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## TOURISM IN THE SOVIET CARPATHIANS: ACCOMMODATION FACILITIES FOR QUALIFIED TOURISM IN THE EASTERN CARPATHIANS (LVIV AND IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBLAST) IN THE 1970s AND 1980s<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The research issue is to describe the tourist accommodation used for specialised tourism, including its types, distribution and scale, in the northern part of the Eastern Carpathians in the former Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The authors focused on the 1970s and 1980s which were the 'golden age' in the development of tourism in the Soviet Union. As a result of the analysis, 51 accommodation facilities were identified offering nearly 7,300 beds in the mid-1980s. It was the time when the development of that area reached its peak.

**Keywords:** accommodation facilities, tourist hostels, specialised tourism, Eastern Carpathians, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The authors are interested in the elements of accommodation intended, above all, for specialised hiking and ski tourism participants. They considered accommodation facilities from the 1970s and 1980s which were owned by the state or belonged to tourism organizations, a period considered to be the 'golden age' of tourism, which was developing then on a mass scale (Fedorchenko, Dorova, 2002; Savchuk, Kotenko, 2012; Ziuzin, Rozhko, 2019). This article looks at the northern part of Eastern Carpathians (as classified by Kondracki, 1978) within the borders of the then Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (further on referred to as the Ukrainian SSR), embracing the whole or sections of the following moun-

tain ranges: Brzeźne Beskids, Pokuttya-Bucovina Beskids, Eastern Bieszczady, Chornohora, Gorgany Mountains, Chyvchyny Mountains, Sanok-Turka Mountains and Hrynyavy Mountains. Administratively, at that time, this territory was contained within the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk *Oblasts*. The article is based on library and archive searches, a spatial planning inventory and photographic documentation compiled in 2007-2010 – updated in 2018.

So far, the quantification of the accommodation infrastructure for specialised tourism and its development in the area of the Eastern Carpathians in the times of the Ukrainian SSR has not been comprehensively studied by Ukrainian or Polish researchers. The aim of this work

is to fill in, at least in part, this particular research gap. The 1970s and 1980s brought some cartographic publications and guidebooks which are today an important source of information (Burnashov, Hafniak, Hoshovskyi, Drukman, 1973; Chazov, 1983; Sossa, 1987). Later, a number of contributory works were published by some Polish (Dylağ, 2008; Gudowski, 1997; Olszański, Rymarowicz, 1993) and Ukrainian researchers (Fedorchenko, Dorova, 2002; Hamkało, Kudła, 2011; Karasheć'kyj, Rochnjak, 2010; Kiptenko et al., 2017). In contrast, the development of the accommodation infrastructure in the Polish Carpathians and the Sudetens has been widely recognized in academic and popular literature (Biesik, 2010, 2013; Bogdziewicz, 2012; Konieczniak, 2015; Krygowski, 1973, 1988; Mazurski, 2012; Moskała, 1976, 1980; Staffa, 1994; Potocki, 2005, 2009).

In the late 1930s, in the area referred to in the article, there were 141 tourist hostels, shelters and accommodation bases with, in 1939, nearly 4,200 beds. The development of this area for specialised tourism purposes could be then considered adequate (Quirini-Popławski, 2018). Nearly all mountain tourist hostels were destroyed during World War II while in the valleys, the majority of facilities had been destroyed, others were reconstructed or taken over by other functions, mainly residential.

## 2. OUTLINE OF TOURISM ORGANIZATION

During the interwar period, the activity of tourist destinations was based on the Spa Act, passed in March 1922 (amended in 1928). Tourism matters fell under the Ministries of Transport, Public Works, Internal Affairs and Public Health. In those times, the organization of tourism was the responsibility of state and local authorities (at different levels), as well as various institutions and federations. The ownership structure of tourist accommodation facilities was diversified, ranging from state authorities, through associations, entrepreneurs, to private owners.

As a consequence of World War II, the nationality of the Eastern Carpathians changed resulting in a transformation of the tourism organization model. In accordance with the politics of that time, this particular sector became the domain of the state, as it was to play an important role in Soviet social and educational policy. In the new approach, tourism was to change its character from exclusive and individual to organized and available to all social strata. The move towards mass tourism served the purpose of creating specific social attitudes and in the new system, the focus was on elements of both mental and physical regeneration along with the formation of ideology. Tourism infrastructure was nationalized and under the Central Council of Trade Unions, with the exception of some holiday facilities which were

the property of individual institutions or factories (Chazov, 1983; Gorsuch, 2003; Jackowski, 1979; Maurer, 2006; Orlov, 2014; Palmer, 2011; Quirini-Popławski, 2015).

