



## SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: THE 12TH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN MOSCOW

June 1985

The Budapest-based World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) is a Soviet international front organization formed in 1945 as a communist-dominated coalition. Since communist officials took effective control of its operations in 1950, the WFDY has sought to influence youth and student groups on a host of international defense issues along lines favorable to Soviet interests. Moscow considers noncommunist youth and student movements—together with academic, religious, humanitarian, and similar associations—important elements in its “peace and anti-imperialist struggle.” Since the last World Youth Festival in Havana in 1978, the Soviets have made intensive efforts to “unite” communist affiliates of the WFDY with independent youth and student organizations in order to draw the latter into the “struggle for peace.” The 12th World Youth Festival to be held in Moscow, July 27-August 3—expected to attract about 20,000 foreign participants—will be the culmination of these efforts. The gathering will be sponsored jointly by the WFDY and the International Union of Students (IUS), another Soviet front.

The current WFDY leadership keeps the organization steered in a pro-Soviet direction. It includes a Lebanese president and Hungarian secretary general (both of whom represent the WFDY on the World Peace Council's Presidential Committee), vice presidents from the U.S.S.R., Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba; and secretaries from East Germany, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. The Soviet Peace Fund—a so-called public organization founded in 1961 to finance a wide range of international fronts—finances part of the WFDY's operations. Current fund chairman Anatoly Karpov told the *Festival Herald* (January 1984) that the fund will “do everything to see” that the Moscow youth festival “will be a success.”

The WFDY's consistent pro-Soviet bias is evident from the resolutions passed at its meetings and assemblies and from its other published documents and communiqués. It has never criticized Soviet domestic or foreign policies; indeed, it has supported the most controversial Soviet actions, including the December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan and the September 1983 downing of a Korean airliner (see p. 3). Along with other Soviet fronts, such as the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Christian Peace Conference, the WFDY for

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decades has been active in the promotion of Soviet policies, both in the Third World and through affiliated national organizations in Western countries.

Like the other fronts, it focused primarily on promoting Soviet interests in the developing world during the 1970s. With the 1980s debate about NATO deployment in Europe of intermediate-range nuclear forces, the WFDY turned its attention to disarmament and security issues, supporting Soviet initiatives in this sphere and most recently echoing Soviet criticism of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

### U.S.S.R. Leadership Concerns About Soviet Youth

One consequence of increased contacts between East and West during recent years—contacts fostered, in part, by such communist-dominated conclaves as the world youth festivals—has been the spread of individualism and consumerism among Soviet youth.

Disaffection among Soviet youth is not a new problem for the leadership. In April 1981 in the wake of the Polish crisis, official concern about the influence of alien ideas was apparent at a 6-day high-level ideology conference in Moscow where party leaders—including Politburo member Mikhail Gorbachev—linked foreign influences to the breakdown of authority in Poland and stressed the need to correct similar problems

at home. After the conference, Soviet media launched a broad campaign to counter Western influence on youth.<sup>1</sup>

With the approach of the festival, the Soviet leadership's concern over the direction in which the nation's youth might be heading has been given prominent play in the U.S.S.R. during the last year. In a May 28, 1984 speech at a conference of armed forces secretaries of the All-Union Leninist-Communist League of Youth (Komsomol), then-Soviet General Secretary Chernenko voiced the Kremlin's preoccupation over the future directions of Soviet youth. He charged that the Komsomol was failing to meet the needs of Soviet youth and was trying to solve new problems by "obsolete and unoriginal" methods and with formal campaigns and slogans rather than by creative initiatives; he further criticized the Komsomol for ineffectiveness in the "upbringing" of Soviet youth and called for heightened party discipline in the Komsomol ranks.

A June 28 Politburo decree then ordered intensified party work with the Komsomol and deplored such vices among youth as "labor and civic passivity, individualism, lack of discipline. . . . wastefulness, drunkenness, and laziness. . . . apoliticism, immorality, and blind imitation of Western fashion." (*Pravda*, June 29, 1984)<sup>2</sup>

On July 7 *Pravda* published a report on a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) censuring the Komsomol for failing to create the correct political attitude among youth. These matters were discussed at a Komsomol Central Committee plenum on August 10, addressed by Yegor Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee secretary and Politburo member in charge of Komsomol affairs. Although his speech was not published, its message probably was reflected in an article he authored a month later in the CPSU's leading theoretical journal, *Kommunist* (No. 13, 1984), on the Komsomol. Finally, a January 12, 1985 *Pravda* editorial on ideological education urged the Komsomol to "do much for the purposeful class education of young men and women in the course of the preparations" for the Moscow festival.

<sup>1</sup>A lengthy report on alleged Western "ideological aggression" against Soviet youth authored by Viktor Chebrikov, then-deputy chairman (and now chairman) of the Committee for State Security (KGB), appeared at the same time in *Moloday Kormunist*, No. 4, April 1981. He asserted that "the youth of the country of soviets is a principal target of the subversive endeavors of the enemies of socialism. They are endeavoring with ideological sabotage to shake the communist convictions of young men and women, thrust bourgeois ideology upon them, evoke apolitical and nihilistic sentiments in certain young people and push them into antisocial positions." Indeed, the KGB has long kept watch on Soviet youth. Aleksandr Shelepin, Komsomol first secretary (1952-58), went on to become head of the KGB (1958-61). Vladimir Semichastny, Komsomol first secretary (1958-59) also headed the KGB (1961-67). And current Politburo member Geydar Aliyev, head of the KGB in Baku (1967-69) and involved in police and security work for the previous 26 years, in January 1985 was named head of the U.S.S.R.'s commission on International Youth Year.

<sup>2</sup>Soviet authorities are determined to regulate fashion, even at the upcoming festival. Irina Andreyeva, head art consultant of the U.S.S.R.'s National Fashion House, wrote in the *Festival Herald* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, April 1984) that ". . . clothes are not the most important thing. What is, was, and always will be most important is man's beauty, his soul, his thoughts, desires and actions. Everyone can be beautiful and clothes should play a role, but they should not take the place of the person." Soviet fashion experts think that the major trends in fashion for youth this year will be "democracy, functionalism and universality," according to Andreyeva.

## The 12th World Youth Festival

The Kremlin considers the 12th World Youth Festival an important element in its overall campaign to influence international youth and student opinion against Western foreign and defense policies; at the same time Soviet authorities will use the festival's heavy "peace" oriented program to show for domestic consumption that "world opinion," as reflected by new generation representatives visiting Moscow, "coincides" with Soviet views and should be emulated by Soviet youth.

**Focus on the Peace Movement.** Nevertheless, the gathering's primary purpose is to orient foreign youth and student elements in the antiwar movement in an anti-U.S. direction while avoiding any criticism of Soviet foreign and defense policies. Moscow's insistence that it shares no blame for the nuclear arms buildup was emphasized by CPSU International Department (ID) chief Boris Ponomarev, who is responsible for control of front groups:

It is extremely important to know the facts that show who is to blame for the extreme tension that has come about in the world. The facts indicate unequivocally that responsibility for this is borne by the most aggressive circles of the NATO countries, primarily the imperialist circles of the United States. (*Radio Moscow*, November 2, 1984)

Other ranking Soviet officials have propounded the same line. In an address to the 11th WFDY assembly in Prague (June 2-9, 1982) establishing goals through 1986, Boris Pastukhov, then-Komsomol first secretary, called the organiza-

