N. W. Sobe, "Slavic Emotion and Vernacular Cosmopolitanism: Yugoslav Travels to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s " in Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker (Eds.) Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006) p. 82-96.

CHAPTER 4

Slavic Emotion and Vernacular Cosmopolitanism

Yugoslav Travels to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s

Noah W. Sobe

Describing the outset of a trip to Czechoslovakia in 1933, Nebojša Živanović, a high-school student from Belgrade, reported:

> Already in my childhood I had heard stories about the brave and peace-loving Slavs. I heard these from my mother's mouth, later from teachers, and I knew that we were brothers and that we had the same goals and that we strove toward the same ideals. This I knew, I knew it very well, however, at that moment when the train which was to carry us to our brothers the Czechoslovaks departed, it seemed to me that I was going into some sort of foreign land, where I would meet only unknown beings and things.[1]

The Slavic filiations that joined Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks were prior knowledge, having been learned both from teachers and from "one's mother's mouth" [*iz majcinih usta*]. The experience of leaving "home," however, threw everything into disarray for this traveler. What was known became uncertain, and "our brothers the Czechoslovaks" began to appear as "some sort of foreign land" [*neku stranu zemlju*]. Nevertheless, by the end of Živanović's travelogue proper order had been restored. Živanović and the group of Yugoslav students on this excursion concluded their three-week tour with a visit to a Czechoslovak summer camp where, on one of the last evenings, he reported:

> Everyone gathered in front of our hut. We sang. Everyone together. One heard our words, one heard Czech words. It didn't matter. Everyone merged together in the divine melody of our brotherhood. It was the same the next day. In the evening there was a bonfire lit by the leader of our group and the leader of the other camp. More songs. But we had to leave. It was morning. Almost the entire camp was on its feet. Heartfelt saying of good-byes. After, sincere kisses. As if I were in the midst of my own. I felt that which once I had only known. Why did the Lord punish us so, by dividing two brothers?[2]

1. Letter dated 9 September 1933, from Nebojša J. Živanović to the minister of education, Arhiv Jugoslavije, 66–443–702.
2. Ibid.

The foreignness of Czechoslovakia, which earlier in the text a source of apprehension, had by the end been eclipsed. In this instance, singing—with its suggestion of music as a universal language with unifying power—was one of the cultural practices making it possible that "everyone merged together." Živanović's report reveals shared collective belonging being constructed on an emotional plane. The social organization of individuals' emotional comportment is a cultural practice that is a regularly described feature of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav host-guest interactions in the interwar era. Both this high-school student's travelogue and other Yugoslav travel texts suggest that a normative style of emotional comportment, joined to notions of "hospitality" and "kinship," was central to a specific, local understanding of "the Slavic" and the construction of Pan-Slavic as well as national identity.

This chapter explores one set of the many intraregional travel and touristic encounters that took place in eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. I examine the travels of Yugoslavs to Czechoslovakia, together with the Pan-Slavism that was expressed in and formed through these travel interactions. Travelogues and reports reveal that what it meant to be "Slavic" could be positioned as an important source of both Yugoslav national identity and individual self-identity. Looking at the construction of a "Slavic brotherhood" that would join Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks provides a useful backdrop to the emergence of the "fraternal" features of socialist tourism within eastern Europe. A postwar culture of tourism in which fraternal solidarities were valued did not appear ex nihilo, but rather became possible partly due to antecedent styles of travel when tourism also intersected with a transnational political and cultural movement.

Yugoslav Pan-Slavism is a particularly interesting case because it represents a form of "thinking beyond the local"—a set of commitments and dispositions that might be called a "vernacular cosmopolitanism," as I discuss in the conclusion. In this configuration, Russia figures almost not at all. Soviet communism was officially not welcome in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which meant that "mother Russia" could no longer operate as a viable organizing principle for the Pan-Slavic idea in southeastern/eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. As it was viewed from the Yugoslav side, the Pan-Slavism of this period properly centered along a Yugoslav-Czechoslovak axis. Yugoslav travelers' accounts speak of Czechoslovakia as "the most advanced Slavic nation." The perception of a shared historical destiny, as well as of a shared Slavic nature, made brotherly Czechoslovakia an acceptable model of modern ways of being, acting, and organizing society.

