

Introduction

Anastasia Koukouna and Margarite Poulos

Travel, at once a pervasive and obscure aspect of communist life, has only recently begun to attract scholarly attention in its own right. For many decades, the historiography of communist movements and parties has focused primarily on high politics – questions that mirrored the political contentions of the twentieth century. Within this framework, the relationship between national parties, the Comintern, and Moscow has been a central concern. The idea that communist parties were essentially ‘transplantations’ of revolutionary Bolshevik ideology, later evolving to represent the aspirations of the Soviet state, was contradicted by arguments that these parties quickly developed distinct national characters.¹ These distinctive national parties often gained significant support after the Second World War, because of the prominent role communist parties had played in the anti-fascist resistance. In all these arguments about the relationship between national and Soviet parties, however, there was a methodological nationalism that obscured the transnational nature of the communist phenomenon and the multifaceted interactions among parties, movements, groups and individuals.

In the final decades of the twentieth century, communist studies began to reflect the tectonic shift in the discipline toward social history or ‘history from below’, paving the way toward explorations of the social and cultural dimensions of communist history. This scholarly trajectory persists into the present. Among the themes that have shaped and continue to shape the scholarship are the examination of the social composition communist parties;² the study of the communist movement in rural areas;³ and the exploration of communist mobilisation among women.⁴ These themes, previously overlooked by traditional histori-

ography, have become central to understanding the complex dynamics and the multiple facets of the twentieth-century communist movement. After the opening of the Soviet archives in the 1990s, the newly available materials and the trend in social history became mutually reinforcing. A new era in communist and Cold War history had dawned. But scholars remained preoccupied with delineating the dynamics between the centre and the periphery.⁵

The turning point toward comparative, transnational and international perspectives came in the early 2000s with the publication of a series of collective volumes that broke with the constraints of the centre-periphery relationship.⁶ Soon afterwards, historians of communism began to adopt a transnational approach – an approach that had already proven to be an invaluable tool in related fields of historical research, such as anti-fascism and anti-communism.⁷

The frequent relocations of cadres and members of communist parties, the establishment of a unifying community of revolutionaries within the framework of the Communist International and the global objective of socialist revolution render the history of communism ‘by definition transnational and comparative’.⁸ As demonstrated by Brigitte Studer, during the interwar period, the nomadic lives of numerous interwar professional revolutionaries, both men and women, comprised a transnational milieu, that of the Communist International.⁹ The Comintern era thus marks a high point in the arc of transnational communist activity. Importantly, it also coincided with refugee flows and mass displacement in the wake of imperial dissolution after the First World War, which contributed significantly to the growth of the communist movement. Recent volumes by Margarite Poulos and Kostis Karpozilos on Greek communism are a case in point. Poulos’ s focus on Greek and Soviet-Greek professional revolutionaries at the Comintern universities sheds new light on the linkages between gender, refugee displacement and radicalisation between the wars, while the work of Kostis Karpozilos surveys the international character of the Greek communist movement from its inception in 1912 to the collapse of the junta in 1974.¹⁰ Lisa Kirschenbaum’s focus on the Spanish Civil War presents a powerful portrayal of international communism in the Stalin era. The International Brigades constituted an experience that, albeit

diverse in nature, decisively contributed to the formation of a distinct transnational communist-antifascist identity shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War.¹¹

One of the most significant outcomes of the transnational turn has been the redirection of scholarly attention from the European centre to the peripheries of the international communist movement. For instance, contributors to the recent collective volume *Transnational Communism Across the Americas* reveal new and unexpected dimensions within American communisms, especially regarding the interrelations between nations, political organisations and individuals.¹² Similarly, a recent book on the Comintern and the Global South has underscored the relationship as a negotiated one, wherein local actors not only accepted the influence of the Soviet leadership within the international communist movement, but also actively exerted their influence on policy formation.¹³

Transnational methodology has unlocked multiple previously obscured aspects of the history of communism – including party formation;¹⁴ party cultures;¹⁵ ethics;¹⁶ modes of struggle;¹⁷ and the relationship between intellectuals and communism. It has been especially useful in tracking the life trajectories of women who became involved in the communist movement, unveiling their motivations and aspirations, as well as the challenges of communist mobilisation as women.¹⁸ This relationship was shaped not only by the transference of concepts or the exchange of ideas but also by the existence of international networks operating across different regions of the globe.¹⁹ Even a cursory examination of international and transnational activism from the interwar period to the years of the Cold War has illuminated the global scope of the communist women's movement and the complex relationship between communism and feminism in its various incarnations dating back to the Second International.²⁰ Recent scholarship which examines the relationship between communism and Black liberation;²¹ youth;²² and diaspora radicalisation;²³ highlights once again the limitations imposed for many decades by adherence to methodological nationalism.