Noticeable changes started in the 1960s (e.g. in 1965, in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk *Oblasts*, tourism councils were established). However, it was the ordinance of the USSR Ministerial Council (1969), regarding 'means for further development of tourism and excursions in the country' that was of key importance. It provided a formal basis to organize, recreation, tourism and sports zones for city inhabitants and a plan for building suitable infrastructure for 1971-75 including hotels, *turbazas* (tourist 'bases'), camp sites and so-called 'auto-pensions'). It also referred to the production of promotional materials and the selection of plots of land for tourism investments by the authorities. The execution of the plan was to be coordinated by the Ukrainian Central Council for Tourist Excursions, as well as its local and regional divisions, responsible for the development of mass tourism. The next plan was drawn up for the period 1986-1990, but its provisions were not put into operation (DALO Fond 3105, description 1, case 61, 1; Doljenko, Putrik, 2010; Fedorchenko, Dorova, 2002; Kottenko, 2015).

In Austro-Hungarian times moving around the Eastern Beskids was not restricted in any way. During the interwar period, it required obtaining a pass at the *stano* (after 1925) or being a member of a tourism organization. Despite the change of borders after 1945, the part of the Carpathian chain discussed herein did not become a single unit but was divided by an *oblast* border rather than a state one. Throughout the Soviet era, tourist penetration was limited by regulations regarding travel between *oblasts* and the security zones along oil (*Friendship*) and gas pipelines (*Brotherhood* and *Sojuz*) (Nedashkovskaia, 1983). In addition, due to the close proximity of the border with Romania, the southern part of the Hrynyavy Mountains and Chyvchyny Mountains (south of the Pip Ivan) was a restricted border zone closed to tourism. The state border itself was guarded by a double line of fences (*sistemy*). In the Soviet era, specialised tourism was classified as a sports discipline and above the floors of the Carpathian valleys, it had to be organized. Groups led by guides along specific trails were obliged to report daily at designated check points (Gudowski, 1997).

## 3. ACCOMMODATION INFRASTRUCTURE

### 3.1. TYPES OF ACCOMMODATION FACILITIES

Services for the participants of different forms of specialised tourism were provided in various types of facilities. The most common element of the infrastructure was a *turbaza*, which can be classified as accommodation with

board, used for a wide range of recreational purposes, tailored to serve the needs of organized tourism participants, usually travelling by coach. They were mostly people who had been issued special 'recommendations' at their workplace including parents with children, but also individual tourists. Popular types of mass event that were organized included treks, competitions and excursions. There were open and restricted facilities, the latter being available to the members of specific associations, clubs or the employees of a particular workplace. A model *turbaza* included the accommodation for several hundred people, a catering section, a common room and a tourist and sports equipment store. *Turbaza* were often arranged in more inaccessible areas (e.g. at higher altitudes). Depending on their profile, they were equipped with additional elements of infrastructure such as parking lots, sports areas, camp sites, tourist trails or ski lifts. Due to the natural conditions, the mountains were often the place where sports centres were located, mainly those dedicated to winter sports (Chazov, 1983).

A separate element of the infrastructure, independent of the *turbazas*, were the *prijuty*. They were a type of **tourist hostel**, above all for participants of organized hiking excursions, though they were often offered to individual tourists as well. They were situated away from the main Carpathian routes, usually in mountain river valleys and along tourist trails. They were small buildings, less sophisticated than a *turbaza*, and capable of holding up to 100 tourists.

The third type of accommodation was the **camp** (*laheria*). This can be defined as a form of recreation, usually summer recreation, for children and young people, organized in specially prepared buildings or tents. There were sports, recreational, medicinal and tourist camps but the most popular were the recreational-medicinal facilities, where a 'sanatorium-resort card' was required. The organizers were Komsomol associations, as well as Pioneer clubs and scouts. The camp site consisted of temporary seasonal facilities, cabins or tents, so they were frequently located near resort hotels whose infrastructure could be used. The participants followed a strict plan for a day which included physical activities (sports games, hiking, working on farms), as well as cultural (film screenings, lectures) and mental activities (educational and tourism-related activities, learning new skills). Pioneer camps (the first one was organized in 1925) were a particular type of accommodation which played a significant role in the national education system and the formation of social attitudes among children and young people in the Soviet Union. In this case, the program included attending ideology classes such as meetings with heroes of the Great Patriotic War, participating in demonstrations, press and magazine readings (Chazov, 1983; De Witt, 1961; Katel, 1968; Korzhev, 1963; Peacock, 2014; Resnick, 1985; Rudenko, 1985; Sossa, 1987).

