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*Igor Orlov*

**THE SOVIET UNION OUTGOING  
TOURISM IN 1955-1985:  
VOLUME, GEOGRAPHY,  
ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS**

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*Igor Orlov*<sup>1</sup>

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VOLUME, GEOGRAPHY, ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS<sup>2</sup>**

In this paper, the institutional component, the volume and geography, and the specific forms of Soviet outgoing (foreign) tourism from 1955 – 1985 is reconstructed using documents from four central state archives on the basis of Soviet, post-Soviet and foreign historiography. A neoinstitutional approach allows the author to show the dependence of the above mentioned parameters from the essential principles which were the basis for the activities of tourism institutions being responsible for organizing foreign tours for the Soviet citizens and the ideological control.

Key words: Soviet Union, Russia, outgoing tourism, institutionalization, geography, ideological control

JEL Classification: Z

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<sup>1</sup> Professor of Department of political behavior National Research University Higher School of Economics, doctor of historical science, professor.

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## Introduction

The works of the Soviet period dealing with the international tourist ties of the Soviet Union, as a rule, were limited by the quantitative data available on the citizens. Stories about "Friendship Trains" and tourist exchanges between twin-cities were the main evidence of travel abroad during the second half of the 20th century. Furthermore, the sections covering outgoing tourism frequently lost in terms of the volume of the written papers to the ones of the reception of foreign tourists in the USSR.

While Soviet international tourism was regarded as the manifestation of the policy of "proletarian internationalism" [Dvornichenko 1985c: 10], censure of ideological influence on the citizens intending to visit the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe dominated in the estimations of western tourism. The aim of the influence was Soviet life propaganda. [Artemov 1973a: 25; Artemov 1973b: 181; Tech misinformation 1978: 15-16].

In turn, the "mirror" viewpoint became widespread in Western historiography. The Soviet and foreign tourists served as a propaganda tool in the hands of the Soviet government, but in general, international tourism was an important component of the Soviet "cultural attack" [Gorsuch 2010; Russia and the World 1997: 257-258].

In recent years, Russian historiography has turned to the study of the history of Soviet outgoing tourism. A deviation from the traditional Soviet historiography interest in tourism institutions (All-Union Joint-Stock Company "Intourist", Bureau of International Youth Tourism "Sputnik" and the international tourism department of tourism and excursion department of the Central Trade Union Organization) and the behavior of Soviet citizens abroad is evident. An institutional component of the analysis, to a greater extent, is reduced to the study of the mechanism for the selection of candidates for overseas trips. Many works are connected with the tour arrangements for Soviet citizens to some foreign countries, such as Bulgaria [Popov 2011: 302-309], Finland [Kostaynen 1997: 247-248] and France [Andreeva 2006].

The article by A. N. Chistikov, head of department of Russia modern history of St. Petersburg Institute of History of Russia Academy of Sciences предлагает в сноски is devoted to the impressions of Soviet people traveling abroad [2011: 167-177]. The chief specialist of information, publications and scientific use of the documents of the State Sociopolitical Archive of the Perm region, S.A. Shevyrin, also dedicated his work to the behavior of Soviet tourists abroad. Some of them would visit not very "politically sustained" suitable places like strip clubs, night clubs, or churches [2009: 117-121]. An article written by L.V. Silina highlights the peculiarities of inbound and outbound tourism in 1960 [2010: 136-140], mainly focusing on the

materials of Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (GRANI) and devoted to the activities of the ideological apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (the CPSU) concerning foreign propaganda. The above mentioned dissertation by E.B. Andreeva is devoted to the analysis of the evolution of Russian tourist practices in France in the 19th and the beginning of 21st century, including the peculiarities of the development of Soviet tourism as a social and cultural phenomenon, the social "portrait" of a Russian tourist in France, and the attitude of Russian tourists to France and the French [Andreeva 2006]. E.P. Arkhipova studied international legal forms of the cooperation between the USSR and a number of capitalist countries in the field of tourism, presenting tour geography and major kinds of Soviet outbound tourism from 1980-1991 [2008: 36-43].

In recent decades the study of Soviet international tourism is closely linked with the Crimea. In particular, A.D. Popov considers the examination of ideological, informational and communicational, and psychological aspects of traveling abroad to be connected with the appearance of new facets of the confrontation between the East and West during the Cold War [2008b: 49-56]. Another work by the Crimean historian is devoted to the analysis of extraordinary situations the tourists from the USSR got into abroad [Popov 2008a: 74-78].

An important monograph of Soviet foreign tourism was made by O.N. Radchenko, an associate professor of the Cherkassy National University name after B. Hmel'nitsky. A small section based on the documents of the Ukrainian archives and personal interviews with tourists described the outgoing tourism from 1960-1980 [Radchenko 2013: 92-107].

As we see, the Russian, Ukrainian and Western historians have done a lot to collect and analyze archival documents, to some extent reflecting the peculiarities of Soviet outbound tourism of the second half of the twentieth century. However, until now foreign tourism has not become the subject of particular study as an independent direction and an important part of the international tourist exchanges of the Soviet Union. In this paper, it is attempted to make the reconstruction of generalized institutionalization, geography, volumes, shapes and peculiarities of Soviet outbound tourism from 1955-1985 using the materials of four central archives.<sup>3</sup>

The amount and the importance of archival collections in reconstructing the history of Soviet outgoing tourism vary. For this research, the materials of Fund R-9612 (the institutions for the USSR foreign tourism management) of the Russian Federation State Archive containing the documents of 1929-1985 are primarily used. The diversity and abundance of the materials related to foreign tourism characterizes this fund. This creates certain difficulties in selecting the

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<sup>3</sup> The State Archive of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archive of Economy, Russian State Archive of Social and Political History and the Russian State Archive of contemporary history.

documents and finding a balance between typical and exclusive materials. The former includes such documents as the reports of group leaders from "Intourist" staff, orders and minutes of the management board's sittings, and especially the reports on specialized group tours [R. 1,3] being written as a blueprint. There are also explanatory notes to the annual accounts and reports, market surveys and newsletters [R. 2] and letters to the party and state and economic development departments of international tourism [R. 4]. The group of exclusive documents includes secret decrees and orders (for example, on the organization of scientific tourism or tours to the United States) kept in register 2 (the first department). Among the plenty of inventory documents three really exclusive documents can be found. They are about the political effectiveness of Soviet tourism, the guides and interpreters' experience in accompanying Soviet tourist groups overseas, the state of outgoing tourism in the USSR in the early 1980s, etc. But these and similar documents not being in the open storage funds are called on only to clarify certain aspects of Soviet international tourism development in the Cold War period. The overall picture is built on the basis of mass sources, the analysis of which allows us to notice the common points in the development of Soviet outgoing tourism.

Fund R-9520 (the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions of All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions) is full of reports about tourist group leaders. Trade union statistics contain reports of national and regional councils and trade unions on the implementation of plans for the direction of Soviet tourists abroad, data about non-currency exchange with tourist companies of foreign countries, information about the prices of tours, and Soviet tourists' reception and service abroad. Here it was possible to see the text of the Regulations for International Tourism Department of the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions [R. 1. C. 613. P. 88-93]. This allows us to understand the place and role of trade union tourism in the overall system of international travel. The reports of group leaders give us the information about the size and social structure of the group, tour programs, trip management shortcomings, guides and interpreters' qualification, the behavior of Soviet tourists, etc.