The travelogues of Yugoslav students and teachers are the main sources for the present study.[3] The corpus of archival materials on which I rely includes

3. The travel literature of Yugoslav beekeepers about their beekeeping study tours reveals considerable homologies across the domains of education and apiculture in the impact that Pan-Slavism and foreign travel to Czechoslovakia had on visions of "modernity" in both areas. Quite

reports from travel stipend recipients [*ferijalne stipendiste*] that have been preserved in the archives of the Yugoslav Ministry of Education; articles and letters that were published in pedagogical journals and newspapers; and travelogues that appeared in books and annual school reports. That these are *student and teacher* travel texts is significant to the extent that it defines the social field under study and allows for an examination of "official" social ideals and the normative styles of emotional comportment moving through Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s.

Emotional Comportment

Feeling and emotion were foregrounded in the intriguing statement Nebojša Živanović offered on the completion of his travels to Czechoslovakia: "I *felt* that which once I had only known" (emphasis added). Discernable in this, and in other travelogues that I discuss in this section, is a historically and culturally particular normative style of emotional comportment that can be characterized as one in which effusive enthusiasm and "deeply" held feelings played a strong constitutive role in forming the self and fabricating national and ethnic belonging. In contrast to the frequently cited analytic frame that John Urry has elaborated around the tourist's gaze as a disciplinary ordering of objects of knowledge though optics of seeing and being seen, the tourist culture of Yugoslavs traveling to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s can be usefully analyzed as centering less on the gaze than on emotions.[4]

The narrative trajectory of Živanović's 1933 text is of moving from "knowing" to "feeling," a transition presented as one of moving from the uncertainty of received learning to the confident certainty that could come from empirical confirmation achieved on an emotional plane. Pan-Slavism, of course, could be expressed on multiple planes, and on this particular excursion it appears that the Slavic joining of Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks was also symbolically performed in a public fire-lighting ritual. This travel text, however, gave pride of place to host-guest interactions that were more intimate than spectacular in nature. With "heartfelt saying of good-byes" and "sincere kisses" among the culminating features of the travel account, emotional closeness is positioned as the signature feature of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak interactions. An expression of emotional "fervor" even accompanies the writing itself. Although the entire report appears to have been written after the trip ended, one can note a marked difference in narrative style between the text's opening and closing

notable is that the norms of emotional comportment being discussed here in reference to student and teacher travelogues have left a sharp imprint on beekeepers' travel accounts as well. See Noah W. Sobe, "Cultivating a 'Slavic Modern': Yugoslav Beekeeping, Schooling, and Travel in the 1920s and 1930s," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 1–2 (2005): 143–58.

4. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London, 1990).

(the two excerpts above). The short, rapid-paced sentences at the end, "More songs. But we had to leave. It was morning," convey an intensity of experience. This as-if breathless enthusiasm, which emphasizes the extent to which these interactions affected the speaker, accords with what we find is a patterned style of emotional comportment among Yugoslav student and teacher travelers to Czechoslovakia.

Historicizing emotion can be seen to involve both an examination of the culturally shifting ways that people have reasoned about "feelings" and recognized something as "an emotion," as well as an examination of the shifting "neuro-psychological" makeup of these feelings/emotions. A recently proposed framework for writing histories of emotion draws on cognitive psychology to characterize affect as an "overlearned habit." William Reddy, a historian and cultural anthropologist, means by this that emotions have a neuro-chemical expression which over the long term can be manipulated, learned, and unlearned just as—he argues—social and cultural practices are in general.[5] Reddy's proposal is that collective and individual emotional unlearnings and relearnings vary with time and place. This can be accessed by historians who focus their attention on the various kinds of "emotional regimes" that have appeared in the past. In this chapter I am using the concept of "a style of emotional comportment" as a way of theorizing regulative consistencies within these discursive and nondiscursive formations.

The warm, cordial receptions that Yugoslavs received upon arrival in Czechoslovakia are regularly reported in student and teacher travelogues. Alongside Yugoslav descriptions of these outpourings of friendly welcome are frequent mentions of the travelers' own powerfully felt reactions to these greetings. Czechoslovak greetings and the Yugoslav reaction are, for example, recorded in the travelogue written by the leader of a 1933 Czechoslovak study-tour [*naučno putovanje*] of around thirty Yugoslav teachers. Salih Ljubunčić, professor of education from Zagreb, noted that a delegation of Czechoslovak teachers awaited the Yugoslav group at the border crossing from Austria, enthusiastically welcoming the travelers with "*Vitame vas! Zdravo! Živjeli! Nazdar!*" These were multilingual greetings and Ljubunčić commented "we were moved [*ganuti*] by this welcome."[6] The travelers' arrival in Czechoslovakia could, in fact, be construed to be a kind of homecoming. "We heard the Slovak language, soft and sweet and so close to ours. We saw Czechoslovak friends and immediately we drew close as though we had known each other before."[7] From this account, Slavic relatedness was established around linguistic com-

5. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001). See also Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge, 1999); and James M. Wilce, "Passionate Scholarship: Recent Anthropologies of Emotion," *Reviews in Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2004): 1–17.