It is worth mentioning that specialised tourism participants used recreation facilities as well. They were buildings intended for the employees of a given workplace and their families, at the disposal of trade unions, and were available only to holders of special recommendation certificates. In the Eastern Beskids, three places can be distinguished with such centres: the Opir River valley below Verkhnie Synovydne, the Skhidnytsia region and the Prut River valley between Yaremcha and Vorokhta (Quirini-Popławski, 2015).

### 3.2. DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE

In the 1940s and 1950s, no investments were made in Eastern Beskids with specialised tourism participants in mind. One of the first that appeared after the war was the *Hutsul turbaza*, built in 1961-63 (and developed in the years that followed) in the 'Drummer's Stone' (*Kamin Dobusha*) district of Yaremcha, on the Prut River. It consisted of a large main building (with the catering section, common room, library, cinema, tourist equipment rental and sauna), three 3-storey accommodation units (offering 2-4 person rooms), as well as several summer holiday buildings for youth camps. Nearby, in a stylish building, was the *Hutsul* restaurant. It was one of the exemplary investments, which received groups arriving as part of international exchanges organized by the 'Turist' agency. The site also included an assembly area, a sports field, a camp site for 100 people, a park, a parking lot and some technical infrastructure. It offered a variety of services, including international telephone connections and train and plane ticket reservations. The maximum capacity in the summer season was 600 beds (420 in winter), and it was the largest base in the Ukrainian Carpathians. It was intended for organized groups and families, though unoccupied accommodation places were also available to individual tourists. A branch of the Yaremcha *turbaza* was a complex of accommodation pavilions (partly seasonal), called *Chornohora*, for 120 people in Zawojela near Vorokhta in the Prut River valley (Burnashov, Hafniak, Hoshovskyi, Drukman, 1973; Chazov, 1983; Czubiński, 2008, 2014; Kraszyi, 1976; Sossa, 1987; Zavalnyi, Yonkyn, 1967).

From the mid-1970s, the infrastructure was visibly changing. A number of large well-arranged *turbazas*, easily accessible by transport and providing services to organized groups, as well as to families with children or individual tourists (when free places were available). Most of them were built in destinations which were convenient points to set out for Chornohora and the Pokuttya-Bucovina Beskids. In Kosiv, a 4-storey building was erected (*Karpatskaya zorya*), consisting of accommodation and the catering-recreational sections which offered 300 beds all year round and had its own ski lift. An equally wide

range of accompanying services were offered by the *Gornaja turbaza* situated in the centre of Yablunytsia. In five stylish, wooden and brick buildings there were 150 places for tourists, as well as a restaurant and the technical section. Near to a pre-war tourist hostel in the Yablunytsia Pass (Tatar Pass), a new hotel standard facility, called *Berkut*, was erected. It offered several dozen rooms, a large, stylish restaurant, roofed parking places and some ski lifts. In the very centre of Vorokhta, opposite the railway station, a 2-storey building was erected, called *Karpaty*, for 44 people, offering only basic services. In the village of Sheshory, there is a popular seasonal base (*Srebrne Wodospady*), which can accommodate up to 410 people in summer lodges (Fig. 1). Slightly later (1982), a sizeable *turbaza*, named *Verchovyna*, was opened in Verchovyna (formerly Żabie) which consisted of two several-storey accommodation units (300 places) and a building with a large sports hall and cinema room. There were also sports areas and pitches nearby (Burnashov, Hafniak, Hoshovskyi, Drukman, 1973; Chazov, 1983; Khvostenko, 1976; Krasyi, 1976; Nedashkovskaia, 1983; Sossa, 1987).