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***Peace for [young people] is the usual state of society. Some of them believe that continuation and strengthening of peace requires no efforts from them personally. Therefore at times they fail to perceive and underestimate the danger of war, which has not ceased to be a harsh reality of our time. . . . Underestimation of the threat of war today and, as a consequence of this, unconcern, complacency, and calm placidity is a dangerous phenomenon which is fraught with serious consequences. Therefore, it is the common duty and most important task of all party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, by means of vigorous ideological and indoctrination work, to prevent the occurrence of complacency, calm placidity and elements of pacifism, and to combat them resolutely wherever they occur. . . The Lenin Komsomol is called upon to make a large contribution to the military-patriotic education of youth.***

Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov,  
"Always in Readiness to Defend the Homeland,"  
Voyenizdat, 1982

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tion of a worldwide antiwar youth campaign, under WFDY auspices, the WFDY's "weightiest goal in the eighties." (*Rude Pravo*, June 4, 1982) The assembly's final document identified the "struggle against the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialist circles and NATO" as the WFDY's primary task for the rest of the decade. (*Moscow New Times*, No. 25, 1982)

**The Kremlin's Public Relations Problems.** "Unification" of the antinuclear movement on an exclusively anti-U.S. platform has eluded Moscow, however. The Soviets have been frustrated in their attempts to seek tactical rapprochement with noncommunist—including youth and student-related—

peace activists, chiefly because of their own indecision on how far to cooperate with those elements of the movement that criticize Soviet foreign and defense, as well as domestic, policies—specifically suppression of the U.S.S.R.'s "unofficial" peace movement and its continued human rights abuses.

Such Soviet actions—as well as the U.S.S.R.'s desire to maintain political control over all aspects of the upcoming festival—have led several noncommunist youth organizations to make their participation in the Moscow festival contingent upon specific conditions. The Norwegian Conservative Party youth organization, for example, stipulated that:

- The Norwegian national preparatory committee be independently chosen and not controlled by the Norwegian communist party as in past festivals;
- The Democratic Youth Community of Europe (a Christian Democratic and conservative youth organization critical of the Soviet nuclear arms buildup) must decide to attend the Moscow festival-, and
- Soviet organizers guarantee that noncommunist delegations be permitted to raise their own topics for discussion—including the situation in Afghanistan and Poland, the treatment of Andrei Sakharov, and the suppression of dissidents. (Oslo *Aftenposten*, July 19, 1984)<sup>3</sup>

**Soviet Commentary.** Regardless of such criticism—which the Soviets dismiss as “sincerely mistaken” or “wrong”—Moscow remains determined to boost the antiwar movement’s momentum and channel its potential into an anti-U.S. direction. High-level Soviet pronouncements and writings have stressed the “cohesion” of the movement, promoted the 12th festival’s role in “unifying” its politically diverse elements, and promised “support and assistance” in achieving this goal.

- Current Komsomol First Secretary Viktor Mishin told TASS on June 9, 1984, that the upcoming festival was:

... designed to give a powerful impetus to even more vigorous joint actions by wide sections of youth and students, irrespective of their political and philosophical convictions, religion and race, for peace, against the imperialist policy of aggression and wars, for the rights of the younger generation.

He added that recent years had seen a “. . . sharp intensification of aggressive policies by the forces of U.S. imperialism and its claims to world domination. Under these circumstances, it is particularly important to strengthen the cohesion of all peace forces.”

- Yegor Ligachev wrote in the party’s leading theoretical journal *Kommunist* (No. 13, September 1984) that:

... uniting the efforts of young people the world over in the struggle for a stable world and against the threat of thermonuclear war has become a burning task in the conditions of increased aggressiveness on the part of imperialism. The CPSU supports the Komsomol’s initiatives, which are aimed at fulfilling this task. . . . The party and the Soviet Government will give all possible assistance to the Komsomol in the holding of the festival as a mass antiwar and anti-imperialist undertaking so that it will be a major event in International Youth Year.

- In his greetings to an international youth meeting staged in Moscow 1 week before the 12th festival’s third International Preparatory Committee (IPC) meeting, then-General Secretary Chernenko asserted that:

There is no doubt but that the [World Festival of Youth] movement, tested by time, will again clearly show the increased anti-imperialist solidarity of young people, and their readiness for energetic action for peace on earth.” (*Radio Moscow*, October 28, 1984)

<sup>3</sup>If past practice holds, Soviet organizers will not permit the dissemination of noncommunist literature as promised in preparatory meetings.

## WFDY Statements

### *Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan\**

An enlarged session of the WFDY Bureau special disarmament commission has ended in Moscow. . . .

Concerning the question of events in Afghanistan, the majority of the session participants approved the policy of the new government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and came out in support of the aid given to that country by the Soviet Union. The participants in the enlarged commission session also outlined plans for further joint action by young people of different countries in the struggle to preserve peace and deepen the relaxation of international tension.

### *Soviet Downing of Korean Flight 007\* \**

In a statement the WFDY Bureau has vehemently condemned the provocation concerning the South Korean plane and the malicious anti-Soviet campaign unleashed by the US administration. . . .

This time the pretext used was the consequence of a rude trespass into Soviet territory on the night of the 1st of September by an aircraft of the South Korean airlines, a trespass penetrating deeply into Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula where the most important military base of the Soviet strategic nuclear forces is located. . . .

The circumstances of this flight over the territory of the USSR, widely known today, enable us to speak about the direct involvement of the US administration in this new large-scale provocation. It cynically used a civilian plane of the South Korean airlines in realizing this.

The blatant campaign unleashed by the USA in connection with the rude violation of the sovereignty of the USSR and the measures that were taken by the Soviet side in full accordance with the widely recognized international regulations existing for these cases leave no room for doubt about the real aims of this provocation.

It is an attempt to create a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union in international public opinion [and] to achieve distrust for its peaceful policies and peace initiatives. . . .

\*Excerpts from an unattributed report in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, January 11, 1980

\* \*Excerpts from *WFDY News*, No. 11, 1983, p. 1.

- CPSU International Department chief Ponomarev told delegates to the third IPC meeting in Moscow that “questions of the struggle against the threat of war” would be “at the center of attention of participants.” He asserted that the “young generation today can rightly be described as antiwar. . . . The new antiwar movement, a movement unprecedented in its size and social diversity, is expanding everywhere. . . . Dear young friends, you can fully rely on the Soviet Union in [the] supreme battle being waged against the threat of nuclear war.” (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, November 3, 1984)

- Chernenko told a gathering of heads of the “socialist” countries’ youth organizations in Moscow on November 5, 1984, that the United States “fully and entirely” bore responsibility for the arms buildup in the world, and promised that the Moscow youth festival would become a “mass-scale and impressive anti-war and anti-imperialist event.” (TASS, November 5, 1984)

**What Will Happen at the Festival?** The overriding consideration for the festival's organizers is the need to exercise political control over the proceedings, as well as control over Soviet youth's exposure to such a massive influx of foreign youth (even though many of the latter will be pro-Marxist, if not openly pro-Soviet). The delegates will, therefore, be kept occupied by a full and structured program.