As for the State Archive of Social and Political History, it should be said that there are no classified materials relating to the "adult" outgoing tourism in the archive. However, register 46 of Fund 71 (the Institute of Marxism-Leninism) containing the documents of the International Relations sector (department) of the IML 1967 has the letters of the authorities of the Institute to the CPSU Central Committee and the Commission on trips abroad CPSU, to "Intourist" and the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions of All-Russian Trade Unions. Furthermore, a number of staff reports about the scientific business trips contain the descriptions of the

excursions included in the itinerary tours [C. 283. P. 9; C. 287. P. 1,9-10; C. 292. P. 20-24]. But on the other hand, youth tourism is widely represented by the documents of Fund 5M ("Sputnik"). In addition to the annual agency reports and guide, interpreter and group leader reports, the Fund keeps the correspondence with international tourism organizations, the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR KMO, Glavinturist and "Intourist", the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Soviet embassies abroad, and other departments. The materials of conferences, meetings and seminars at various levels on the issues of the youth international tourism development, departmental orders and instructions, agreements with foreign travel agencies, tour plans and programs are of significant reconstructive potential.

Despite being small in number, RGANI documents give a fresh look at the origins of Soviet outgoing tourism. Having been found in Fund 5 (the CPSU body) the documents of the CPSU Central Committee General [R. 30. C. 113,161] make it possible to see "the Party kitchen" of the outgoing tourism institutionalization. There were several information materials of the departments of culture and propaganda of the Party Central Committee, containing, among other things, information about the geography and volume of foreign tourism in 1979-1984, in the documents of the Fund. These documents are more valuable because of the fact that the beginning of the 1980s is modestly reflected in the papers of the RF SA. Fund 3 (The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee) represents the documents of the Commission of the Party Central Committee on trips abroad, helping to trace the system formed for selecting candidates for overseas tours. Unfortunately, not all the fund documents are declassified.

Fund 413 of the Russian State Archive of Economy of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR) has practically no materials about "Intourist" from the post-war period, despite the fact that the agency was part of the Ministry until 1964. After viewing all the Fund cases, the card on the approval of the "Intourist" Charter by order 384 of the MFT from August 8, 1955 [R. 13. C. 7520] was the only document to have been found and the text of the Charter [R. 13. C. 7504. P. 162-169] was absent in the fund of "Intourist".

The research objective was the refusal from the approach to the use of the archival documents. Concerning the reports of the group leaders, guides and interpreters accompanying the tourist groups, it should be stressed that the sample has been made for every year and different countries. The annual balance sheets and reports for all the above years have been researched as well. Moreover, many cases have not been used by other researchers according to the records. A significant part of the documents (especially Fund 3 of the RGANI, Register 3 of

"Intourist" Fund of the GA RF, and IML in the State Archive of Social and Political History) has been brought into scientific use for the first time. Thus, it is possible to speak quite responsibly about the representativeness of the selected archival documents for solving the problems set in the research.

### **Foreign tourism institutionalization**

The sources of Soviet outbound tourism were rooted in the 1930s, when 257 Communist workers of the first five-year plan set off on a cruise around Europe [Around Europe 1931: 32]. The overseas excursion by the ship, "Abkhazia", was organized by the Proletarian Tourism and Excursion Society. They covered eight thousand miles on the following route: Leningrad - Danzig - Hamburg - Naples - Constantinople - Odessa - Moscow. The participants were met by the Soviet embassy staff in Germany, Italy and Turkey (England and France did not allow the ship to stop), Maxim Gorky visited "the Abkhazia" in during their stay in Naples. The organizers of the cruise did not hide their ideological goals during the tour: "witness the manifestation of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries" to "to see the benefits of the Soviet system and the righteousness of our Communist Party once again" [GA RF. F. R-9520. R. 1. C. 1. P. 61,86,96; Chronicle 1930: 39; Dolzenko 1988a: 90-91; Usykin 2000: 117]. After that, foreign tourism in the USSR did not exist for a quarter of a century. Soviet people had the chance to go abroad usually as members of various delegations or as a business trip traveler.

Actual institutionalization of outbound tourism was held on the initiative and active participation of the party leadership. The draft resolution on the resumption of foreign tourism in the USSR was agreed with the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR V.V. Kuznetsov, then April 23, 1955 it was signed by the Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR I.G. Kabanov , and finally it was sent to the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet government A.I. Mikoyan. Item 14 of the resolution allowed Soviet citizen tourist trips abroad in 1955 "only to the People's Democracy countries up to 1,500 people", postponing traveling to the West and "beyond." Staffing groups of Soviet citizens, "wishing to travel abroad", was entrusted to the Council of Trade Unions from the very beginning, and paragraph 15 obliged the Foreign Ministry, the KGB and the Commission on trips abroad at the CPSU Central Committee "to establish a simplified (accelerated) procedure for issuing permits to leave the USSR and issuing collective visas to Soviet citizens" [RGANI. F. 5. R. 30. C. 113. P. 31-35]. But the amendments to the resolution, gave "Intourist" the rights of the Main Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and contained a list of activities associated only with foreign (inbound) tourism [RGANI. F. 5. R. 30,

C. 113. P. 36-37]. Nevertheless, due to the revival of international tourism in the USSR and the planned rapid expansion of inbound and outbound tourism flows, from May 30, 1955 the position of the chairman of the Commission on trips abroad (it was held by A.S. Panyushkin, the Head of the 1st Main Directorate of the KGB at that time) became full-time by the decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 203].

On July 14, 1955 the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, having considered the question of foreign tourism, gave the above mentioned departments the task of establishing simplified procedures for obtaining permission to travel abroad and issuing collective visas to Soviet citizens "having been selected by VTSCPS as tourist group members to travel to the countries of people's democracy". Whereas going through formalities to visit capitalist countries continued to be done "in the prescribed manner" through the Commission on trips abroad. The Foreign Ministry of the USSR was instructed to negotiate with the governments of the People's Democracies about the border crossing terms by Soviet citizens going for the spa treatment. They wanted to discuss the possibility of crossing the border internal Soviet passports in case of holding an entry visa of the country and resort vouchers or the direction of the Ministry of Health [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 213].

The documents show that from the outset, the Commission on trips abroad at the CPSU Central Committee was not planned to be used under the system of mass outbound tourism. Their functions (albeit with interruptions and periodic reorganizations) had been established over the years as: the question of traveling abroad on business and to work, treatment and scientific conferences, private trips, etc. The impossibility of making a few members of the Commission responsible for being the "filter" on the way of the candidates for travelers was evident under the constantly expanding process of the international tourist exchanges.

The second birth of outbound tourism, other than the mentioned party directives, was institutionally associated with the new edition of the Charter of "Intourist", approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR № 384 of August 8, 1955. In contrast to the 1929 Charter, the new one opened opportunities of "the development of all types of tourism, both to the Soviet Union and from the Soviet Union", for a tourist without reference to the country to be visited. That is, the task of the society was the organization of inbound tourism, foreign transit passenger service and support for the development of outbound tourism [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. P. 2; RSAE. F. 413. R. 13. C. 7504. P. 162-169].

