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INTERNATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE  
NORWAY

# WORLD YOUTH FESTIVALS

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## PART I

### THE FESTIVAL: AN OVER-ALL VIEW

It is too simple to say that the World Youth Festivals have been partisan political events, carefully calculated to influence the youth of the world. It is doubtful that even the organisers themselves have had a single consistent goal as they have arranged them. However, certain characteristics have not changed from the first through the eighth Festivals. In all of that period the Soviet Union has supplied the vast majority of the funds for the event. The persons who have taken the largest role in bringing the Festival into being, have most often been directly connected with the Soviet Union or with organisations following the objectives of Soviet foreign policy.

But the goals and tactics of the Soviet Union, over the last twenty years, have not been immutable, and the aspirations and expectations of the youth of the world have not been changeless. It is not surprising then, that the Festivals have themselves been subject to adaption designed to make them a more nearly perfect component of a given line of policy at a given time.

Candidly considered the Festivals must be acknowledged as superior technical achievements. They are not a fresh idea, but rather a perfecting of a kind of mass psychological technique: even the Romans recognized the emotional impact of large scale demonstrations. By their very nature the Festivals are directed at large numbers of people. Any event which brings together 15, 20 or 25 thousand people cannot be concerned with the thoughts and feelings of the individual who attends. A look at past programs of the Festivals demonstrates their common characteristic of dealing with man in

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the mass; each Festival opens with a grand parade involving all participants and as many people of the host city as can be gathered together, the numbers reach tens of thousands; the opening session is always held in the largest facility available and is packed with as many people as it will hold; every Festival includes large rallies addressed only by speakers designated by Festival sponsors; so many meetings and seminars are held that individual participants cannot possibly be expected to gain any general knowledge of what is happening at the Festival as a whole; the living and eating accommodations, each of considerable size, are widely dispersed. If one attends the Festival hoping to have contact with a particular delegation, discuss a specific issue, attend a certain event, the enormity of the gathering makes it quite likely that this hope will not be achieved.

But, there is nothing wrong with size in and of itself. It does make it difficult, perhaps almost impossible to have significant political discussion and it does inhibit one's individual desires. But being small or large is in itself only a neutral characteristic. The emotional character of the meeting, however, can only be adjudged a negative attribute. The mass meetings, the seminars, are punctuated by rhythmic clapping, chanting of slogans, a sometimes all-pervasive noise that makes thought difficult and intelligent discussion impossible.

But is such an atmosphere political at all, and more specifically, is it political in a partisan way? Certain of the individual events are distinctly political. An examination of their characteristics and a look at any of the past programs makes that clear. One may go further and say that the entire Festival, if considered in context, is indeed political. But part of the difficulty is that any individual, when swallowed up in the mass activities of the whole, a whole which he cannot begin to see himself, is only indirectly aware of the totality of the event; it is difficult for him to assess its real nature.

Individual political events are easily identifiable. Generally speaking, there are two kinds: mass rallies, devoted to general political topics and smaller seminars and meetings, devoted to slightly more specific but not well-defined topics. The mass rallies may appear at the outset not to be political in a partisan way. The announced topic is political but it is not partisan. However, the speakers at the mass rallies, all selected in advance by the sponsors of the Festival, set the political tone. The partisan content may be softened by festive mass activities such as singing or slogan chanting. Only afterwards will the thoughtful participant realise that he has participated in a partisan political rally. But despite the fact that the individual participant may differ with the speakers in their partisan approach to the subject, the massiveness of the affair precludes expression of this opinion. Whatever his individual opinion, the participant's very presence will later give credence to the widely publicised reports of huge rallies which lent full support to partisan views expressed in a public political rally. Thus an individual's private opinion is submerged, lost and then transformed into the opinion imposed on the crowd by the carefully planned program.

The smaller seminars and meetings devoted to political subjects follow much the same pattern, although here the control apparatus is more refined. In these events, the chairman will have a speakers list prepared in advance and since there are only restricted microphone facilities, it is relatively easy for him to dictate and direct the meeting. In the past he has been greatly aided by a number of individuals, loyal to the Festival purposes, who stand ready to shout down intervention considered unfriendly. If an individual wishes to contest a speaker's views or to raise a question not on the agenda, his is usually told that orderly rules of procedure prevent such intervention; as a final deterrent, microphone facilities are conveniently subject to technical difficulties and translators find it impossible to translate the intervenor's views.

There is no denying that there is a true cultural side to the Festival. Sometimes, of course, even these events will have a specifically partisan political content, or will take on a partisan political tone by virtue of the

introductions given them and the narrations accompanying them. Since the largest and most impressive of the cultural presentations are put on by the Communist bloc countries, only these countries will gain recognition. Frequently, they are professional productions and they are put on at most opportune times. The performances are calculated to leave the individual participant with the impression that the culture of the Communist bloc countries is of a uniformly high calibre, and that Communist ideology is responsible for this. Sporting events and even meetings for hobbyists are similarly constructed. Each one standing alone may not appear to have a partisan flavor but in their totality the partisan political impact will be seen as purposeful and impressive.