Like the 11 festivals before it, the upcoming conclave will seek to submerge one-sided political statements, resolutions, and appeals in a carnival-like atmosphere featuring sporting and cultural events.<sup>4</sup> According to TASS (July 6, 1984), mass antiwar demonstrations dedicated to the "40th anniversary of the victory over fascism" are scheduled to take place, as well as an international tribunal under the slogan: "Youth Accuses Imperialism." As in the 1978 Havana youth festival, this "tribunal"—with numerous "witnesses" testifying to a "court"

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***My task was to indoctrinate the right spirit into [Estonian youth]. Instructions came direct from the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow and were passed on by the Komsomol Central Committee in Estonia out to the local secretaries. The correct ideology had to permeate every activity, song, dance, music, theater. . . But I and many with me saw that there was a gulf between communism's teachings and life. People lack incentive; there is no point in working well, nor in educating oneself well. When man has no goal in life, he is also unable to achieve anything. But this is something the Marxists have never understood.***

From an interview with Estonian defector Hillar Raig, former Estonian Komsomol second secretary, in *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 15, 1984

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about the "crimes of imperialism" and at which "imperialism" will be found "guilty"—is expected to dominate the festival's proceedings. (The 1978 Havana tribunal featured the presentation of "evidence" by what TASS then called "experts and officials of Cuban security organs.") On trial will be the "military-industrial complex"; "imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations"; "contemporary fascism"; the "exploitation of child labor"; and "violators of political, economic, and social rights." Other events include festival days devoted to themes such as peace and disarmament; anti-imperialist solidarity; economic cooperation and a new international economic order; and security and cooperation. (*Radio Moscow*, November 2, 1984)

As in previous festivals, the gathering's final communique and various resolutions are expected to conform to Soviet foreign policy positions. Meanwhile, the meetings' communist organizers will attempt to confine discussion at the gathering to the inequities of Western society and portray human rights abuse as an exclusively Western phenomenon. Divergent

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<sup>4</sup>Articles contained in the first five issues of the *Festival Herald* (a publication of the festival's Soviet preparatory committee and published in Moscow) provide some sense of the upcoming festival's political nature. Issue No. 1 features stories on Pershing 11 missiles and the revolution in Nicaragua; No. 2, the African National Congress and the Leninist Komsomol; No. 3, Western "suppression" of the peace movement and the Western drive for "military superiority"; No. 4, the 40th anniversary of the U.S.S.R.'s "defeat of fascism," detente, disarmament, and Soviet "peace initiatives"; and No. 5, the threat of nuclear war, the "new threat" posed by the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, and the "offensive against peace launched by President Reagan."

views, particularly concerning issues such as the U.S.S.R.'s shared responsibility for the nuclear arms buildup, will be actively discouraged or suppressed, where possible, and will not appear in conference documents or communiques—the final texts of which most delegates normally do not see until they are published in communist media.

### **Buildup for the Festival: 1982-85**

**Soviet Efforts To Solicit Western Sponsorship.** According to European press reports, Moscow initially sought to stage the 12th World Youth Festival in a Western country—the last two festivals having been held in East Germany (1973) and Cuba (1978). French communist officials reportedly warded off an approach in late 1982.

Following a subsequent approach to Finnish communists in late November 1982, the communist-dominated Finnish Democratic Youth League issued a statement urging that the festival be staged in Helsinki and proposing that it be sponsored by all Finnish political youth organizations. (Helsinki *Tiedonantaja*, December 14, 1982)

But according to the Helsinki *Hufvudstadsbladet* (December 11, 1982), memories of the political controversy aroused by the preparations and the events at the 8th World Youth Festival in 1962 in Helsinki evidently persuaded Finnish youth representatives of all political affiliations to decide on April 20, 1983, against holding the festival in Finland.

**Retreat to Moscow.** Seven months later, Viktor Mishin, Komsomol first secretary, used an anti-American youth rally in Moscow on November 29, 1983, as the platform to announce that the Komsomol had proposed staging the 12th festival in Moscow. He called an "all progressive young people" to start preparations for the "culmination of the struggle against the imperialist policy of atomic arms buildup and preparation for a war with nuclear weapons." (TASS, November 29) Intensive preparations for the festival followed.

- Soon after Mishin's pronouncement, the WFDY issued an "open letter" in connection with the festival which blamed "the most aggressive forces of imperialism, first and foremost the U.S. administration," for "speeding up the arms race."

- WFDY President Walid Masri said in an interview with the East German youth newspaper *Junge Welt* (January 24, 1984) that the WFDY supported the Komsomol proposal to stage the festival in Moscow and considered the Soviet capital to be an "ideal venue." Similar endorsements subsequently were received from the "socialist" countries' youth organizations, as well as the International Union of Students and many of its communist-backed affiliates in Asia and Africa. (*World Student News*, No. 2, 1984)

- A conference of secretaries of the central committees of the "socialist" countries' youth organizations met in Budapest in late January for an "exchange of opinions" on specific measures aimed at "further strengthening cooperation" between the organizations. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, January 28)

- An annual WFDY Executive Committee session in Havana, February 7-8, featured a speech by Komsomol chief Mishin which focused criticism on the U.S. "invasion" of Grenada, NATO's deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, and the "U.S.-Israeli occupation of Lebanon." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, February 9) Immediately afterward, 325 delegates from 96 countries attended the constituent meeting of the festival's International Preparatory Committee (Havana, February 9-11) that announced the festival's slogan—"For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship," the same

used in East Berlin (1973) and Havana (1978). An article in the Finnish daily Helsingin Sanomat (March 28, 1984) reported that the Yugoslav and some Western delegations had protested the Soviet determination to "hog" the festival arrangements and had opposed the festival slogan because of its one-sided character. Apparently concerned over alienating key noncommunist participants to the festival, Komsomol representatives told Finnish youth officials in March 1984 that the U.S.S.R. accepted the idea of creating an international secretariat to organize the festival and hoped that the Finns would pass this message on to other Western countries.

- The second IPC meeting was staged in Sofia, April 17-19, 1984, and attended by representatives from 220 national and international organizations. In an address to the gathering, Slavko Parac, a representative of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League, criticized Soviet efforts to dominate preparations for the festival. Parac called for respect for ideological and political differences and a further

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***Among a certain section of Moscow's young people, indiscipline, individualism, and passivity in relation to public life and labor are observed. There are some young people who drink and even commit crimes. The Komsomol must struggle for every young person. The interests of our society's continued progress demand the resolute eradication of all negative phenomena among young people.***

Politburo member Viktor Grishin,  
*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, January 13, 1985

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democratization of relations in the communist-dominated youth and student movement-, recalled that the Yugoslav delegation had expressed its reservations on individual sections of the festival's draft appeal at the Havana IPC; and maintained that the appeal and slogan should be in keeping with present-day international political and economic conditions. Parac also stressed that the festival program should avoid an excessive political emphasis, pay more attention to "free forms of activity" appropriate for youth, and reflect nonaligned objectives. (Tanjug, April 18, 1984)

- *Neues Deutschland* reported on April 23 that a U.S.S.R. national preparatory committee had been set up and that Soviet citizens were participating in the traditional *subbotniks* ("voluntary" weekend work brigades) to raise money for the festival. (Subsequent reports in the East German press alleged that 50 million Soviet youth participated and that almost \$300 million had been raised.) The Moscow-based *Festival Herald* (April 1984) also reported that "Afghan boys and girls" had taken an "active part in *subbotniks*," money from which was "remitted" to the Moscow festival fund.

- A Komsomol Central Committee meeting (Moscow, May 18) adopted a resolution instructing Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations to carry out vigorous organizational and political work in enlisting young people for the festival preparations. Komsomol First Secretary Mishin told a May 21 press conference that 218 organizations representing communist, socialist, social democratic, radical, liberal, and conservative youth and student organizations from 113 countries were participating in the festival's preparations and that about 18,000-20,000 participants were expected. He also claimed that they would have the opportunity to "exchange opinions and carry out joint activities in a frank atmosphere," an indication that the festival's communist organizers were preparing for significant disagreement at the conclave. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, May 19)

## The Moscow Festival and Transportation Problems

In light of recent reports of air disasters involving Soviet civil aircraft, the Soviets have gone out of their way to reassure festival participants of the safety and reliability of the U.S.S.R.'s civil airlines Aeroflot.\* In an interview with the *Festival Herald* (February 1984), Aeroflot international air traffic general director Nikolai Poluyanchik asserted that "millions of tourists and businessmen like Aeroflot for its convenience and reliability." In response to his interviewer's questions, Poluyanchik declared that he was "absolutely sure" that Sheremetyevo 2, Moscow's "modern international airport," had no "drawbacks"; that "all the pilots" were "first-class fliers"; that "no less skilled air-traffic controllers" would be in charge of ground control; and that safety was guaranteed "one hundred percent."