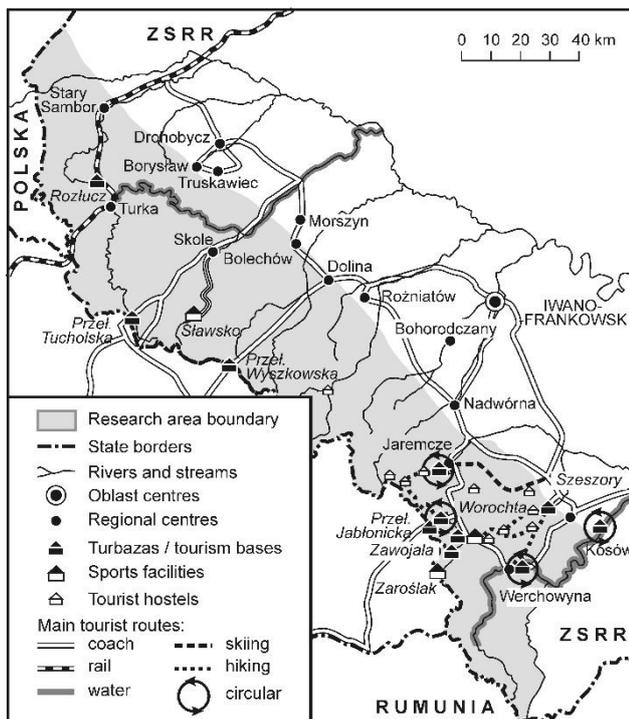


Figure 1. Distribution of accommodation facilities for specialised tourism and tourist trails in the Eastern Beskids in the 1980s  
Source: authors, based on field work and Burnashov (1986), Horbunov (1969), Khvostenko (1976), Krasyi (1976), Rudenko (1985), Sossa (1987)

The infrastructure in the western part of the Eastern Beskids was more limited. In the first half of the 1970s, a relatively small facility was built (about 100 places), picturesquely located in the region of Tucholska (*Veretsky*) Pass. The specialised tourism facility situated furthest to

the west was *Джерело Карпат* in the northern part of Rozluch, in the Sanok-Turka Mountains. It comprised four 2- and 3-storey buildings with developed recreational facilities and could accommodate 140 people. Despite the fact that it was solidly built, the facility was used only seasonally, from May to October (Rutynskyi, 2012; Sossa, 1987).

The next group of facilities included sports centres which were generally unavailable to individual tourists. With a view to organizing the Winter Olympic Games in the Ukrainian Carpathians, a winter sports centre was to be built in Vorokhta. Accordingly, a large training centre was created there, including accommodation and catering facilities, as well as a boarding house in buildings called *Skocznia* and *Ukraina*, for a total of 750 people. Moreover, at Zaroslak (1,278 m above sea level) in Chornohora, after pulling down the ruins of a former shelter, a large Soviet national team sports complex was opened in 1974, preparing sportsmen and women for the Olympics. It was the highest accommodation facility in the Eastern Beskids. The two-wing building had about 40 bedrooms, a dining room, recreational facilities, a gym hall and a number of smaller rooms for guests and personnel. The centre could function all year round and received groups of Soviet, Ukrainian, Georgian and Belarusian athletes. At the same time in Slavske in the Bieszczady Mountains, in the place of a wooden building used before, the *Dynamo* centre was built, offering hotel standards. It included rooms for over 150 guests, a sauna, a sports hall and its own ski station. The next investment, mainly for groups of athletes, was the *Cheremosh* base in Verchovyna (100 places), with a football stadium, an athletics stadium and several ski jumps. There was also a training centre there (Burnashov, 1986; Nabytovych, Protsailo, 2006; Rudenko, 1985; Shulha, Onufriv, 2013).

Clusters of tourist hostels (*prijuty*) could be found in Pokuttya-Bucovina Beskids (6) and in the eastern part of the Gorgany Mountains (3), mostly in the first half of the 1970s. Their spatial distribution allowed the organization of circular hiking and skiing trips and they included check points, where the excursionists reported, as well as a mountain rescue station. For instance, the all-year-round tourist hostel *Doboshanka*, west of Yaremcha, was a wooden house with a high roof, suited for group accommodation. It included a kitchen, a tourist equipment store and a camp site. Moreover, in the 1970s, a *prijut* was organized in an adapted building in Osmoloda. The joint capacity of the 10 tourist hostels in the Eastern Beskids was around 1000 places.