The international character of the communist movement made travel inherent to it. Indeed, the necessity and scale of travel was unprecedented in the history of modern political movements. Mobilisation,

co-operation, co-ordination, solidarity, persecution and exile – imposed by both anti-communist states and by the Soviet state itself – entrenched travel in the lives of communists across the globe.²⁴

The phenomenon of communist travel per se did not draw scholarly interest until well into the transnational phase of the historiography. However, it had long been recognised in International Relations theory, which interpreted it chiefly as a strategy of global communist infiltration and a vehicle for the discursive influence of Soviet-type regimes on the West.²⁵ It had long been a feature in the autobiographies and biographies of communist activists, who treated it as an essential cog in the process of politicisation, exposing activists to new, at times unexpected, realities, and introducing them to novel ideas and practices.²⁶ Travel facilitated their integration into transnational networks of individuals who shared common ideals and aspirations. In numerous instances, mobility transformed capitals, cities and ports that were frequent destinations for communist activists into revolutionary hubs where hope for the success of the global revolution thrived.

From its inception, the Soviet state functioned as a nexus for revolutionaries hailing from diverse geographical, social and cultural backgrounds. As evidenced, inter alia, in a recent article by Burak Sayim, the journey to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV), established at the behest of the Communist International in 1921, constituted, for many interwar communists, ‘a rite of passage towards the Cominternian militant habitus and a site of political transformation’.²⁷ Previously, Lana Ravandi-Fadai directed her scholarly attention towards the case of Iranian students at the KUTV, and their role in shaping Soviet orientalism;²⁸ while Kirasirova has researched the Arabic sector of this unique multinational Soviet institution.²⁹ Subsequent inquiries into the KUTV have further contributed to elucidating the significance of these cultural and educative journeys for the international milieu of interwar communism.³⁰ Concurrently, mobility emerged as a constituent element of the lived experience of communists who disseminated revolutionary ideals beyond the confines of Europe, as demonstrated by Ali Raza’s work on colonial India.³¹

Travel also constituted a central dimension of the cultural diplomacy activities of the Soviet Union, in the development of which

the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), founded in 1925, played a leading role.³² In a period during which the nascent Soviet state encountered significant diplomatic challenges, cultural diplomacy emerged as a critical factor in enhancing the Soviet Union's image on the international stage.³³ In recent years, the significance of Soviet cultural diplomacy has also been highlighted in countries within the European periphery, as well as in countries far removed from the European centre.³⁴

Indeed, owing to the initiatives of VOKS, a considerable number of intellectuals visited Soviet territory during the interwar period.³⁵ In many instances, these visitors documented their impressions, subsequently disseminating them and shaping public opinion in their respective countries.³⁶ This group included intellectual women who had the opportunity to witness at first hand the advancements concerning the position of women, and to develop their feminist perspectives.³⁷ Soviet intellectuals also travelled to capitalist countries during this period, and thus, in turn, helped to shape the cultural policies of the Soviet Union.³⁸ Later, the thaw in cold war relations under Khrushchev ushered in a new era of cultural exchange between East and West in the guise of the Cultural Agreement (1958-1988). The agreement facilitated visits to the US and the Soviet Union for tens of thousands of Soviet and American scholars, students, scientists, engineers, artists and others. As Yale Richmond has argued, the programme that 'raised the Iron Curtain' also ultimately led to its demise.³⁹