A subsequent edition of the *Festival Herald* (April 1984) featured an interview with Tatiana Zinchenko, Aeroflot stewardess and U.S.S.R. state prize winner. The article focused on her "delightful smile, tact, hospitable courtesy, high level of professionalism, foreign language skills, understanding of human psychology, powers of observation, choreographic talent, and ability to handle children." These attributes were described as being "exceptionally important" since "foreigners who have been misinformed by Western propaganda or who often do not know anything at all about the U.S.S.R. are given their first and sometimes their only impression of Soviet people by the Aeroflot flight attendants they meet."

Another issue of the *Festival Herald* (January 1985) featured a profile of Aeroflot pilot Anatoly Gorbachev, who will be shuttling foreign delegations to the Moscow festival. Gorbachev's warmth, modesty, and long experience with Soviet civil aviation was highlighted; according to the article, he was recently voted the "best captain" in the Moscow Civil Aviation Authority.

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\*In September 1983, a Soviet jetliner crashed on its approach to Alma Ata; in August 1984 an Aeroflot cargo plane crashed in Pakistan on a flight from Karachi to Tashkent; in early October 1984 a wide-bodied IL-86 with 279 people on board was forced to make an emergency landing when one of its wings began to disintegrate in mid-flight; in mid-October 1984, an Aeroflot passenger plane crashed into a fuel truck while taking off from the Omsk airport; an Aeroflot TU-134 crashed soon after takeoff February 1, 1985, near the Minsk airport.

- A joint session of the WFDY Bureau and the IUS Secretariat was held in Moscow on June 22, apparently to paper over the respective organizations' differing approaches to the festival's preparations. (Attempts by local preparatory committee officials to broaden the composition of national delegations apparently had increased the problem of controlling the proceedings of preparatory meetings and securing the usual unqualified support for the festival's Soviet-produced statements and resolutions, a matter of concern to Soviet officials in the CPSU International Department responsible for front organizations.) The participants at the session applauded the "exceptional political significance" of the Komsomol's decision to host the festival; underscored the "anti-imperialist, antiwar orientation" of the Moscow conclave; and denounced the activities of unnamed "certain forces" which were said to be trying to "cause a split in the worldwide festival movement, specifically, by launching different actions devised at undermining the 12th world festival." (TASS, June 23, 1984) This theme was elaborated upon on August 28 in a *Radio Moscow* interview with Vladimir Malyutin, secretary of the Soviet national preparatory committee, who asserted that:

... the Moscow festival has open and concealed enemies who are not interested in contacts between young people from different countries . . . . [Attempts are being made to organize meetings in opposition to the Moscow festival; for example, the rightwing [youth conference] next April in

Jamaica. . . . Certain forces are going to use the International Year of Youth not to bring closer young people in various countries, but to perpetuate differences between them, differences deliberately created by Western politicians.

- The IUS hosted representatives of 12 Soviet-backed international fronts, including the World Peace Council, Christian Peace Conference, International Organization of Journalists, World Federation of Scientific Workers, and the Women's International Democratic Federation, in Prague, October 18-19, 1984. They devoted "special attention" to "improving their coordination of the preparations" of the Moscow festival. According to their joint declaration (*IUS Newsletter*, November 1984), the front representatives asserted their commitment to "provide the necessary assistance in carrying out" the festival's program and urged their respective member organizations to "contribute to the preparatory process on the

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***Our country's young men and women have had no experience of such terrible social evils as the exploitation of man by man, unemployment, illiteracy, chauvinist and militarist intoxication, and continuous lack of confidence in one's own future—that is, everything that today comprises the joyless existence of their counterparts in the capitalist world.***

CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yegor Ligachev,  
*Kommunist*, No. 13, September 1984

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national level." The need for "special attention" to the problem of front coordination—and the fact that the joint declaration underscored the "closely cooperating" nature of the fronts, a fact rarely mentioned publicly—suggested dissatisfaction within national preparatory committees and the festival's organizational bodies over the role of highly visible Soviet-backed groups, such as the WPC, in the festival's preparations.

- Representatives from 112 countries and 28 international fronts and organizations attended the festival's third IPC meeting, November 2-4, 1984, in Moscow. The meeting was opened by Komsomol chief Mishin and addressed by International Department chief Ponomarev. IPC treasurer Ervin Farkas told the gathering that the international solidarity fund had opened its account at a bank in Vienna; donations were coming in from unidentified "international organizations and individuals."

- A consultative gathering of the leaders of the "socialist" countries' youth organizations met November 3 during the IPC conclave; participants "voiced certainty" that the Moscow festival would be a "major antiwar, anti-imperialist event for the younger generation." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, November 6) One month later, heads of ideological departments and chief editors of newspapers of the communist countries' youth organizations met in Prague, December 4-6, to discuss the promotion and publicizing of the 12th festival. They issued a statement that the "rightist efforts" to break the unity of the "international democratic youth and student movement" showed the need for "more intensive ideological cooperation among youth organizations." (CTK, December 4 and 6-1 *Prague Radio*, December 6) This call for cooperation was repeated verbatim by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, December 7.

- Delegates from 126 countries attended the fourth IPC meeting, March 28-April 1, 1985, in Moscow. Jean-Claude Kennedy, coordinating secretary, said that "never before in

### **Soviet Commentary on the Jamaica International Youth Conference**

Beginning in January 1985, Moscow went to great lengths to discourage participation and ultimately undermine the International Youth Conference (IYC) in Kingston, Jamaica, April 6-9, 1985. The Soviet-sponsored propaganda campaign depicted the IYC as an "imperialist maneuver" designed to "split the world youth and student movement" and in the process revealed Soviet insecurity that the independently organized event might threaten to undercut the Komsomol-hosted Moscow festival. Worse for Moscow was the prospect that the Kingston gathering would challenge what the Soviets believe to be their role as "center" of the world's "democratic and progressive" youth forces and draw sharp distinctions between communist-backed affiliates of the WFDY and Western-oriented noncommunist youth and student organizations. The propaganda campaign also reflected Soviet frustration that communist youth groups were not invited to Jamaica. Those that were invited from the communist bloc—including members of the outlawed Solidarity trade union in Poland—were not permitted to leave their countries,

- TASS (January 27) called the IYC an "undisguised attempt at undermining the positions of the functioning, universally recognized organizations which represent the interests" of the world's youth and students, an allusion to the affiliates of the WFDY and IUS. The IYC was labeled a "gross act of imperialism's interference" in youth and student affairs,

- The Soviet journal *Asia and Africa Today* (January-February 1985) called the IYC's organizers "rabid enemies of 'peace'" and accused Western mass media of trying to undermine the "authority" of the WFDY and IUS.

- TASS (January 30) called the IYC a "provocative event" and "sordid idea" staged by "rightwing forces" and "present-day provocateurs."

- Tomas Morgensen, a Danish WFDY official, told TASS (February 25) that the IYC was a "cruise missile launched by the Reagan administration with the aim to split the world festival movements."

- A lengthy article in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (March 6) called the IYC an "act of psychological warfare" and claimed that it had been condemned by such "prestigious" international youth groups as the WFDY and IUS.

