played a significant part in causing the financial ruin of European countries. Travel literature before 1945 both mirrored and reinforced this antagonism. Guidebooks portrayed Germany as the traditional enemy: frequently referring to the collective barbarity of the German people and the nefarious nature of German politicians.²⁷ Many guidebooks only encouraged the wealthy to travel and others suggested those who did should stay well clear of politics.²⁸ Some guides, like the *Baedeker*, became active supporters of Nazi policy even supporting the existence of ‘Jew-free’ zones in Poland.²⁹ However, the Second World War dramatically refashioned global politics. It led to the dismantling of Empire and the creation of a modern world dominated by the emergence of two new superpowers, America and the Soviet Union: each defined through their respective systems of government. American foreign policy in this period was circumscribed by a desire to prevent Soviet expansion. Rather than regressing into its pre-war position, Germany was perceived to play a key role not only as an indispensable ally in the struggle to maintain a free world, but also in preventing Europe becoming subverted by communism.

Consequently, the topic of tourism to Germany gained greater prominence following the Second World War, but nevertheless underwent some important modifications. The most important of these was that many travel writers consciously produced thousands of pages which incorporated Cold War politics and aimed to transform visions towards Germany. Some were very explicit in bringing about a convergence of tourism and politics for Cold War purposes. The *Nagel Guide* explained:

‘It is often said that strife and mistrust between peoples are due to their ignorance of one another. This is often the reason for the irritating arrogance with which one nation will often criticise another. A better acquaintance between peoples is therefore of the utmost importance, and travelling is an ideal means to achieve this ends.’³⁰

²⁷ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, p.117

²⁸ *Ibid*,

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.131

³⁰ The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.v

The notion that tourism could contribute to overarching political circumstances was also supported by a number of other guidebooks. The *Fodor Guide*, for instance, argued that it was vital to ‘cement these bonds’ between Germany and America ‘with the personal experience of travel in both directions’ because ‘the west is richer and more powerful with the addition of this new ally’.³¹ In a similar vein William Nichols, editor of *This Week*, argued that if every American tourist to Germany was to make one new friend ‘then it would not be long before the North Atlantic community would be as real and as closely knit a community as your own home town’.³² The fact that travel guides frequently referred to their duties as members of the ‘Atlantic community’ demonstrates the extent to which the Cold War had been accepted and incorporated by the tourist industry, but also indicates the pressure which the Cold War placed on society to do its bit. Nevertheless, to describe Germany as a friend in this period clearly stood at odds with the years of criticism and condemnation she had previously received. How, therefore, was this makeover ever to be accomplished? As this chapter will now show, this was achieved through two key narratives which need explaining further. The first redefined attitudes towards Germany and the second revolutionised the way ordinary tourists approached their new ally.

Narratives reconstructing Germany

Essential in bringing about this change in attitude towards Germany was the recasting of her as a victim of the Second World War. As the *Nagel Travel Guide* explained: in Germany ‘three million men were killed, 2.9 million missing, five million wounded and 3.5 million taken prisoner, and deaths in air raids have been estimated at up to two million’.³³ A similar tone was adopted by the *Fodor Guide* which suggested that due to this suffering ‘the distinction between victor and vanquished was liquidated’.³⁴ As allied nations had suffered similar losses during the war, it was likely that they could indeed sympathise with Germany. Yet despite remodelling Germany as a victim, words such as weak and burdensome were consciously avoided in a discourse that wanted to demonstrate the fortitudes of a post-war Germany. Instead, travel narratives aimed to highlight the value of having Germany as a ‘friend’ in the post-war world. This was achieved through the use of a number of sagacious linguistic devices.

³¹ E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), pp.49-51

³² William Nichols cited in Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, p.118

³³ The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.xviii

³⁴ E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), p. 38

Firstly, drawing on eschatological language, Germany was portrayed as a strong nation which emerged reborn from ‘the ashes of World War Two’.³⁵ This *Let’s Go* statement echoed the language of Temple Fielding’s guidebook when he declared: ‘a hustling, booming New Republic has risen from the ashes of its Armageddon and taken its place as one of the most prosperous nations in the world’.³⁶ This theme was also lapped up by a number of other guidebooks, such as the *Nagel Guide*, which lauded this ‘far reaching spiritual and social upheaval’³⁷ and the *Fodor Guide* which claimed ‘West Berlin has risen like a phoenix from its pyre’.³⁸ Not only do such linguistic terms highlight the fact that Germany has undergone a complete rebirth, they also mirrored – by using terms such as Armageddon – the populist language of the Cold War. This mirroring was also evident in the heavy emphasis which was placed upon the democratic nature of the new Germany. ‘New democratic institutions were founded’, read one guide, and ‘political radicalism, whether communist or Neo-Nazi, has found little foothold in this area since the war’.³⁹ Therefore, like the allied powers, Germany was not simply a victim of the Second World War it was also a democratic nation which remained strong in the face of ‘Armageddon’.

Second, while Germany was portrayed through eschatological undertones, tourists may have felt more comfortable when she was depicted as Americanised: ‘American influence on Germany...has been remarkable’ and ‘most people now seem to speak English with an American accent’⁴⁰ read one guidebook. Quoting similar examples, travel writers were keen not only to indicate that ‘conditions for travellers are not nearly so bad as ...the past few years may have indicated’⁴¹ but, significantly, it would be much easier for ordinary Americans to forge links and friendship with this country. Yet this Americanisation process was also established more subtly. Numerous guides made reference to Germany’s ‘regional characteristics’⁴² and its ‘varied scene’.⁴³ Others such as the *Fodor Guide*, when lauding the impressive nature of Germany’s ‘regional diversity’, highlighted these differences through a comparison of the

³⁵ *Let’s Go Europe* (1970), p.246

³⁶ Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1956), p.342

³⁷ The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.xviii

³⁸ E Fodor,., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), p.395

³⁹ E Fodor,., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1953), pp. 40-45

⁴⁰ E Fodor,., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), p. 48

⁴¹ Horace Smith cited in Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, p.28

⁴² *The Rough Guide to West Germany* (1989), p.ix

⁴³ Yet it was the Nagel guide which was undoubtedly most pronounced in this respect, devoting a whole chapter of its guide to ‘The Varied German Scene’. See The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956).

different regions and people found in Germany such as the ‘mysterious’ Swabians and the ‘gayer’ Rhinelanders. Whilst this may seem satirical or anecdotal, this narrative was in reality making this foreign land more comprehensible to an America which was of course borne directly out of these racial and geographical differences.⁴⁴ The TWA guide was equally understated in promoting links between the two countries with statements such as ‘traffic is not heavy by U.S. standards’ and ‘Germany is cooler in the summer than the northern United States’.⁴⁵

A final transformation that occurred in travel narratives which paved the way for friendly relations with Germany was the tactical omission of her Nazi past. Where this past was mentioned, at least until the 1970s, it was done so only in passing and was almost always referenced against the perils of totalitarianism – and so distinguishing the modern Germany from the current situation in eastern Europe – and perhaps most pertinently against Germany’s sudden rebirth and transformation at the end of the Second World War.⁴⁶ One guidebook, for instance, described Dachau as a ‘gayhearted place’, ‘with a mid-August festival in local costumes’ and ‘before the Nazi’s provided it with an evil reputation it was a pleasant old town’.⁴⁷ In travel narratives at least, Germany had been transformed from a nefarious wartime enemy into a reborn, Americanised, anti-totalitarian and prosperous ally.

The narratives aimed at the character of the German people also highlighted similar transformations. Rather than drawing on the familiar concept of the German’s ‘methodological’ propensity for ‘law and order’ - and thus the same characteristics which caused individuals to vote for Hitler and go to war - travel narratives actually suggested that the German character was something rather different: in essence, her character had become constructed around the values important to allied powers. The *Collins Guide* was particularly candid in its suggestion that ‘there is fun too’. ‘The Germans love a comedy’ the guide went on, and although ‘fellow Europeans may consider Germans to be somewhat stiff and formal ... inside a beer hall gaiety

⁴⁴ E Fodor,., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), p.43.

⁴⁵ Trans World Airlines, *Travel Tips for Germany* (1963), p.19

⁴⁶ For the conscious removal of the Nazi past see K., Baedeker, *Baedekers Berlin* (1987); K., Baedeker, *Berlin: A Handbook for Travellers* (1965); K., Baedeker, *Baedekers Germany*, (1981); Temple Fielding, , *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1956), Fodor, E., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964); E., Samson, *Everybody’s pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954); The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956); G., Cooper, *Your Holiday Guide to Germany* (London, 1954); F., Dyra, *Let’s Travel in West Germany* (1968) and L.K Engel., *Vacation Guide: West Germany* (1963).