6. Salih Ljubunčić, "Naučno putovanje naših učitelja u Čehoslovačku," *Napretka i Savremena Škole*, no. 5–10 (1933): 142.

7. Ibid., 141.

monalities and a shared Czechoslovak-Yugoslav vision of what a proper welcome ought to look and feel like.

Ceremonies of welcome continued for this expedition of educators. From the border, a special train car took them on to Bratislava where another reception awaited. There, a mass of schoolchildren and a teachers' choir greeted them with a rendition of the Yugoslav national anthem, a gesture that brought familiar elements of the Yugoslav national imaginary into an ostensibly non-Yugoslav space. Singing and ceremonies of greeting appear to have continued into the evening, and the Yugoslav trip leader mentioned the beautiful singing of a children's choir, noting "we all were brought to tears, particularly when we heard the little soloist."[8] These tears can be read as part and parcel of a certain normative style of emotional comportment—they can be seen as a physiological expression of the intimacy, closeness, and "depth" or "intensification" of feelings that accompanied Yugoslavs' arrivals in Czechoslovakia.

The emotional force of the welcome extended to Yugoslav travelers by Czechoslovaks is similarly reported in the travelogue of a participant in the Belgrade Women's Normal School's 1930 school excursion to Czechoslovakia. Fourth-year student Perka Vodanović discussed how her initial trepidations about foreign travel were assuaged, writing:

> The rigidity and fear in my soul from being in a foreign country [*u tuđoj zemlji*] and among foreign people [*među stranim ljudima*] quickly vanished and was replaced with a certain kind of joy which filled all of us when our Czechoslovak friends sang our national anthem, mentioning the name of our king. Their school director welcomed us with a heartfelt [*srdačno*] speech.[9]

As in the Živanović text with which this chapter began, uncertainty and initial apprehension were eclipsed through behaviors and the construction of collective belonging on an emotional plane. Vodanović noted the "heartfelt" speech of the school director who welcomed the group in Prague and added, "We were touched and our professor returned the greetings with warmth and sincerity such that we began to cry from the excitement."[10]

The emotional plane of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav host-guest interactions appears to have significantly contributed to the construction of a shared, collective Slavic belonging. The apprehension that Vodanović felt in such a physical way "quickly vanished" in the face of a warm Czechoslovak welcome. "Foreign people" rapidly become "our Czechoslovak friends." The Serbo-Croatian adjective used here for foreign, *stran*, carries the sense of the "unknown" and the "strange," both of which were overcome as Czechoslovaks became known

8. Ibid., 142.
9. Perka Vodanović, "Ekskurzija kroz Čehoslovačku i Austriju," in *Izveštaj za 1925–26–27–28–29 i 30 godine*, ed. Ženska učiteljska škola u Beogradu (Belgrade, 1930), 28.
10. Ibid., 28–29.

and familiar to these Yugoslav travelers. The Serbo-Croatian adjective *tuđ*, which was used here to describe the "foreign land" that Czechoslovakia was initially, carries a sense of "belonging-to-others." This foreignness, too, appears to have been eclipsed. For Yugoslav students and teachers, Slavic belonging could be found in Czechoslovakia.

It is important to note that the concern of this chapter is with the correspondences and emotional reciprocity attached to Czechoslovak-Yugoslav host-guest interactions as they are recorded from the Yugoslav side. I am not examining Czechoslovak archival sources on the reception of Yugoslav travelers. However, as is indicated in nearly all the travel texts discussed above, these interactions and emotional behaviors were, to be sure, co-constructed. The style of emotional comportment that Yugoslavs perceived among Czechoslovaks was one that stood as a social norm for Yugoslavs as well; it required of them emotional enthusiasm, a consciously attended-to "depth" of feeling, and reasoning about the self-knowledge that could be generated through attention to the emotional domain.

Slavic Hospitality

Expectations for what welcome would be extended traveling Yugoslavs and how it would be received frequently appear in travelogues under the label of "Slavic hospitality" [*slovenska gostoljubost*]. In this section I argue that Slavic hospitality was the well-matched counterpart to the style of emotional comportment just described. Together the two produced a form of Slavic belonging that was at the core of the Pan-Slavism circulating through Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s.