However, the company was provided with such a possibility under the Charter of 1948, where according to paragraph 1 "Intourist" was established "for developing all kinds of foreign tourism in the Soviet Union, servicing foreign tourists and other foreigners who come to the

USSR or transit through its territory as well as for tourism from the Soviet Union to other countries". With that end in view, "Intourist" "perform activation of tourists abroad and in the USSR, organizes tours of Soviet tourists abroad" (paragraph 2) [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 1. C. 148. P. 1]. But the Charter of 1948 was more a wish than a guide to act because it was not confirmed by the relevant Party decisions. The explanatory memorandum to the report of in 1953 shows that that year (as the previous years) limited the service department activities of foreign delegations and transit passengers traveling through the Soviet Union [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 1. C. 320. P. 4]. Nevertheless, shortly after the adoption of the new Charter, in May 1949, the "essentially powerless" (according to the Security Minister V.S. Abakumov) [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 134] Bureau for travel abroad under the Committee on Information of the USSR was liquidated and by the decision of the Politburo, the Commission on departures at the Party Central Committee led by the Secretary of the CPSU (b) M.A. Suslov was reanimated.<sup>4</sup> The Commission's decisions were obligatory, and the Ministry of National Security, in turn, pledged, "to conduct a special audit of people traveling abroad at the request of the Commission". The Statute of the Commission approved on the same day stated the latter to be obliged to check the "political reliability" of going on business and "reasonableness and practicability" for meeting the requests for private trips, issuing exit visas to each, explaining to everybody the rules of conduct abroad [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 143,145-146]. The functions of the Commission - the collection of written instructions on compliance with the obligations of the rules of conduct - were canceled by the decision of the Party Central Committee Secretariat, October 31, 1962 for business travelers to the countries of people's democracies including Albania, Vietnam, China, North Korea and Yugoslavia [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 232].

In addition, the General Department of the CPSU Central Committee remained the Draft Resolution on foreign tourism in the Soviet Union. Drawn up in March 1954 by the Commission of the three allied ministers (on behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs - V.M. Molotov, Trade Ministry – A.I. Mikoyan, Home Ministry – S.N. Kruglov), the head of the foreign policy department of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, M.A. Suslov, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, S.A. Borisov. However, there was not a single word on outbound tourism in the draft resolution prepared by the order of the USSR Council of Ministers on July 21, 1953

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<sup>4</sup> The Commission was abolished and its functions were transferred to the Personnel Department of diplomatic and foreign economic bodies of the CPSU Central Committee by the Resolution of the Presidium of the CC on December 20, 1962, renamed May 12, 1965 in the Department of foreign personnel of the CPSU Central Committee. The Commission on trips abroad at the CPSU Central Committee was re-established in turn by the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on January 4, 1967 and existed until August 1991.

[RGANI. F. 5. R. 30. C. 113. P. 109-112]. On January 19, 1955 the CPSU Central Committee approved the "Regulations on the behavior of Soviet citizens traveling to the countries of people's democracy for long and short trips" [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 185-188], and on March 26, the similar, "Instruction on the behavior of Soviet citizens traveling to the capitalist countries to work for Soviet institutions, international organizations, or on short-term business trips" [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 192-196]. Again, outbound tourism was overlooked. The form of the questionnaire for going abroad, approved by the decree of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee on April 25, 1955 and later extended to tourists, was not changed until August 1991.

On March 24, 1955 at the meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, the resolution "On measures to streamline the exchange of delegations from foreign countries and the expenditure of public funds for cultural relations with foreign countries" was adopted. The Party Central Committee agreed mainly to the plans of exchanging delegations, sports and artistic groups with foreign countries for 1955, presented by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Antifascist Committee, the USSR Academy of Sciences, All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy (DOSAAF), creative unions and ministries. They also thought it should be necessary to "continue to prompt questions of invitations to the USSR and abroad concerning each delegation and team considered by the CPSU Central Committee" [RGANI. F. 3. R. 22. C. 70. P. 191]. In fact, tourism was not reflected in that document.

If the minutes of the "Intourist" board meeting in 1955 did not contain any mention of outbound tourism [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 1. C. 356], among the orders of the board for the same year order 317a, October 11, 1955 signed by the chairman of the "Intourist" board, V.M. Ankudinov, was found. In "order to improve work to organize Soviet tourists outgoing" V.M. Ankudinov ordered the foreign department to concentrate on the negotiations with foreign firms to receive Soviet tourists abroad, tour programs, pricing and terms of payment. In turn, hotels and restaurants were entrusted to the interaction of "Intourist" with the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in the tourism sphere: registration, instruction dispatch of Soviet tourists abroad, as well as staffing group leaders. That is, having received the information about the number of the Soviet tourists and other things from the Foreign Department, it would report the all the routes, dates and prices for the tours. The department of hotels and restaurants made the same order together with the Planning and Finance Department responsible for providing Soviet tourists with currency or checks. Ensuring the timely delivery of

trains, cars and locations for Soviet tourists going abroad, was assigned to the Passenger Transportation Department [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 1. C. 357. P. 15].

Although in 1955, as mentioned above, only the possibility of going to the people's democracy countries was considered, the first 38 Soviet tourists visited Sweden in September of the same year [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 268. P. 60]. Since the next year's planned outbound tourism figures were to increase substantially, January 3, 1956 the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the organization of the Soviet people traveling abroad" recommended establishing commissions for traveling abroad under the regional party committees. The ruling party pointed to the need for "recommending the advanced workers and employees, engineers and technicians, agronomists, doctors, teachers, workers of science and culture being politically proved and stable in the moral and domestic relations for... trips". And "careful monitoring" of the selection of candidates were imposed on the Party organizations of enterprises and institutions [RGANI. F. 5. R. 30. C. 161. P. 35]. In particular, we learn from the minutes of the meeting of the Bureau of the Chelyabinsk Regional Party Committee from January 23, 1956 that the commission in the Chelyabinsk regional party committee was headed by M.S. Solomentsev and the head of administrative, trading and financial bodies department of the Regional Party Committee, the head of the regional department of the KGB and the chairman of the regional council of trade unions. The main work on the selection of tourists was assigned to the unions and city and district councils of workers' deputies. In turn, the Regional Directorate of the KGB was committed to "establish a thorough check of tourists traveling abroad and within ten days to provide the regional committee of the CPSU with the resolution of the checking up on the results" [RGANI. F. 5. R. 30. C. 161. P. 36].

As we can see, after the appearance of outbound tourism, a rather a rigid system of selection of candidates for overseas tours was formed, that is "the triangle" at the enterprise or organization consisting of the representatives of the administration, party and trade union organizations, municipal and district executive councils of workers; regional councils of trade unions; Provincial Department of the KGB commission on trips abroad with regional party committee. If there was a positive decision by the Regional Commission, the documents were sent to the Commission for travel abroad of the Central Committee for the final resolution that was to a great extent formal.

Hence, as soon as the trip became a reality, they were arranged with lots of bureaucracy. Obtaining permission to travel to the countries of Western Europe and the U.S. meant filling in a large questionnaire. It included questions about relatives living abroad, in addition to ordinary recommendations. The rules of being abroad for the Soviet citizens were regulated by the

legislation of the country visited and the requirements of the USSR government. At the briefing, travelers were warned against walking around the city on their own, especially to shops and at night, and giving their home address to anyone else. Furthermore, realizing the pecuniary difference between the 'socialist East' and 'capitalist West', travelers should not have come to the conclusion that the capitalist system was better [Gorsuch 2010: 372]. After all, the shop windows in the western countries "were a very effective way of promoting the 'Western lifestyle'" [Chistikov 2011: 69].