⁴⁷ E Fodor,., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1953), pp. 253-254

reigns supreme'.⁴⁸ Equally, an article in *Holiday Magazine* in 1954 identified Germany's 'polite, artistic, mature civilisation' as the perfect compliment to America's 'strenuous, self-reliant' character.⁴⁹ The *Handy Guide to West Berlin* decided instead to praise her 'homely atmosphere'⁵⁰ something which the *Nagel Guide* believed was down to their 'alert intellect and an indestructible sense of humour' whatever the political situation.⁵¹ The personification of



Figure 2: Pictures demonstrating the fun and friendly side to the German character. Fodor, *Germany* (1953), p.81

⁴⁸ Collins *Holiday Guide, Germany* (1968), p.7

⁴⁹ Allan Nevins, 'The Meaning of Europe', *Holiday* 15 (January 1954)

⁵⁰ Boehle, B., *Handy Guide to Western Germany: A Reference Book for Travel in the German Federal Republic* (1956), p.78

⁵¹ The Nagel's Travel Guide Series, *Nagel's Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.82

Germany as similar to the allied powers also found expression within travel advertisements: one such advert in the *New York Times* argued that our ‘neighbours across the Atlantic’ were much like ‘neighbours back home’.⁵² However, how was the tourist ever to believe anything had changed? The answer appeared simple: these new characteristics could be seen in ‘the drive and zest’⁵³ which the Germans had restored their country in the face of the Soviet threat. ‘Her achievement [was] no miracle; it is the natural outcome of the industry of the German people’⁵⁴ one guidebook read. If this still wasn’t believable many guidebooks, such as the *Fodor Guide* in figure 2, often supplemented their arguments with the use of pictures which highlighted the characteristics they aimed to portray.

Narratives reconstructing tourist behaviour

Since tourism was used not only as a tool for redefining visions of Germany in line with Cold War imperatives, but as a way of making sense of America’s new found friendship with Germany, travel writers then sought to bring about closer relations by doing the reverse: reconstructing the traditional image of the American citizen. In the 1950s the term ‘Ugly American’ had gained significant currency as a description for the American tourist abroad. These tourists were seen to be rude, arrogant and ‘poorly orientated’.⁵⁵ However, such descriptions clearly stood at odds with the realisation that America took on a new world role during the Cold War. Despite being described in such terms, travel articles continued to make provocative statements suggesting Americans ‘must face their responsibilities in Europe better than they have’ as ‘things... will not just take care of themselves’.⁵⁶ Yet for all its worth, such narratives would have been meaningless if the German people continued to perceive Americans as ugly. In order to reconcile America’s new world role against the overwhelmingly negative interpretations of the tourist abroad, a number of travel writers made direct and explicit statements encouraging Americans abroad to ‘be not just themselves but deliberate, tactful, thoughtful exponents of their nations role as leader of the free world’.⁵⁷ The *Nagel Guide* was particularly outspoken in suggesting that leisurely tourism ‘was now over’ and that ‘it is better to stay at home than to travel without a purpose’. Instead, tourism could ‘play an important part in

⁵² Advertisement, *New York Times* (February 5th 1950)

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.v

⁵⁵ For popular depictions of the ‘ugly American’ see, WJ Lederer and E. Burdick, *The Ugly American* (New York, 1958); E Fodor,., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), pp. 50-58 and ‘The U.S. Student Abroad’, *Newsweek* 54 (21st December 1959).

⁵⁶ James Marshall, ‘The Europe We Are Fleeing From’, *Saturday Review* 16 (16th February 1946)

⁵⁷ Robert Coughlan, ‘How We Appear to Others’, *Life*, 43 (23rd December 1957), pp.150-155

dispelling the mistrust and enmity now afflicting mankind'.⁵⁸ Even in 1983 guidebooks still asked tourists 'to keep in mind... that you are representatives of your country' and 'by talking to your hosts you allow them to understand Americans a little better, and perhaps help to debunk the legend of the Ugly American.'⁵⁹

However, a more successful tactic in bringing about a reversal of this myth was the incorporation Cold War-inspired pleas for good behaviour within the genre of travel advice writing. Undoubtedly, the most influential work interweaving these two narratives was the *Fodor Guide*, which offered extensive and stern advice on how to behave: 'If you are addressing someone 238 times in the course of an evening, give him his full title 238 times'. More forcefully the guide told its readers to 'be decent, well-meaning and clean' and 'always be well-dressed, whether you are a millionaire or a beggar'. Indeed impressions appeared crucial. Although the tourist needed to 'explain the obvious and explain it with a dogmatic air' they had to be 'highly cultured and well educated at the same time'. If this was not enough to remember, tourists were told to 'quote Greek authors' and to 'be paternal to everybody'.⁶⁰ Although perhaps not quite as cogent, many other guides were to echo this advice with statements such as 'cleanliness and good presentation are important at all times'⁶¹ becoming commonplace.⁶²

The affinity between travel advice writing and narratives constructing good behaviour went further than simple encouragement and actually incorporated two instances where this behaviour could be implemented. The first of these was an interesting discourse which developed around the practise of tipping. Whilst in the Soviet Union tipping was deemed impertinent, travel guides for Germany vehemently advocated tipping over and above what is normally expected. One guidebook suggested tips of up to 20% should be offered and smaller tips were only acceptable 'if offered with a word of thanks or commemoration'.⁶³ Likewise, the TWA brochure casually invited the reader to 'leave him an extra 5%' on top of the normal tip.⁶⁴ Similar sentiments were also shared in a number of other guidebooks.⁶⁵ Since tipping was criticised within socialist countries, this discourse was particularly revealing of the incorporation of Cold War politics into

⁵⁸ The Nagel's Travel Guide Series, *Nagel's Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.v

⁵⁹ *Lets Go Europe* (1983), p.74

⁶⁰ E Fodor,., *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), p. 51

⁶¹ Collins Holiday Guide, *Germany* (1968), p.7

⁶² Trans World Airlines, *Travel Tips for Germany* (1963), pp. 49-50

⁶³ E., Samson, *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954), p.45

⁶⁴ See, for instance, Trans World Airlines, *Travel Tips for Germany* (1963), p.15

⁶⁵ See Temple Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1956), p.99; A Collins Travel Guide, *Welcome to Germany* (1980), p.18; A Collins Travel Guide, *Welcome to Germany* (1980), p.32 and E Fodor, *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1956), p. 13

travel narratives and demonstrates that travel writers were acutely aware of the Cold War context in which they were writing. The second means through which good behaviour could be practised was through the use of the German language which was likely to be met ‘in a surprising degree of cooperation and kindness, sometimes almost overwhelming, from those whose assistance is sought’.⁶⁶ Accordingly, as it appeared attempts to use the vernacular would improve relations, tourists were told that if they had ‘knowledge of German’ they should ‘not be shy about using it’.⁶⁷ More than this, an analysis of the vocabulary used by travel guides and the phrases they were willing to translate, reveals how much emphasis was given to polite and formal phrases which were likely to be well received. Indeed, one of the first phrases translated by the *U.G.O Series* was ‘*Hier ist ein Trinkgeld*’: here is your tip.⁶⁸

Whilst it was travel writers who seized the initiative in refashioning views towards Americans, their narratives also found widespread political support. Its most famous and most visible exponent was President Eisenhower who asked each travelling American to ‘portray America as he believes it to be: a peace loving nation living in the fear of God but in the fear of God only’.⁶⁹ In a separate speech, Eisenhower mirrored the numerous statements found within guidebooks which read: ‘we need these friends abroad, just as they need us’.⁷⁰ Even more revealing, as the *New York Times* documented, Eisenhower attached a note to every new passport which ‘called the attention of every person to whom a passport is issued to his role as a goodwill envoy of the United States’⁷¹. Coupled with this, any subversives who intended to travel with ulterior purposes were banned from doing so between 1951 and 1964.⁷² Yet despite preventing the travel of those who would work against America’s Cold War ambitions, both the American government as well as travel industry leaders, tried to encourage mass low cost air travel to Europe. This would not only allow tourism to shape the opinions of a much wider audience, but it was also deemed crucial in projecting the view of a mixed and friendly population as an alternative to the ugly American.⁷³

⁶⁶ E., Samson, *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954), p.9

⁶⁷ Trans World Airlines, *Travel Tips for Germany* (1963), p.13

⁶⁸ The U.G.O Series, *How to get ALL YOU WANT when travelling IN GERMANY* (1952), p.8

⁶⁹ D. Eisenhower, *U.S. Dependence on Foreign Trade Speech* (26th October 1953) in <www.eisenhowermemorial.org>

⁷⁰ D. Eisenhower, *Address in New Orleans at the Ceremony Marking the 150th Anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase* (October 7, 1953), in <www.eisenhowermemorial.org>

⁷¹ New York Times, ‘*Every Tourist an Envoy*’, (July 27th 1957)

⁷² Cited in Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, p.116

⁷³ For the views and proposals of the government and tourist industry see Endy, *Cold War Holidays*. For the implementation and discourses regarding low cost travel see Trans World Airlines, *Travel Tips for Germany*

Overall a discourse which advocated friendly relations with Germany appeared to have significant political implications in aiding the creation democratic German ally in the Cold War period. This, in turn, was vital in the subversion of communist expansion across Europe. For individual travel writers, producing works which drew upon this discourse was a way of both contributing to these conflicts and, at the same time, expressing their identity as an American who has come to terms with their new world role in defeating communism. By juxtaposing their own language with that of the Cold War in the same document, travel writers were both testimony to the strength of the Cold War's ideological messages and products of these messages. But these narratives were not so much pleas from the tourist industries as much as they were a platform on which Cold War conflicts could be staged. Having redefined relations with Germany for Cold War purposes, travel writers once again – and as we shall now see – not only used the Cold War to understand the world around them, they also used tourism to contribute to Cold War cultural and psychological conflicts.