"Slavic hospitality" named the ritualized hosting practices and provided an organizer for thinking about the styles of emotional comportment that were expected from both guests and hosts. In Salih Ljubunčić's account of the 1933 teachers' study-tour visit to an apprenticeship/trade school in Bratislava we see how these elements were drawn together. Describing the visit, Ljubunčić effused: "And how they greeted us! Everyone was assembled: teachers and parents and then the children. From all sides affectionately and enthusiastically: *Vitame vas! Živjeli!* And then songs. Dances. Flowers. Snacks. Marching. And in all these expressions one felt a brotherly heart, one felt an open-armed Slavic hospitality."[11] Worth underscoring is that this Yugoslav report described a warmth of feeling coming from both sides. This perceived cultural alignment in how affection and enthusiasm were to be held and displayed was grouped under the term "hospitality." As *Slavic* hospitality, this conceptual organizer had the power to explain (and fabricate) a cultural connection accompanying linguistic commonalities between Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs. Alongside

11. Ljubunčić, "Naučno putovanje," 142.

this, we can note that "Slavic hospitality" was also closely connected with the construction of non-Slavic "others."

Yugoslavs traveling to Czechoslovakia generally passed through Austria or Hungary en route. A common reference point in student and teacher travelogues is juxtapositions between the Germanic and the Czechoslovak/Slavic (much less frequent are juxtapositions between the Magyar and the Czechoslovak/Slavic). Yugoslav study-tours even visited schools in Vienna, though in the instance of the 1933 teacher expedition directed by Salih Ljubunčić the schools on the itinerary in Vienna were Czechoslovak schools. "Czechoslovaks have the prettiest and best-cared-for school buildings in Vienna. And, what's more, in these schools one finds the best methods used as well," noted Ljubunčić, who added that this commitment to education in diaspora stood as evidence of Czechoslovaks' "national perseverance."[12] Andrej Debenek, a Slovenian teacher participating in the study-tour, discussed the group's visits to these schools in a travel report that appeared in the journal *Učiteljski Tovariš* (Teacher's Companion). In reference to the Yugoslavs' visit to the Comenius School, Debenek remarked, "to begin with, we felt a Slavic hospitality [*slovanska gostoljubnost*] in the middle of this foreign existence. It warmed us."[13] The locale for this Slavic hospitality was not Czechoslovakia, yet it was with Czechoslovak-Yugoslav interactions that the "warmth" of a welcome was felt by these Yugoslavs in Germanic Austria.

The 1930 expedition from the Belgrade Women's Normal School also included Vienna on their itinerary, and similarly absent was any warmth of feeling connected with the welcomes or hospitality of Austrians. This group of Yugoslav students stayed in Vienna after their visit to Czechoslovakia and heard lectures at a Viennese teacher training institute, but it was only among fellow Slavs in the city that Perka Vodanović's text reported feelings of welcome. On arrival she noted, "again that feeling of dejection arose; I had some sort of fear in the face of this foreign world [*pred tim tuđim svetom*]." The Yugoslav high-school students were met at the train station and feted at a banquet by the president of a Vienna-based Yugoslav organization. Later, the Yugoslav ambassador and his wife invited the group to tea where they displayed a "parental warmth and cordiality," which, in Vodanović's view, was "evidence of the great love they have for young people."[14] The narrative parallel between this group's welcome in each country (the remark about the ambassador's "great love" should be mentioned in this respect as well) indicate once more that feeling and emotion were central among the registers through which these Yugoslav travelers brought sense and intelligibility to the foreign.

12. Salih Ljubunčić, *Školstvo i prosvjeta u Čehoslovačkoj: s osobitim obzirom na pedagošku i školsku reformu*, ed. Salih Ljubunčić (Zagreb, 1934), 44.

13. Andrej Debenak, "Vtisi iz učiteljske studijske ekskurzije po Čehoslovaški," *Učiteljski tovaris*, no. 10, 11 (1933).

14. Vodanović, "Ekskurzija kroz Čehoslovačku i Austriju," 29–30.

Evidence from these student and teacher travelogues suggests that the contrasts with a non-Slavic, Germanic "other" helped to give a crucial element of definition to the idea of "Slavic hospitality." As a conceptual organizer, Slavic hospitality meant that Yugoslavs were to have the ability to develop Slavic belongings in multiple locations; it also meant that in host-guest interactions it was commonplace activities—and not just elite ones—which formed the cultural patterns out of which a social collective cohered.