- TASS alleged on April 1 that "pressure, intimidation, blackmail and payoffs" had been used to prepare for the "Jamaica rally" to which Cuban and Nicaraguan "counterrevolutionaries" and Afghan "counterrevolutionary bandits" had been invited.

the history of the festival movement had its program been so carefully elaborated," which was evidence of its "high prestige among young people throughout the world." Kennedy, a member of the French WFDY affiliate, revealed that Moscow maintains de facto control over all aspects of the festival's preparations when he told *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (March 29, 1985) that the IPC's permanent commission works in "close contact" with the Soviet national preparatory committee "in accordance with the traditions of the festival movement." The permanent commission's tasks, according to Kennedy, include establishing contacts between the IPC and national, regional, and international organizations interested in supporting the festival and "preparing a draft of a detailed program for the festival." On April 29 Politburo member Geydar Aliyev and ID chief Ponomarev addressed a session of the Soviet International Youth Year Commission, which Aliyev heads. They noted that preparations for the festival and the "provisions being

made for its program" were "proceeding generally in an organized manner" and urged the heads of Soviet Government ministries, departments, and organizations to "adopt more effective measures for timely and guaranteed realization of all the planned events." (*Radio Moscow*, April 30, 1985)

### **Recent Events Sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and WFDY**

For the past 4 years, Moscow and the WFDY have sought to cultivate independent elements of the European antinuclear movement and to persuade them to focus their efforts away from criticism of Soviet/Warsaw Pact foreign and defense policies and against NATO's deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. U.S. policies toward the Third World also have come under ever-increasing attack by the WFDY and other Soviet-backed fronts.

**1981.** A WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Beirut (March 18-20) condemned NATO's plans to deploy missiles in Western Europe and supported Soviet President Brezhnev's "peace proposals"; resolutions on peace and social progress and on solidarity with oppressed peoples also were adopted. A WFDY statement on the 40th anniversary of Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. thanked the foreign policy of the "socialist countries" for the preservation of peace since 1945 (*Neues Deutschland*, June 16), while a WFDY/IUS joint meeting (Budapest, July 10) expressed "high appreciation" of the "peace policy" of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. A WFDY/IUS conference on the Indian Ocean (India, August 28-30) was opened by Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council. Over 100 representatives of youth organizations from 31 Latin American countries, as well as WFDY leadership members, attended a regional youth conclave in Nicaragua, September 25-27, aimed at "revealing the dangers of imperialist intervention in Central America"; resolutions were adopted expressing solidarity with the country's "revolutionary process." A WFDY delegation headed by then-WFDY President Ottone participated along with 100 other delegations and "national liberation movements" and "solidarity committees" in an international youth conference on southern Africa in Angola (November 13-15). Its final communique denounced "collusion" between the Western powers and Israel and South Africa. At a WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Cyprus (December 16-18), Ottone told the gathering that the "struggle for peace and disarmament" was its most important mission and condemned U.S. plans to produce neutron weapons while praising Soviet proposals for the limitation of nuclear arms. (*Neues Deutschland*, December 17-20)

**1982.** In January, a Mediterranean youth peace conference was staged in Athens with WFDY, IUS, Soviet, and other representatives in attendance (TASS, January 25); the gathering urged that the Mediterranean be turned into a "zone of peace." A special WFDY Bureau meeting in February condemned U.S. production of neutron weapons. WFDY European and North American affiliates gathering in Budapest

(April 17-18) discussed the tasks of youth organizations and their role in campaigning against the arms race.

The 11th WFDY General Assembly (Prague, June 3-9) urged an intensification of the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress and against imperialism and called on all youth organizations to unite against the threat of war. WFDY delegations from West Germany, the U.S.S.R., East Germany, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark left Kiel on August 13 on a "peace voyage" through the Baltic organized by the WFDY as part of the "wide range of activities against the nuclear arming of NATO and stationing of new U.S. atomic missiles in Western Europe." (ADN, August 13)

**1983.** Representatives of 25 WFDY European affiliates met in Budapest in late March to discuss the WFDY's role in the European peace movement. Over 250 delegates attended a WFDY Executive Committee meeting in West Berlin, April 21-23, to further consider the WFDY's role in the "struggle for peace and disarmament." (Hungarian news agency MTI, April 21 and 23) In late May the secretaries of youth organizations of communist states held a "peace meeting" in Potsdam to promote efforts against NATO policies on intermediate-range nuclear forces. WFDY delegates participated in a youth peace festival in Lisbon (July 25-30); in September a seminar sponsored in Frankfurt by the WFDY-affiliated International Committee of Children's and Adolescents' Movements (CIMEA) adopted an appeal for peace and against INIF deployment. (*Neues Deutschland*, September 17-19) A WFDY-sponsored international youth seminar on peace was held October 28-30 in Warsaw (Polish news agency PAP, October 30), while the following month, CIMEA staged

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***To bring up young people who are prepared for work and defense; persistently teach them modern military affairs; educate them in the spirit of love for their country's army and loyalty to their military duty-this is our universal concern.***

From the report by Mikhail Gorbachev at the December 10, 1984 session of the Moscow All-Union Ideological Conference, as published in *Zhivoye Tvorchestvo Naroda*, December 13, 1984

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an "International Tribunal Against Imperialism" in Angola (November 28-30). It heard more than 20 testimonials from African, Asian, and Central and South American youth before condemning the "warlike regime" of the Reagan Administration as the "main culprit in the aggravation of the situation of exploitation, poverty, and oppression affecting the greater part of the world's population, including millions of children." (*Neues Deutschland*, November 29, December 1).

**1984.** A WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Havana, February 7-8, was attended by 200 delegates from 87 countries; they adopted a 1984 program of action that pledged to concentrate on the "struggle to preserve peace" and passed

a resolution welcoming the holding of the 12th World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1985. (*Neues Deutschland*, February 9 and 10) A CIMEA presidium meeting (February 23-24 in East Germany) issued an appeal to children to join in "the broadest protest movement against the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe." (ADN, February 23 and 24) A WFDY-sponsored "youth peace meeting," (March 31-April 1, Copenhagen) was attended by 150 delegates from 70 youth organizations; they discussed the struggle for peace and opposition to the "NATO arms race." Participants in an international youth conference on Asia (Mongolia, August 16-19), called upon peoples in the region to intensify the struggle to prevent a "nuclear catastrophe"; expressed support for Soviet peace proposals; denounced the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and the deployment of "first-strike" missiles in Europe; and stressed the importance of the July 1985 World Youth Festival in Moscow. (*Neues Deutschland*, August 17-21) Representatives of 54 organizations from 34 countries and four international fronts attended a WFDY-sponsored meeting of solidarity with Turkey. (Athens, September 14) A WFDY-sponsored conference on confidence and security-building measures in Europe was held in late November in Sweden. (TASS, November 25)

### Internal Dissent

As in all Soviet-backed fronts, dissent and opposition to Soviet domination sometimes surfaces. At the 11th WFDY assembly (Prague, June 3-9, 1982), for example, the British Young Communist League (YCL) expressed opposition to a final resolution that blamed the United States and NATO for the world's problems. The YCL pointed out that it was totally opposed to martial law in Poland and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and criticized the manner in which "peace" was dealt with in the Executive Committee's report. The YCL further rejected the notion that the United States and its allies were the exclusive source of world tension and expressed the wish that the WFDY take into account the existence of different, even opposing, points of view on particular issues. (*Morning Star*, June 21, 1982)

Commenting on this assembly, Jerzy Jaskiernia, president of the Polish Socialist Youth Union, told the Warsaw *Sztandar Mlodych* (June 2-4, 1982) that:

It is clearly evident that with the increased complexity of the international situation there is an increase in the number of controversies within the WFDY. As the WFDY becomes more representative of the progressive youth movements, consensus becomes increasingly more difficult.

Finally, *Rude Pravo* noted on June 14 that:

... some member organizations, especially from some capitalist countries, came to Prague with the intention of disturbing the course of the Assembly and weakening the unity of this progressive organization. Toward the end of the session, some of their representatives came out with divergent views on fundamental political problems and on the formulations presented for discussion on the basic documents.