*Whom Does the Festival Seek to Influence?*

The massive nature of the Festival is necessary because it seeks to influence many different kinds of youth. Perhaps the first Festivals were directed mainly toward youth from Communist bloc countries involved in various national organisations and those youth from non-Communist countries who had no developed loyalties, but who did show a slight inclination towards Communist ideology. Politically matured youth from colonial or former colonial areas were the primary target at later Festivals, and in the last few Festivals a real effort has been made to influence non-Communist youth in position of responsibility in youth and student organisations in non-Communist countries.

For youth from Communist bloc countries, participation in the Festival is both a reward for past endeavors and an incentive for future work. For many of these young people, the Festival is the first opportunity for contact with people who have a non-Communist political philosophy. Evidently, Soviet and East European leaders are conscious that there is some danger in this contact; generally the Eastern European delegations have been separately accommodated, sometimes on ships far from the rest of the participants. Moreover, the possibility of significant contact is greatly minimised by the controlled environment of the Festival itself, an environment which minimises actual opportunity for individual confrontation and tends, by virtue of the selection process utilised to bring others to the Festival, to enable Communist youth to have discussions with only a relatively small number of people willing to challenge their ideology.

For the youth from non-Communist countries who have no developed loyalty to Communist ideology, but perhaps an inclination towards it, the Festival is designed to strengthen their faith and provide an incentive for future work towards Soviet foreign policy objectives. The emotional content of the meetings is specifically designed to convince these people that only the Soviet brand of Communism is rolling with the momentum of the 20th century.

The Festival organisers obviously hope that some of the sentiment will influence politically motivated youth from colonial or formerly colonial areas. In the past few Festivals, an attempt has been made to convince these young people that the enemies of the Soviet Union are also the same people who oppose the goals of their own countries. It will be interesting to see whether the Soviets will now try to convince these young people that the Chinese, as well as the Western powers, are working against their best interests.

The Festival organisers, wherever possible, attempt to entice representatives of youth and student organisations from non-Communist countries to the Festival. Probably the organisers hope not to convert these individuals to Communist ideology, but rather to capitalise on their participation so as to prove that the event is not a wholly partisan one. Of course the Soviets also want to gloss over any differences which they have with people from these areas in the hopes that the friendly and emotional atmosphere will influence or confuse these delegates to the extent that they forget the difficult issues which divide and set them apart from Soviet objectives.

There are other people whom the organisers seek to influence as well. In Helsinki and Vienna the organisers hoped to influence the citizens

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of the host country. The Communist press stressed the large international attendance at the Festival to indicate that there was strong international support for the aims and policies of current Communist ideology. By holding an event which was meant to inspire good feeling towards the Soviet Union, the organisers hoped to make the Austrians forget the years of Soviet occupation which had continued until 1955, and to make the Finns less inclined to remember the continuous and significant involvement of the Soviet Union in their economy and foreign affairs.

When the Festival has been held in Communist countries, local citizens have played an important part in their preparations, and the work on a common objective has tended to strengthen the faith of the faithful. Even youth who are not really politically motivated are within the circle of those whom the organisers hope to influence. It is this class which is most directly affected by the mass cultural events. The massiveness of the Festival enables the organisers to change the focus of their appeal so as to concentrate more highly on any or more of these groups at the various Festivals. The history of the Festivals themselves makes it apparent that this is, in fact, what has been done.

#### *Organisational Apparatus*

It is possible, yet difficult to argue as Festival supporters have done, that the organisational apparatus which runs the Festivals does not connote partisan political influence. Taken in context it seems clear that it does. The following examples are illustrative.

For twenty years Festival finances have continued to be a total enigma, although Festival organisers have never seriously disputed the fact that the bulk of the money for the event comes from the Soviet Union. They have, in the past, particularly in the earlier years, gone to great lengths to disclaim Soviet Union influence over funds and it is now evident that the money has been channeled to the Festival through a series of intricate funding devices. Since the Festival costs tens of thousands of dollars, and since Communist countries consistently protest the representative character of the meeting and its significant and admirable qualities, it is a mystery why, in the past, the organisers have gone to such lengths to conceal the fact that the funds come from only one ideological segment of the political world. Even China has been precluded from contributing to the event.

A second example of the apparatus is the strange collective international body known as the International Preparatory Committee (IPC), ostensibly representative of a large number of organisations and individuals from a variety of countries. The membership of the IPC has consistently included an impressive number of veterans from the International Union of Students (IUS) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), as well as a number of individuals from various countries whose loyalties to the Communist cause are widely known. To insist, as the organisers have done over a period of 15 years, that the IPC offers an opportunity for the expression of diverse points of view which could change the nature of the Festivals has no tangible support. The character of the IPC has never altered in the entire history of the Festival. Familiar names have been seen year after year in prominent positions, as the Appendix illustrates. In fact, this policy of renewed participation has even become more apparent in recent years.