The practice of intellectuals travelling from capitalist countries to the Soviet Union was not solely driven by the efforts and initiatives of Soviet cultural diplomacy. It was also fuelled by the intense and deep-seated convictions of individuals. Many individuals embarked on these journeys to witness at first hand the practical application of their ideological beliefs, particularly in the 1930s, during a period of crisis that prompted a widespread rejection of the Western model of parliamentary democracies and European culture more broadly.⁴⁰ Within this intellectual and political milieu, Moscow came to be regarded by many as a 'fourth Rome'.⁴¹ The fascination of Western intellectuals such as André Gide with the Soviet state was rooted not only in their limited understanding of the realities on the ground, but also in a profound repudiation of the Western model during the interwar period.⁴² Nor were trips from Western countries to

the USSR made solely by intellectuals. The Soviet Union identified itself as a workers' state and, within this framework, also hosted numerous labour delegations. These included delegations of female workers, with the Soviet authorities emphasising their gender and urging them to serve as witnesses to the improvement of women's status in the Soviet Union.⁴³ The Soviet state appears to have implemented a series of measures aimed at maximising the positive outcomes of visits by foreign travellers; and the role played by Soviet guides was crucial to this endeavour.⁴⁴

Although the certainties and homogeneity of views among communists were somewhat diminished during the post-war decades, the Soviet Union remained a significant destination for many adherents of communism and radical ideologies, particularly those originating from 'Third-World' countries. One such traveller was the Pakistani poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz, who journeyed to the Soviet Union in 1963.⁴⁵ Moreover, the Soviet Union continued to extend refuge to political dissidents fleeing from various countries governed by authoritarian regimes. Tashkent, for instance, became home to approximately 10,000 Greek political refugees after 1949.⁴⁶ It was developed by Soviet authorities as an exemplar of developmental progress in the East.⁴⁷ The city attracted numerous leaders from the Third World, including Nehru, Zhou Enlai, Abdel Nasser, Sukarno and Fidel Castro.⁴⁸

After the conclusion of the Second World War, communist homelands multiplied and there were increasing levels of travel between countries within the socialist bloc, reflecting the emergence of what could be described as an 'empire of friends'.⁴⁹ These travels often occurred within the framework of cultural events, conferences and youth festivals.⁵⁰ This policy was later emulated by the people's democracies of the Balkans and Eastern Europe.⁵¹ After 1949 China emerged as a second 'red Mecca', attracting not only young revolutionaries from Europe but also intellectuals from distant lands in search of a revitalized and potentially more dynamic iteration of socialism.⁵² From the 1960s onwards, the small island of Cuba also became a destination for political pilgrimage.⁵³ However, from as early as the 1920s the Soviet state implemented a stringent policy for controlling its borders and restricting the movement of its citizens abroad. Each of the papers in this issue explores the transnational character of twentieth-century communism, and by

extension the formative role of travel in the work, life and identity of its protagonists. Three out of the four articles are set during the high point of communist internationalism between the wars, and trace the lives of individual cadres, covert operatives and intellectuals whose journeys and missions defined the Comintern milieu.

The issue begins with Vasilis Moschos's examination of three famous journeys undertaken by the Greek writer and intellectual Nikos Kazantzakis (1883-1957) to the Soviet Union during the 1920s. Moschos's paper sheds light on the influence of communism on Nikos Kazantzakis's distinctive worldview, but also elucidates the communist movement's strategic planning regarding the travels of intellectuals from Western countries and the incorporation of these journeys into the cultural diplomacy of the Soviet Union.

Clement Fontannaz examines the Comintern journey from below through the figures of the communist Humbert-Droz couple. Following on from the work of Brigitte Studer, the article rethinks the notions of clandestinity and political work within the communist 'national sections'. The negotiation of borders is examined here, in both their physical and geographical forms, but also in terms of the invisible borders between the individual and the rest of society, especially for communists living on the margins in an increasingly hostile political environment.

Anastasia Koukouna casts a light on the extraordinary life of Miltiadis Porphyrogenis, a Greek lawyer and communist leader (1903-1958) who stood out among his high-ranking peers in the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) by virtue of his academic credentials, fluency in several languages, adept communication skills, and a class location that facilitated dialogue with fellow travellers, bourgeois politicians and figures from diverse national backgrounds. Koukouna's examination of Porphyrogenis's extensive travels underscores the pivotal role of travel as a formative political and social experience for cadres during the Comintern and Stalinist eras, but also recognises the way in which travel manifested a distinct lifestyle for the party elite, distinct from that of ordinary party members.