Chapter 2: Discourses contributing to psychological Cold War conflict

After the initial years of the Cold War where guidebooks and travel narratives proved the importance of closer ties with the new Germany, a second discourse emerged in travel literature which, whilst overlapping with the first discourse, aimed to shape opinion at home and subvert the expansion of socialism abroad. In these years it was perhaps more apparent than ever that both America and the Soviet Union were engaged in conflict and that this conflict – due to the likelihood of mutually assured destruction - could not be fought through the use of nuclear weapons. Thus a psychological Cold War ensued in which various segments of society contributed to – and were appropriated by – the Cold War. Even a cursory glance at the travel literature from this period reveals that tourism was not immune from these developments. This chapter will look at travel literature in this period as texts in their own right rather than as sources for the events of the Cold War. It will argue that this discourse not only reveals the struggles individuals, companies and tourists had in interpreting the Cold War, but demonstrates the intrusive and infiltrating capabilities of the conflict in helping them to understand and internalise the post-war world. More than this it will be suggested that the incorporation of Cold War discourses in travel literature helped win over the hearts and minds of the millions of foreign tourists who travelled to Germany every year. Thus, I will argue that travel writing both made sense of the Cold War world and contributed, at least in some degree, to America's ultimate success.

The arguments identified here are applicable in two instances. The first was with a number of authors who made a number of explicit and direct statements in an attempt to influence tourists. The journalist Ian Walker, who spent many Cold War years in Germany, was particularly candid in suggesting that 'too much movement twixt the systems might dampen people's enthusiasm for threatening strangers with bombs. Demonologies flourish best in the dark'.⁷⁴ However, statements such as this would have been particularly alienating to the tourist who purchases a guidebook for information on leisurely pursuits – and so ostensibly damaging to the success of the book - they were also very rare. Rather than offering such bold statements then, these arguments are particularly pertinent in a second instance where travel writers aimed to make the Cold War accessible and relevant to the large body of tourists who travelled to Germany. This was achieved in two ways: firstly by using potentially emotive and influential language - often

⁷⁴ I. Walker, *Zoo Station* (2007), p.1

containing hidden meanings - and secondly by situating traditional tourist activities and concerns within the context of the Cold War, rendering it less alien, making easier to comprehend and casting the ordinary tourist as a front line soldier in the Cold War's cultural conflict. It is with these two techniques we shall now turn.

Structures, language and visual imagery

Although the presentation of guidebooks during our period changed frequently with technological advancement, most remained homogenous in terms of structure. Almost all guidebooks would start with an introductory section which often covered 'the basics': what travellers needed to pack, a brief historical overview and information on how to get to Germany. Following this, guidebooks then offered a detailed analysis of the various areas within Germany or within a city. Yet it was within this structure that Cold War psychology was interweaved. In almost every case, guidebooks devoted many more pages to describe West Germany than they did for East Germany. A *Let's Go* guide to Europe, for instance, provided 40 pages on West Germany and only 8 pages on East Germany and the 1964 version of the *Fodor Guide* devoted over 20 pages to West Berlin and less than 1 to East Berlin, revealing of the relative significance travel writers attached to the two systems.⁷⁵ Some guidebooks, such as *Baedeker's Germany*, were to go even further than this. Rather than simply providing the GDR with less space, it was West Germany which was seen to be synonymous with Germany.⁷⁶ Where the uses of these two terms became interchangeable in travel literature, the east found itself increasingly excluded and rendered insignificant. In those instances where the G.D.R was given its own section, nonetheless, it was always found itself strategically placed after the chapter on West Germany. Although this was in part due to geographical considerations, as guidebooks tended to place the most important information at the beginning, this is surely symbolic of the extent to which the Cold War influenced their narratives. Finally, as guidebooks were presented in attractive covers with catchy subtitles and interesting pictures, the tourist would not feel that they had picked up a piece of political propaganda making them, theoretically, highly susceptible to the messages offered within the guides.

Despite the clever use of structure, perhaps the most significant way to incorporate hidden Cold War messages was through the use of language. Many travel narratives actually juxtaposed their

⁷⁵ See *Let's Go Europe* (1970) and Fodor, E., *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1964)

⁷⁶ *Baedekers Germany*, (1981). Other examples included A Collins Travel Guide, *Welcome to Germany* (1980) and Nancy Tingey, *Letts Guide to Germany* (1980).

own language with that of the Cold War in the same text. A common theme was the use of Cold War phrases such as ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘dignity’, ‘liberty’, ‘powerful’, ‘free government’, ‘civilised world’, ‘free world’, ‘island outpost of democracy’, ‘freedom’s bastion behind the iron curtain’ and ‘independent’ to describe the west and ‘subjugation’, ‘tyranny’, ‘iron curtain’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘exploit’, ‘dominate’, ‘oppressive’, ‘separating families’ and ‘the other side’ to describe the east.⁷⁷ Where the east and west met in Berlin these two groups of phrases often converged: ‘where freedom and tyranny meet face to face’ suggested the *Fodor Guide*.⁷⁸ The use of these terms was particularly revealing since these descriptions had been common among American foreign policy experts. In his infamous ‘*Ich bin ein Berliner*’ speech, President Kennedy’s rhetoric appears to mirror that used in travel guides:

‘Communist system ...[is] not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families ... and dividing a people who wish to be joined together... You live in a defended island of freedom... lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.’⁷⁹

This symbolic use of well-known Cold War phrases and expressing tourism in a political language is, therefore, not only key in suggesting travel writers deliberately brought out tourism’s overlap with overarching political imperatives, but that, significantly, they used the Cold War to understand the world around them which, in turn, was inextricably linked to the values and ideological messages propagated by foreign policy experts.

Nevertheless, rather than simply adopting Cold War rhetoric, travel writers also used a number of metaphorical comparisons to win the hearts and minds of their readers. The first way this was achieved was through the use of metaphors of ‘light’ and ‘dark’ which were symbolic of a fight between good and evil. The 1964 edition of the *Fodor Guide* described Berlin as ‘an island in the midst of a vast ocean’ where ‘freedom’s flame burns with a more intense light’.⁸⁰ The brightness of the west contrasted sharply, however, with a number of descriptions of the east,

⁷⁷ See Collins Holiday Guide, *Germany* (1968); A Collins Travel Guide, *Welcome to Germany* (1980); Holland, J., Gawthrop, J., *Berlin: The Rough Guide* (1990); Baedeker, K., *Baedekers Berlin* (1987); Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1956); Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967); E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964); *Frommer’s Dollar Wise Guide to Germany* (1972); Nancy Tingey, *Letts Guide To Germany* (1980); Samson, E., *Everybody’s pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954); *Lets Go Europe* (1970); The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956)

⁷⁸ E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), (p.395)

⁷⁹ President Kennedy ‘*Ich bin ein Berliner*’ speech, 26th June 1963, accessed at <<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/berliner.htm>> 26/2/10

⁸⁰ E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), p.379

which was often depicted as ‘the dark morass that is Soviet Russia’.⁸¹ Accordingly, it became common for many travel writers to refer to the west, without hesitation, as ‘the brighter side’.⁸² Revealingly, as these metaphors commonly equated to good vs. evil, their use demonstrates the extent to which travel writers aimed to contribute towards Cold War conflicts. Second, this contribution can also be seen where writers used the metaphor of strong vs. weak. Unlike East Germany which was described as weak and fragile, the *Everyday Pocket Guide* perceived West Germany to ‘bear no traces of war damage’ and to present ‘a spectacular example of the survival of a nation’.⁸³ Others characterised the west as ‘powerful’, ‘stubborn’ and ‘resistant’ which lay in paradox to their descriptions of the ‘sad looking’ ‘unsmiling people’ in the east.⁸⁴ Whilst these analogies to ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ were in part borne out of a desire to contribute to overarching conflicts, they also ran parallel to the cultural interpretations of the Cold War, which invariably placed the strengths of democracy against the weaknesses of communism. Last but not least, emotional and descriptive language was deployed to paint a vivid picture of the state of Germany. The Federal Republic was constantly described as beautiful, picturesque and interesting and tourist experiences were constructed around these expectations. Even Kruezberg in West Berlin – an area famed for its immigrants, squatters and students – was described, due to its proximity to the Berlin Wall, as Berlins ‘happening’ and ‘liveliest neighbourhood’⁸⁵ and ‘the city’s most exciting strip’.⁸⁶ The G.D.R, by contrast, was dealt with either in one of two ways. On the one hand it was described negatively: ‘massive modern skyscrapers and elaborate fountains line the edges of vast, barren concrete expanses, creating an unsettling effect’ was one guidebooks description of East Berlin.⁸⁷ On the other hand, where negative connotations were not used, it was often the case that descriptive words were simply left out, which was suggestive of the common perception that the G.D.R had no character.⁸⁸ Ultimately, by adopting these linguistic devices travel writers assumed a dialectical relationship with the Cold War: not only were their narratives the product of the Cold War, but their narratives - through consciously and subconsciously influencing the millions of tourists who travelled to Germany each year in the Cold War period - contributed to the wars overarching conflicts.

