

D I R E C T I V E

of the CC Secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

On a Temporary Reduction in Tourist Exchanges Between the USSR and the PPR

1. To accept a proposal from the Main Directorate on Foreign Tourism under the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the CC of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League for a temporary reduction in tourist exchanges between the USSR and the PPR.²

2. To instruct Glavintourist, the VTsSPS, and the VLKSM CC to hold negotiations with tourist organizations in the PPR to make appropriate changes in the protocol on tourist exchanges.

Results of the vote:³

6430 Extracts to Cdes.: Kapitonov, Rusakov, Nikitin, Shibaev, Pastukhov, and Pegov⁴

24. Nov. 1980

Distributed: 28/XI.80 received⁵

¹ Translator's Note: The alphanumeric code of the directive and the date were filled in by hand.

² Translator's Note: In the original, the acronyms VTsSPS and Central Committee VLKSM are used instead of the full names All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, respectively. For the sake of clarity, the two names have been written out in full here. In the remainder of this document the appropriate acronyms will be used.

³ Translator's Note: To the right of this heading, just below the line, all the CPSU Central Committee Secretaries, beginning with Mikhail Suslov, signed "in favor" of the directive. The directive also was signed, just above the line, by five officials who prepared the attached materials (see below).

⁴ Translator's Note: These surnames were added in handwriting.

⁵ Translator's Note: The date and the word "received" were added in handwriting.

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C P S U C C

On a Temporary Reduction in Tourist Exchanges
Between the USSR and PPR

In accordance with instructions issued by the CPSU CC on 4 November 1980, the Main Directorate on Foreign Tourism under the USSR Council of Ministers (the head of Glavintourist, Cde. Nikitin), the VTsSPS (the chairman, Cde. Shibaev), and the VLKSM CC (the secretary, Cde. Pastukhov) have proposed a temporary reduction in Soviet-Polish tourism.⁶

⁶ Translator's Note: The CPSU Central Committee directive on this matter was issued roughly a week after the East German, Czechoslovak, and Bulgarian authorities had taken steps to curb tourism between their countries and Poland. Concern about Soviet-Polish tourism had been building in Moscow since the very start of the crisis in mid-1980. In late July and early August 1980, Soviet party and KGB officials in the republics bordering Poland were ordered to tighten their monitoring of all tourists going to and coming out of Poland. They also were ordered to report back to Moscow on their findings. A massive and often redundant effort got under way to keep close track of Polish tourists who were visiting the Soviet Union and to determine what sort of reception Soviet tourists were encountering in Poland. Many of the reports sent back to Moscow came as a jolt to the CPSU leadership. A typical report, from senior officials in Ukraine, found that "when Soviet tour groups have recently been in the PPR, the group leaders have detected unfriendly behavior toward the Soviet tourists as well as anti-Soviet sentiments on the part of wide segments of the local population." The report noted that food shortages and other problems in Poland were being blamed on the Soviet Union, and that many Poles were voicing "hostile and anti-Soviet slogans" and claiming that the Polish Communist regime was "maintained only through Russian bayonets." Quoted from "Informatsiya o nekotorykh vyskazivaniyakh, imeyushchikh mesto so storony pol'skikh grazhdan pri vstrechakh s sovetskimi turistami, a takzhe vo vremya prebyvaniya v Ukrainskoi SSR po linii Byuro mezhdunarodnogo molodezhnogo turizma 'Sputnik'," Report No. 24-s (Secret), 3 September 1980, from G. Naumenko, chairman of the "Sputnik" Bureau of International Youth Tourism of the Ukrainian Komsomol, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2138, Ll. 138-142. Similarly, in L'viv, which was one of the major rail transit points for Polish tourists arriving in the Soviet Union, the head of the UkrCP oblast committee expressed alarm about the "flagrant abuses and anti-Soviet statements by Polish tourists." He said he would "adopt necessary measures to strengthen political-educational work with Polish tourists, to think more carefully about their programs of stay in L'viv, to train the interpreters and tour guides more thoroughly, and to focus the Polish tourists' special attention during their trips on propaganda highlighting the advantages of the socialist way of life." Quoted from "Informatsiya o reagirovanii pol'skikh turistov na