Separate tourist bases were organized for children and young people. A lot of such infrastructure could be found in the Opir River valley: the first facility, established in 1955 in Dubyna near Skole (*Karpaty*), was for tents later transformed into a row of buildings providing accommodation. Their maximum capacity during

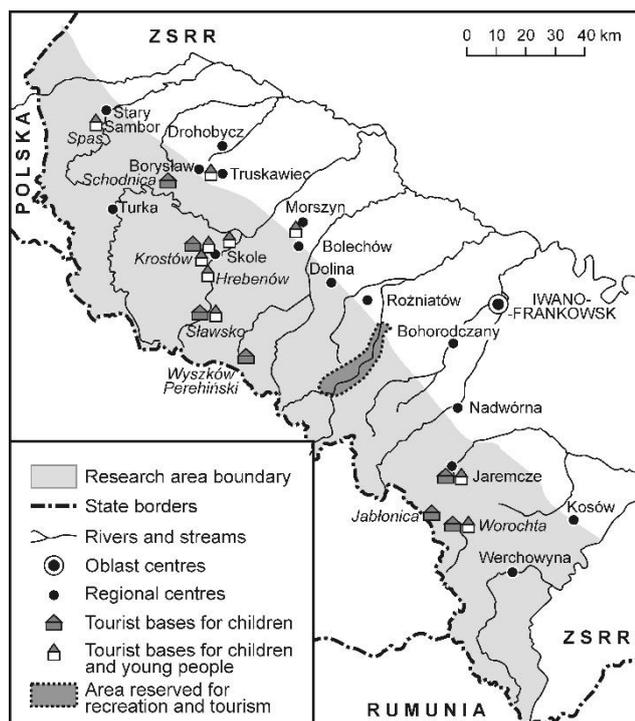


Figure 2. Distribution of accommodation facilities for specialised tourism among children and young people in the Eastern Beskids, in the 1980s

Source: authors, based on field work and Krasnyi (1976), Sossa (1987), *Sovetskoe...* (1989)

the season was 180 places, including 80 in the summer-lodges. The largest complex of this type, called *Huculka*, was built in 1970 in Skhidnytsia, in the Brzeżne Beskids (Fig. 2). It was a recreational-medicinal facility, consisting of eight residential buildings (ca. 300 beds), two dining rooms and a common room. In the eastern part of the Eastern Beskids, three year-round bases were built, located centrally in Yablunytzia (*Karpaty*), Yaremcha (*Prut*) and Vorokhta (*Hooverla*). Together, they could accommodate nearly 250 people. Next, probably in the 1980s, a small accommodation facility was opened at Vyskov in the Gorgany Mountains, called *Krokus*. It was the property of the *Sputnik* organization and intended for international youth groups from socialist countries (Zinchenko, 2004). Other tourist bases for children and young people functioned in Slavske (*Polonina*) and Skole (*Verchovyna*).

As said before, camps were a particular type of infrastructure for organized groups of children and young people, including Pioneer camps. In the Eastern Beskids, the majority of them functioned in the Opir and Prut valleys and in the large health resorts of Truskavets and Morshyn (Fig. 2). Regions of particular concentration were the southern districts of Yaremcha, and Hrebeniv in the Hrebenowiec valley where they formed specific districts for a particular purpose. The camps were usually located on the peripheries of tourist destinations, at

the edge of a forest, often on watercourses. A model facility consisted of the main building and a number of lightweight houses, or a group of tents, each for several people. Their characteristic feature was a concentric arrangement with the central assembly area. They covered an average area of several 'ares', though *Trembita* in Slavske and *Watra* in Hrebeniv occupied over one hectare. Camp houses were typically built of perishable construction materials, without foundations. Due to the high cost of exploitation, the provisional buildings were not very durable and relatively quickly underwent degradation, especially without maintenance for the winter. In the late 1980s, in the Eastern Beskids, there were at least 17 camps with permanent infrastructure, but most probably summer holidays were often organized at provisional locations and temporary facilities (Rudenko, 1985; Sossa, 1987; Stotska, 1997).

#### 4. OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATION

Starting in the late 1960s, Soviet researchers conducted intensive studies on spatial development for tourism and recreation purposes. Tourism destinations flourished and the location of individual infrastructure elements in the Eastern Beskids was chosen based on the development plans made at different spatial scales. It must be noted, however, that the planning documents concerning tourism in those times were kinds of feasibility study, focusing primarily on social needs. Planners adopted the principle of clustering infrastructure at specific destinations, leaving forested areas between them where construction was not allowed, as they were a natural 'reservoir' for recreational activities (e.g. in the Gorgany Mountains in the Perehinsk region). The high demand for new facilities resulted from a considerable increase in the employment rate in industry in the nearby large urban centres of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk. A positive example of planning practice is the scheme implemented in the 1980s in the territory of the Carpathian National Park. It specified some functional zones: a legally protected one where mainly scientific and research activity was conducted (8000 hectares), and a recreational one providing services for mass tourism participants and individual holiday makers. At the same time, a number of destinations in the Prut River valley were included in a spatial development plan (Dolyshnyi, 1988; Nefedova, Smyrnova, Chyzhova, Shvydchenko, 1980).