⁸¹ Fielding, Temple, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967), p.342

⁸² *The Rough Guide to West Berlin* (1989), p.631

⁸³ Samson, E., *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954), p.41

⁸⁴ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.295

⁸⁵ *The Rough Guide to West Berlin* (1990) (page)

⁸⁶ *The Rough Guide to West Germany* (1989), p.649

⁸⁷ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.295

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

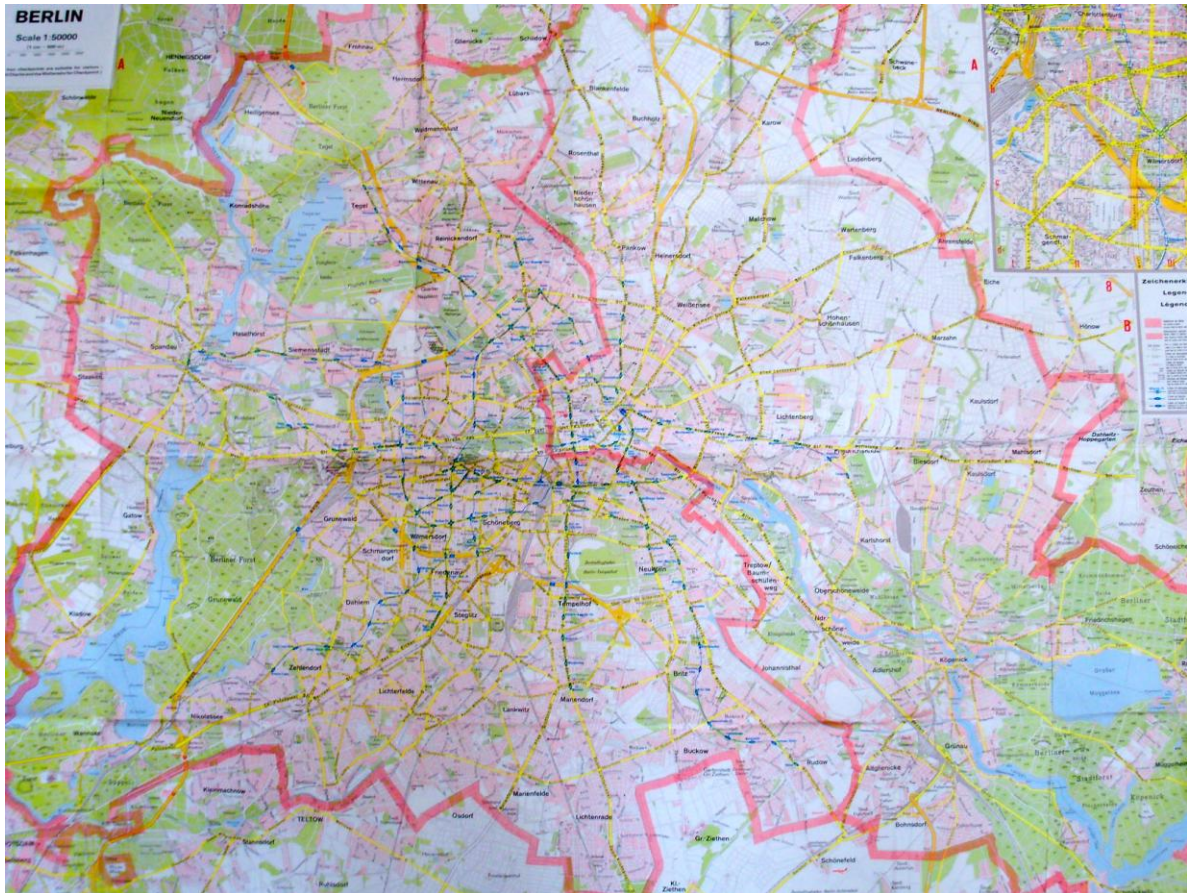


Figure 3: Map of Berlin in, Baedeker, K., *Baedekers Berlin* (1987)

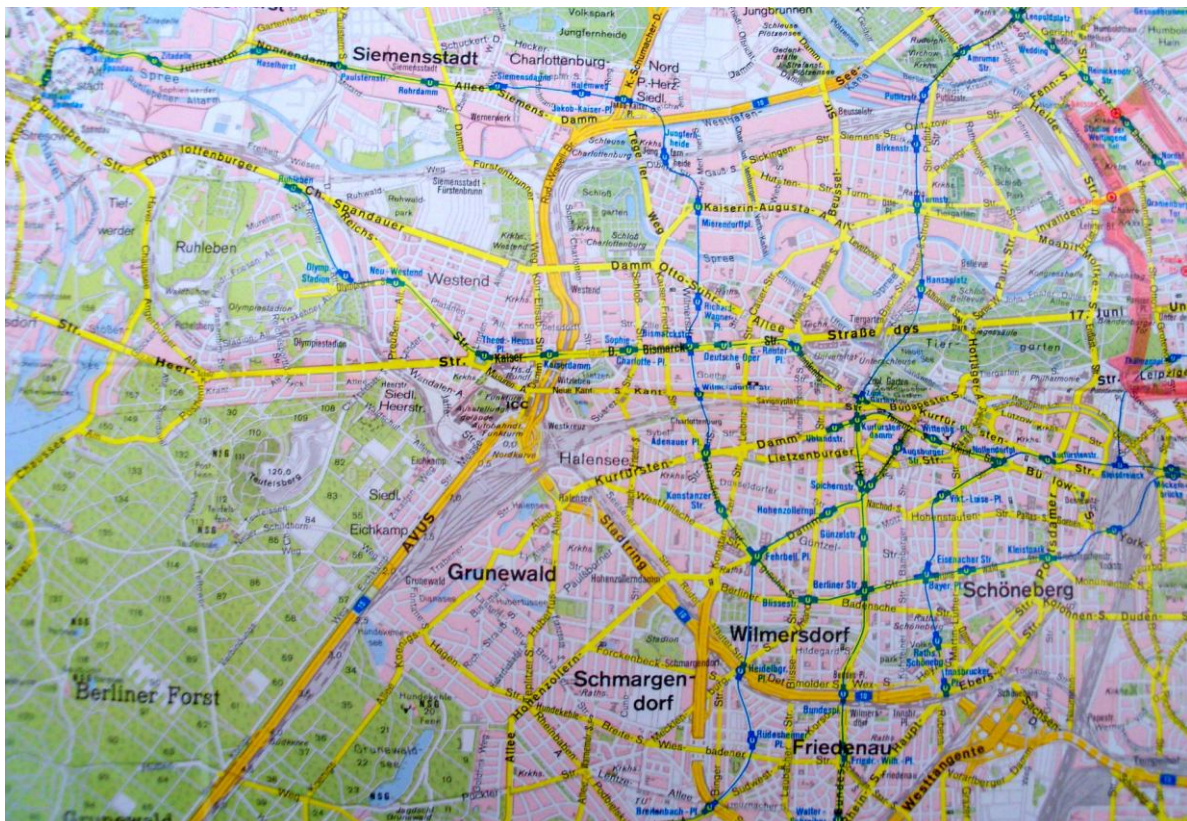


Figure 4: Detail of West Berlin, Baedeker, K., *Baedekers Berlin* (1987)

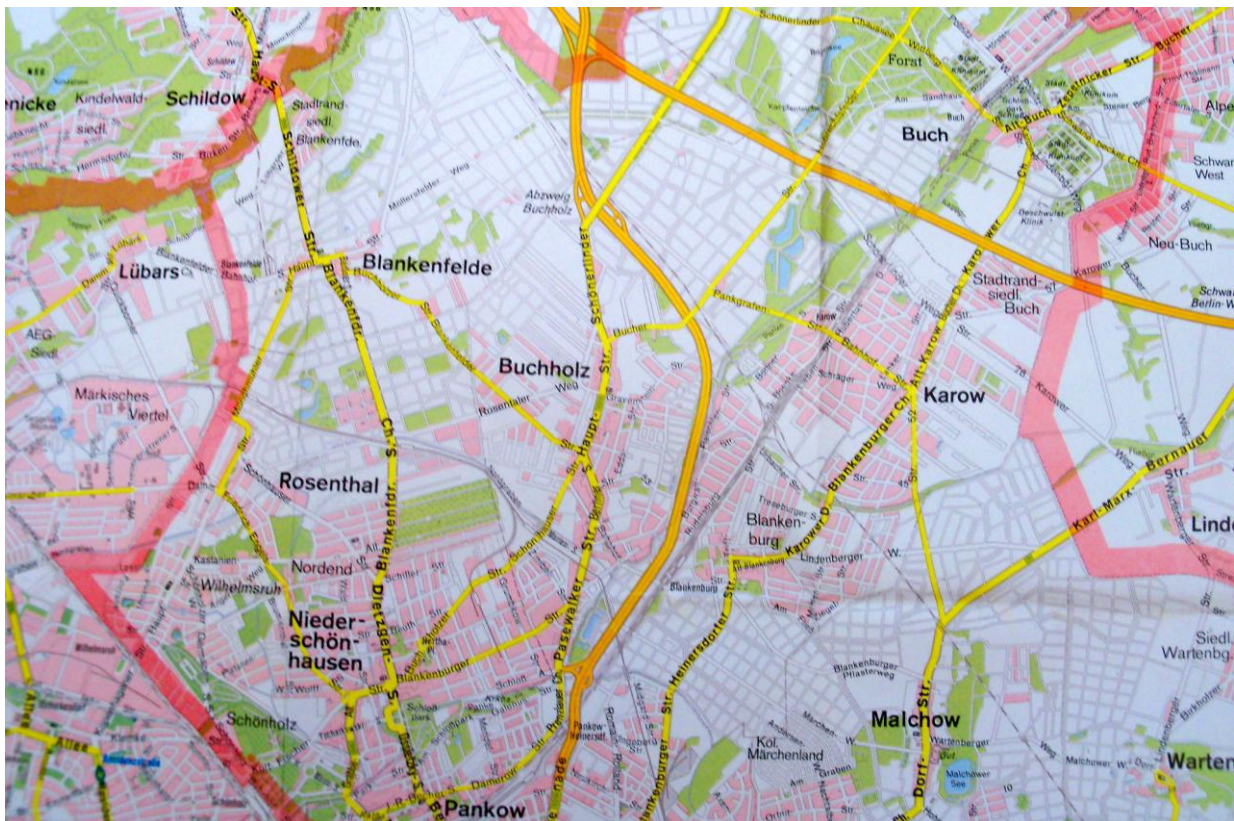


Figure 5: Detail of East Berlin, Baedeker, K., *Baedekers Berlin* (1987)

