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Julie Andersen

“On a Scooter Journey to the Zone Border”. Danish Tourists in West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s

In March 1961, an article in the Danish car magazine *Motor* stated: “Berlin, the island in the Red Sea, is probably the place, where you most clearly feel the contrast between East and West. The difference between East Berlin and West Berlin is so shocking that one could not wish for any better visual instruction”.¹ The same year a Danish tourist, Margrethe, wrote in a postcard greeting that there was a “strange atmosphere” in Berlin.²

European mass tourism started during the Cold War, and the Danes were no exception. For the first time, a significant number of Danes went on vacation outside the Danish borders, just like Margrethe did. Before the Second World War, vacation had been a luxury few in Denmark could afford. However, this changed in the postwar period due to the economic growth promoted by the Marshall Plan in 1947, as well as a law that was passed in 1952 that allowed wage earners three weeks of coherent leave.³ Due to its geographic closeness, the majority of Danish tourists went to West Germany (The Federal Republic of Germany). This was in line with international developments, since Swedish tourists also traveled to West Germany around the same time. Even though the former German state caused a world war and killed millions of people, the foreign exchange situation overcame moral issues for Swedish tourists in the years after the Second World War.⁴ However, the sources used in this chapter cannot clarify, if this was also the case for Danish tourists. But due to a focus on cheap wine and hotels in the sources, it seems that the economy played a role among Danish tourists.

Furthermore, as the statement from *Motor* magazine suggests, Berlin and its division made the city the optimal destination to experience and witness the Cold War. The rest of this chapter will therefore look at the role the Cold War


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played in Danish tourism to West Germany in the 1950s and the 1960s. It mainly relies on articles and advertisements from the Danish car magazine *Motor*.

_Motor_ was established in 1909 by the Federation of Danish Motorists (FDM). From the start, the purpose of the magazine had been to give knowledge about cars and motor vehicles to the average owner of a motor vehicle. As Michael Wagner has shown, the car played a crucial role in establishing Danish travel routes and _Motor_ was a medium to communicate the new patterns to a broad audience.\(^5\) The articles in _Motor_ are not, however, only about vacation in West Germany. During this period there were also articles about traveling to Austria, England, France, the Inca Empire, Italy, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Furthermore, there were articles about cars, motors, comparisons between West European cars and those from East Europe, and the right driving outfits for women. In 1952, the circulation figure of _Motor_ was 42,200, and in 1964 it was 200,000.\(^6\)

By using _Motor_ as the primary source of the analysis, the chapter focuses on tourists, who travelled by car on vacation. This allows another interesting perspective on the competition between East and West during the Cold War to emerge, which is the increasing difference in economic means between the inhabitants of the two blocks.

In the 1950s, a car was a luxury, and it was not until the 1960s that a wider section of the Danish population could afford a car.\(^7\) A cheaper way to go on vacation was to go by train, which the travel bureau of the Danish State Railways emphasised continually in their travel campaigns throughout the period.\(^8\) Whether the tourists would travel by bus, car, or train, they had several things in common: they read about West Germany in a guidebook and wrote postcards. Therefore, the analysis will also be based on guidebooks about the country and postcards written by Danish tourists who visited West Germany.

There is no detailed information on the first generation of Danish mass tourism, but according to a Gallup poll from 1952, a third of the Danish population


\(^{8}\) _DSB Nyt_ 1954. Gløstrup: Louw, 1954 and _DSB Nyt_ 1960. Gløstrup: Louw, 1960. Beside the cheap prices on package tours, two other advantages according to the campaigns were quality and that the trip was planned. Another practical advantage of a package trip would be that Danish tourists, who did not speak foreign languages, could still go on vacation abroad.
had visited a foreign country after May 1945.\(^9\) A Gallup poll from 1968 also states that 96 percent of the Danish population went on summer vacation,\(^{10}\) and as already stated, West Germany quickly became a popular vacation destination: it was close to Denmark, and the cheap beer and wine tempted the Danes.\(^{11}\) From 1960 to 1967, West Germany was the most popular destination only exceeded by Italy in 1966.\(^{12}\) Through examining a sample of guidebooks and articles in magazines, a picture of the most popular travel routes emerges. Many Danish tourists went to Hamburg, and from there to the Harz or the rivers Mosel and Rhine. Both destinations had the advantage of the exotic. In the Harz, there were “mountains” (according to the Danes used to their flat landscape) and in the area of the rivers Rhine and Mosel, there were not just the rivers, but also warm weather and a wine culture unfamiliar to the people from the North.