In connection with the expansion of Soviet tourist travel to Western countries, in February 1957 there appeared to be a discussion about tour information security and the currency policy inside "Intourist". In particular, there was a proposal to make "a foreign country directory... comprehensive", as from the leadership's point of view Soviet tourists took in the wrong way the idea of people's and countries' ways of living "on the ground of how they spent their submitted pocket money". Moreover, officials were afraid that coming back to the USSR, such tourists would misinform "the Soviet people about the life abroad". The representatives of the Ministry of Culture opposed to a large amount of reference books on the western countries to be issued, where "far fewer tourists went than to the people's democracies". On the contrary, the management of "Intourist" believed that the problem could not "be treated mechanically" as "most of our mistakes in work with tourists are those of the capitalist countries" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 237. P. 6]. The stumbling block was tourist currency security. On the one hand, the currency "excess" prevented them from holding "planned events" as tourists were eager to buy "things as much as possible, sometimes at the expense of excursions". The supporters of a strict currency limit believed that the currency was "given to the Soviet tourists for buying souvenirs, they were supposed to give people abroad, for personal needs (shaving, ironing, clothes, etc.) and for the tips, rather than for getting consumer goods". But on the other hand, there were the arguments against such restrictions on tourists: "...our state will benefit if tourists get more valuable goods, spend the currency more efficiently" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 237. P. 9-10].

From the transcript of the meeting of senior "Intourist" officials of April 16-18, 1957 we know about the problems with sending groups of the Soviet tourists abroad. First of all, the Soviet Division of Tourism, which "has been coming out of its shell for a year", while continuing to work in the "old" was subjected to criticism from the part of the trade union workers [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 237. P. 29,31]. For its part, the leadership of the MFT and "Intourist" proceeded from the fact that "staffing groups going abroad and including people into them should be regarded as encouraging employees" and therefore, it is "political work".

Whereas the task of "Intourist" was to prevent "disorder with sending and returning groups from abroad" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 237. P. 53].

About four years later, the All-Union meeting of "Intourist" workers on January 17-20, 1961, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, I.G. Bolshakov, demonstrated "serious shortcomings" in the international tourism organization by approaching it as a kind of entertainment. Otherwise, Soviet tourists should have been "the advocates of our Soviet reality". He referred to the experience of the U.S. State Department when they handed American tourists special memos prescribing how to behave, how to answer questions, and what questions to ask, as well as when they supplied them with propaganda literature and records for distributing in the USSR. The senior official reminded tourist organization leaders of the Soviet government guidelines to develop specialized tourism, as "people of certain professions must be sent for defined objectives and for establishing cultural and scientific contacts" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 146]. Particular attention was drawn to the need for analyzing the "political effect of tourist trips abroad" at the meeting. The management believed "Intourist" did "very little" in this direction, for the tour results were not aggregated, tours were not popularized among the population, even reports were not always sent by group leaders to the trade union councils [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 158]. It should be said that Soviet tourists abroad were watched by the selected members of the party, by Komsomol and trade union leaders, [The instruction 1990] by "Intourist" (when traveling to the capitalist and developing countries) employees, as well as , in some cases, by the KGB. Let us recall, for example, a well-known poem by Vladimir Vysotsky "A personality in plainclothes":

"A personality in plainclothes, a redheaded male  
Was introduced to me in Paris,  
"We will live together, I am Nicodemus.  
Had load, lived in Bobruisk  
Dad is Russian, I myself am Russian,  
Even wasn't convicted"."

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR required all the departments to be more demanding in the selection and staffing of tourist groups, to improve the instruction of the Soviet tourists before their departure abroad, to "attract experienced employees who know foreign conditions", to use trips more efficiently to promote the achievements of the Soviet system, and to study foreign science and technology [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 299. P. 76].

The development of outbound tourism in the USSR from 1960-1980 was under the control of several government agencies. They were the Directorate (from 1969 the Main

Directorate) on foreign tourism under the Council of Ministers of the USSR (from 1983 the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, responsible for the work of "Intourist"), the Komsomol Central Committee (the curator of the BMMT "Sputnik" activities), and the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, which was in charge of the Central Division of the international tourism and excursion Office of Trade Unions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Committee of State Security, as well as numerous Friendship Societies were actively involved in this vertical line. In particular, under Article 23 of the Charter of the Consular, the Soviet consul was obliged to "take all measures" for Soviet citizens to enjoy the rights granted to them by the legislation of the host country, international treaties and customs [Radchenko 2013: 14,94]. The system of international tourist exchanges was crowned by Politburo, who defined the general trend of development of Soviet international tourism. Actually "Intourist", who had 32 overseas representative offices, provided Soviet tourists abroad with services on a commission basis, on the basis of agreements with foreign tourist firms.

In 1960, the USSR signed the intergovernmental agreements in the field of tourism with all the CMEA countries as well as Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, Finland, Iraq, Lebanon and Cyprus. The problems of tourist exchanges were reflected in the agreements of the Soviet Union on the economic and cultural cooperation with Germany, Great Britain, USA, Canada and other countries. In connection with the declaration of 1967 as the International Year of Tourism, the USSR adopted measures to facilitate border and customs formalities with the countries of people's democracy. Now, Soviet citizens had touristic documents and were allowed to travel around the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the RAF by internal passport [Radchenko 2013: 15].

On May 25, 1958 the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the establishment of a self-supporting USSR Bureau of International Youth Tourism under the Committee of Youth Organizations was adopted. Already on May 28, Komsomol Central Committee Secretariat approved the "BMMT Staff", including, inter alia, the Soviet young Travelers abroad Division. But the birth date of "Sputnik", which A.V. Kislyak headed, was June 3, 1958. This was when special order № 1731 of the USSR Council of Ministers signed by the deputy of the USSR Soviet of Ministers A.I. Mikoyan came to light. Among other measures, the Soviet tourists traveling to capitalist countries with a Bureau voucher were given a 75% discount from the state duties charged for the issuance of an ordinary foreign passport. On June 5, Komsomol Central Committee Secretariat considered the question "On the organization of tourist exchanges with other youth organizations". The corresponding decision of the Bureau of the Komsomol of June 24 "On the organization of tourist exchanges with other youth organizations" pinned on

"Sputnik" "wide tourist exchange with foreign youth organizations". The selection of participants was assigned to the Communist Youth Union republics, territorial and regional Komsomol "among the best representatives of the working and rural youth, students, and young intellectuals". Group leaders were to become "responsible Komsomol workers who go abroad in groups on a common basis". Consideration and adoption of the personal staff of tourist groups entrusted to the Commission for travel abroad at regional and territorial committees and the central committees of the Communist party of the union republics. The resolutions of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of June 15 and August 6, 1958 approved the instruction "On the Procedure for the selection of young tourists traveling abroad, and preparation of documents for obtaining tourist vouchers" and "Exemplary instruction of a group leader of Soviet young tourists traveling abroad" [Khokhlov 2008: 8-10,14].

"Sputnik", among other things, was designed to provide a strategy for Soviet youth tourist travel abroad on affordable terms. The leaders of the department decided that young people needed cheap flights and could do without the extra comfort when traveling by in second-class train cars, eating in canteens, and living in dormitories. The guides working in the people's democracies usually were "ideologically trained" university senior students and spoke Russian almost fluently. In view of this, currency-free exchange dominated in youth tourism.