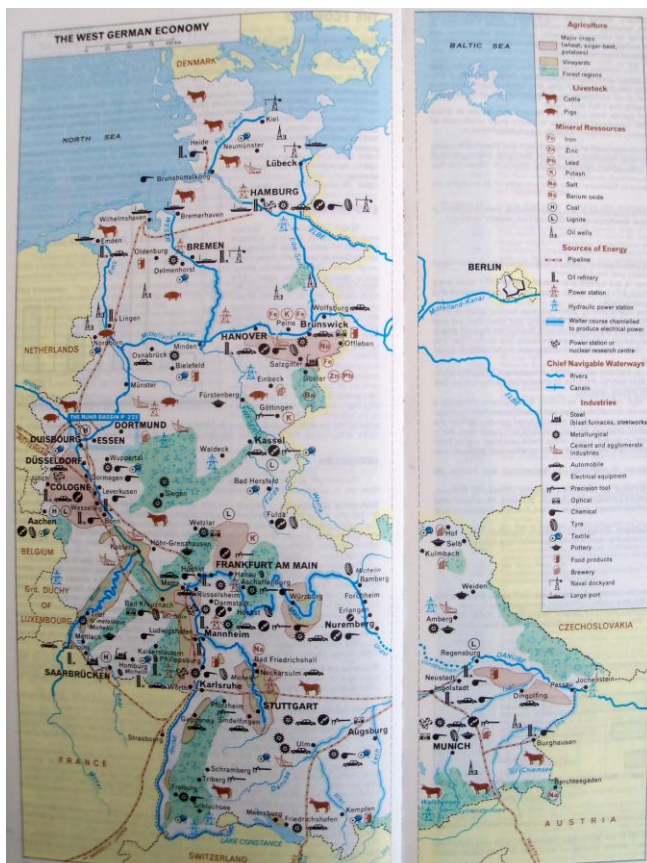


Figure 6: Map of Germany, cited in, *Michelin Green Guide, Germany: West Germany and Berlin* (1978)



Figure 7: Map of Germany, cited in, *Michelin Green Guide, Germany: West Germany and Berlin* (1978)



Figure 8: Map of Germany, cited in, *A Collins Travel Guide, Welcome to Germany* (1980), Back cover.

Just as language was crucial in shaping opinion, the same can be said of visual imagery. Here we can use maps to provide a representative example of how visual imagery was manipulated and deployed. Although visual images could not be utilised and constructed with the same vigour experienced by language, this does not mean they were immune from the Cold Wars psychological conflicts. The most obvious way maps contributed to these was through the simple depiction of East Germany as less important and significant than West Germany. As figures 3 to 5 illustrate, unlike West Berlin which was shown to be packed full of attractions and important buildings, East Berlin was shown as a much more sparse area where there was a distinct lack of anything noteworthy. More than this, the empty white spaces - whilst undoubtedly bearing resemblance to the appearance of East Berlin - were perhaps exaggerated to suggest a lack of life in or even an emptiness which many associated with communist culture.⁸⁹ Far from providing the tourist with extensive information about East Germany, these empty spaces shown in figures 6 to 8 were perhaps suggestive of the fact that the horrors which stood behind the iron curtain, like communism more generally, was a sort of unknown entity: something alien to modern civilisation. By portraying Germany in this way, these maps were also keen to influence the tourist not to travel to the east, preventing any possible means through which the tourist could become influenced by communism ideology. The use of structures, language and visual images was, therefore, not only a crucial means through which tourism could help shape opinion at home and subvert socialism abroad, but a dominant means through which travel writers demonstrated the extent to which the Cold War had infiltrated their consciousness.

Making sense of the Cold War

However, despite incorporating Cold War concerns into their narratives many tourists may have perceived these discourses to have been trivial and irrelevant, especially if they travelled purely for leisure purposes. How, therefore, were tourists ever to make sense of the Cold War? Rather than the simple use of language, a discourse emerged which constructed the tourist experience around Cold War imperatives. This made the Cold War both relevant and applicable even for

⁸⁹ See for instance See especially W. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945 – 1961*, (1997); L. Schwartz, *Political Warfare Against the Kremlin: US and British Propaganda Policy at the Beginning of the Cold War*, (May 2009); G. Scott-Smith and H. Krabbendam, (Ed.), *The cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, (London, 2003); T. Shaw, 'The politics of Cold War culture', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol.3 (2001); S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and D. Shlapentokh and V. Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography, 1918-1991: Ideological Conflict and Social Reality*, (New York, 1993).

these leisure tourists and helped, consciously and subconsciously, to shape their political opinions. Although there has never been one ubiquitous tourist experience, tourists do share a number of similar experiences: visiting sites, purchasing goods and encountering local culture. Sites were a particularly good way of making the Cold War relevant to travellers. Many guidebooks advocated travel to places which had particular historical significance for western democracy. Both the *Fodor* and *Nagel* Guides encouraged visits to the Rathaus Tower in Berlin where the Freedom Bell was held and which ‘exhorts Berliners to be of stout heart in their resistance to tyranny’.⁹⁰ Also in this tower was a document ‘announcing the inviolability of human freedom and dignity, signed by 17 million Americans’.⁹¹ Other guidebooks encouraged visits to buildings and viewing points where tourists could get a glimpse of ‘the other side’⁹² and those who considered travelling to the east were discouraged by statements such as ‘it is a depressing place where the ultimate sacrifice of brave men is turned into political advantage’.⁹³ Having discussed the relative merits of sites in both the west and east, travel writers were keen to offer a warning to those determined to travel to East Germany not to be influenced by communist propaganda: for instance, one guidebook argued that ‘the whole area [of East Berlin] seems an elaborate exhibit carefully planned to impress both the western and numerous Russian visitors’.⁹⁴

The critique against the tourist experience in East Germany did not stop with tourist attractions, but was further reinforced by travel practicalities and German hospitality. For many travel writers, the cultural assumption that communist economies were characterised by poor service was demonstrated, perhaps more explicitly than anywhere else, within the tourist industry. Tourists were presented with numerous barriers to entering East Germany including convoluted entry requirements, ‘several accompanying papers’ - which were deemed particularly time consuming - and the confusing nature of the ‘minimum daily exchange’ of currency.⁹⁵ Yet even those who managed to enter East Germany were unlikely to experience any better quality of service. Many travel writers referred to the problems of finding accommodation. For those lucky enough to find a room, hotels were often described as having poor service, ‘rude officials’ and

⁹⁰ The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.83 and Fodor, E., *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), p.395

⁹¹ The Nagel’s Travel Guide Series, *Nagel’s Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.83

⁹² Michelin Green Guide, *Germany: West Germany and Berlin* (1978), p.9 and *The Rough Guide to Berlin* (1989), p.646. The Rough Guide also suggested that the glimpse of the other side might provoke some emotion as it even brought Margaret Thatcher to tears.

⁹³ E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), p.400

⁹⁴ *Let’s Go Europe* (1983), p.295

⁹⁵ *Let’s Go Europe* (1970), p.24

dirty rooms.⁹⁶ However, whilst travel writers were not shy about criticising tourism to East Germany, no word was uttered about the problems and barriers to travel in West Germany. Instead the west was to be ‘easily reached’⁹⁷, its tourist industries were ‘well organised’⁹⁸ and ‘there are always good rooms available at six marks’.⁹⁹ Perhaps most revealing, nonetheless, were the various statements which lauded the modern and clean West German hotels: ‘plumbing and sanitary arrangements in all establishments which cater for tourists throughout Western Germany leave little to be desired’ read one guidebook.¹⁰⁰ Since East German Hotels had been described as unclean, the tourist experience was thus framed around the notion that individual tourists could get a first hand glimpse of the difference between dirty communism and clean democracy.