The selection of Festival participants does nothing to promote confidence in the representative character of the event. In the large majority of cases, individual Festival committees have been dominated either by individuals of known allegiance to the IUS, WFDY or the Communist cause or by representatives of organisations who have ties with those organisations or causes. Where efforts are made by non-Communists to seize control of the national Festival committees the IPC has two ultimate weapons: it may inform the national committee that it will provide no travel grants, or, since the IPC makes the final decision as to which Festival committee should officially represent each country, it can deny representative status to the truly representative individual or groups and accord it to the wholly unknown or non-representative person or organisation.

A fourth and final example of the difficulties posed by the organisational apparatus is the pre- and post-Festival tours. Traditionally, these tours have not been available to all participants. Those who have been included have been taken only through Communist bloc countries to demonstrate the "glories of Socialism," but only Soviet Communism is on view, not Democratic Socialism or even Chinese Communism. One wonders why certain individuals get free tours while others, if allowed to take them at all, must pay their own way. The explanation seems to be that the tours are a further incentive for those whom the Festival organisers have singled out as people they would like to be especially disposed towards the goals of the Soviet Union.

Soviet financing, Communist domination of the organising personnel are facts. But do they matter? They do, because they insure that the Festival will be tuned to the objectives, and only the objectives of the Soviet Union. And because the Soviet Union promotes an expansionist ideology its goals will periodically conflict with those of other nations. The following pages indicate that Soviet goals are at odds with the goals of those whom they most seek to influence during the Festivals: the developing countries.

## PART II

### THE FIRST THREE FESTIVALS: THE INFLUENCE OF STALIN

It seems as natural today as it must have in 1945 for the students and youth of the world to try to find a way to bury the horror and turmoil of the Second World War and to find a basis for mutual understanding that would prevent subsequent tragedies. Young people whose studies had been interrupted by those years of nightmare had been active in the resistance movements of the occupied countries and had worked for exiled governments in the allied capitals. With the end of hostilities in sight, they turned their efforts to the organisation of the youth of the world, in order to channel their energies from resistance to aggression to the building of peace and understanding.

From this background two organisations developed: the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS). The first, WFDY, was clearly marked from its start with the ideology of Soviet Russia. The second, the IUS, for some years at least, seemed to promise to be a means of strengthening student cooperation and understanding. Even before the first meeting of the IUS ended, however, some warning signs appeared on the horizon: the fight over the creation of a strong executive, the proposal for membership in the WFDY, a struggle over a constitutional requirement that member organisations carry out all decisions of IUS governing bodies and support organisations pursuing aims similar to those of the IUS.

WFDY early proved to be an organ only for attacks on the West and neutrals in the Cold War. "Western Imperialism" was a term misused to denounce ventures such as foreign aid and figures such as Nehru. In 1948 at the time of the Yugoslav-Soviet break WFDY condemned and expelled its Yugoslav affiliates. By 1951 the French government had expelled the WFDY from its Paris headquarters for subversive activities. Directly after its move to Budapest, Hungary WFDY announced — "Youth knows no political or economic oppression only in the Soviet Union, China..." Even that statement would not be made today since by now it is eminently clear that the organisation is the instrument solely of the Soviet Union.

By the time of the first Festival, the political rift developing between the Soviet Union and its allies in the Second World War served to diminish but not wholly dampen the feeling that the aspirations and unity of youth could transcend party political divisions of the nation-states. The timing of the first Festival was most opportune. Festival organisers were not only able to capitalise on the enthusiasm engendered at early meetings of the IUS

and WFDY, in order to attract participants to the Festival, but they were also confident that the Festival apparatus itself could be successfully utilised to gain greater support for the IUS and WFDY. Thus, from the beginning there was a link of absolute interdependence between the Festival and these two organisations. Moreover, the as yet undefined character of the Festival enabled its sponsors to reach many youth and students who were not presently involved with the IUS and WFDY, and to tempt those youth and students already suspicious of the two organisations. The Festival could also attract youth and students from countries which did not have viable youth or student organisations. This was especially important in colonial areas where generally there had been no opportunity for youth and students to organise. Even this first Festival was organised by an International Preparatory Committee, demonstrating that the IUS and WFDY were already recognised as international mechanisms with severe limitations.