The 7-year interval between the 11th and 12th festivals (the longest since the festival series began in 1947) and the eventual retreat to Moscow (Soviet efforts to stage this year's festival in France and then Finland failed) underscore the difficulties the organizers continue to face, especially in trying to disguise the political complexion of the event and attract non-communist outsiders.

### Previous World Youth Festivals

**The 9th World Youth Festival, July 28-August 6, 1968, Sofia.** This gathering had been scheduled and postponed several times because of disagreements within the International Preparatory Committee on its location and problems created by political developments and disputes. (Algeria and then Ghana were dropped as the festival site because of changes in political regimes.)

As usual, the WFDY and IUS sponsored the festival, although other Soviet-backed organizations participated, including the World Peace Council, the International Organization of Journalists, the Women's International Democratic Federation, and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization.

Before the festival the IPC estimated a participation of about 18,000 delegates from 143 countries; actual participation was about 10,000 from 120 countries. The Chinese, who earlier branded the sponsors as "instruments of the treacherous policy of Komsomol and Soviet youth," did not send a delegation. Nor were Cuba, Albania, and Puerto Rico represented- reportedly because of the IPC's objectives and the methods used by it to achieve "unanimous" decisions. The festival's sponsors prevented the International Union of Socialist Youth from attending-, other absentees included the Union of Christian Democratic Youth of Latin America and the Continental Organization of Latin American Students.

Proceedings were marred throughout by walkouts (for example, by the delegation from the Revolutionary Popular Movement of Congo Youth); protests (from the Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, West German, Romanian, Finnish, and several African delegations); and intradelegation conflicts (those from France, U.K., Greece, and Iran). Dissatisfaction with the proceedings caused the Pan-African Youth Movement to announce later in August that it would no longer participate in communist-sponsored youth festivals.

The dissension which characterized the festival was dismissed by its communist sponsors as the work of "international reaction" which had "attempted to undermine from within and generally to discredit the festival idea." (Bulgarian news agency BTA, August 8). The sponsors maintained that these "destructive forces" had been overcome, although then-Komsomol First Secretary Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov did allude to the broad range of disagreement at the conclave when he singled out for special mention the festival's "acute political content" and "constructive dialogue" among the delegates. (TASS, August 7)

His view was not, however, shared by some of Moscow's East European allies. Ion Iliescu, leader of the Romanian delegation, noted the presence of restrictions and discrimination as well as a "climate of tension and suspicion," adding that "many of the political debates took place, unfortunately, in an atmosphere in which sincere, open discussion . . . was prevented by the violence of the language and by accusations and invective which should have no place in any forum." (*Scinteia Tineretului*, Bucharest, August 13) The Romanians demanded the development of "new forms" to facilitate cohesion of the world youth movement and were joined in this by the Czechoslovaks, who suggested that "eventual organization of further festivals should be the result of a completely democratic decision by all organizations which want to participate in the festival." (*Prague Radio*, August 6 and 7) Delegates spoke openly about manipulation of debates, harassment of delegations, and official intimidation (especially measures taken by the Bulgarian secret police) used to secure consensus among festival organizers.



The August 21 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia shortly after the festival was a source of severe embarrassment to the WFDY. Its then-president, Rodolfo Mechini, personally condemned the invasion and was ousted, but affiliates were divided, reflecting the disharmony that had been apparent at the festival. Meetings were held in Prague, involving representatives of Britain's Young Communist League, the Soviet Komsomol, and the French Movement of Communist Youth, but the WFDY Bureau took no action and did not protest the Soviet invasion.

**The 10th World Youth and Student Festival, July 28-August 5, 1973, East Berlin.** Although sponsored by the WFDY and IUS, the East German youth organization, "Free German Youth," created a national festival committee to host the festival in East Berlin, with East German leader Erich Honecker as chairman. (ADN, February 18, 1972)

A provisional working group—comprised of communist representatives of the Free German Youth and several international fronts, including the WFDY and IUS—met in East Berlin in April, Prague in May, Budapest in June, and East Berlin again in August. By early fall 50 national preparatory committees (under local communist auspices) had been established to "choose" delegates to go to the festival.

A second meeting of the IPC (East Berlin, October 5-6) stressed that the aim of the pre-festival campaign was to create the widest possible unity of action of the "anti-imperialist forces." It proposed a new slogan—"For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship"—that reflected Moscow's desire to focus criticism on the West and away from the policies of the U.S.S.R. This slogan was opposed by the British delegation, which sought to reinstate the previous one—"For Solidarity, Peace and Friendship." (ADN, October 3, 5, 7, *Mlada Front*, October 4, 6, 7; CTK, October 7)

Moscow ensured its control over the drafting of the festival's agenda by placing a Soviet official, Nikolai Smelov, as head of its program committee. Preliminary topics raised at the October IPC conclave thus predictably included "festival days" honoring such favorite Soviet causes as Vietnam, national liberation, and "solidarity with youth and students fighting militarism, fascism, and repression"; major events devoted to Indochina, Arab youth and students, Portuguese colonies, South Africa, and rights of students and children; and conferences to discuss international student unity and "problems of young workers." (*Mlada Front*, October 6)

The final WFDY meeting of the year, an international conference on "working youth in contemporary society" (Moscow, November 10-15), brought together 271 youth organizations, WFDY, and other international front representatives from 115 countries. It served to underscore the importance the U.S.S.R. attached to a show of international "unity" of youth and students under Soviet auspices. Leading CPSU officials responsible for Soviet liaison with youth organizations abroad, including ID chief Boris Ponomarev and the late Evgeny Fedorov (then head of the Soviet Peace Committee), addressed the gathering. A final conference statement urged young workers to support unity among anti-imperialist forces. (TASS, November 10; *L'Humanite*, November 11; *Radio Moscow*, November 10-15)

In the final weeks preceding the festival, several delegations canceled their trips to East Berlin. The All India Samawadi Yuvjan Sabha announced its withdrawal from the WFDY and boycott of the festival as a protest against the

## World Youth Festivals

### Date/Place/No. of Participants

July 1947/Prague, Czechoslovakia/17,000  
 August 1949/Budapest, Hungary/10,000  
 August 1951/East Berlin/26,000  
 August 1953]Bucharest, Romania/30,000  
 July 1955/Warsaw, Poland/30,000  
 July 1957/Moscow, U.S.S.R./34,000  
 July 1959/Vienna, Austria/18,000  
 July 1962/Helsinki, Finland/10,800  
 July 1968/Sofia, Bulgaria/10,000  
 July 1973/East Berlin/25,600  
 July 1978/Havana, Cuba/18,500  
 July 1985/Moscow, U.S.S.R./20,000 (est.)

composition of the Indian delegation. Its general secretary told news reporters that the delegation did not represent Indian youth but the communist parties in India. (*Indian Express*, July 4) An East German decision to deny visitors' permits to West Berliners, West Germans, and other foreigners because of "lack of room" in East Berlin had to be revoked after protests by the Western powers, who accused East Germany of violating the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. (*The Guardian*, London, July 13; *The Times*, July 17)

On July 28, the festival opened in East Berlin with a parade by 25,600 youth and student representatives from 140 countries. In an interview with *Neues Deutschland* on July 27, Honecker stated that: ". . . the 10th world youth festival will take its place as an effective step in the series of great political activities aimed at further tipping the world balance of power to the advantage of socialism."