Perceived to be at the heart of the tourist experience of Germany, nevertheless, was the ability to absorb the culture of this country and authors were keen to present this culture in terms of Cold War conflict. On the one hand the culture of Western Germany was referred to in many of the same ways that West Germany was before. Travel here was described as ‘easy and comfortable’¹⁰¹, it was shown to have a ‘healthy economy’¹⁰², it was seen to have been a ‘fascinating’ country where ‘history is being made’¹⁰³ and its citizens, who tourists would encounter, were personified as having ‘the most outstanding characteristics’.¹⁰⁴ Overall it was depicted, as one guidebook candidly read, as ‘a model modern society’.¹⁰⁵ Unlike the west, the tourist encounters of the culture of East Germany were understood to be overwhelmingly negative. This was the case for the ‘food queues which were fifteen yards long’¹⁰⁶, the ‘rude officials, the death of Anglophones, incredible red-tape and slow trains’¹⁰⁷, the ‘drab lifestyles, food queues and numbing militarism’¹⁰⁸ and the more general ‘oppressive atmosphere.’¹⁰⁹ These descriptions not only reflected the political situation in Germany, they also presented the existence of communism as familiar, inclusive and relevant to the foreign tourist. The latter of

⁹⁶ See I., Walker, *Zoo Station* (2007) and *Lets Go Europe* (1983), p.284

⁹⁷ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.284

⁹⁸ E., Samson, *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954), p.6

⁹⁹ E., *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1953), p.24

¹⁰⁰ E., Samson, *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954), p.46

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.9

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p.41

¹⁰³ Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967), p.369

¹⁰⁴ The Nagel's Travel Guide Series, *Nagel's Germany* (Geneva, 1956), p.82

¹⁰⁵ *The Rough Guide to West Berlin* (1989), p.viii

¹⁰⁶ I., Walker, *Zoo Station* (2007), p.8

¹⁰⁷ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.284

¹⁰⁸ *The Rough Guide to Germany* (1990), p.1

¹⁰⁹ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.295

these points was reinforced by a narrative which constructed the culture of communism as something to fear. The lack of freedom in East Germany, something alien to tourists from the west, was exhorted in most guidebooks. ‘Illegal for citizens to even talk to western journalists’¹¹⁰ read one guide, and another argued that the government ‘wants to keep you isolated from the people as much as possible’.¹¹¹ Whilst this lack of freedom would have provided an undoubted shock for the western tourist, it was made particularly relevant through its comparison to the draconian and oppressive nature of the Stasi which undoubtedly was a source of many fears for western tourists. As Fielding wrote ‘photographs can only be taken in two specific locations only. If you snap a picture of anything else you might find yourself sweating out the answers to the Soviet Secret Police.’¹¹² The culture of fear was further enforced when travel in East Germany was portrayed as a threat to the life of the tourist. The *Fodor Guide* identified a ‘real and constant danger in the east’ and tourists to this country were undoubtedly threatened by the ‘clear presence of this menace’.¹¹³ Implicit in their culture was a desire to ‘exploit and dominate’ which was demonstrated by the ‘beatings and kidnappings by communist raiding parties’ which were ‘a routine occurrence along the border’.¹¹⁴ Even the *Rough Guide* in 1989 was still warning tourists to be aware of the east’s ‘anarchist violence’¹¹⁵ and another guidebook advised tourists to ‘watch out for the skinheads’ who were ‘likely to have a go at you’.¹¹⁶ It was this climate of fear and it was because of statements such as this, that guidebooks suggested the culture of East Germany was dominated by ‘unsmiling people [who] speak in low voices and avert their gazes from those of the ubiquitous Volkspolizei’.¹¹⁷

Overall, therefore, the Cold War was not only used by travel writers to make sense of the world around them, but the narratives they produced regarding the tourist experience both made sense of the Cold War and made it relevant to the millions of tourists who travelled to Germany in the post-war world. This, in turn, allowed travel narratives to shape the opinions of their readers and contribute to the overarching Cold War conflicts and the west’s ultimate success. Nevertheless, there are limits to the convergence of politics and tourism within this discourse. Most notably, although some guides such as the *Fodor Guide* were highly politicised others, such as the

¹¹⁰ Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967) (Page)

¹¹¹ *Lets Go Europe* (1970), p.294

¹¹² Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967), p.373

¹¹³ E., Fodor, *Fodor’s Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), p.36

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ *The Rough Guide to West Berlin* (1989), p.ix

¹¹⁶ *The Rough Guide to Germany* (1990), p.126

¹¹⁷ *Let’s Go Europe* (1983), p.295. The idea of ‘unsmiling’ people was also elaborated on elsewhere, see *The Rough Guide to West Germany* (1989), p.647.

Baedeker were markedly less so. Yet since the *Baedeker* was a German publication written in the English language, it is perhaps unsurprising that they would have been less in tune with America's Cold War imperatives than the guidebooks published either in America or by English Language authors. Further to this, owing to the inherent difficulty in assessing the effectiveness of discourse, we can only speculate when it comes to measuring the precise impact of these narratives on public and tourist opinion during the Cold War. What is beyond doubt, nevertheless, is the central role tourism played in helping many people, including both travel writers and individual tourists, to internalise the Cold War and its cultural and psychological conflicts through terms predetermined by the values and ideological messages propagated by foreign policy experts. However, although this discourse acted to win over the hearts and minds of the millions of foreign tourists who travelled to Germany, travel writers, as we shall now see, also aimed to make a more visible and tangible contribution.

Chapter 3: Discourses creating an economically strong Germany

In the face of potential communist expansion across Europe, the discourses of psychological conflict and friendly relations were soon joined by a third discourse which was dependent upon and re-enforcing of the other two narratives. This discourse built upon fears of economic failure, totalitarian regimes and World War which were all legacies of the interwar period. Although the economic devastation of Germany during the war, her ruined cities, the loss of millions of citizens and the presence of a communist enemy across the border only heightened these fears, they also facilitated the emergence of a discourse which, whilst present throughout the post-war period, aimed to create a economically strong Germany which would not only work alongside the first discourse to help reabsorb her into the western community of nations, but would also allow Germany to stand as a bulwark to communist expansion across western Europe. Yet an economically strong Western Germany could also serve ideological functions as well. Rather than the technological and economic backwardness which many believed characterised communist societies, if Germany would undergo a capitalist economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*) and experience significant growth and development, this would also serve the interests of the psychological Cold War advocated in the previous chapter.¹¹⁸

However, whilst travel writers, like numerous other allied commentators, were acutely aware of the dangers of communist expansion, is it really possible that they had an impact upon the improving economic fortunes of West Germany and the backwardness of East Germany? In this chapter I will argue that tourism directly contributed to these economic inequalities in two key ways. Firstly, by drawing upon Marshall Plan imperatives, travel writers encouraged American tourist spending in West Germany as both a crucial means through which American dollars could be transferred and, consequently, the dominant means through which the *Wirtschaftswunder* could be achieved. Secondly, having helped West Germany develop into a strong defence against Soviet expansion, travel writers then encouraged intra-European travel to not only help establish Germany as the centre of a powerful European Economic Community, but help remove barriers and cement bonds within this community. Ultimately, however, it will be shown that whilst tourism was again a vital forum for the pursuit of these Cold War objectives, the Cold War also

¹¹⁸ Perhaps the most famous exponent of this view is Ronald Reagan. See his 'Tear This Wall Down' speech in Berlin in 1987, available online at < <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/reagan-tear-down.htm> >

constructed the ways in which travel writers approached, understood and talked about the world around them.

Tourist spending and Economic rebirth

The discourses which were determined to aid the creation of an economically strong Germany were not the result of a perceptive few travel writers who understood the severity of the situation in Europe. Rather this discourse emerged out of the criticisms which were levied against the Marshall Plan – a government scheme which aimed to finance the rebuilding and creation of an economically strong Europe. Believing it would lead both to higher taxation and inflation as well as the weakening of the free enterprise of western Europe, conservative Republicans within the American government condemned this plan. Yet just as it had been appropriated for various other Cold War ends, tourism was seen to provide a solution to this dilemma. One pamphlet representative of the views held among government and business leaders argued that ‘tourism was ...the quickest way to help foreign countries earn American dollars’.¹¹⁹ Others argued within the media that ‘we might as well soak up a little old world culture for our dollars’¹²⁰ and the guidebook writer Horace Sutton praised the plan as a ‘painless intravenous feeding’ of western Europe.¹²¹ Theoretically, therefore, the premise was simple: tourism would not only allow Europe to receive American dollars which would help them develop strong economies in the face of communism but, significantly, it would allow Americans to receive something in return. Consequently, the Marshall Plan established a Tourist Development Section (TDS) which directly promoted American tourist spending within Europe.

The notion that tourism could contribute to the economic strength of the west was both mirrored and reinforced by travel writers. Numerous pages in travel guides became devoted to lauding the various shopping opportunities, ‘bright lights and rampant consumerism’¹²² available within West Germany. The TWA guide praised West Germany for filling ‘its shops with almost every type of commodity to be found anywhere’ including ‘many new items that won’t be exported until next year’ and the cheap prices offered.¹²³ Not only could tourists acquire status through their acquisition of new items, but the ‘cheapness’ of goods was elaborated on elsewhere. ‘There are bargains galore’ read one guide, and prices were ‘20% to 30% lower than what you would

¹¹⁹ Cited in Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, p.42

¹²⁰ Indianapolis Star, cited in Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, p.33

¹²¹ Horace Sutton, ‘Tourist Dollars for ERP’, *Nation* (14 February, 1948)

¹²² *The Rough Guide to West Germany* (1989), p.631

¹²³ Trans World Airlines, *Travel Tips for Germany* (1963), pp. 30-31

pay for the same items stateside'.¹²⁴ Perhaps most significantly, Germany was portrayed as the only place where certain local speciality goods could be obtained. Cameras, Meissen china, leathers and ornate handicrafts were among the goods singled out for special recognition.¹²⁵ Whilst acting as a status symbol for tourists upon their return, the purchase of these goods undoubtedly contributed to the success of West Germany's economic rebirth.