Many of the tourist facilities presented here were equipped with modern (as for that time) elements of technical and supplementary infrastructure (Table 1). This mainly concerns large *turbazas*, e.g. those in Yaremcha, Verchovyna and Sheshory. Some buildings had amenities such as international telephone connections, a sauna, cinema or gym. Others were very well

Table 1. Elements of infrastructure at selected accommodation facilities in Eastern Carpathians

Facility location	Element of infrastructure							
	central heating	telephone	ski lift	sports equipment rental	cinema	transport ticket booking	parking	rail
Yablunytsia	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
Yaremcha	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Kosiv	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Rozluch	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Sheshory	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
Verchovyna	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
Zaroslak	+	No data	-	-	+	-	+	-

Key: '+' - access; '-' - no access.

Source: authors based on Sossa (1987) and field work.

Table 2. Accommodation infrastructure for specialised tourism in the Eastern Carpathians, in the 1980s

Mountain ranges	Number of accommodation facilities by type						Number of beds
	turbazas	sports centres	tourist hostels (prijuty)	centres for children and young people	camps for children and young people	total number of facilities	
Sanok-Turka Mountains	1	0	0	0	0	1	140
Eastern Bieszczady	2	1	0	3	4	10	1,070
Brzeźne Beskids	0	0	0	1	7	8	1,000
Gorgany	3	0	4	3	5	15	2,080
Chornohora	2	3	0	1	1	7	1,229
Pokuttya-Bucovina Beskids	3	1	6	0	0	10	1,720
<b>Eastern Carpathians</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>7,239</b>

In cases when there was no data regarding the number of beds, 100 was assumed.

Source: authors, based on Krasyy (1976), Nedashkovskaia (1983), Rudenko (1985), Sossa (1987).

prepared to provide services for motorized tourists (Yaremcha, Yablunytsia Pass) and equipped with advanced infrastructure for vehicle maintenance. On the other hand, many seasonal camps had only basic amenities; they lacked warm water, drinking water and a sewage system, the construction of buildings was very frail and there was no hard-surfaced access road.

All *turbazas* were designed to operate for the whole year, except those in Sheshory and Rozluche. A model complex in the Eastern Beskids consisted of 2-3 buildings, a restaurant or canteen, a parking lot and a camping area. They had different capacities, with the smallest ones operating in the Wyshkov Pass and Yaremcha (*Karpaty*) offering places for less than 50 people. The largest base was in Yaremcha (*Hutsul*), accommodating 600 tourists. As regards the number of *turbazas* in the Ukrainian SSR in those times, those located in Eastern Beskids made up 8% and the overall number of beds in the second half of the 1980s came to about 2,400-2,500. It must be added, however, that the other side was developed at a similar level with 12 *turbazas*, more scattered but of a smaller overall capacity, ca. 1,700 places (Burnashov, Hafniak, Hoshovskyy, Drukman, 1973; Chazov, 1983; Khvostenko, 1976; Krasyy, 1976; Nedashkovskaia, 1983; Sossa, 1987).

The analysis included 51 facilities offering nearly 7,300 overnight places in the mid-1980s (Table 2) as development at that time had reached its peak. The largest part of the accommodation infrastructure were seasonal camps for children and young people (17 facilities, 1,675 beds), but one third of all beds (2,384) were to be found at 11 tourist bases. The average capacity of a *turbaza* was 142 beds, with sports bases offering nearly 250 beds, and tourist hostels under 100. Generally speaking, Pokuttya-Bucovina Beskids, the Prut and Opir Rivers valleys were well developed from a tourism perspective. Investments were intentionally excluded from the Chyvchyny Mountains and Hrynyavy Mountains (due to the close distance to the Romanian border), as well as the middle and western parts of the Gorgany Mountains. According to Nedashkovskaia (1983), other investments were planned for the future: ski centres in Yaremcha (150 places), Vorokhta (100) and Rozluch (500), tourist hostels in Bistrica (formerly Raifailova), Tucholka, Skole and Skhidnytsia.