Nation Building in an Emotional Register

The patterns of emotional comportment seen in circulation along Yugoslav-Czechoslovak travel circuits, together with the concept of Slavic hospitality, are centrally related to the Yugoslav nation-building project. The travels of Yugoslav students and teachers to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s suggest that Pan-Slavic affections worked in a manner complementary to the emotional regulation that was to make "Yugoslavs" out of the citizens of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Slavic emotion, in fact, I will argue in the following sections, imbued these cultural practices with a cosmopolitan, salvational humanism (albeit one bracketed along lines of "Slavic" filiations).

The regulation of feeling was openly discussed in Yugoslav pedagogical literature of the early 1920s. Woven into pedagogical writing about teaching methods and the desired aims of schooling were ideals of emotional comportment. One such statement, from Jovan P. Jovanović, one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Teachers' Association (Udruženje Jugoslovenskih Učiteljstva, UJU), claimed that a Yugoslavia could only be truly constituted through its schools:

> because only with the good upbringing and education of a young national generation is it possible to purge regional patriotism, tribal feelings, and separatist tendencies from our united region, so that in place of tribal feelings a national consciousness and national feelings rule, so that in place of regional patriotism there is general love toward the whole unified homeland, so that in this homeland everyone feels not only like the subject of a single state but like the sons of one nation.[15]

In this vision of the social role education could play, Jovanović conceptualized Yugoslavianism as a feeling [*osećanje*] that when held could lead to a more advanced consciousness. An objective of education was to encourage a "general love" and for Yugoslavs to *feel* as the "sons of one nation." This text, which appeared in *Učitelj* (The Teacher), the leading Yugoslav education journal of the interwar era, inscribed one of the key narratives of a modernity: the story

15. Jovan P. Jovanović, "Zadaci učiteljske organizacije u ujedinjenoj domovini Srba, Hrvata, i Slovenaca," *Učitelj* 3, no. 1 (1922): 7.

of a progressive arc in the development of societies and human behaviors toward increasing refinement and sophistication. Present here are echoes of what Norbert Elias called the "civilizing process," though in this instance it does not necessarily follow that "restraint" and "moderation" are what "rule" human emotional behavior, as is the case in Elias's analysis. Notable about the Yugoslav instance is that it was to be an expansive, laterally spreading "general love" that represented advancement.

Yugoslav travelers similarly viewed the Czechoslovak school as a site where national feelings could be normalized as proper human affections. In describing the schools in the industrial Czech city of Zlín, upon his return from leading the 1933 teacher study tour discussed above, Salih Ljubunčić noted the many educational innovations, including the involvement of teachers in monitoring the health, hygiene, and physical growth of students, as well as the regular organization of concerts and after-school student clubs. One thing in particular that strongly impressed Ljubunčić about the schools of Zlín were the school excursions, and he wrote in his travel report: "Students together with their teachers, or students by themselves, set up shorter and longer travels both through closer areas and areas farther away, as well as through the various regions of their homeland. . . . This collective travel instills the lesson in each young Czechoslovak of how and in what ways to travel."[16] An important feature of Czechoslovak school excursions was the reconfiguring of relations between teachers and students through shared decision making and planning, something that could be seen as a democratization of social relations and a model of social behavior appropriate to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as new, independent, "democratic" nations.[17] Ljubunčić opined that this model of social relations produced a "social feeling" [*socijalno osećanje*] that enabled "future generations to enter into national life better able and better prepared."[18] Traveling helped to produce a national coherence that was at one and the same time both "natural" and in need of deliberate cultivation.

Any appearance of a paradox in the idea of needing to enhance innate national affections was resolved in Ljubunčić's text through reference to the claim of Czechoslovak president Tomaš Masaryk that while "youth by themselves are enthusiastic," one has to "give direction and order the direction of that enthusiasm." Analogously, according to Ljubunčić, "the love that is imbibed from mother's milk inspires Czechoslovaks to recognize [their homeland]." However, Ljubunčić wrote,

> It is not enough only to be a citizen of Czechoslovakia or just to bear the name Czechoslovak. Similarly, it is not enough just to carry in one's heart the unorganized and unclear feeling that connects a person through blood to one society. Rather, it is necessary to be conscious of all this, to understand it rationally and to devote oneself to the very end so that what is in the heart and in the nerves isn't destroyed and isn't lost.[19]

16. Ljubunčić, *Školstvo i prosvjeta u Čehoslovačkoj*, 43.
17. For further discussion of the social relations that Yugoslav travelers witnessed in Zlín, particularly in reference to the concept of welfare and its connections to the idea of "agentic actorhood," see Sobe, "Cultivating a 'Slavic Modern.'"
18. Ljubunčić, *Školstvo i prosvjeta u Čehoslovačkoj*, 40, 43.