Chronologically, the history of Soviet outgoing tourism, according to institutional criteria, can be divided into five periods:

1) September 1955 - August 1964. (from the adoption of the new Charter of "Intourist", becoming part of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR to the formation of the Office of Foreign Tourism Council of Ministers of the USSR);

2) September 1964 - December 1969 (until the creation of the General Directorate of Foreign Tourism Council of Ministers of the USSR);

3) December 1969 - May 1983 (until the formation of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism);

4) May 1983 - April 1991 (until April when the Council on Foreign Tourism of the USSR was established instead Goskominturist). The important milestones in the transformation of outbound tourism are the inclusion of international tourism as a separate item in the five-year plans for social and economic development in 1983, the creation of joint ventures within the structure of Commercial Department of the USSR Goskominturist in August 1987, the rejection of the principle of compulsory distribution of vouchers through trade union organizations in 1988 (sale of vouchers instead of distribution were allowed "tentatively" through the agencies

and offices of "Intourist") and the isolation of "Intourist" from the structure of the Central Office of Goskominturist with its own balance sheet in August 1989;

5) April - November 1991 (until the abolition of the Council on Foreign Tourism and creation of two organizations on its base: the International Economic Corporation on Tourism and Investment "Intourist", and the company on foreign tourism "Intourist - Holding Company".) In the summer of the same year Central Council for Tourism and Leisure of the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was reorganized into a joint stock company "Central Council for Tourism and Leisure - Incur", refocusing its activities on international tourism. On June 1, 1991 the Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee adopted a decree "On liquidation" Bureau of International Youth Tourism (BMMT) "Sputnik" of the Komsomol Central Committee in connection with the establishment of the Joint Stock Company "Sputnik".

Noteworthy is the fact that the organizational and legal changes coincide in time with the most important political events in the USSR, such as the offset of N. S. Khrushchev in 1964 and the formation of Brezhnev's conservative course in the late sixties under the influence of the "Prague Spring" in 1968, the breakdown of the talks with the U.S. on medium-range missiles in Europe by the Soviet Union in Geneva under Andropov, and the disintegration of the Soviet space in 1991.

The history of Soviet tourist contact with foreigners shows three "models" of interaction:

- "almost abroad" - international youth camps BMMT "Sputnik" in the USSR;
- "not quite abroad" - a trip to socialist countries ("Chicken is not a bird, Bulgaria is not abroad");
- "real abroad" - a trip to capitalist countries and equated Yugoslavia ("Russo tourist – oblique morale").

Depending on the selection of institutions and periods of the "models" of the interaction, volumes, geography and organizational forms of Soviet foreign tourism varied. Below we consider these indicators in their historical dynamics.

### **"I love bulk of our plans"**

Soviet outbound tourism - the beginning of which started during Khrushchev's "thaw", along with the narrow geographical focus primarily on the Soviet bloc - is characterized by the quantitative restrictions (during 1960 - 1980 according to various estimates, from 0.4 to 0.9% of Soviet citizens went abroad) [Azar 1999: 31; Berton-Hogge 1982: 20; Rappoport 2005: 116].

Even in the second half of the 1980s, outbound tourism amounted to no more than 1% of total world tourist flow [Andreeva 2006]. The growth of the Soviet outbound tourism fit into the global trend, i.e. from 1950 to 1985, the number of tourists going abroad increased by 13 times [Azar 1999: 30]. Modern researchers have pointed out the overall positive trend of Soviet citizens going abroad: 561,000 in 1956; 730,000 in 1960; 1.2 million in 1965; 1.8 million in 1970; 2.5 million in 1975; 4 million in 1980 and nearly 4.5 million in 1985 [Azar 1999: 30; Ananyev 1971: 121; The history of International Youth and Children's tourism 1983: 212; The History of Russian History tourism 2009: 172; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 32; Popov 2008b]. As we can see, only the data for 1985 differs significantly, which can be explained by the attempt to bind international tourism ties to "new thinking" under M.S. Gorbachev. Similarly, it was the desire to emphasize the impact on policies, when N.S. Khrushchev at the partial dismantling of the "iron curtain" gave rise to the claim that in 1964, 900,000 Soviet people went abroad [Loginov and Rukhlov 1989: 44; Rappoport 2005: 116].

But these and similar data should be checked, taking into account the specificity of Soviet foreign tourism. These figures meant that Soviet citizens were leaving not only for tourism purposes, but also for official and scientific missions of varying duration, personal trips, and leaving the country for temporary work, trips to the World Festivals of Youth and Students, exchanges of social and political, sports, creative and other delegations. The statistical trick was that the tickets for all tours abroad by aircraft from July 1962, and by rail from August 1968, were booked through "Intourist" [Ivanov 1972: 56-57]. For example, in 1959 more than 70,000 Soviet citizens went overseas, but 40 thousand of them, in fact, went on business through "Intourist", "Sputnik" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 268. P. 187]. Here is another typical situation associated with booking tickets for traveling abroad. The fund of the Institute of Marxism - Leninism has numerous letters of the leadership of the Institute to "Intourist" with the request to reserve tickets for researchers sent on a business trip [RGASPI. F. 71. R. 46. C. 38. P. 11].

However, the data of the Department of Foreign Tourism itself are often inconsistent or approximate (typical phrase "about", "more", "almost", etc.). For example, in the documents of the office, sharply differing information on the planned number of Soviet tourists abroad for 1965 can be found. In one case, it was about 75,000 people, but in another - about 200,000 [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 298. P. 2; R. 4. C. 4. P. 143]. And if only it were about the planned data, the real number of people who went abroad differs.

The reconstruction of a history of the first "outgoing" year has certain difficulties due to the lack of any informative set of documents. Therefore, many authors only stated that in 1955 "a small number of selected Soviet citizens went abroad". According to departmental estimates,

during the first "outbound" year 2,104 Soviet tourists were sent abroad, 217 of them went to capitalist countries. Taking into account cruise tourists to the Baltic Sea in 1955, 130 people visited Finland and 87 Sweden. But in 1956 and later, the picture became more or less clear. 16,650 people were planned to be sent to 12 countries of the people's democracy. The GDR and Czechoslovakia shared the first place on this list (3,000 people each) and Vietnam held the last position (50 people). Albania finished the list of the European countries (150 people). India took priority over the capitalist countries (800 people). There were several countries at the end of the list at the same time (Australia, Belgium, Burma, the Netherlands, Denmark and Egypt) with 50 people. According to various estimates, from 19-21,000 Soviet tourists visited other countries in 1956, and 55,000 foreigners were received in the Soviet Union [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 237. P. 20,65; C. 228. P. 35; C. 298. P. 2]. That is, the lack of balance between inbound and outbound tourist flows was made right from the start. And the situation did not change. For example, in 1958 21,851 tourists left for socialist countries and only 4,372 people went to the capitalist countries [Dvornichenko 1985b: 50; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 34].

The subsequent years showed an increase in the number of Soviet people who traveled abroad as tourists: 22,374 people in 1957; 26,223 people in 1958; 29,300 people in 1959; 42,100 in 1960; and 59,645<sup>5</sup> in 1961 [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 273. P. 61; C. 310. P. 23; Dvornichenko 1985b: 50; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 34]. However, the approved plan for 1960 was carried out by only 94% (92.8 % to in the capitalist countries, and 94.3% to the Soviet bloc). Moreover, the councils of unions and ministries, departments and offices of the Board were blamed for the above mentioned problem because they did not pay adequate attention to the issues of Soviet tourism. It turned out that the offices and agencies did not do enough to select tourists in order to have homogeneous groups based on the professional interests. Some offices did not participate in the team leader and tourist briefings before traveling abroad. "The work on analyzing group leader reports who went abroad and summarized deficiencies in servicing tourists for their elimination was not carried out". The office took part in advertising Soviet tourists traveling abroad insufficiently, "without any initiative in organizing conversations and meetings with the workers of tourists having visited these or other countries" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 34].