But who were these tourists? According to a Gallup poll from 1951, the majority of the Danish tourists who went to foreign countries on vacation were from Copenhagen, between 18 and 24 years old, and had taken a university entrance examination.\(^{13}\) There are no statistics on the tourists in the 1960s, but when reading guidebooks and \textit{Motor} articles from the period, it is clear that their target group was not the one described by the before mentioned Gallup poll, but rather a broad range of people from various socioeconomic backgrounds. Furthermore, when interviewing eyewitnesses, it becomes apparent that it was not only university students who went on vacation. It was also people working in factories and small companies, or teachers, who for example borrowed a car from relatives and went on summer vacation with their family.\(^{14}\) This was the beginning of Danish mass tourism.

### The Cultural Cold War and Cold War Tourism

An analysis of Danish tourists in West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s is situated within two research fields: the cultural Cold War and Cold War tourism. In 2010, Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht contributed to the \textit{Cambridge History of the

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14 Interview with Lis Madsen, 13 September, 2016.
Cold War with the chapter “Culture and the Cold War in Europe”, where she states that the Cold War was “[...] a cultural contest”,¹⁵ and citizens as well as governments on each side of the Iron Curtain, used culture as a political tool. The identity and superiority of the superpower were defined through culture, and never before and never afterwards did governments invest so much money in cultural programs.¹⁶

In the context of tourism, the research field is rapidly increasing and divided into bloc and interbloc tourism, where the former focuses on tourists in either East or West, while the latter focuses on tourism across the Iron Curtain. Researching within bloc tourism, Christopher Endy showed in Cold War Holidays. American Tourism in France how tourism in Europe was an important tool in American foreign policy during the Cold War, and furthermore how tourism after the Second World War was made possible through national and transnational connections in the areas of business, media, and governments.¹⁷ With this argument, Endy points out the importance of private actors with examples from the tourist industry in France and in the US. He focuses on the influence of tourism on the Cold War, while, Michelle Standley, in “From Bulwark of Freedom to Cosmopolitan Cocktails: The Cold War, Mass Tourism and the Marketing of West Berlin as a Tourist Destination”,¹⁸ analyses how the Cold War influenced tourism in Berlin during the conflict. One central point, according to Standley, is how the Cold War made Berlin popular and attractive in the eyes of tourism and how the promotion of the city changed from being a Cold War hot spot in the 1950s to an international metropole in the 1960s.¹⁹ Also essential to tourism research is the notion of crossing physical and metaphysical borders, which Anne Gorsuch analyses in her 2006 chapter “Time Travelers. Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe”. Gorsuch demonstrates how trips and travelling were an integral part of educating a good Soviet citizen. Furthermore, she shows how the Soviet travelers

¹⁶ Ibid., 418.
¹⁹ Ibid., 105 – 119.
experienced a trip to the future when visiting a country in East Europe as there they had the opportunity to buy consumer goods not available in the Soviet Union.²⁰

Within the field of interbloc tourism, Iben Vyff investigates two of the main discussions of the cultural Cold War: identity and modernity. Through an examination of Danish travelers in the 1950s and 1960s going to the United States and the Soviet Union, Vyff shows how the identity of the travelers was shaped through their interactions with a foreign culture.²¹ This is an argument Vyff shares with Endya swella s Gorsuch, and as this chapter will show, it is also a central point concerning Danish tourists vacationing in West Germany. This chapter argues in line with the abovementioned scholars that tourism played a vital role in establishing a feeling of belonging in one bloc, i.e. in the West, and thereby enabling tourism as a soft power tool by private and official actors during the Cold War. The creation and shaping of identity is a consequence of traveling, and in the context of the Cold War, it was crucial in the ongoing fight for the hearts and the minds of Europeans.

Tourism in West Germany

The articles in Motor concentrating on tourism and West Germany are about what kind of travel destination the country was. If you travelled to West Germany you would, according to Motor, experience a romantic country with idyllic medieval villages and ancient ruins. You would also experience great nature, as the country was filled with vast forests, big mountains, rivers, and lakes. This impression is formed by text as well as images in the source material (see picture 1–3.)