It seems that in the Soviet era, due to the peripheral, border location and historical affiliations of the Carpathian Mountains, there was not much interest in investing despite the richness of the natural and human assets. In the first years after the war, tourism practi-

cally came to a halt, except for spas where it was limited to curative stays. Until the mid-1950s, due to fighting between Soviet security forces and troops of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the area above the valley floors was excluded from tourism. The following decades brought a change and from then came a rapid development of tourism, while in the following years the beginnings of tourism as a common and mass phenomenon arrived. It is easy to calculate that those processes took place 10-20 years later than in other Carpathian regions.

Based on the spatial distribution of accommodation facilities, major (ranked as national) excursion trails in the Eastern Beskids were established particularly for hiking and skiing. The average duration of such an excursion was about 20 days and included river-rafting (in winter – cross-country skiing) and stays at a tourist base. In fact, only short sections of the trails were marked (e.g. in Chornohora and Pokuttya-Bukovina Beskids), and sometimes they were completely missing even close to the facilities located in the Prut valley. As in Poland, a network of tourist trails was planned along the whole Carpathian chain (Nedashkovskaia, 1983). The most popular were group coach trips, hence the rapid increase in the number of routes for motor tourists. The most important ones include the summer *Karpaty* trail from Lviv through Yaremcha to Rakhiv and Mukachevo, *Podkarpackie wodospady* – a mountain trail linking Sheshory, Yaremcha and Yablunytsia, *Do kraju karpackich mistrzów* around Yaremcha and Kosiv, as well as a number of winter trails: *Karpackie Gwiazdy* in Pokuttya-Bucovina Beskids, and *Winter Hutsul* and *Around Hutsul* (skiing trails) in the region of Yaremcha (Fig. 1). The huge popularity of such excursions was confirmed by the fact that 40 million people in the Soviet Union took part in them in 1971. Excursions were also organized along thematic trails e.g. historical or geographical. Marking the trails and describing them in guidebooks triggered the development of water tourism with the most popular rivers included the Dniester above Turka, and the Chornyi Cheremosh from Burkut. However, there was no infrastructure, such as riverside hostels, moorings and bases. It can be assumed that individual tourism existed, but was quite limited (Chazov, 1983; Horbunov, 1969; Jackowski, 1979). Tourist penetration of the Eastern Beskids at the level of *oblasts* and regions was of the linear-nodal type (due to the accommodation infrastructure, tourist trails and routes), while in spas it was typically centred.

In the times of the Soviet Union, skiing was part of defence and physical fitness training. Slavske and Vorokhta became important winter sports resorts in the Ukrainian SSR (Struk, 1993) and the accommodation infrastructure and skiing facilities were relatively well developed. In 1962, a large ski jump was built (with artificial covering) and in the 1970s seven ski lifts, as well as a number of winter mountain trails and biathlon paths, were set up. Due to those investments, annual cham-

pionships of republic and national sports associations were held in Slavske and Vorokhta (Burnashov, Hafniak, Hoshovskyi, Drukman, 1973; Fyrseľ, 1976; Nabytovych, Protsailo, 2006).

The political dimension of tourism was visible when trails for organized excursions were established. The tourists were nearly always led along permanent trails, which typically included sites related to national heroes, World War II events (battlefields, monuments commemorating Soviet soldiers and partisans) or the achievements of collectivization and industrialization. In this way, tourism organizers developed a selective memory of the past 'based on current needs'. Guidebooks to the Eastern Beskids published before the 1970s rarely included information useful for individual tourists, such as a detailed description of the accommodation and catering infrastructure, transport time tables or the exact location of shops (Katel, 1968; Peacock, 2014; Qualls, 2006). At this point, we must agree with Orlov (2014) who indicates that it was the political and ideological factors that determined the scale and geography of excursions, as well as the personnel and type of tourist group.

While in the first years after the war, tourism was oriented mainly towards spas (medicinal and recreational stays), in the 1970s geographical excursions and hikes started to gain in popularity. They were organized by the Central Council for Tourist Excursions in Lviv and coordinated by local clubs (e.g. *Berkut* from Sambor – the Borislav urban club, the *Cyklop* cycling club from Lviv). Other organizers included youth associations and their press (e.g. *Lenin's Youth*). The content and purpose of these events were often of an ideological and political nature which was reflected in their naming and the occasions honoured e.g. 'Lenin's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday', 'the 54<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution', 'the 24<sup>th</sup> convention of the Ukrainian and Soviet Communist Party', or 'the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ukraine's liberation from Nazi occupation'. The description of the excursions implies that the main tourist interest was in natural features, especially the landscapes of the Eastern Beskids. From the early 1960s, annual group climbs of Mount Hoverla in Chornohora and Mount Pikui in the Bieszczady Mountains were organized. They were very popular; for instance, in 1969, the 6<sup>th</sup> climb to Mount Hoverla was joined by 1856 people, and in 1970, 3000 climbed to the top of Pikui. The climbers came from the south-western part of the Ukrainian SSR, i.e. from Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Poltava, Volyn and Zakarpattia *Oblasts*. Political elements were also easily detectable in other forms of spending leisure time on tourism conventions and competitions which integrated young people aged 16-25 from socialist countries. Regular events of this type were held in the Prut valley (Yaremcha, Yablunytsia, She-shory, Mykulychyn and Vorokhta) and Opir valley (Kropivnik, Hrebeniv and Skole). Divided into large teams, the participants competed in numerous categories