It is proposed that Soviet tourist visits to the PPR for the remainder of 1980 be reduced from 4,900 persons to 3,200 (a 36 percent reduction), and that in the first half of 1981 they be reduced from 45,400 persons, as envisaged in the plans, to 24,500 (a 44 percent reduction).⁷

It is proposed that the reduction in Soviet tourism be accomplished primarily through the elimination of trips by tourist groups and vacation tours involving prolonged stays in the PPR. On the whole, trips by special tour groups under the auspices of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries⁸ and in connection with twin cities, scholarly tourism, and combined tours, including visits to 2-3 countries with a brief (4- to 8-day) stay in the PPR, will not be affected during this period.⁹

sobytiya v PNR," Report No. 0585 (Secret), 26 August 1980, from V. Svyatotskii, first secretary of the UkrCP oblast committee in L'viv, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2138, Ll. 66-71. These sorts of reports increased over the next two months, prompting the CPSU leadership to approve this sharp reduction in tourism both to and from Poland. Soviet leaders coordinated the whole effort with the Czechoslovak, Hungarian, East Germany, and Bulgarian authorities. Tourists from these countries visiting the Soviet Union were constantly monitored by Soviet tour guides and interpreters to gauge their views about the situation in Poland. The Soviet guides were instructed to "explain to [the tourists] that the countries of the socialist commonwealth will not leave the Polish people in the lurch." Quoted from "O vyskazivaniyakh inostrannykh turistov po povodu sobytii v PNR," Memorandum No. 318-s (Top Secret), 26 August 1980, from Yu. Il'nyts'kyi, first secretary of the UkrCP Transcarpathian oblast committee, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2138, Ll. 51-53. See also Il'nyts'kyi's follow-up report, "O prodolzhayushchikhsya vyskazivaniyakh inostrannykh turistov po povodu sobytii v Pol'she," Memorandum No. 330-s (Top Secret), 5 September 1980, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2138, Ll. 60-63.

⁷ Translator's Note: In Communist countries, tourism, like almost all other activities, was pervasively controlled by the state. Rather than being determined by market forces and the desires of individuals, tourism in the Eastern bloc was carefully planned out years in advance by state and Communist party agencies and coordinated among the different countries' five-year plans.

⁸ Translator's Note: In the original, the acronym SSOD was used here rather than the full name of the organization. From here on, the acronym will be used.

⁹ Translator's Note: It should also be noted that the reductions did not affect the party-to-party contacts authorized by the CPSU Secretariat's directive on "stepping up political and ideological cooperation with the PZPR" (*Ob aktivizatsii politicheskogo i ideologicheskogo sotrudnichestva s PORP*) and the earlier directive (St-192/7s, issued on 11 January 1980) laying out a "plan for the CPSU's ties with Communist and workers' parties of socialist countries" (*O plane svyazei KPSS s kommunisticheskimi i rabochimi partijami sotsialisticheskikh stran*). Of particular importance were party-to-party contacts involving delegations from Soviet republics adjacent to Poland. From Belorussia alone, some 17 groups of party workers and activists, 15 agitation-propaganda lecturers, 12 groups of trade union and Komsomol workers, 48 economic specialists, and 15 groups of workers and enterprise managers, artists, and sport teams — more than 2,000 people in all — were sent to meet with Polish provincial officials in 1980. See "Informatsiya o rabote po osushchestvleniyu druzhestvennykh svyazei obkomov KP Belorussii s partiinymi komitetami BKP, SEPG, PORP, i KPCh v 1980 godu," Memorandum No. 0315 (Secret), 18 February 1981, from T. Kiselev, First Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party, in TsKhSD, F. 5, Op. 84, D. 85, Ll. 8-15. The number of contacts from Belorussia, Lithuania, and Ukraine increased still further in 1981. In mid-April 1981, the CPSU Politburo's Commission on Poland (the "Suslov Commission") specifically recommended that Soviet trade union officials, regional party secretaries, and local authorities be instructed to meet more frequently with their Polish counterparts. See "Plan meropriyatii po okazaniyu pomoshchi rukovodstvu PORP v organizatsionnom i ideologicheskom ukreplenii partii," 16 April 1981 (Top Secret), attachment to "Vypiska iz protokola No. 7 zasedaniya Politbyuro TsK KPSS ot 23 aprelya 1981 goda: O razvitii v Pol'she i