In 1961 the situation was different. The reduction of the Soviet tourism plan costs was not only due to "Intourist" non-fulfillment of the plan figures, but also to the decision of the Ministry of Foreign Trade to decrease in the plan of Soviet outgoing tourism to the socialist

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<sup>5</sup> Only under "Intourist".

countries by 4.3 thousand people. The original plan for 1962 expanded the number of Soviet tourists traveling by 98,000 people. But according to the order of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of January 10, 1962<sup>6</sup>, "Intourist" was invited to hold talks with tourist organizations of people's democracies to reduce the number of tourists from these countries and, therefore, directed to these countries in 1962. The order by V. Ankudinov of January 22, 1962 on streamlining tourism relations with foreign countries contained the provision of reducing the number of Soviet tourists traveling to foreign countries in 1962, and abolishing Soviet tourists cruise trips around Europe and on other routes, except for cruises on the Danube and the Baltic Sea [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 289. P. 21; C. 298. P. 2; C. 299. P. 1,75].

As for the 10 years data (1956-1966) of Soviet and Russian authors (though without reference to the source of information) the number of the Soviet citizens traveling to foreign countries exceeded 7 million. Over the years 1956-1970, the amount of outbound tourism from the Soviet Union increased by 4.6 times. And in the early 1980s, approximately 3 million Soviet citizens went abroad through various channels annually [Azar 1999: 31; Ananyev 1966: 7; Radchenko 2013: 434]. According to the decree "On the state of development of foreign tourism in the USSR in 1980-1982 and the prospects for its development in 1983", during the 10th Five-Year Plan (1975-1980), compared to the previous five years, the volume of outbound tourism grew 1.6 times. 18 million Soviet tourists went abroad during these years. In total, during the "period of existence of organized tourism in the USSR" foreign countries were visited by about 44 million Soviet people. The materials of the 20<sup>th</sup> session of the meeting of the Travel Agencies of socialist countries on May 2-7, 1983 contained the information that only 4 million tourists from the Soviet Union left the country in 1982 [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 3. C. 1594. P. 1,4,6].

In some cases, it was difficult to understand whether the data included "Intourist" figures on the departure of Soviet citizens through "Sputnik" and through the direct exchange channels of trade unions, which went past the "Intourist" structure. Thus, 2.5 million Soviet young ladies and gentlemen went out of the country through BMMT "Sputnik" for the period 1958-1986 (several hundred thousand of them to third world countries and capitalist states) [Rohatyn, Kvartalnov and Ukhov 1976: 50]. These figures also include various youth and student delegations, which had no direct relation to tourism, but the proportion of these "tourists" is low. In addition, the service of such delegations was often included into tourism programs.

Resembling the "Intourist" situation, "Sputnik" data are often contradictory. Nevertheless, they can help to understand the overall ongoing dynamics of Soviet youth trips abroad. So, in

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<sup>6</sup> Before it, this issue was considered at the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on January 4.

1958, the Bureau made agreements and contracts for receiving 1,659 young foreign tourists in the USSR and sending 1,465 Soviet tourists on tours. Actually, that same year, the international youth camps took 1,574 foreign tourists in, and 1,364 people went abroad. In 1959, 9,711 young foreign tourists were met in the USSR, and 7,246 people went on a foreign voyage according to one source, and 6,149 people to the other one, or 6,400 (5,800 to the Soviet bloc) [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 190. P. 1-2; Dvornichenko 1985a: 87; The history of Russian tourism 2009: 172; Lapina and Pshenko 2010: 101; Khokhlov 2008: 15-16,18-19]. From the beginning, the gap between the incoming and outgoing flows was smaller for "youth" tourism than "adult" tourism, as well as between socialist and capitalist countries.

The draft plan of tourist exchange between the Bureau and foreign travel agencies for 1960 envisaged 6,000 Soviet tourists to be sent abroad. In reality, that year 9,517 tourists went out (8,128 people to the people's democracies and 1,389 to other countries). The share of foreign tourism in relation to general international tourism in 1960 amounted to only 40%.<sup>7</sup> The total number going abroad under the Bureau was more than 17,000 Soviet tourists in 1958-1961, and 25,000 foreign guests of the USSR in the same year [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 52. P. 17]. In 1962, 12,450 people were sent abroad (including, 1,637 people to capitalist countries); in 1963 15,712 (including 1,459 people to capitalist countries) in 1964 18,000; in 1965, 23,500 in 1966, more than 30,000; in 1968, 38,000 (including, 3,800 to capitalist countries); in 1969, 55,000; in 1970, 65,000; and in 1973, over 100,000. It could be compared with the data of the entry of young foreign tourists that was 14 thousand in 1960, 19,117 in 1962 (including 3,564 people from the capitalist countries), 21,745 people in 1963, approx. 35 thousand in 1965, approx. 50 thousand in 1966, 68 thousand (including 18 thousand from the capitalist and developing countries) in 1968, 70 thousand in 1969, 80 thousand in 1970 and 127 thousand people in 1973. [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 190. P. 1-2,10-13; Ananyev 1971: 121; Moshneaga 1975: 9].

The departmental statistics show steady growth in the amount of the Soviet youth trips abroad, viz. 67,200 in 1962-1965, 187.2 million (2.7 times more) in 1966-1969; 327.3 thousand (174.8 % to the level of 1962-1965 ) between 1970–1974; and 532,800 (162.8%) in 1975-1977 [Kvartalnov 2002: 195]. From 1960 to 1980, outgoing trips of Soviet youth representatives increased from 9,000 to 130,000 [The history of International Youth and Children's tourism 1983: 212]. However, despite the steady increase in the number of tourists and the geographic expansion of tourist flows, even in the middle of 1980, "Sputnik" services were of use by no more than 7% of the Soviet Komsomol age youth. The imbalance of the previous years (although

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<sup>7</sup> The share of outgoing tourism increased slightly up to 42% in 1961.

gradually being decreased) between the number of the Soviet and foreign young tourists persisted in international exchanges. Only in 1986 (the second year of "perestroika") exit and entry flows were almost similar. "Sputnik" received 173,500 foreign tourists, but sent 170,600 Soviet young ladies and gentlemen to foreign countries [From the history of the Bureau of International Youth Tourism "Sputnik" the Komsomol Central Committee 2008].

### **Tourism geography**

The growth in the exit stream from the USSR was accompanied by the expansion of geography of the countries visited. In 1956 the Soviet people visited 61 countries, but in 1963 - 106 countries and the country geography of foreign tourists of those years was wider: 84 and 133 countries respectively [Loginov and Rukhlov 1989: 44; Rappoport 2005: 116]. From 1960-1970, "visits of our tourists to many countries of Asia and Africa, Latin America, while cruising, by charter flights and by private groups became a good tradition" [Moshneaga 1975: 8; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 32]. From 1975-1980, Soviet tourists traveled to 142 countries. Overall, from 1956 to 1983 our compatriots they visited more than 140 countries [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 3. C. 1594. P. 1,4].

The archival documents show the process of continuous expansion of the trip geography of Soviet tourists. In particular, an important direction of the department activities began the tourism development "with the countries of Africa" and, above all, with Guinea, Liberia, Togo, Cameroon, Morocco and Ghana [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 268. P. 31]. In turn, the events of the Cuban Revolution led to the fact that in December 1960 under "Intourist" "the Island of freedom" was visited by 20 Soviet tourists sent to Mexico [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 268. P. 195]. Except Cuba, Guinea, Liberia, Togo and Tunisia, in 1960, for the first time Soviet tourists visited Indonesia, Pakistan and Nepal (the first organized cruise around Asia) [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 33]. And the year of 1961 was declared as the one of "visits to the East" by "Intourist" leadership [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 273. P. 67].