Following their praise of the shopping opportunities available within West Germany, most travel writers then moved on to a comparison of consumption opportunities available within East Germany. Most of these comparisons centred upon the quality of products on offer in both countries. Temple Fielding, for instance, wrote that Excursionists are firmly advised not to make any purchases in Eastern Germany' due to 'high prices' and 'mostly shoddy and inferior quality',¹²⁶ a statement which contrasted sharply with the numerous paragraphs which revered the 'sturdy construction and incredible attention to detail',¹²⁷ of the goods produced in West Germany. Others compared the Kurfurstendam – West Berlin's primary shopping street – to shopping areas available within East Berlin. Nan Robertson argued that the 'Kurfurstendam, often called the Fifth Avenue of the Allied Sectors' was a 'sparkling contrast to drab East Berlin'.¹²⁸ Even the West Berlin travel office was to compare its 'boulevard of desire' with East Berlin's Friederichstrasse which was said to 'look as if it lies in Asia'.¹²⁹ Not only were such comparisons symbolic of the psychological nature of the conflict, but they also prevented capitalist countries from fuelling communist economies. Temple Fielding, as a former U.S intelligence officer, would have been acutely aware of this fact. Yet it is also noteworthy that consumerism, despite being used primarily for economic purposes, also assumed political significance. An analysis of the vocabulary used by travel writers when speaking about tourists' consumption opportunities reveals not only the emphasis they placed upon consumer privilege and choice as characteristics distinguishing themselves from communist societies, but also the extent to which the Cold War set the tone for how travel writers interpreted the world around them. Unlike East Germany where citizens 'had problems getting hold of even the most basic

¹²⁴ E., Fodor, *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), p.84

¹²⁵ Collins Holiday Guide, *Germany* (1968), p.44 and E., Fodor, *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), pp.84-104

¹²⁶ Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967), p.373

¹²⁷ E., Fodor, *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1964), p.98

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.85

¹²⁹ Verkehrsamt der Berlin 1950a cited in Hasso Spode (Ed.), *Goldstrand und Teutonengrill: Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Tourismus in Deutschland 1945 bis 1990* (Berlin, 1996), pp.108-110

necessities'¹³⁰, phrases such as 'endless variety', 'spectacular array', 'choose from a variety', 'appear almost everywhere' and 'offer all kinds' were common descriptions of the consumer choice available in West Germany.¹³¹

These qualitative arguments that travel writers promoted tourist spending in West Germany, and thus economic success, can also be supported quantitatively. During the Marshall Plan years the average American tourist spent \$742 dollars in Europe. Once the government raised duty free tax from \$100 to \$500, three quarters of American tourists brought home more than \$100 dollars in souvenirs. Yet perhaps most significantly, in 1949 American travel in Europe generated \$272 million for Marshall Plan countries, rising to \$370 million in 1950 – a figure well over double the value of the largest category (textiles) of European goods sold to the U.S.¹³² The significance of Germany as a tourist destination for American and British tourists was only to increase in significance in the Cold War period. By 1955 nearly 1 million Americans registered for overnight stays there and in 1970 2.9 million Americans made trips to Europe. Between 1953 and 1963 American expenditure on foreign travel increased by 89% and the \$1.27 billion American tourists spent abroad in 1955 was double that of the governments aid budget.¹³³ In his speech in Berlin in 1987, President Reagan was to recall a sign he came across which read 'The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world'.¹³⁴ Since tourism can be seen to have played a crucial role in bringing American dollars to Europe, so too can it be seen to have not only helped ensure the strength of the free world, but in its discourses which directly spoke against consuming East German goods, the backwardness of the communist countries.

Germany, intra-European travel and the European Community

Germany could not rely on American dollars forever. This became particularly apparent when, in the 1960s and 70s, America faced a dollar shortage and its government tried to cut tourist spending abroad. Clearly not only did the American government need to find a new way of

¹³⁰ *Rough Guide to Berlin* (1990), p.206

¹³¹ see Nan Robertson in E., Fodor, *Fodor's Modern Guide: Germany* (1964); E., Samson, *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954); *The Rough Guide to West Germany* (1989); Temple, Fielding, *Travel Guide to Europe* (New York, 1967); *Lets Go Europe* (1983); Cooper, G., *Your Holiday Guide to Germany* (London, 1954); Dyra, F., *Let's Travel in West Germany* (1968) and Engel L.K., *Vacation Guide: West Germany* (1963).

¹³² Endy, *Cold War Holidays* pp.53-54

¹³³ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, pp.172-175

¹³⁴ Perhaps the most famous exponent of this view is Ronald Reagan. See his 'Tear This Wall Down' speech in Berlin in 1987, available online at < <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/reagan-tear-down.htm> > 18/2/10

maintaining West Germany's economic strength, but travel writers needed to find a new way of talking about and promoting her Cold War economy. Unsurprisingly, however, many still tried to cling to consumption as a key means of creating a strong West Germany. This was undoubtedly inspired by a number of contemporary reactions to these proposals which argued such restrictions would reduce American tourists 'to the status of detainees in a communist state'.¹³⁵ Yet for the majority of travel writers, the new way of talking about Germany's Cold War strength would not be reliant, unlike the previous two discourses, upon the creative abilities of travel writers. Rather travel writers drew upon a fundamental part of American foreign policy which aimed to create a supranational and strong European Community of nations. Secure in the knowledge that the development of this community, with West Germany at its centre, would secure her long term competitive advantage, travel writers sought to facilitate the emergence and development of this community through a discourse which encouraged pan-European and intra-European travel. Whilst this form of travel would have undoubtedly made Europe more fluid and less rigid, it would have also blurred the geographical and psychological barriers and divisions between countries. This, in turn, would make European integration both ostensibly easy and natural.

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Figure 11: Advertisement for student travel program in *Let's Go Europe* (1983)


¹³⁵ Chicago Tribune 1968, cited in Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, p.197

OPEN 5,000 OF THE MOST FRIENDLY, UNIQUE AND INEXPENSIVE DOORS IN THE WORLD Whether you are traveling to Europe or anywhere else in the world, your American Youth Hostel Pass is the best travel investment you can make before you go: rail passes, exciting pre-packaged tours, insurance, expert travel information, advanced hostel bookings worldwide and much more.

To become a member, simply send us your name, address and birthdate and enclose it with the proper membership fee: Under 18, over 59: \$7.00; 18-59: \$14.00; Family Pass (incl. children under 18 years): \$21.00.

Mail this information along with your payment to the address listed below—or call us toll-free for the office nearest you.

For the complete listing of all the hostels in Europe and the Mediterranean enclose an additional \$7.50.



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1332 I Street, NW, Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005
Toll Free (800) 424-9426
or (206) 783-6161




Figure 9:
Advertisement for hostels in *Let's Go Europe* (1983)

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EUROTRAIN IS FOR YOU

- Discount rail fares to more than 2000 destinations
- Stop off where and when you wish en-route
- Travel out from any UK station
- Choose the route to suit you
- Tickets valid for two months
- Choose from 18 super value Eurotrain Explorers:
eg London - Amsterdam - Cologne - Frankfurt - Paris - London
from only **£99.00!**

	o/w from	rtm from		o/w from	rtm from
Berlin	£54.60	£105.00	Cologne	£28.60	£55.00
Paris	£25.70	£49.20	Amsterdam	£21.50	£42.80

*Prices may be subject to change 01 May 1990
For tickets and details contact:
EUROTRAIN, 52 Grosvenor Gardens, London SW1W 0AG
Tel: 071 730 3402, Your local Eurotrain Agent or branch of Campus Travel

Figure 12:
Advertisement for Eurotrain in *Rough Guide to Germany* (1990)

But to encourage intra-European travel during this period was something rather different to advising tourists to travel to Germany. To achieve the former, some guides were relatively candid in their statements. Because West Germany was ‘an important member of the European Economic Community’, one guide argued, it should also serve as a starting point for travel across Europe.¹³⁶ The 1983 *Let's Go* guide took a slightly different angle arguing that ‘Europe is affordable’ and significantly that ‘most first-time travellers are imperialists at heart’.¹³⁷ Statements such as this were, however, few and far between and the casual observer may have failed to recognise the emergence of this discourse at all. Yet travel writers, rather than advocating this discourse in such explicit language, looked at tourism's internal changes to provide a solution. In the late 1970s and 1980s, and parallel to the decline of consumerism as the dominant narrative, the travel industry started to promote inter-rail, Euro-rail and Europabus passes on the one hand, and youth and student travel on the other. These developments were manipulated in a discourse which was to encourage Europeans and Americans to travel between European countries in order to cement bonds and remove barriers to integration. Young people were seen as the ideal group to achieve this not only because they had grown up with the Cold War inspired plea for European integration, but because they generally had the time and motivation to travel between these countries. Consequently, a number of guidebooks such as *Let's Go* and Frommer's *Europe on \$5 a Day* were borne directly out of these developments. As figures 9 to 12 show, guidebooks during this period became littered with advertisements which encouraged both the purchase of these passes, hostel accommodation as well as youth travel.