In expressing his appreciation to Honecker, then-WFDY President Robert Viezzi thanked the "leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries for helping to provide the conditions for such a splendid festival." (ADN, August 1)

Although sporting and cultural events were an integral part of the festival program, the main thrust of the activities was political. Each day had its own designation, such as "Solidarity" with the "Peoples of Indochina" or with the "National Liberation Movements Struggling for Independence in Africa" or struggles in behalf of the "Rights of Youth and Students" or the "Overthrow of Monopolies, Fascism and Oppression." The festival's final appeal urged "firm cooperation" among young people in the fight against imperialism and for national independence.

The festival was not without its problems. Again, neither China nor Albania attended. (The Soviets charged the Chinese not only forbade participation but also encouraged their agents to undermine the proceedings. (*Radio Moscow*, August 9) A number of delegations from the West complained that free discussions had been curtailed and that some of their literature had been torn up by young East Berliners. (*Sunday Telegraph*, London, July 29) Scuffles broke out during heated arguments, and on one occasion police had to interfere. (Hamburg DPA, August 3)

Several weeks after the festival ended, both the "Junge Union" of West Germany and the Central Committee of Romania's Communist Youth Organization suggested that all political elements be represented in the IPC in order to counter a one-sided alignment. (DPA, August 19) Indeed,

## Profile: The World Federation of Democratic Youth\*

**Name:** World Federation of Democratic Youth.

**Headquarters/Formation:** Budapest/1945.

**Claimed Strength:** Over 270 affiliates in at least 123 countries; claimed total membership over 150 million.

**Publications:** *World Youth* (Monthly), *WFDY News* (semimonthly),

**UN Status:** UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (8), Economic and Social Council (1), Food and Agriculture Organization, International Labor Organization (Special List.)

**Presidential Board:** *President:* Walid Masri (Lebanon). *Nine vice presidents:* Khalil Elias (Sudan), Manuel Hernandez Vida (Chile), Nguyen Van Ky (Vietnam), Alfred Junior (Angola), Li Jong Gun (North Korea), Vsevolod Nalkhodkin (U.S.S.R., WPC member), Francisco Phillippe (Portugal), Jorge Prigoshin (Argentina), Pablo Reyes Dominguez (Cuba), Binoy Visam (India).

**Secretariat:** *Secretary general:* Vilmos Cserevny (Hungary; formerly head of the Hungarian Youth Organization's International Department). *Two deputy secretaries general:* Miguel Gonzales Regas (Colombia), Turay Saidu (Sierra Leone). *Sixteen secretaries:* Tadaaki Kawata (Japan), Salim Obayid Altamini (South Yemen), Joachim Bruckner (East Germany), Tarley Francis (Grenada), Freddy Fernandez (Venezuela), Mihai Botorog (Romania), Lubomir Ledl (Czechoslovakia), Allan Lopez (Costa Rica), Michel Nkoli (Congo), Anatas Rupchev (Bulgaria), Konstantin Stathis (Greece), Tomas Morgensen (Denmark), Markku Soppela (Finland), Andre Gerhardt (Poland), Daniel Santana (Dominican Republic), Jackie Selibi (South Africa).

**Related Organizations:** *Official subsidiaries:* International Bureau of Tourism and Youth Exchange, International Commission of Children's and Adolescents' Movements International Voluntary Service for Friendship and Solidarity of Youth. *De facto affiliates:* Arab Youth Union, Pan-African Youth Movement.

\*Based on issues of *WFDY News*.

Romanian President Ceausescu told a WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Bucharest (December 17-20, 1973) that a "diversity of views on the ways of developing the social struggle, the anti-imperialist struggle, is inevitable." (Agerpres, Bucharest, December 20)

**The 11th World Youth and Student Festival, July 25-August 5, 1978.** An IPC constituent meeting (East Berlin, February 13, 1975) decided that the 11th festival should be held in Havana in 1978. Speakers at the meeting praised the "consistent and constructive foreign policies of the U.S.S.R." for improving the international climate and thus the prospects for the festival movement. (TASS, February 12, 13, and 15)

The festival slogan, "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship," was adopted at an IPC meeting in Havana on April 6, 1977, which established a permanent JPC commission. The commission met in Havana, September 19-20, 1977. A protocol on radio communications and services for the festival was signed October 9 between the U.S.S.R. youth organization Komsomol and the Cuban organizing committee (*Havana Radio*, October 9, 1977); national preparatory committees were established in Africa, Asia, and Europe (*WFDY News*); and "substantial" financial contributions from Soviet voluntary

Saturday labor battalions were reported. (*Neues Deutschland*, November 30, 1977) Also, the first national propaganda meeting in connection with the festival was staged in Santiago de Cuba on November 12.

Disagreement surrounding the preparations surfaced in mid-January 1978. Two British organizations—the Young Conservatives and the Federation of Conservative Students—demanded guarantees that human rights would be discussed in the Soviet Union as well as in the West, before they would agree to participate in the Havana festival. They also sought assurances of freedom of speech and freedom to disseminate literature as well as a wider range of discussions. (*The Guardian*, London, January 19, 1978)

The two organizations ultimately boycotted the festival because they charged that Soviet domination had caused controversial human rights and other questions to be banned from the agenda. Similar reasons were alleged for the withdrawal of nearly every other West European Christian Democrat delegation (including the West German Christian Democrats), as well as both the Austrian and Norwegian youth councils. (*Morning Star*, April 27, 1978; *The Guardian*, London, April 27)

Further dissent arose at the fourth meeting of the IPC, March 2-3, 1978, in East Berlin. According to *Juventud Rebelde* (Havana, March 6), differences over the festival program had caused "long and intense discussions." The newspaper explained at the time that agreement was reached by consensus and not by voting within the IPC and that this would lead to a ". . . Festival with a more streamlined and definite political outlook, a clear demonstration of its broad, democratic and united spirit, and a strengthening of the international Festival movement."

The following month, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago stated that it had refused a request by its local National Preparatory Committee for financial assistance to send a delegation to Havana and stressed that there would be no official representation from Trinidad since the festival would be geared to the interests of the socialist and communist countries. (*Trinidad Guardian*, April 6, 1978)

A month before the festival's opening, the ruling Senegalese Socialist Party's Political Bureau denounced the festival organizing committee's proposal to divide African delegations into "revolutionary" and "non revolutionary," claiming that this would "sap the foundations of African unity." (*Le Soleil*, Dakar, June 16, 1978)

The festival attracted some 25,000 people, including about 18,500 delegates representing nearly 2,000 organizations from 145 countries, plus guests, journalists, and tourists. Discussions related to solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the Arab countries; concern of youth and students with peace and detente; the struggle against imperialism and colonialism; the situations of youth in capitalist countries; and the striving by youth to build socialism in Cuba. (*Juventud Rebelde*, July 28-August 4)

The main feature of the festival was a "youth accuses imperialism" tribunal that featured the "testimony" of numerous "witnesses," including ex-CIA agent Phillip Agee who presented what *Havana Radio* called "irrefutable proof of the crimes committed by capitalist powers against underdeveloped and developing countries." According to TASS (August 5), the 6-day tribunal was "greatly helped in its work" by evidence presented by "experts and officials of Cuban state security organs" "Imperialism" was found guilty of "colonialism, neocolonialism, various forms of discrimination and aggression, . . . establishing regimes of terror, repression and fascism, . . . and all the privations suffered by the young people in respect to their social, economic, political and cultural positions." (TASS, August 5)

At the festival's close, participants adopted a final document which was a blatant reflection of Soviet foreign policy positions. It called upon young people in all countries to step up their actions for peace, detente, and international cooperation; ending the arms race and imperialist wars; general and complete disarmament-, raising the protest against the manufacture of new destructive weapons such as the neutron bomb; and a continuing struggle against colonialism, racism, and fascism. (TASS, August 7) The Yugoslavs refused to sign because it reflected the cold war period when festivals "constituted a special kind of forum to express the positions and the ideas of the East European countries." (*Mladost*, as reported by Tanjug, August 14)