But during the 1980s, Soviet tourists mainly traveled to 10 countries, the hierarchy of which was done in accordance with the number of visitors: Bulgaria, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Finland, Romania, India and Cuba. Moreover, in some years of "developed socialism" the Soviet bloc and Finland accounted for more than 95% of the total flow [Azar 1999: 31]. The representatives of the "upper society" made voyages "Around Europe" or "By the Mediterranean", whereas "average" tourists went on trips to the Danube by Soviet ships - "the Danube" and "the Cupid" - which visited six of the Danube

countries. There were quite exotic tours: for example, in 1961, "About Africa"; in 1962, to India; in 1969, to Tunisia, Algeria and Cuba; and in 1972, a cruise around Japan. In addition to the increasing number of cruise travel, growing numbers of the Soviet motor-car tourists who visited the European People's Democracies and Finland [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 33; Shevyrin 2010].

As for the youth tourism, "Sputnik" collaborated with eight youth and student travel agencies (according to other sources, 10) of European countries. In 1959, the list of the countries was expanded to 15 states, in 1961 to more than 25 countries in Europe, America, Africa and Asia. However, not all contacts culminated in trips. Thus, in 1961 the Soviet young tourists went only to 20 countries: Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Belgium, United States, England, Sweden, Norway, Morocco, Italy, Iceland, the Netherlands, India, Austria, Finland, etc. The groups of Soviet youth participated in international youth camps organized in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Austria, Finland, Poland and other countries. In 1962, the Youth Bureau expanded tourist exchange to China, Korean People's Democratic Republic, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and Mongolia. People's Republic [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 89. P. 106–109; C. 103. P. 15-19; Lapina and Pshenko 2010: 101]. In 1963, youth groups went to Austria, England, West Berlin, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece, India, Iceland, Italy, Cyprus, Morocco, Norway, United States, Tunisia, Finland, France, Germany, Switzerland and Japan. That year, young tourists traveled to 22 countries, and the youth from 29 countries visited the Soviet Union [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 168. P. 50; C. 190. P. 10-13]. The 1970s had a huge increase in outbound tourism geography. If by June 1962 "Sputnik" cooperated with 70 different organizations from 30 countries, in the first half of the decade 400 organizations from 70 countries of the world were involved, and 500 organizations from more than 80 countries were among "Sputnik" partners in 1980 [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 158. P. 1; Yemchenko and Naumenko 1978: 12; The history of International Youth and Children's tourism 1983: 212].

### **Between recreation and political work**

"Gorbachev's era" became the last major stage in the history of tourism as "the continuation of politics by other means" [Kryuchkov 1999: 68]. The disintegration of the USSR and military conflicts "made all the arguments about the political effectiveness of tourism meaningless". However, the previous decades gained a considerable arsenal of tourist forms and methods, where the policy was central. were The departments of the Board, offices and local

agencies of "Intourist" had new tasks . They included Soviet tourist group outgoing organization, as well as surveillance "for political effect of the trips of the Soviet tourists" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 35].

The first trips abroad of Soviet tourists were of general acquaintance nature. But gradually it became a tradition for Soviet and foreign working people to celebrate together May Day, significant dates in the history of the Communist parties and youth leagues, the days of Soviet culture, and the days of liberation from fascism in the GDR, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. In 1956-1957, the "Friendship Train" (ten day train trips) was organized in connection with the 100th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke. There were weekly tours to France, Austria, Italy and Portugal (on the days of the annual anniversary of the newspaper "L'Humanite", "Volksstimme" "Unita", "Avanti", etc.). Even regular excursions were largely arranged on a political base: Lenin sites, the museums of Ernst Thalmann, Georgy Dimitrov and others, Wall of the Communards at the Pere Lachaise cemetery in Paris, Marx's grave at Highgate cemetery in London, Soviet liberator memorials, the former Nazi death camp, etc [Dvornichenko 1985a: 141; The history of Russian tourism 2009: 173; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 33]. In 1956 the first post-war cruise around Europe by the ship "Victory" carried 286 representatives of scientific and creative intelligentsia. Later amateur art groups took part in the sea and river cruises around the Baltic countries, the Norwegian sea, the North sea, the Mediterranean sea, and the Danube basin [Azar 1999: 31.; The history of Russian tourism 2009: 172; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 32,38]. It was decided to use "in some cases" the Soviet ships for cruise traveling of the Soviet tourists calling at the ports of the capitalist countries (around Europe, to the countries of Asia, Africa and along the Danube to Vienna) [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 4. C. 4. P. 144].

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on January 5, 1957 contained the order for the All, the Komsomol, and VOCs and "Intourist" to organize international tourism "on the mutual non-profit basis" [GA RF. F. 9520. R. 1. C. 432. P. 48]. One of the first forms of mass tourism became one-day visits of the border territory residents which generated "mass events of international character": friendship meetings in the border area, amateur concerts, "Gardens of Friendship" planting, friendly sports competitions, etc. For example, at the end of the 1950s, a milkmaid of a collective farm M. Alechka, who visited the agricultural cooperative "The New Age" in Bahia Mara region of the Socialist Republic of Romania demonstrated the Romanian cattle breeders "the advanced techniques for working at a dairy farm". By the end of the 1950s border tourism (including day mutual visits) existed as exchanges of equal groups of residents of Volyn, Lviv, Transcarpathian and Ivano-Frankivsk regions of Ukraine, Brest, Grodno and

Vitebsk regions of Belarus, Moldova with some areas of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and several provinces of Poland, including the experience exchange of enterprises of different industries, and turned into a permanent form of the international tourism [Dvornichenko 1985b: 50; Dvornichenko 1985a: 86; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 34].

1958 was the first experience of currency-free non-commercial tourist exchange with Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia (1,413 foreigners for 1,390 Soviet citizens). In the summer of 1959, a new kind of international tourist exchange of trade unions, called specialized (exchanges of teacher of the USSR and Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and France) appeared.. Then the Unions began to exchange medical specialists, underground constructors, artists, including special bus trips [Dvornichenko 1985b: 50,52; The history of Russian tourism 2009: 173; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 34]. The analysis of outbound tourism in the period of "developed socialism" shows that the expansion of the forms of outbound tourism was directed at strengthening information and propaganda and counter-propaganda work abroad, simultaneously learning new areas and forms of the tourist activity. So, in February 1960, "Intourist" and the All –Russian Central Council of Trade Unions faced the task of getting several groups of Soviet tourists to the GDR to participating in the Spring Fair of Leipzig. The decree of April 12, 1960 "On additional measures for Cultural Relations with Finland" "Intourist" was instructed "to provide tourist groups with vouchers, preferentially traveling from cities and maintaining friendly relations with the cities of Finland" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 272. P. 53,61].

1960 was marked by the active work on the creation of a specialized scientific tourism, not only international congresses. By the end of October, more than 6,000 researchers from the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the Union Republics were sent to foreign countries [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 273. P. 155,160]. That year, about 30% of Soviet tourists went to capitalist countries and about 10% went to the People's Democracies as part of specialized groups with common professional interests, as well as to international congresses, conferences and party congresses. Meanwhile, staffing specialized groups had "serious shortcomings", the most significant of which was the inclusion into such groups people not relating to the profession [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 286. P. 33].