As the Cold War developed, the staging of West Germany changed, and the Cold War became an increasing part of the vacation destination. Additionally, there was a further development in 1961, when the wall in Berlin was built. As the analysis will show, this development throughout the 1950s and 1960s is present in the source material. When it comes to postcards, however, the Cold War was never a central theme. As the greeting from Margrethe in the introduction demonstrates, the tourists noticed the political tension in the country, but during my research, I was not able to find anyone who delved deeper into the issue. The Cold War remained a topic staged as a tourist destination and never as a theme of political discussion.
In the article “On a scooter journey to the zone border” from 1952, two men set out on a mission. They were going to the zone border “deep in the mountains of the Harz”, and the way the story is told, the trip is staged as an adventure with all its facets: danger, joy, and exploration. The men met the personification of the enemy, the East German Volkspolizei, who almost shot them, but because of their modern mode of transportation—a brand new scooter—they quickly escaped and survived. The aim of the journey was not politically motivated; instead it was focused on finding the border in the Harz. The picture accompanying the article shows the scooter with a wheel on each side of the border, confirming that the two men completed their mission. As a reader, you are told that going to the border in the Harz and even crossing it, is not dangerous, but rather exciting. Less dramatic is the postcard greeting from John to his mom in August 1952, where he writes that he has now “[...] reached as far as the Russian Zone”.

As time passed, places where the Cold War was physically evident became tourist destinations. In 1952, the border was not the tourist destination, which it later turned into. However, I will argue that the process of the Iron Curtain becoming a tourist destination had already started as witnessed by the mentioning of the border zone in Motor and on a postcard in 1952. According to Dean MacCannell, a tourist sight has to be named by someone in order to become a destination. This is the first step in the process of becoming a tourist destination, or as MacCannell defines it “sight sacralization”. The second step is the framing of the object, i.e. putting it in a box, putting light on it, or putting a ribbon in front of it. The third step is the enshrinement, where the object and the room in which it is placed are staged in a certain way. The fourth step is the mechanical reproduction of the object, e.g. pictures of the object on postcards, mugs, and pins, and finally the fifth step is the social reproduction of the object, i.e. when groups, streets, towns, etc., are named after the object. MacCannell’s presents the process as a linear development starting with the first step and ending with the fifth. This chapter, however, argues that an object does not need to go through every step of the process, before it is a tourist destination. As the chapter will show through several examples, the mentioning of a place (the first step in MacCannells sight sacralization) starts the process, but it does not necessarily end with the fifth step. Furthermore, the context of the destination, i.e. historical

relations as well as social factors, is relevant in the process of a place becoming a tourist destination.

In 1962, the border had become an unofficial tourist destination, where tourists went to have a look at the Cold War enemy in East: “From the parking lot at the police station in the village you have a nice view of the border zone, where you can clearly see one of the many watch towers that the Czech have built along the border”.25 According to MacCannell’s sight sacralization, it is the first step of the process, and since it is a parking lot, it is very unlikely that any formalisation took place. However, by mentioning the parking lot in *Motor*, tourists went there, which is how it became a tourist destination.

The inner border in Germany between East and West was one of a kind,26 and therefore it attracted a lot of tourists, or as it is stated on the very first page of the anthology *Divided, but not disconnected*: “On a basic level, it was its inner border that made Germany a unique place to experience the Cold War”.27 When going on vacation in West Germany, tourists had the unique opportunity to get close to this inner border and thereby also the enemy. As already argued, it was not staged as something dangerous, instead it was staged as something exciting and unique to West Germany.