Table 3. The number of children staying at summer Pioneer camps in the countryside, Lviv *oblast*, in 1950-1985 (excluding town camps)

Year	1950	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1984	1985
Number of people [thousands]	14.1	21.9	29.9	35.4	40.7	35.8	36.3	38.6

Source: authors, based on *Lvivshchyna...* (1982), *Lvivska...* (1986).

(specialised tourist techniques, orienteering, historical and geographical knowledge). In 1969, the nationalities of those participating in *Vesnianka* the 9<sup>th</sup> convention in the village of Topolnytsia (Staryi Sambir *oblast*) included Belarusians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Estonians, Georgians, Poles, Russians, Tatars and Hungarians. It can be estimated that about 250-300,000 people took part in the excursions and conventions organized by the Central Council for Tourist Excursions in Lviv, in the 1970s with 80% of them choosing the particularly popular one-day excursions. On the other hand, organized groups of foreign tourists (mainly from socialist countries) were sent by the *Intourist* agency to selected accommodation facilities which offered the highest standards. In the Eastern Beskids, they included places like the bases in Yaremcha (*Hutsul*) and the Yablunytsia Pass (*Berkut*) (DALO Fond 3105, description 1, case 37, 20; Fond 3105, description 1, case 59, 5; Fond 3105, description 8, case 35, 30-156, 222, 259; Jackowski 1979; Qualls 2006).

The lack of materials presenting the scale of participation of specialised tourism during the Soviet period seriously hampers the quantitative analysis of this issue. Based on fragmentary data on the number of children staying at Pioneer summer camps in Lviv *oblast* over several decades, it is possible to conduct an analysis. However, it can be confirmed with a large degree of certainty that this type of accommodation infrastructure was very popular in the 1970s and 1980s (Table 3).

## 5. SUMMARY

In the Eastern Carpathians region, tourism during the Soviet period was planned. The change of the formal and organizational conditions of tourism in the late 1960s made it possible to rapidly develop the accommodation infrastructure in the decades that followed. The 1970s and 1980s were the time of the most spectacular growth of tourist accommodation and tourism itself in the Eastern Carpathians and 51 facilities were planned to accommodate about 7300 people. They were located mostly in the easily accessible valleys of the Opir and Prut Rivers and the surrounding area. It is worth mentioning at this point that before World War II, the area in question featured 141 tourist hostels, shelters and overnight bases, offering nearly 4200 beds in 1939. In both periods,

the Opir and Prut River Valleys were still a significant area for organizing camps for children and young people. Vorokhta and Slavske maintained and developed their function as winter sports centres. Thus, we can talk about a continuation of the pre-war tradition in this respect.

After the 1991 turn and the crisis of state tourism financing, three main trends in the development of accommodation infrastructure for specialised tourism can be seen. The largest group includes unused, abandoned or ruined facilities – numerous shelters and bases such as *Pereval* in the Verecke (Tucholska) Pass, *Źródło Karpat* in Rozluch and *Serebryane vodopady* in Sheshory. Following ownership transformations and modernization, there are still fully working facilities in Vorokhta, Verchovyna, Kasiv, Yablunytsia Pass, as well as partly working ones in Skole and Slavske. Due to their attractive location, some buildings were pulled down and replaced with new ones which performed a different function, e.g. the *Hutsul* base in Yaremcha. Contemporary facilities situated above river valley floors include the shelter *Na Płyściach* in the Gorgany Mountains, the property of the Carpathian Paths Foundation and opened in 2008, as well as several unfurnished shelters.

## ENDNOTE

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a continuation of the authors' discussion on tourist accommodation infrastructure in the area in question. The interwar period was described in articles by Quirini-Popławski (2011, 2018).

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