It is also proposed that in the first half of 1981 the number of Polish tourists visiting the USSR be reduced from 105,000 persons, as envisaged in the plans, to 66,000 (a 37 percent reduction).¹⁰

In addition, in accordance with the CPSU CC directive issued on 4 November 1980, measures are to be taken to improve the selection, preparation, and training of Soviet citizens traveling as tourists to the PPR, as well as to improve the work involved in receiving and accommodating Polish tourist groups.¹¹

nekotorykh shagakh s nashei storony," No. P7/VII (Top Secret/Special Dossier), 23 April 1981, in TsKhSD, F. 89, Op. 66, D. 3, Ll. 9-11.

¹⁰ Translator's Note: If these aggregate numbers are correct, it is unclear whether the proposed cuts were ever implemented. Indeed, some of the figures now available about the actual number of Polish tourists who visited the USSR in 1981 are higher than the figure of 105,000 listed here as the starting point (not to mention the reduced level of 66,000). A secret report drafted in early June 1981 noted that in just the first five months of 1981, "more than 110,000 citizens of the PPR" traveled through Chernivtsi oblast in western Ukraine on their way to other parts of the Soviet Union. This total was in addition to the "200 per day" who came initially to L'viv, plus the thousands of others who entered the Soviet Union through other routes. Clearly, something about these figures does not square with the data in the resolution. For the Chernivtsi data, see "O nepravil'nom povedenii grazhdan PNR, sleduyushchikh tranzitom cherez Chernovitskuyu oblast'," Report No. 224/7s-3 (Secret), 10 June 1981, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2287, Ll. 8-10. For the L'viv data, see "Informatsiya o reagirovani pol'skikh turistov na sobytiya v PNR," L. 66.

¹¹ Translator's Note: As with the proposed numerical cuts, it is unclear whether these recommendations were fully implemented. Complaints about tourism, both to and from Poland, continued to filter into Moscow over the next several months. In late November 1980, the head of the UkrCP's oblast committee in Vynnytsya reported that a Soviet youth group touring Poland had encountered a "hostile and unfriendly" reception, and had been turned down for various meetings it requested, without any convincing explanation. See "Informatsiya o nekotorykh vyskazivaniyakh pol'skikh grazhdan sovetskim turistam v PNR iz Vinnitskoi oblasti," Ll. 47-49. A few months later, the head of the Latvian KGB, Boris Pugo, complained that "recently there have been instances when tourists from the PPR, under the auspices of BMMT 'Sputnik,' have been received here without due preparation. At meetings organized for these tourists with young people from Latvia, they [the Poles] have been trying to exert an ideologically harmful influence on the [Latvian] young people by tendentiously characterizing the process of renewal of social life now under way in the PPR." Pugo also noted that a systematic check of "mail correspondence from PPR citizens with their relatives and friends in the Latvian SSR" had uncovered "anti-socialist depictions of the events in Poland" and "exhortations for nationalist elements in the [Latvian] republic to follow the example of the so-called free trade unions in Poland." Pugo said that the number of "organized exchanges of tourist and student groups has remained high up to now and is in need of significant correction to conform with the changing situation." He offered a number of recommendations that largely reiterated what should already have been implemented after the CPSU Secretariat issued its directive in November 1980. See "Dokladnaya zapiska o vremennom ogranichenii turisticheskogo i studencheskogo obmena s PNR," Memorandum No. 5/1598 (Top Secret), 9 March 1981, in Latvijas Valsts Arhivs (LVA), Fonds (F.) 101, Apridos (Apr.) 47, Lietas (Li.) 141, Lapa (La.) 48-49. Two months later, an equally gloomy report was drafted by three leading officials from Ukraine, who expressed dismay that many of the Polish tourists in Ukraine "evaluate the situation [in Poland] from an anti-socialist perspective, speak pejoratively about the countries of the socialist commonwealth, and are ready to defend all types of counterrevolutionary elements." The three officials averred that many of the Polish tourists were "seeking to lay territorial claims to western Ukraine" and were "equating Communists with fascists." See "O reagirovani trudyashchikhsya respubliki, a takzhe zarubezhnykh grazhdan, nakhodyashchikhsya na Ukraine, na sobytiya v Pol'she," Memorandum No. 1810/44 (Secret), 12 May 1981, from G. Kryuchkov, head of the UkrCP Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department, L. Kravchuk, head of the UkrCP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, and A. Merkulov, head of the UkrCP Central