This cultivation of feeling through travel meant that Czechoslovaks were to become "conscious" of their bodily (e.g., "heart," "blood," and "nerves") connections to society. It is important to note that—parallel to Jovanović's call for the rule of national feelings over regional patriotism—the domain of affect is not something to be overruled. Even though the above observation discusses the development of "rational" [*razumno*] understandings, this is not a Lockean schema in which reason is to govern "passions" absolutely. Instead, the goal is the proper clarity and organization of feelings. In this vision, one can imagine the interlocked counterpart to Nebojša Živanović's acquisition of strengthened Slavic feelings discussed at the beginning of this chapter: the arc of transformations complementary to "feeling that which I already knew" was coming to know that which was already felt. Both share the sense that genuine belonging required individual activity and could not arise simply from the passive acceptance of received cultural authorities.

Slavic Love

The claim that in the 1920s and 1930s there was a distinctly Slavic style of emotional comportment is not an analytic anachronism. In the interwar era, various academic disciplines were involved in constructing a pan-Slavic sensibility; anthropological, sociological, and philosophical writing on "Slavic love" and "Slavic sympathy" imbued the "Slavic" with cosmopolitan commitments and equipped Yugoslavs with tools that could be used to make homes in the world.

A excellent representative of this literature is Paul Radosavljevich's 1918 *Who Are the Slavs?*. This two-volume work by a Serbian-born New York University professor of pedagogy synthesized a wide range of sources and was held up in the early twentieth century as an authoritative work on Slavs.[20] Many pages charted the accomplishments of various illustrious Slavs; and after reading the book, one would be inclined to conclude that every Slavic characteristic demonstrated nobility, or at least held some promise for improving the lot of humanity (e.g., the section titled "Slavic Humility and Lack of

19. Ibid., 44.
20. See, for example, Joseph S. Roucek, "The Development of Sociology in Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): 981–88.

Hypocrisy"). Regardless, for several decades the work appears to have been generally held in high regard for its scholarship. Radosavljevich adopted Tolstoy's line that love is "man's only rational activity," and argued that "the Slav has a craving to love and be loved, he would fain join the other European people as friend and brother."[21] The Slavic capacity to love is in actuality, according to Radosavljevich, a manifestation of "all-humanness." In the text, love is presented as a human universal with redemptive potential. Radosavljevich wrote: "Love abolishes the innate activity directed to filling on [sic] the bottomless tub of our bestial personality, does away with the foolish fight between beings that strive after their own happiness, gives a meaning independent of space, and time of life, which without it would flow off without meaning in the face of death."[22] This salvational conceptualization of love remakes the "natural," which here is cast as "bestial," into a transcendent universal ("independent of space and time") that has regenerative powers. Radosavljevich followed this dramatic description with the claim that "this faith is accepted both by the Slavic people and their great men and women,"[23] which is certainly something of an overstatement. Nonetheless, when this quote is read intertextually with Ljubunčić's description of the love that Czechoslovaks purportedly imbibed "with their mother's milk" and Vodanović's mention of the "great love" that the Yugoslav ambassador in Vienna showed toward the traveling Yugoslav student-teachers, it is possible to flesh out more convincingly the cultural significance that the concept of love had in Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s. The archival material examined above suggests that a redemptive, humanist concept of "love" plausibly did serve as a normative meaning-giving and motivating factor in the organization of individuals' actions and reflection.

Radosavljevich specifically discussed the idea of "Slavic love," and it is important to note that this was neither romantic nor sexual love. It was not the chivalric love that has been construed to derive from the poet troubadours of eleventh-century Provence (this is the courtly romantic love that in Luisa Passerini's dexterous argument has served as an important touchstone in the development of a "European identity").[24] Slavic love as Radosavljevich discusses it is a form of general Christian sympathy that enables Slavs "to exercise a large tolerance toward the failings and foibles of their fellow-creatures, [and] to understand people different from themselves."[25] It was a social, or perhaps more properly put, a civic love.

21. Paul R. Radosavljevich, *Who Are the Slavs? A Contribution to Race Psychology*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1919), 1: 385.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 386.