The final paper shifts to the post-war period, with Greg Billam's examination of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and its efforts to co-ordinate socialist and anti-colonial activism across the

British Commonwealth after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. The CPGB's new role as a hub for anti-colonial activity was facilitated by the Communist Parties of Empire Conferences held in 1947 and 1954. These were crucial for the development of networks and the transmission of ideas across Britain's empire in the post-war period, but, as the paper argues, the CPGB's role became fraught with the complexities brought by the Cold War and decolonisation.

This special issue is but a beginning. In conclusion, it is the hope of the editors and the authors that it will inspire further research into the vast and under-explored history of communist travel, and do its part to sustain the momentum driving new directions in the historiography of communism.

Anastasia Koukouna is a historian. She worked as a teaching and research assistant at the University of Lausanne, where she defended her PhD thesis in June 2021 under the title 'Free Greece, 1947-1949: A Communist State in the Greek Countryside during the Civil War?'. She is currently engaged in a research project titled 'Miltiadis Porfyrogenis: A Transnational Greek Stalinist', which is funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Additionally, she teaches twentieth-century history at the University of Lausanne.

Margarite Poulos teaches modern European history at Western Sydney University, Australia. She is the author of *Arms and the Woman: Just Warriors and Greek Feminist Identity* (Columbia University Press, 2010); and *Refugee to Revolutionary: A Transnational History of Greek Communist Women Between the Wars* (Vanderbilt University Press, forthcoming October 2024). Her current research extends the scope of her work on forced migration and radicalisation to examine the politics of sex trafficking in Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne.

Notes

- 1 Annie Kriegel, *Aux origines du communisme français 1914-1920*, Paris: Mouton, 1964, 2 vol.
- 2 Bernard Pudal, *Prendre parti: pour une sociologie historique du PCF*,

- Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1989.
- 3 Melissa K. Bokovoy, *Peasants and Communists: Politics and Ideology in the Yugoslav Countryside, 1941-1953*, Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998; Jean Vigreux, *Le faucille après le marteau. Le communisme aux champs dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, Basançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2012.
 - 4 Karen Hunt, and Matthew Worley, 'Rethinking British Communist Party women in the 1920s,' in *Twentieth Century British History*, 15, 1, 2004, pp1-27; Lashawn Harris, 'Running with the reds: African-American women and the Communist Party during the Great Depression,' in *The Journal of African American History*, 94, 1, 2009, pp21-43; Sara A. Sewell, 'Bolshevizing communist women: The Red Women and Girls' League in Weimar Germany,' in *Central European History*, Vol 45 No 2, 2012, pp268-305; Francisca de Haan (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Communist Women Activists around the World*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.
 - 5 Mikhail Narinsky and Jürgen Rojahn (eds), *Centre and Periphery: The History of the Comintern in the Light of New Documents*, Amsterdam: IISG, 1996; Elena Aga Rossi, and Victor Zaslavsky, *Togliatti e Stalin. Il PCI e la politica estera staliniana negli archivi di Mosca*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007 [1997].
 - 6 Michel Dreyfus, Bruno Groppo, Claudio Ingerflom, Roland Lew, Claude Penner, Bernard Pudal and Serge Wolikow (eds), *Le siècle des communismes*, Paris: Les éditions de l'atelier, 2000; Matthew Worley (ed), *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, New York: I.B. Tauris; Norman LaPorte, Kevin Morgan, and Matthew Worley (eds), *Bolshevism, Stalinism and the Comintern: Perspectives on Stalinization*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
 - 7 On antifascism, see Joseph Fronczack, 'Local people's global politics: A transnational history of the Hands Off Ethiopia movement of 1935', in *Diplomatic History*, Vol 39 No 2, 2015, pp245-274; Michael Seidman, *Transatlantic Antifascisms: From the Spanish Civil War to the End of World War II*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018; Kasper Braskén, Nigel Copsey and David J. Featherstone (eds.), *Anti-Fascism in a Global Perspective: Transnational Networks, Exile Communities, and Radical Internationalism*, London: Routledge, 2020. On anti-communism, see Martin Durham and Margaret Power (eds), *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010; Giuliana Chamedes, 'The Vatican, Nazi-Fascism, and the making of transnational anti-communism in the 1930s', *Journal of Contemporary*