To provide further incentive guidebooks would often then promote the virtues of European travel. Many suggested that railways in Europe were safe, clean and had friendly staff. It was also noted that the links between Germany and other western European countries were easy to negotiate with short travelling times. Other guidebooks praised the luxury of train travel, with one claiming that even ‘3rd class seats are upholstered’.¹³⁸ The Europabus was also the subject of similar narratives: ‘In modern luxurious motor coaches of the Europabus international road services link West Germany with all other European countries’ one guide claimed.¹³⁹ Travel from West Germany would not only allow the tourist to experience the Cold War conflicts previously mentioned, but it would also allow them to see the other ‘glorious’ cities of western Europe which held qualities

¹³⁶ Collins Holiday Guide, *Germany* (1980), p.6

¹³⁷ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), pp.19-22

¹³⁸ Samson, E., *Everybody's pocket travel guide to Western Germany* (1954), p.20

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.126

common to all democratic countries: 'shiny surfaces and sleek efficiency'¹⁴⁰. Countries close to Germany received special commendations. Austria, for instance, could not only be 'easily reached' but offered 'the attraction of great cities, a variety of cultures, and breathtaking beautiful countryside.'¹⁴¹ Within the city walls, guidebooks praised hostels as both a 'wonderful European institution' and a great place 'to swap travel tips with people all over Europe'.¹⁴² However, perhaps most revealing of all, travel guides encouraged tourists to gain some understanding of the developments around them when travelling across Europe: 'a little homework before you fly will provide some sort of coherent framework for the myriad impressions of your travels' one guide argued.¹⁴³ Since this research was bound to come across the American desire for European integration, as well as the context of the Cold War in Germany, it may have been crucial in helping to diffuse the barriers between different European countries.

Overall whilst this is demonstrative of the extent to which tourism and travel writing provided a context for the dissemination of Cold War conflict, it also highlights how both tourist spending and the growth of intra-European and youth travel were used by travel writers in order to make sense of the Cold War world which surrounded them. More than this, this emergence of this discourse was inherently tied up with the emergence of the other two discourses. Although contributing significantly to West Germany's economic strength, this discourse on its own may have never been enough of a contribution from travel writers. But in both supplementing and leading on from the previous two discourses, travel writing became a significant forum through which the Cold War could be staged. As this chapter has shown, these discourses were not static and could alter according to changing realities in the post-war world or the inherent developments coming from within the tourist industry.

¹⁴⁰ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.246

¹⁴¹ *Let's Go Europe* (1983), p.75

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p.65

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p.73-74

Conclusion: Cold War tourism?

Ultimately the notion of a unique and distinct form of Cold War tourism is perhaps useful for describing the various politicisations which tourism to Germany underwent in the post-war world. These politicisations can be found in the three discourses propagated by travel writers. Not only did these discourses overlap with and reinforce one another and not only could they adapt to changing Cold War circumstances, they also provided an interesting and neglected forum for the dissemination of Cold War conflicts. They allowed Cold War conflicts over international relations, economic superiority, political ideologies and cultural psychology to be played out in the context of transatlantic travel to Germany in which individual tourists would be the actors in an ostensible *commedia dell'arte*. Time and again where America struggled to realise their Cold War ambitions and failed to make the Cold War relevant to their population, the government, as well as individual travel writers, reverted back to tourism to provide both a context and a platform on which these ambitions could be staged.

These three narratives of tourism to Germany during this period, however, also reveal that tourism was used as an effective tool in fighting these Cold War conflicts. They not only helped redefine views towards Germany at the end of the Second World War, they also helped to dispel the myth of the ugly American through both the genre of travel advice writing and through a number of political measures. Consequently, tourism transformed American-German relations and allowed the two nations to form an Atlantic community of nations which was vital for the survival of the free world. These discourses also helped to shape the opinions of the millions of tourists who travelled to Germany every year during the Cold War. This was achieved on the one hand through a clever use of structures, language and visual imagery which caused tourists, many of whom travelled to Germany purely for leisure purposes, to become unknowing and subconscious warriors in the Cold Wars psychological conflicts. On the other hand, to help make sense of the Cold War and to help tourists understand the importance of the west's victory, travel writers constructed the ordinary tourist experience around Cold War battles. Tourist attractions, travel practicalities and the various cultures of East and West Germany all assumed political significance. This made Cold War conflicts accessible and relevant to the large numbers of American tourists who travelled to Germany. Finally, these discourses also contributed to the Cold Wars economic conflicts. Whilst the subversion of communist expansion in Europe was central to American foreign policy during this period, tourism was used as a tool in helping to

achieve this aim. To increase the likelihood of West Germany becoming an economically strong country, travel writing not only encouraged consumption in the west but, through a number of comparisons, discouraged consumption in the east. Then when the flow of dollars to Europe needed to be slowed, travel writers incorporated another narrative which supported American foreign policy aims and encouraged intra-European travel. This facilitated and reinforced the development of the European Community of nations which was to provide a further barrier to communist expansion.

Yet whilst these discourses can be seen to have provided an additional context for the variety of Cold War altercations which raged throughout this period, the Cold War was in turn used by travel writers in order to help them understand the world around them. Immediately after the Second World War these discourses drew on familiar Cold War vocabulary, often mirroring both the language of foreign policy experts and the language of the cultural Cold War, to demonstrate not only the extent to which they had come to terms with their new world role, but also at the same time as a way to refashion this role through terms which were relevant to them. Coupled with this, by constructing the tourist experience around Cold War ambitions, travel writers helped to make sense both of the crucial role tourists played in the post-war world, but also to provide a context which demonstrated the importance of the west's ultimate success. Finally these discourses used the Cold War not only to make sense of the widespread economic developments which took place in the post-war world, but to provide both travel writers and individual tourists a crucial role within these changes.

Nevertheless, there were limits to the convergence of politics and tourism. Most notably, although some guides such as the *Fodor Guide* were highly politicised others, such as the *Baedeker*, were markedly less so. Yet since the *Baedeker* was a German publication written in the English language, it is perhaps unsurprising that they would have been less in tune with America's Cold War imperatives than the guidebooks published either in America or by English Language authors. Further to this, owing to the inherent difficulty in assessing the effectiveness of discourse, we can only speculate when it comes to measuring the precise impact of these narratives on public and tourist opinion during the Cold War. However, although revealing of the struggles individuals and travel writers had in making sense of the world around them, these narratives also demonstrate the intrusive and infiltrating capabilities of the conflict in helping ordinary people understand and internalise the post-war world. The juxtaposition of their language with that of the Cold War was not simply used as a conscious tool in helping to understand tourism during the

Cold War. In fact, for many travel writers, their subconscious use of the language of the Cold War is demonstrative of the extent to which ordinary people's language, thought and values were infiltrated and infused by Cold War imperatives. Thus the nature and extent of tourism's contribution to Cold War conflicts - as well as travel guidebooks, articles and narratives - was inextricably linked to the values and ideological messages propagated by foreign policy experts.

This argument fits neatly with the work of historians which have emerged in the twenty years since the end of the Cold War. This work drew on the familiar concept that all wars are, in part, fought through words and images. Due to the concept of mutually assured destruction which was implicitly bound to nuclear warfare, the American government had to find a variety of new ways of winning the Cold War and the victory of democracy owes more to the success of the American government in appropriating various aspects of society than it did to the use of military weaponry. Everything from fiction, sport, art and music to consumerism and economics assumed political importance during these years and each provided a platform upon which Cold War conflicts could be fought and, ultimately, won. Just like the various other forums, the language, images, structures and narratives chosen by travel writers are, therefore, testimony to the infiltrating nature of the Cold War, which managed to appropriate various aspects of society to serve its own ends.

Despite the fact that tourism supports the notion that the Cold War was fought through a number of cultural and psychological avenues, it does raise a number of further important questions. Whilst this essay has looked at Cold War tourism in Germany, this is only one of many countries Americans travelled to during this period and more research is needed to suggest whether Cold War tourism was in operation in other countries. Moreover, it would be interesting to note how individual tourists reacted to these narratives and whether they accepted or rejected them. Equally this essay has suggested some links between youth travel and the Cold War and this raises more questions about the nature of youth movements, tourism and politics more generally. Finally it remains to be seen how the German tourist industry responded to these discourses and whether they also helped bring about the convergence of politics and tourism.

These questions aside, however, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, these discourses did not suddenly come to an end. This was, in part, due to the fact that the emergence of Cold War tourism coincided with the growth of mass tourism to Germany. Consequently, the two became interchangeable and thus indispensable to one another. So much was this the case that when the Cold War approached its end, travel writers found it increasingly difficult to disassociate tourism to Germany from its previous context. Due to the fall of the Berlin

Wall and the subsequent reunification of the two Germany's, the *Rough Guide* published its first and last guide to West Germany in 1989. In its description of Berlin it suggested that 'the city's *raison d'être*' was the 'stabilisation of the impossible' and 'with the thawing of East-West relations and Gorbachev's *perestroika*, it's easy to be flip about the border between the two Germany's'. So, the guide concluded, 'a walk this stretch [the Reichstag to Checkpoint Charlie] forces you to revise a few opinions and revise a little history'.¹⁴⁴ The *Rough Guide* was clearly aware that the end of the Cold War was fast approaching, but since their narratives, like mass tourism to Germany, had developed around Cold War imperatives they found it hard to dissociate from them. For many writers, by reference to the physical surrounding of the Cold War which would remain as memorials long after the fall of the Soviet Union, mass tourism to Germany would always stand as proof of the failure of communism and totalitarianism and the ultimate success of freedom and democracy. Cold War tourism as a concept, therefore, perhaps makes sense even now.

¹⁴⁴ *Rough Guide to West Germany* (1989), pp.645-646. Also see Baister S., and Patrick C., *Guide to East Germany* (1990); *Let's Go Germany & Switzerland* (1994) and AA Essential Explorer, *Germany* (1993)

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