In 1968, Søren wrote to Eva about things he had seen in Lübeck. Here the bus tour to the border is compared to a harbour tour: “This morning we went out to look at shops and this afternoon we were on a harbour tour as well as on a tour at the East border[...].”28 As the Cold War developed, the border zone also became a part of the tourist industry through organised bus tours with guides. In Søren’s postcard greeting, the border was a tourist attraction and therefore a positive element in his experience of Lübeck. But in *Motor*, the border and Lübeck were staged differently. According to the magazine, the city met its dark destiny once again after the war: “The Iron Curtain [...] has fallen just outside its gates”.29 Another article stated how there was a dark atmosphere in the border area, and how the tourist will experience a sense of horror when going near it.30 But despite the dark destiny of the city, one could still get a feeling of what Lübeck once was: “[...] if you sit quietly one hour in the afternoon in

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26 Lindenberger, Thomas. Divided, but Not Disconnected. Germany as a Border Region of the Cold War. In *Divided, but Not Disconnected*, 1–34.
the restaurant, which is located in the 16th century house of the skipper guild [...] one cannot avoid feeling the atmosphere of those days, when Lübeck behind its Wasserring and thick walls was rich, beautiful, and ‘Nordic’”. ³¹

The Danish tourist is therefore asked not to hesitate to visit the city. With a little imagination, the (Nordic) charm of Lübeck could still be found. This is also the case with the Duchy of Lauenburg. Like Lübeck, the area suffered from a dark destiny caused by the border. In the article “Where the Iron Curtain has set on a former Danish border”, the reader learns that the tourist could experience the same hostile and horrifying atmosphere. However, contradicting the articles about Lübeck, the author counterintuitively suggests that experiencing this horrifying atmosphere was a unique opportunity and a reason to visit the area: “You can experience this peculiar atmosphere, when you travel in the old Duchy of Lauenburg [...] For here you are close to the iron curtain”. ³² The border was thus seen as a tourist attraction, with the politics behind it being irrelevant. This is also the case with the article “Between quiet waters of the Schlei and yellow beaches of the Elbe” reporting about a place outside the city of Itzehoe. According to the article, Danish tourists should visit this place and experience Danish culture outside of Denmark: “But you should go to the heights north of the town, where the great barracks tower – and see Dannebrog fly above them, look at the Danish sentries stand guard in front of their good, red, Danish sentry boxes”. ³³ The author of the article does not suggest any answers for why Danish soldiers had been close to the city of Itzehoe, how long they had been there, or how it fit into Danish foreign policy after the Second World War. ³⁴ Like with the case of the border, the political situation is less relevant for the story. It was far more relevant for tourists to know about the unique opportunity to visit Danish culture outside of Danish borders. By focusing on the experience of Danish tourists and ignoring the political situation, the drama of the Cold War and the border got a Danish spin.

As already stated, the source material directly addresses the fact that Germany was divided into two countries. This is for example seen visually on maps, where the roads and cities in East Germany (the German Democratic Republic)

³² “Hvor jernløpet er gået ned på en gammel dansk grænse,” Motor 24, 1957.
³⁴ Ibid. Scholars have argued that due to the fact that British troops liberated Denmark on 4 May 1945, the Danish government felt they owed the British government to help them after the war. The result was Danish troops as a part of the British occupation zone from 1947 to 1958. Christensen, Claus Bundgård; Lund, Joachim; Olesen, Niels Wiium and Sørensen, Jakob. Danmark Besat. Krig og Hverdag 1940–1945. Copenhagen: Informations Forlag, 2005, 37–38.
were left out. And it is also seen in the text. Through the choice of words, names, and titles, the division of Germany into two rival states becomes apparent. The articles in Motor are for example called “Travelling in Germany” or “Trips in Germany”, when it is evident that it was travelling to and in West Germany. This is also the case with guidebooks, where one of them is called The Trip Goes to Germany. One might think that the guidebook would guide the reader through both East and West Germany, but the first lines take away any hope that you will learn about both countries: “When you speak of Germany today as a tourist country, it is only possible to speak of West Germany. The third part in East, the one which is occupied by the Soviet Union, is for the time being a closed country”.37

By using the title The Trip Goes to Germany and not, for example, The Trip Goes to West Germany, the guidebooks became part of a tradition that claimed West Germany to be the real Germany, the better Germany.38 This is also seen in guidebooks about Berlin in which East Berlin is referred to with the proper noun East Berlin, whereas West Berlin is called “the new city”.39

Berlin

Ever since 1945, Germans fled from East to West. In the beginning it was to escape Soviet soldiers, but with the end of the Second World War and the foundation of East Germany, the reason was dissatisfaction with the regime. This was a problem for the state, since it was primarily young, educated citizens, who fled.40 In the financial race between East and West, it was impossible for East Germany to match the positive development of West Germany because of the massive escape. Therefore, the Soviet Premier, Nikita S. Khrushchev, agreed in 1961 to the wish of the leader of East Germany, Walter Ulbricht, to build a wall dividing Ber-

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lin into two parts. With this, the division of Europe was ratified, and as David C. Engerman argues, one of the biggest crises during the Cold War was instrumentalised. For tourists the building of the wall on 13 August 1961 meant a materialisation of the global conflict in a scale seen nowhere else in the world. Therefore, in the eyes of tourists, the city got one of its most popular attractions, when the wall was built.