24. Luisa Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and Politics between the Wars* (New York, 1999).

25. Radosavljevich, *Who Are the Slavs?*, 1: 394.

The Traveling of Feeling and the Vernacular Cosmopolitanism of Yugoslav Pan-Slavism

One argument of this chapter is that the norms of emotional comportment which come into high resolution in interwar Yugoslav-Czechoslovak tourist interactions have the potential to enrich discussion of socialist-era tourism and in particular its "fraternal" features. Similarly, we can note that what occurs in the 1920s and 1930s also arises in conversation with antecedent cultures of tourism experienced in the region. The depth and "intensity" of feeling surrounding Slavic brotherhood is a long-standing trope that even before the interwar period, it could become an object of satire, as in Horvat-Kiš's comment on a 1911 Sokol calisthenics rally in Sofia: "Look, how the Serb and the Bulgarian hug and kiss! The two giants embrace one another. Good Lord above, is there anything sincere at all in those kisses?"[26] Horvat-Kiš's amused skepticism points to the linkage between emotional comportment and notions of Slavic fraternity being well worn by the time of the travels under examination here. However, I propose that in the interwar period these sets of cultural practices take on a new significance for Yugoslavs, both as increasingly widely dispersed social norms and as a vernacular cosmopolitanism that tied the traveler's socializing to knowing how to live properly in society.

In Yugoslavia, as throughout eastern Europe, the 1920s and 1930s were not a time of mass tourism as experienced in parts of western Europe or the United States in the same period.[27] Available documentation concerning the foreign travels of Yugoslav students and teachers suggests, however, that study tours and excursions to Czechoslovakia were being conducted on a scale large enough to be considered a form of purposeful tourism.[28] The annual reports of the "Educational Inspector" (*Prosvetni inspector* and *Prosvetni referent*) who was posted to the Yugoslav embassy in Prague provide some information about these visits. The 1927 report mentioned the amount of time he was having to spend greeting the "ever more numerous student excursions," and noted that in the spring of 1927 there had been twelve visits from secondary schools and universities "from various parts of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians."[29]

26. I am grateful to Wendy Bracewell for bringing this passage to my attention. Franjo Horvat-Kiš, *Sabrana Djela* (Zagreb, 1943), 2: 32.

27. See Gorsuch and Koenker, in this volume.

28. This is not to assert a tourism/travel distinction as analytically key to this chapter but rather to treat the excursions under examination here as part of a conjoined "tourism and travel project." For discussion of this in the context of Russian tourism, travel, and leisure, see Diane P. Koenker, "Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel and Leisure," *Slavic Review* 62, no. 4 (2003): 657–65.

29. Report dated 11 December 1927, with Prosvetni Inspektor number 203–I–1927, from Dragutin Prohaska to the minister of education, Arhiv Jugoslavije, 66–441–702.

Other sources indicate that individual groups could include as many as 350 student travelers.[30] The reports and publications of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak Friendship Leagues which were formed in nearly all the major Yugoslav and Czechoslovak cities make frequent mention of traveling groups of teachers, particularly during the summer months.[31] Encouraging the study-tour travel of teachers to Czechoslovakia was set as an institutional objective for the Yugoslav Teachers Association (UJU) at its inaugural meeting in June 1920, though the formally organized student and teacher excursions for which the most comprehensive documentation is available are the annual tours launched under the Yugoslav Ministry of Education's travel stipends program, which in the 1930s were sending groups of twenty to twenty-five secondary-school teachers, secondary-school students, and university students on monthlong summer study tours.[32] As noted earlier, the reports written by those who traveled through this program, as well as the travel reports that were published in school yearbooks and in the educational press, are particularly useful for the purposes of this chapter, as its objective has been to identify the "officially desirable" normative principles that structured the culture of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak tourism in the interwar era.

To understand these norms of emotional comportment as part of a vernacular cosmopolitanism it is useful to explore some of the ways in which the regulation of emotions can be linked to conditions of sociability. While the concept of *kosmopolitizm* was certainly known in Yugoslavia in the interwar period, I am not examining contemporary cultural representations of the "cosmopolitan" but rather am using cosmopolitanism as an analytic descriptor that can be applied to a historically shifting phenomenon appearing in multiple places and multiple times and in various guises.[33] As Radosavljevich's writings on "Slavic love" suggest, the emotional comportment that structured Yugoslav-Czechoslovak interactions possessed some of the qualities of a cosmopolitanism in that it specified techniques of living and forming solidarities outside the local. That these feelings were also tied to a system of inclusions and exclusions (as we saw in regard to Germanic non-Slavs) speaks less to something uniquely Slavic and more to the way in which transnational solidarities are in general articulated in juxtaposition to certain "others" who fail to be sufficiently "global," "internationalist," or "fraternal."