- History*, Vol 51 No 2, 2013, pp261-290; Luc Dongen, Stéphanie Roulin and Giles Scott-Smith (eds), *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War. Agents, Activities, and Networks*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014; Maria Stone and Giuliana Chamedes (eds), 'Naming the enemy: Anti-communism in transnational perspective', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 53 No 1, 2018, pp4-11.
- 8 Romain Ducoulombier, *Histoire du communisme au XXe siècle*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2022, p2.
- 9 Brigitte Studer, *The Transnational World of the Cominternians*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. See also her more recent, *Travellers of the World Revolution: A Global History of the Communist International*, London: Verso, 2023.
- 10 Margarite Poulos, *Refugee to Revolutionary: A transnational History of Greek Communist Women in Interwar Europe*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, forthcoming October 2024. Kostis Karpozilos, *Ellinikos Kommounismos: Mia Diethniki Istoría 1912-1974* [Greek Communism: An International History], Athens: Antipodes.
- 11 Stéfanie Prezioso, Jean Batou and Ami-Jacques Rapin, *Tant pis si la lutte et cruelle. Volontaires internationaux contre Franco*, Paris: Syllepse, 2008; Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *International Communism and the Spanish Civil War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- 12 Mark Becker, Margaret M. Power, Tony Wood and Jacob A. Zumoff (eds.), *Transnational Communism Across the Americas*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2023.
- 13 Anne Garland Mahler and Paolo Capuzzo (eds), *The Comintern and the Global South. Global Designs, Local Encounters*, New York: Routledge, 2023. See also, Oleksa Drachewych, and Ian McKay (eds), *Left Transnationalism. The Communist International and the National, Colonial, and Racial Questions*, Montreal: McGill's University Press, 2019.
- 14 Michel Christian, 'Les partis communistes du bloc de l'Est : un objet transnational', in *Vingtième siècle*, 1, 2011, pp31-43.
- 15 Kevin Morgan, *International Communism and the Cult of the Individual: Leaders, Tribunes and Martyrs under Lenin and Stalin*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- 16 Olivier Maheo, Bertrand Michel, Héloïse Morel and Thierry Pastorello, 'Morale sexuelle et communisme. Entre politique transnationale et caractéristiques locales, de 1917 à 1940', in *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique*, 150, 2021, pp13-22.
- 17 Charlotte Alston, 'Transnational solidarities and the politics of the Left,

- 1890-1990. Introduction', in *European Review of History*, Vol 21 No 4, 2014, pp447-450; Kasper Braskén, *The International Workers' Relief, Communism, and Transnational Solidarity: Willi Münzenberg in Weimar Germany*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 18 Brigitte Studer, *Reisende der Weltrevolution. Eine Globalgeschichte der Kommunistischen Internationale*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 202.
- 19 Ricardo Melgar Bao, 'Cominternismo intelectual: Representaciones, redes y prácticas político-culturales en América Central, 1921-1933', in *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, 35, 2009, pp135-159
- 20 Daria Dyakonova, "'Through the dictatorship of the proletariat of all countries, onward to the complete emancipation of women!": The transnational networks of the communist women's movement in the early 1920s', in *Journal of Women's History*, Vol 35 No 1, 2023, pp11-33. Francisca de Haan, 'Continuing Cold War paradigms in western historiography of transnational women's organisations: The case of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF)', *Women's History Review*, Vol 19 No 4, 2010, pp547-573.
- 21 John Riddell, 'Black liberation and the Communist International', *International Socialist Review*, 81, 2012; Margaret Stevens, *Red International and Black Caribbean: Communists in New York City, Mexico and the West Indies, 1919-1939*, London: Pluto Press, 2017.
- 22 James Mark, Péter Apor, Radina Vučetić and Piotr Osęka, "'We Are with You, Vietnam": Transnational Solidarities in Socialist Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 50 No 3, 2015, pp439-464.
- 23 Josephine Fowler, *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists: Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919-1933*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007; Sandra Pujals, 'The Comintern, New York's immigrant community, and the forging of Caribbean visions, 1931-1946', *Russian History*, Vol 41 No 2, 2014, pp255-268; Anna Belogurova, 'Networks, parties, and the "oppressed nations": The Comintern and Chinese communists overseas, 1926-1935', *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, 24, 2017, pp61-82; Kostis Karpozilos, *Red America: Greek Communists in the United States (1920-1950)*, New York: Berghahn, 2023.
- 24 On the subject of exile see, for example, Alix Heiniger, 'Des pratiques transnationales pour une lutte internationale? Les militants communistes allemands en exil à l'Ouest pendant la seconde guerre mondiale', in *Critique internationale*, 1, 2015, pp37-51; Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove, *A Matter of Intelligence. MI5 and the Surveillance of*