According to the guidebook and Motor, the advantage of visiting Berlin was that tourists could peacefully experience the Cold War first hand. They would see signs of a divided city, like crossing points or an “electronic newspaper” in the West showing news to the people living in East Berlin, but they would never experience any hostile atmosphere. However, an article written in Motor before the building of the wall has another opinion of the city. West Berlin is described as a beautiful city with hectic, traffic, “the most beautiful shops”, and “elegant female Berliners”, whereas East Berlin is described as a poor, dirty city with political slogans everywhere.

Fig. 4: Stalin Alle seen through the eyes of the writer of Turen går til Berlin from 1960. Hammerby. Berlin 1960, 36.

41 The other big crisis according to Engerman was the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Engerman, David C. Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917–1962. In The Cambridge History of the Cold War, 41–42.
42 Hammerby and Meyer. Turen Går Til Berlin, 52.
43 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
from 1960, the author of the *Motor* article describes Stalin Alle as an empty street with the houses resembling big barracks, just like the ones in Moscow.⁴⁷ There is one place though, where the tourist could experience culture and Leben and that was at the opera house located on the street Unter den Linden. But the only way that tourists would be able to experience it was if they had seen it before the Second World War and were able to recall fond memories of the building. The street after the war caused “[...] horror and a feeling of oppression with its poverty and bombed out houses”.⁴⁸ The title of the article, “Berlin—the divided city”, confirms this sharp division of the city.⁴⁹

![Fig. 5: Postcard from West-Berlin, 1960. Berliner “Schnauze” (1960).](image)

A further evidence of a divided city is the postcard on picture 5, which tells the story of an East and West Berlin. The postcard only has pictures from West Berlin, and the caption of the pictures comment on the recent past of the city. In the upper middle of the postcard there is a picture of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in ruins and next to it one of the many rubble mountains with ruins from the Second World War. In the lower right corner of the postcard there is a picture of the monument for the Berlin airlift in 1948/1949, when the roads to West Berlin were blocked by the East German state. All of the pictures are named in the local Berlin dialect giving the postcard a sense of humor, countering the solemn atmosphere that the card otherwise illustrates.

⁴⁷ Ibid.
⁴⁸ Ibid.
⁴⁹ Ibid.
The city’s travel bureau, *Verkehrsamt Berlin*, wanted to promote the city as an attractive metropole, but the humorous text accompanying the pictures on the postcards did not accurately mirror the political conflict taking place in the city. They tried to promote the city as an “apolitical leisure playground” after 1961. But as the following pages will show, this was not the case with the Danish print material, where the Cold War continued to play an important role in promoting the city. This was because, as one *Motor* article stated, the wall in the city actually attracted tourists to it. In Berlin, tourists would have a unique opportunity to experience a phenomenon unlike anything in the world: “In West Berlin you will find wealth, desperation, and the special kind of merriment, which one can feel, when you are trapped between enemies [...] In East Berlin, a grey and filthy, self-important activity”. Visually the uniqueness of the city was confirmed in the title of the article, where the first part of the headline is written on bricks symbolising the wall.

Before 13 August 1961, Danish tourists could visit East Berlin, but now it was even more exciting because of the wall. Thinking about MacCannell’s sight sacralization process, it is clear that a political event such as the building of the wall made the border between East and West much more attractive in the eyes of tourism. When the building of the wall was ordered, it was not with the intention to make Berlin more attractive in the eyes of tourists. But as we have seen, the wall quickly became the main reason to visit the city. A picture taken by a Danish tourist confirms that the tourists wanted to see the famous wall; they wanted to look at the enemy in East from a safe distance, just like the two men, who set out for their scooter adventure in the Harz of the woods. Therefore, I will argue that another element needs to be considered, when outlining sight sacralization processes, i.e. the context of the tourist destination.