Radosavljevich's view of the Slavic ability to sympathize as the torch bearer of a salvational humanism or "all-humanness" can be usefully viewed in the light of David Hume's arguments for the social significance of human emotion. In his *Treatise on Human Nature*, Hume presented a social theory in which socialized passions could be understood as the foundation of social order.[34] For Hume (at least in this early work) feelings and affections were not potentially divisive private desires, but instead were socially minded and, in essence, productive of society. Passions were "contagious," and it was their movement that Hume understood by the term "sympathy." He maintained that humans had a "propensity . . . to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication their inclinations and sentiments, however different from, or even contrary to our own."[35] This propensity meant that human beings could perform and reinforce their fundamental sociability through the encounters they had with others. Hume generalized particular, individual operations of sympathy (sympathy in the exchange of sentiments between particular individuals) to be a model that explained all social interactions (sympathy in the interest of society). The Humean model points out how features of a cosmopolitanism can be articulated on an emotional plane, something we have seen with the Yugoslav students and teachers who traveled to Czechoslovakia, who were emotionally "open" to and effused about their encounters with Czechoslovaks and held deep feelings of Slavic brotherhood. This emotional comportment enabled the establishment of solidarities outside the local and the cultivation of a vernacular cosmopolitanism.

In closing, we can note that in Yugoslav thinking about Czechoslovak schooling, an "enchanted," romantic understanding of the Slavic easily accompanied a "disenchanted," rationalized reasoning about the Slavic.[36] Above, we have seen a construction of the citizen through both the "enchanted" and the "disenchanted" in Ljubunčić's description of how Czechoslovaks—particularly in the city of Zlín—were taught to develop rational and organized understandings of a "love" that was their birth inheritance. These ways of expressing and cultivating the self embody the cosmopolitanism circulating in eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. The amalgamation of these dispositions, sensitivities, conduct, and emotions are concisely captured in one Yugoslav student's travel-stipend report. Miloš Ilić, who traveled to Czechoslovakia in the

30. Letter dated 15 March 1930, with Foreign Affairs Ministry number 4833, from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Education, Arhiv Jugoslavije, 66 POV–78–218.

31. See the discussion of these associations in Arnost Skoupy, "K Vyvoji Svazu Jihoslovansko-Československych Lig v Letech 1925–1938," *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis—Historica* 24 (1988).

32. "Braća Česi u Beogradu," *Narodna Prosveta*, 1 August 1920.

33. Following the work of scholars such as Sheldon Pollock, K. Anthony Appiah, Carol Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, I consider it possible for cosmopolitanism to be considered a historical category "not pre-given or foreclosed by the definition of any particular society or discourse." See Carol A. Breckenridge et al., "Cosmopolitanisms," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 577–78. This makes it possible to speak of concepts like "Chinese cosmopolitanism," "Islamic cosmopolitanism," and the vernacular cosmopolitanism of Yugoslav Pan-Slavism.

34. See David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1978), bk. 2. My thinking about Hume has been helped by John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1988), 1–56; and Michael Bell, *Sentimentalism, Ethics, and the Culture of Feeling* (New York, 2000).

35. Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, 316.

36. On the problem of "enchantment" and "modernity," see Jane Bennett, "The Enchanted World of Modernity: Paracelsus, Kant, and Deleuze," *Cultural Values* 1, no. 1 (1997): 1–28.

summer of 1936, reported to the Ministry of Education in Belgrade: "We saw that the Czech nation is clear-headed and cultured, and that they are very fond of their Yugoslav brothers. In Czechoslovakia we felt as if we were in our second fatherland."[37] In pairing the Czechoslovak fondness for Yugoslavs with a clear-headedness and the notion of being "very fond of their Yugoslav brothers," Ilić, in this conclusion to his travelogue, described the proper balance and combination of "rationalism" and "romanticism" that Yugoslav travelers seem to have found in Czechoslovakia. These exemplary behaviors and traits helped to create belonging (here: the *feeling* of being in a "second fatherland"). For Yugoslav travelers, this suggested ways of being at-home in the world and transforming what belonged-to-others into their own belonging.

37. Undated letter (1936) from Miloš Ilić to the Minister of Education, Arhiv Jugoslavije, 66–444–702.

TURIZM

The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism

EDITED BY
Anne E. Gorsuch
Diane P. Koenker

2006

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS   ITHACA AND LONDON

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A longer version of Louise McReynolds's essay appeared as chapter 5, "The Russian Tourist at Home and Abroad," in her book, *Russia at Play: Leisure Activities at the End of the Tsarist Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). It is reprinted here by kind permission of Cornell University Press. We are grateful to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Campus Research Board for providing a publication subvention.