A secret order was deposited in the archive by V. Ankudinov from April 18, 1964 on the exchange of friendship trains "on the basis of mutual tourism" (up to 300 people from each side) between the USSR and Poland. This exchange was planned in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. Trade Unions, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship, the Board of Governors of the

Soviet - Polish friendship, Soviet War Veteran Committee and the Board of "Intourist", were appointed to be responsible for the exchange of friendship trains. A similar order by V. Ankudinov on the plans of action in connection with the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Romania from the fascist yoke and the 20th anniversary of the overthrow of the "monarch and fascism regime" in Bulgaria was dated April 11, 1964. Sharing the train was scheduled for August - September 1964. On the eve of the event "special work" was supposed to conduct with the planned groups of Soviet tourists traveling to Bulgaria and Romania [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 4. C. 4. P. 40,41].

The youth tourism was not less politically loaded (maybe even more). 1962 was marked by the exchanges of friendship trains between the Komsomol and the Union of Free German Youth of the GDR. 1967, which was declared the year of international tourism by the UNO, 10 thousand young tourists from the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Mongolia, Finland and France participated in the train friendship and camps events. It was one of the events to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The direct exchange with the youth of the socialist countries through specialized groups, artistic ensembles, groups of related companies, universities and others began to develop in 1964, and in 1967 the era of exchange of university, college and school students pupils from socialist countries for work experience opened.<sup>8</sup> In 1968, the regular exchange of friendship trains of the USSR and the GDR pioneers began, as well as youth friendship trains of the USSR and the European socialist countries for the 50th anniversary of the Komsomol organization. 1970 is the year when the exchange of student construction teams between the USSR universities and several socialist countries began. The Soviet youth group toured Lenin places in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Germany to the 100th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birthday. The first cruise of the Soviet youth along the Danube River Basin socialist countries in 1971 marked the beginning of organized and regular cruise trips of the Soviet youth on ships of the Baltic Shipping Company. [Dolzenko 1988b: 142; Yemchenko and Naumenko 1978: 13; The history of International Youth and Children's tourism 1983: 212-213; Kvartalnov and Fedorchenko 1987: 130,132-135; Moshneaga 1975: 12-13; Khokhlov 2008: 20-21].

From 1960-1970 the trips to the Soviet youth festivals - "Warsaw Autumn", "Prague Spring", international music festivals in Sopot and Karlovy Vary - became regular as well as visits to Japan and the U.S. as part of the youth tourism of Soviet gymnasts. The women's basketball team was a success as part of the cruise trip on the Baltic Sea in 1979 ("Spartacus",

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<sup>8</sup> 76 universities from 22 cities of the USSR were involved in the international tourism exchange in 1970.

Leningrad). The representatives of the national youth games left for the Winter Olympics in Sapporo (Japan, 1972) and Innsbruck (Austria, 1976), and the Summer Olympic Games in Mexico City (1968), Munich (1972) and Montreal (1976) for the participation of which trains and cruises Soviet youth were made up. "Sputnik" organized tour group from 500 to 2000 people to the youth forum in Austria (1958), Helsinki (1962), Sofia (1966), Berlin (1973) and others. Soviet students in response to non-currency exchange visits were received in international youth camps in Primorsko (Bulgaria), to the Lake Balaton (Hungary), Karlovy Vary (Czechoslovakia), in Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia), Zakopane (Poland), etc [RGASPI. F. 5M. R. 1. C. 89. P. 106-109; C. 103. P. 15-19; C. 502. P. 3-4; Yemchenko and Naumenko 1978: 12; Kvartalnov 2002: 208-209; Lapina and Pshenko 2010: 101; Some aspects of the tourism industry 1998: 40; Khokhlov 2008: 14]. That is, they were the political and ideological factors that determined the volume and geography of tours, the staff and structure of tourist groups, direction and content of tourist programs during the period under review.

## **Conclusions**

All mentioned above allows us to conclude some things about the specifics of Soviet outbound (foreign) tourism in 1955-1985:

1.) Its growth rate was substantially inferior to the development of inbound and especially domestic tourism. But gradually it took shape in the direction of an independent kind of touring, the demand for which increased every year;

2.) The basis for international tourism ties of the USSR was the exchange with socialist countries. However, in the 1980s (especially after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power) the relations with capitalist states got a significant expansion, not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms. For example, in 1984 the tourist exchange of the Soviet Union with the capitalists states was approximately half of the total tourism volume of the Soviet Union with foreign countries. The fact that the development of tourist exchanges with capitalist states was considered by the party and state leadership of the country as an important factor of détente;

3.) Before 1988 the outbound tourism was carried out solely through the distribution of vouchers through the Trade union and Komsomol organizations. Relative liberalization of outbound mode in the second half of the 1980s helped increase in the number of business trips and the emergence of educational tourism, mainly in English-speaking countries;

4.) About 80% of the tourists visited Soviet socialist countries<sup>9</sup> (Bulgaria, most of them).<sup>10</sup> Finland ranked the first in terms of visiting by the Soviet tourists and among developing countries, India was especially popular;

5.) The steady expansion of the number of countries where Soviet tourists went (for example, 106 countries in 1963 and 142 in 1980). From the 1960s, Soviet tourism (including cruises) gave special attention to tours of Africa and Asia, where a significant number of states became free from colonial dependence;

6.) The focus on specialized (including research) tourism, especially to capitalist and developing countries and currency-free exchange (especially for youth tourism - up to 80% of the exchange);

7.) The dependence of the Soviet international tourism (especially outbound) on the political situation. For example, the Hungarian crisis in 1956 first reduced the flow of tourists to this country, but then there was an increase in tourist trips to Hungary. Even Czechoslovak events of 1968, reduced the flow of tourists, but did not interrupt it altogether. However, from November 1, 1956 the official registration of tourists in Yugoslavia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, India and Switzerland was discontinued [GA RF. F. R-9520. R. 1. C. 317. P. 7].

When in June 1958 the volume of the Soviet tourism to the capitalist countries was decided to be reduced, it was suggested to take into account the need to "send targeted groups of scientists and tourists to the country, the political situation requires". Special control was given to tourists in the U.S. "according to our preliminary outline" [GA RF. F. R-9612. R. 2. C. 249. P. 7; C. 260. P. 26-27]. But in 1960, there was some deterioration in the tourism situation in several countries in connection with the failure of U.S. President Eisenhower to visit the USSR, and in the fourth quarter of 1961, the departure of Soviet tourists to capitalist countries under the "decision making bodies" was terminated. In 1961, Albania and China were excluded from the Soviet tourist routes, but in 1964 Cuba and Mexico appeared. The rapprochement with Egypt in the end of the 1950s, opened for Soviet tourists SAR.

8.) The presence of the dominant features of the country: sightseeing and cultural tourism (socialist countries, Spain, Italy, France, Austria, Norway); business trips (Poland, East Germany, Austria, Germany, USA); ecotourism (Finland); youth and student tourism (socialist countries, United Kingdom); rest and treatment (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia); mass departures during

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<sup>9</sup> The share of the socialist countries for youth tourism was lower - at 70%.

<sup>10</sup> Bulgaria became the first in terms of the number of tourists received from the Soviet Union in 1972 and kept the leading position for many years.

the major Soviet holidays (socialist countries, Italy, France); cruise travel (countries Baltic, Black and Mediterranean seas, Japan, USA); scientific tourism (Germany, UK, USA).

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**Corresponding author:**

Igor Orlov

National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia).  
Department of Political Behavior. Professor.

Kochnovskiy Proezd 3, room 619, 125319, Moscow, Russian Federation

E-mail: iOrlov@hse.ru, Tel. +7 499 152-05-71

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