The wall sharpened the distinction between East and West, and made the enemy much more intriguing. In 1965, the majority of the tourists visiting West Berlin, visited East Berlin as well, and Danish tourists were no exception. The guidebook *The Trip Goes to Berlin* from 1964, explains how the tourist could take a guided bus tour in East Berlin with a driver from East Berlin. From looking at the timetable in the guidebook, the bus tours were quite popular. During the summer there were tours every two hours starting at 9 a.m. Not only did the tourists get to drive around the country of the enemy, they also had

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50 Standley. From Bulwark, 106.
52 Standley. From Bulwark, 110.
the opportunity to speak with a person from East Germany, or in other words: stand face to face with a trapped East German citizen!

Tourism and the Cold War

The 1950s saw the start of Danish mass tourism. It was now possible for people like Margrethe or Søren to travel outside of Denmark during their vacation. They could take a break from their everyday lives and experience a foreign culture and country. The majority of Danish tourists went to West Germany on summer vacation, and as this chapter has demonstrated, it was where their idyllic holidays met political realities. West Germany as a tourist destination was a complex spectrum in the 1950s and 1960s. It was where East met West in a global conflict, but it was also where Danes could experience great mountains and a wine culture unknown in Denmark.

The Cold War was a part of the West German vacation destination on both a mental and physical level. Even though some guidebooks and articles tried to downplay the political tension in the country, it is clear that tourists did experience and feel its presence. The border between East and West was the key attraction, but at the same time also a limitation. The border created curiosity among the Danish tourists, but it also limited the extent to which they could travel. When for example going to the Harz, the prime attraction was Brocken, the highest mountain, but it was on the other side of the border. The guidebooks would let the reader know, where to go to have a good view of the mountain, but the fact remained that it was impossible to visit it. The tourists could only go so far before the border guards stopped them.

As seen in the source material, there is a sharp distinction between East and West. In the West, tourists could explore the traditional German culture and nature, whereas East Germany was a closed country. This staging of the border zone contradicts Thomas Lindenberger’s argument of the German border region as an area where activity permeated the Iron Curtain. The reason for the two different kinds of staging can be found in the two different perspectives on the border zone. Lindenberger looks at the border zone from the point of view of German citizens on each side of the Iron Curtain. From this perspective, stories about the other half of Germany were told through family members and the media.

56 Ibid., 13–14, 22.
The source material used for this chapter looks at the border zone from a different angle, i.e. the tourist perspective, which takes advantage of the division of Germany in order to stage West Germany as the superior state when compared to East Germany. The story of West Germany got better, when the border put the enemy at a safe distance.

It is evident that the development of the Cold War had a political impact on tourist materials, such as guidebooks, journals, and postcards. But was it political tourism that brought Danish tourists to West Germany, or was it something else? This chapter argues that the Danish tourists did not travel to West Germany, West Berlin, or go on bus tours to East Berlin with political motives. Instead, Danish tourists went to West Berlin and West Germany with the aim of experiencing the Cold War in a way which was impossible in Denmark. By doing so, travelling to West Germany and reading about it in Motor and in guidebooks, a “bloc feeling” was created. It was us against them; it was we from Denmark and West Germany against those from East Germany and the Soviet Union. The political aspect shaped the staging of East and West Germany, and it created new tourist destinations for the Danish tourist. The reality of the Cold War and its palpability in West Germany and especially in Berlin were reasons enough to visit: “But who can resist the natural curiosity, the desire to see, what one has read about and heard of? The best way is without a doubt to go on one of the well-arranged bus tours, which will take you to all the landmarks in West as well as in East Berlin”.

Through Motor’s staging of the country, West Germany belonged to the Western, modern world. It was political tourism in the sense that the journal staged West Germany in a certain way, but at the same time, interviews show that Danish tourists did not think much about politics, when choosing to go on vacation in West Germany. When the Danes went on vacation in West Germany in the first two decades of the Cold War, they could (safely) experience danger and joy. The country offered attractions and experiences that they could not get in Denmark and in addition had cheap wine and beer, making West Germany a great vacation destination for the first generation of Danish mass tourism.