- Anti-Nazi Refugees, 1933-1950*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016; Bruno Groppo, 'Entre immigration et exil: les régusiés politiques italiens dans la France de l'entre-deux-guerres', in *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, Vol 44 No 1, 1996, pp27-35; Scott Soo, *The Routes to Exile. France and the Spanish Civil War Refugees, 1939-2009*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016; Bertrand M. Patenaude, *Stalin's Nemesis. The Exile and Murder of Leon Trotsky*, London: Faber & Faber, 2010.
- 25 Astrid Hedlin, 'Illiberal deliberation: Communist regime travel controls as state capacity in everyday world politics', *Co-operation and Conflict*, Vol 54 No 2, 2019, pp211-233.
- 26 Autobiographies of this kind include: Odette Keun, *Sous Lénine: Notes d'une femme déportée en Russie par les Anglais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1922; Magdeleine Marx, *La perfide. Par les routes d'Asie mineure*, Paris: Flammarion, 1925; Fred Beal, *Proletarian Journey*, New York: Hillman-Curl, 1937; Jan Valtin, *Out of the Night*, New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1941; Alfred Rosmer, *Moscou sous Lénine*, Paris: Éditions Horay, 1953; George Hardy, *Those Stone Years*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1956; William Gallacher, *Revolt on the Cycle: An Autobiography*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978; Manabendra Nath Roy, *M.N. Roy's Memoirs*, Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1984; Tan Malaka, *From Jail to Jail. Vol. 1*, Athens, OH: Ohio University, 1991; Óscar Pérez Solís, *Un vocal español en la Komintern y otros escritos sobre la Rusia soviética*, Valencina de la Concepción: Editorial Renacimiento, 2018. Biographies include: Ted Allan and Sydney Gordon, *The Scalpel, the Sword: The Story of Dr. Norman Bethune*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973; Samaren Roy, *M.N. Roy: A Political Biography*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1997.
- 27 Burak Sayim, 'Of transits and transitions: Moscow-bound travels of foreign communists as a transformative experience', in *Revolutionary Russia*, Vol 36 No 1, 2023, p100.
- 28 Lana Ravandi-Fadai, "'Red Mecca" – The Communist University for Laborers at the East (KUTV): Iranian scholars and students in Moscow in the 1920s and 1930s', in *Iranian Studies*, Vol 48 No 5, pp713-727.
- 29 Masha Kirasirova, 'The "East" as a category of Bolshevik ideology and Comintern administration: the Arab section of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East', in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol 18 No 1, 2017, pp7-34.
- 30 James H. Meyer, 'Children of Trans-Empire: Nâzim Hikmet and the first generation of Turkish students at Moscow's Communist University