The head of the Soviet youth delegation, Komsomol chief Boris Pastukhov, told TASS on August 6 that the 11th World Youth Festival was an event "of great significance in the movement of progressive forces of youth of the whole world." But opposition on the part of some delegations to the festival's Soviet-dominated agenda prompted Moscow's *Radio Peace and Progress* subsequently to assert (October 27) that the "imperialists and Maoists" were attempting to divide the youth of "liberated" and "socialist" countries by encouraging "nationalist sentiments, anticommunist views, and outright anti-Sovietism" among the young in the developing world. Vietnamese and Soviet delegations attempted to have China condemned but without success (*Le Monde*, August 8; *L'Humanite*, August 7), while the Italians and the British had sought to condemn violations of human rights in communist as well as noncommunist countries. (*Morning Star*, August 2; *L'Unita*, August 5)

## APPENDIX

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### WFDY Origins

The WFDY originated shortly after the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R. when communist representatives of youth groups met in London in November 1941 to examine ways to mobilize youth against Hitler and in support of the Soviet Union. This meeting attracted diverse political groups and led to the formation of the World Youth Council (WYC) in 1942.

After the Allied victory in Europe, the WYC, heavily communist influenced, held an international youth conference in London in November 1945 attended by 437 delegates and 148 observers from 63 countries. The WYC was disbanded at the conference, making way for the new World Federation of Democratic Youth. Although youths of varied political persuasions attended the WFDY's founding conference, communists obtained most of the federation's key executive positions. And while the WFDY initially had a number of noncommunist youth organizations as affiliates, it followed a clearly pro-Soviet orientation. Most noncommunists left the WFDY, then headquartered in Paris, within a few years. The organization itself was expelled from Paris and moved its headquarters to Budapest in 1951.

### WFDY History, 1947-66

With the deterioration of East-West relations in the late 1940s, the WFDY was increasingly hostile toward any opposition to Soviet views and policies. One of the first major demonstrations of its ideological alignment was the first World Youth Festival, which it organized jointly with the Moscow-backed International Union of Students. Held in Prague (July 20 to August 17, 1947) and attended by some 17,000 persons from

67 countries, the festival was the occasion for highly invective propaganda against the United States.

The WFDY's pro-Soviet stance hardened further during the following 2 years, resulting in the withdrawal of most of the WFDY noncommunist membership. The second World Youth Festival (August 14-28, 1949, in Budapest) was boycotted by most noncommunist organizations. At this gathering a "Manifesto for Peace" condemned the "warlike preparations of the capitalist countries" led by the American "imperialists," attacked NATO and the Marshall Plan, and appealed to youth to support the "invincible army of peace partisans headed by the mighty Soviet Union."

Conforming to its pro-Soviet alignment and in response to the 1948 expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the WFDY expelled its Yugoslav affiliates in 1950, describing them as "traitors to the cause of peace and democracy, and deserters to the camp of the imperialist warmongers." The WFDY further proselytized its sectarian views at the third World Youth Festival, held in East Berlin, August 5-19, 1951. The two dominating themes at that conclave—which attracted some 26,000 youth from 104 countries—were the communist victory in China and attacks against the LIN intervention in North Korea. In January of that year, the WFDY was expelled from Paris and moved its headquarters to Budapest.

Stalin's death in March 1953 briefly tempered the WFDY's anti-Western militancy. At the fourth World Youth Festival (August 2-16) in Bucharest, attended by 30,000 youths from 111 countries, the WFDY ceased demanding complete support from noncommunist organizations and suggested "limited support" on specific "nonpartisan" issues. There were fewer direct attacks on the West by delegates from communist countries—that was left to communists from colonial or neutral states. The U.S.S.R.'s interest in retaining the WFDY's allegiance, however, was indicated by Aleksandr Shelepin's appointment as the federation's first vice president. (The head of the Komsomol, Shelepin later became the head of the KGB.) The late Enrico Berlinguer, who became head of the Italian Communist Party in the 1960s, was elected WFDY president.

The fifth World Youth Festival took place in Warsaw in July-August 1955. Attended by 30,000 youths from 115 countries, it reflected the line of "peaceful coexistence" then promulgated by the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian uprising the following year led to the one recorded difference of opinion within WFDY leadership. In a statement issued on December 6, 1956, the WFDY regretted the "tragic events" in Hungary, indicating that there had been "differences of opinion over their interpretation."

About 34,000 participants attended the WFDY's sixth World Youth Festival (Moscow, July 1957), which was oriented primarily toward attracting the support of young people from developing countries. Its major theme was anticolonialism, and delegates from developing areas were given preferential treatment, such as special accommodations. It was the last youth festival to be relatively free of controversy. In 1959 and 1962, the seventh and eighth World Youth Festivals were staged in noncommunist European countries—Austria (18,000 participants) and Finland (10,800), respectively—where greater noncommunist participation led to significant dissension to which festival organizers responded with violence. Subsequent WFDY attempts to organize meetings in noncommunist European countries failed-, applications consistently drew negative replies by Western governments.

**Chinese and Cuban Opposition.** The WFDY's alignment with Soviet foreign policy positions by the mid-1960s had generated Chinese and Cuban opposition. The Sino-Soviet conflict was reflected in WFDY deliberations as early as 1960 but did not develop into a major issue until 1963. At a WFDY-sponsored international seminar on colonialism staged in Algiers in April 1963, for example, the Chinese delegation attacked the Soviet policy of "peaceful coexistence" and called for greater support for revolutionary "national liberation" movements; failing to obtain significant support for their views, they walked out of the meeting. At a meeting of the WFDY Secretariat in August 1963, the Chinese criticized the federation's support for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, noted that the WFDY's leadership was not representative of youth but composed of "paid Soviet agents," and, again, left the meeting. During the next few years Chinese opposition to the WFDY's pro-Soviet orientation was increasingly demonstrated in boycotts of WFDY meetings and conferences and culminated in the withdrawal of permanent Chinese representation from the organization's headquarters in late 1966. Soon thereafter, WFDY President Rodolfo Mechini asserted that "anti-Soviet tendencies are always indications of being against the forces of peace, progress, independence and socialism" and said the Chinese withdrawal would "injure the solidarity of the forces of anti-imperialism and aid aggression." (*Sztandar Mlodych*, Warsaw, February 10, 1967) Replying to these accusations, WFDY Vice President Chia Hsueh-chien protested the "rabid anti-China outbursts" which "proved once again

that the WFDY had completely degenerated into an instrument for carrying out the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the Soviet leading cliques." (New China News Agency, March 6, 1967) Subsequently, Mechini was refused permission to travel to Vietnam via Peking.

Cuban opposition to the WFDY surfaced in 1964 for reasons somewhat similar to those of the Chinese, i.e., the WFDY's lack of "revolutionary fervor." Cuban opposition undercut much of the federation's work in Latin America. Apart from a Latin American Youth Conference held in Havana in July-August 1960, the WFDY succeeded in holding only one other gathering in Latin America—another regional youth conference in Santiago, Chile, in March 1964. Cuban attacks on the organization continued well into the decade; at a routine meeting of the WFDY assembly (Sofia, 1966), the Cuban delegate strongly condemned the WFDY for the "little importance it attached to national liberation movements" and condemned both the structure of the WFDY and its lack of support for Latin America. (Cuban pique stemmed, in part, from Castro's determined bid to have Havana selected as the site of the ninth World Youth Festival. Postponement of that event—it was ultimately staged 3 years late in Sofia in 1968—provided time for fence-mending and to persuade the Cubans to abandon their earlier threat to boycott the festival if it were held in Europe.)

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