We believe it would be worthwhile to accept the proposal for a temporary reduction in Soviet-Polish tourism, regarding it as a temporary measure necessitated by the political situation in the PPR, and to authorize Glavintourist, the VTsSPS, and the VLKSM CC to hold negotiations with PPR tourist organizations to make appropriate changes in the protocols on tourist exchanges.

Coordinated with the USSR Foreign Ministry (the deputy minister, Cde. Mal'tsev).¹²

A draft directive of the CPSU CC is attached.

Deputy Head of the CPSU CPSU CC Department for Work Ties with Cadres Abroad and for Travel Abroad (V. Bazovskii)	Deputy Head of the CPSU CC Department for Organi- zational-Party Work (N. Petrovichev)	Deputy Head of the CC Department for with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries (O. Rakhmanin) ¹³
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24 November 1980

Secret¹⁴
Copy

No. 1

C P S U C C

In accordance with instructions issued by the CPSU CC on 4 November 1980, we

Committee Department for Foreign Ties, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2295, Ll. 1-4. These sorts of complaints, as well as accusations that "Polish tourists are trying to smuggle ideologically hostile literature into our country" and are "stirring up anti-Soviet sentiments" in the western Soviet republics, continued throughout 1981. (Quoted from "Informatsiya o nepravil'nom povedenii grazhdan PNR, sleduyushchikh tranzitom cherez Chernovitskuyu oblast'," L. 8.)

¹² Translator's Note: Actually, Viktor Mal'tsev was one of two first deputy foreign ministers, not just a deputy minister.

¹³ Translator's Note: All three of the officials who signed the document — Vladimir Bazovskii, Nikolai Petrovichev, and Oleg Rakhmanin — were actually first deputy heads of their departments, not just deputy heads.

¹⁴ Translator's Note: This document had a cover note (No. 31329) attached, with a date of 14.XI.80. The cover note reads as follows: "To Cdes. V. N. Bazovskii, N. A. Petrovichev, and O. B. Rakhmanin: I request that you draft a proposal. K. Rusakov."

report the following:

According to protocols signed by tourist organizations of the USSR and PPR, the Soviet Union will be visited by 20,120 Polish tourists in November-December 1980. Of these, 13,000 will be traveling under the auspices of Intourist, and 7,120 will be traveling under the auspices of the "Sputnik" Tourist Bureau.¹⁵ During this same period, it is planned to send 4,870 Soviet tourists to the PPR. Of these, 2,870 will be traveling under the auspices of Intourist, and 2,000 under the auspices of BMMT "Sputnik." Tourist exchanges with the PPR under auspices of the VTsSPS's Central Council for Tourist Excursions¹⁶ have already been completed for 1980.

For the period 1981-1985 an Agreement on Tourist Exchanges signed by Glavintourist envisages annual growth of tourism between the Soviet Union and Poland on a scale that would lead to a 25% increase by the end of 1985 as compared with the previous five-year period.