- of the East', in *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, Vol 5 No 2, 2018, pp195-218; Rainer Matos Franco, 'Socialist internationalism and national classifications at the Comintern schools (1922-1943)', in *Ab Imperio*, 3, 2021, pp136-165.
- 31 Ali Raza, *Revolutionary Past: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- 32 Jean-François Fayet, *VOKS: Le laboratoire helvétique. Histoire de la diplomatie culturelle soviétique durant l'entre-deux-guerres*, Chênebourg; Georg éditeur, 2014.
- 33 Michael David-Fox, 'From illusory "society" to intellectual "public": VOKS, international travel and party-intelligentsia relations in the interwar period', in *Contemporary European History*, Vol 11 No 1, 2002, p7.
- 34 Ville Laamanen, 'VOKS, cultural diplomacy and the shadow of the Lubianka: Olavi Paavolainen's 1939 visit to the Soviet Union', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 52 No 4, 2017, pp1022-1041; Ville Soimetsä, 'Soviet cultural diplomacy with Scandinavians after the Great Terror: VOKS and visitors from Denmark and Norway in 1939', in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol 23 No 1, 2022, pp29-49; Sune Bechmann Pedersen, 'Eastbound tourism in the Cold War: The history of the Swedish communist travel agency "Folkтурист"', *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol 10 No 2, 2018, pp130-145; Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen (eds.), *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008.
- 35 Michael David-Fox, 'The "heroic life" of a friend of Stalinism: Romain Rolland and Soviet culture', in *Slavonica*, Vol 11 No 1, 2005, pp3-29; Ludmila Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union 1920-1940: From Red Square to the Left Bank*, London & New York: Routledge, 2007; Sophie Cœuré and Rachel Mazuy (eds), *Cousu de fil rouge. Voyages des intellectuels français en Union soviétique*, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2011.
- 36 Nikos Kazantzakis, *What Did I See in Russia?* [Ti eida stin Rossia], Athens: Stokhastis, 1928; Liam O' Flaherty, *I Went to Russia*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1931; Katharine Susannah Prichard, *The Real Russia*, Sydney: Tomalin and Wygmore, 1934; Pamela L. Travers, *Moscow Excursion*, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934; Romain Rolland, *Voyage à Moscou (juin-juillet 1935)*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1935; André Gide, *Retour de l'URSS*, Paris: Gallimard, 1936; Lion Feuchtwanger, *Moskau 1937: Ein Reisebericht für meine Freunde*, Amsterdam: Querido

- Verlag, 1937.
- 37 Angela Kershaw, 'French and British female intellectuals and the Soviet Union. The journey to the USSR, 1929-1942', in *E-rea. Revue électronique d'études sur le monde anglophone*, Vol 4 No 2, 2006.
- 38 Michael David-Fox, 'From illusory "society" to intellectual "public"', pp7-32.
- 39 Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War*, PA: Penn State Press, 2003.
- 40 Charles Burdett, and Derek Duncan, 'Introduction', in Charles Burdett and Derek Duncan (eds), *Cultural Encounters: European Travel Writing in the 1930s*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2002, p4.
- 41 Katerina Clark, *Moscow, the Fourth Rome: Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931-1941*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- 42 Paul Hollander, 'Gide and Soviet communism', in Tom Coner (ed), *André Gide's Politics: Rebellion and Ambivalence*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp103-104.
- 43 Rachel Mazuy, *Croire plutôt que voir? Voyages en Russie soviétique (1919-1939)*, Paris: Odile Jacob, 2002, pp207-208.
- 44 Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Foreigners observed: Moscow visitors in the 1930s under the gaze of their Soviet guides', in *Russian History*, Vol 35 No 1-2, 2008, pp215-235.
- 45 Lusía Zaitseva, 'Gained in translation: Faiz Ahmed Faiz's Soviet travels', in *Comparative Literature*, Vol 73 No 1, 2021, pp41-60.
- 46 Kostis Karpozilos, 'The defeated of the Greek Civil War. From fighters to political refugees in the Cold War', in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol 16 No 3, 2014, p63.
- 47 Masha Kirasirova, 'Building anti-colonial utopia. The politics of space in Soviet Tashkent in the "long 1960s"', in Chen Jian et al (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties*, London & New York: Routledge, 2018, pp53-66.
- 48 Marek Eby, 'Global Tashkent: Transnational visions of a Soviet city in the postcolonial world, 1953-1966', in *Ab Imperio*, 4, 2021, p240.
- 49 Rachel Applebaum, *Empire of Friends: Soviet Power and Socialist Internationalism in Cold War Czechoslovakia*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2019.
- 50 Pia Koivunen, 'Friends, "potential friends", and enemies: Reimagining Soviet relations to the First, Second, and Third Worlds at the Moscow 1957 Youth Festival', in Patryk Babircki and Austin Jersild (eds), *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War. Exploring the Second World*,

Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp219-247.

- 51 Ducoulombier, *Histoire du communisme au XXe siècle*, pp58-60.
- 52 Rosario Hubert, 'Intellectual cartographies of the Cold War. Latin American visitors to the People's Republic of China, 1952-1958', in Robert T. Tally (ed), *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, London & New York: Routledge, 2017, pp337-348; Brenda Rugar, 'Viajeros argentinos a China en el marco de la "diplomacia entre pueblos" (1950-1965)', in *Cahier des Amériques latines*, Vol 1 No 94, 2020, pp203-227.
- 53 Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba 1928-1978*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.