The volume of tourism for 1981 is specified in protocols signed by Intourist, the VTsSPS TsSTE, and BMMT "Sputnik" with the Polish travel bureau. These protocols stipulate that in the coming year 209,180 Polish tourists will visit the Soviet Union and 90,900 Soviet tourists will travel to the PPR, including 155,000 and 53,000 under the auspices of Intourist, 52,000 and 36,000 under the auspices of BMMT "Sputnik," and 2,180 and 1,900 under the auspices of VTsSPS TsSTE, respectively.

Taking account of the current situation in the PPR, we believe it would be advisable to make a temporary reduction in the volume of Soviet tourism in the PPR, focusing this reduction on such types of travel as prolonged fixed trips and vacation tours and specialized groups whose itineraries include visits to industrial enterprises, official establishments, and households. At the same time it should be possible to maintain visits organized by SSOD as well as visits connected with twin cities, scholarly tourism, and so-called combined tours that include visits to 2-3 countries with only a brief (4- to 8-day) stay in the PPR.

To bolster our ideological influence on citizens of the PPR via foreign tourism, we believe it would also be worthwhile, when considering how to reduce the volume of Polish tourism in the USSR for the coming year, to preserve the kinds of tourist trips from the PPR that are most politically effective: friendship trains and aircraft, trips by activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and activist veterans of the PZPR and World War II, trips to twin cities and provinces, cruises along the Volga and Dniepr, and some fixed vacations and tours.¹⁷

¹⁵ Translator's Note: In the original, the appellation BMMT "Sputnik" is used here instead of the full name. From here on, the abridged form (as in the original) will be used in the translation.

¹⁶ Translator's Note: In the original, the acronym TsSTE is used here instead of the full name of the Central Council for Tourist Excursions. From here on, the acronym will be used.

¹⁷ Translator's Note: This recommendation was adopted, as is evident in the hundreds of pages of declassified documents in TsKhSD, F. 5, Op. 84, D. 85. See also "O besede s delegatsiei Obshchestva pol'sko-sovetskoj druzhby," Memorandum No. 360/42 (Secret), 15 January 1981, from A. Kapto, UkrCP Central Committee Secretary, in TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 2294, Ll. 23-25; "TsK Kompartii Ukrainy,"

For these sorts of trips, the itineraries of Polish tourists should include the widest possible range of stop-off points and ceremonies that will familiarize them with the history and culture of the peoples of our country and the internal and foreign policies of the CPSU and Soviet government.

Based on the above for 1980, it is proposed that 1,190 of the 2,870 tourists still slated for this year under Intourist's auspices be sent to the PPR, and that 2,000 tourists be sent under the auspices of BMMT "Sputnik." In the first half of 1981, trips by Soviet tourists should be reduced as follows: to 18,000 under the auspices of Intourist, to 500 under the auspices of VTsSPS TsSTE, and to 6,000 under the auspices of BMMT "Sputnik"; trips by Polish tourists should be reduced as follows: to 58,000 under the auspices of Intourist, to 600 under the auspices of VTsSPS TsSTE, and to 7,000 under the auspices of BMMT "Sputnik."

Should it prove necessary, the plans of cooperation between the tourist organizations of the USSR and PPR for the second half of 1981 will be adjusted as well.

We believe it would be worthwhile to instruct Intourist, the VTsSPS TsSTE, and BMMT "Sputnik," in coordination with the Soviet embassy, to hold negotiations with their partner organizations in the PPR to make appropriate changes in the plans for travel by Soviet and Polish tourists in 1980-1981.

We request your consideration.

A draft Directive from the CPSU CC on this matter is attached.

Attachment: secret, 1 page, Printed No. 2346.

Head of the Main Directorate on
Foreign Tourism under the
USSR Council of Ministers

Chairman
VTsSPS

1st Secretary
VLKSM CC

S. S. Nikitin

A. I. Shibaev

B. N. Pastukhov

Mem. No. 8/2345
14.11.80

[Source: *TsKhSD, F. 89, Op. 46, D. 67*]