Nearly 20,000 people from 67 countries came to Prague to attend the Festival. They were greeted as the hope of a new world. A city almost devastated by the war was decked with flowers; a country which was hungry found food to feed thousands of guests. Here, the pattern for all following Festivals was first laid out: grand parades, mass rallies, controlled seminars and meetings, fervent activity, high excitement and emotion. On the surface a friendly festive event at which youth and students of the world met and planned for a purposeful future; underneath it all a carefully planned and executed demonstration calculated to exhibit the strength, solidarity and future triumph of Stalinist ideology.

The exhibit of the Soviet Union, the most prominent at the Festival, was dominated by a huge statue of Stalin. Parades were thick with posters bearing his likeness, speeches describing the heroics of Stalin were numerous. Indeed, partisan politics were served up wholesale. Most of the speeches were hard-lined efforts, devoid of references to peaceful co-existence. Direct attacks were made against those who were not in the Soviet camp. Nor were progressive leaders spared. Nkrumah, Nehru, and others were directly attacked; in areas like Indonesia every truly anti-Dutch institution was attacked. The Soviet rejected proposals that they give aid to anti-colonial leaders and movements. From the beginning they made it clear that economic assistance would go only to Soviet oriented countries. The pro-Ghana, pro-Indonesia, pro-India elements had to choose between no assistance or a a-pro-Soviet posture. Contrary to Soviet anticipations, they were to succeed anyway. Nearly every prominent nationalist leader in the colonial areas, who was then attempting to gain the independence of his own country, was attacked as bourgeois. These expressions clearly mirrored the then current Stalinist line. Not for some years did the Communists support nationalist causes in colonial areas, for at that time they thought the only correct mode of action was Soviet Communism, rather than nationalist revolution. The line on colonialism was to change and so were the flower strewn streets of Czechoslovakia.

In early 1948 the coup in Czechoslovakia was accompanied by the killing and wounding of Czechoslovakian students, the dissolution of their national union of students and the wholesale expulsion of professors and students from Czechoslovakian universities. Neither the IUS nor WFDY were to raise a word of protest. Succeeding Festivals were to reminisce about the Prague Festival but would forget the events of March 1948.

Despite the decline in membership caused by the general unacceptability of the Stalinist political line, the IUS and WFDY continued to parrot hard, monolithic phrases. May Day celebrations in Moscow in 1947 through 1949 were accurate reflections of the posture of that country. Heavy armaments roamed the streets; trade with South Africa enforced the Soviet armaments capability. Stalin continued periodically to issue statements of the most war mongering kind and was echoed, in turn, by the IUS and WFDY. His words, attitudes and criticism, directed not against the West alone but against all significant leaders of developing countries, had an evident effect on the Second World Youth Festival held in late August 1949 in Budapest, Hungary.

Attendance at the Second World Youth Festival was about 10,000 youth and students from some 80 countries. In two years the antipeace posture of the Soviet Union and its organisations had cut Festival participation in two. The event was again used, as it had been in Prague, to gain a maximum influence on as many groups as possible. Budapest until then, like most of the cities in the Eastern European orbit during the Stalin era, had been ignored. The Stalinist approach to Eastern Europe was to deplete its resources as much as possible, in order to build up the Soviet Union. But for this event, the city was virtually rejuvenated and the joyful air, manufactured for the Festival, was capitalised upon to raise the spirits of the depressed citizens as well.

Unceasing publicity within the country stressed the theme of international solidarity with and support for the Socialist cause that was rebuilding Hungary, and its citizens were urged and exhorted to greet their international guests as partners in the quest for building Socialism. It was already apparent that Socialism was to be given a narrow definition. It simply meant the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Democratic Socialism was already excluded, soon the nationalist tendencies of Tito's Communism was to be declared heretical, and later still the Communism of China was to be castigated.

Hungary found the Festival a costly one. The nation's own plans for future development were temporarily thrust aside because of Soviet pressure. Economic planning, essential to a functioning socialist system, took a back-seat to Soviet propaganda. Poland's Gomulka later questioned whether the Festivals could possibly be worth the economic dislocation they caused.

The Prague script was copied again in Budapest but here, the words were harsher and the line even a little harder. The parades, rallies, seminars, even some of the cultural events featured strong partisan exhortations. The Festival premises were marked by huge pictures of Stalin. Exhibits from non-Communist countries were prepared with the assistance of IUS and WFDY personnel to portray the worst possible picture of those countries. Ugliness and brutality marked the national exhibits from Western countries — a sharp contrast to the bright, beautiful and service-minded displays of the Soviet Union. Seminars on such subjects as architecture, literature and biology featured discussions that ranged into purely political areas. Art in Budapest was considered a political instrument; modern and progressive styles such as now flourish in Eastern Europe were condemned as examples of Western decadence. From the outset, it was clear that no attempt would be made to woo the non-Communist youth from non-Communist bloc countries. The Stalinist group prevented any overture to people from developing nations.

By late 1949, Stalin had read Tito and Yugoslavia out of the Communist camp because of their deviationist tendencies. In a personal way he thus made clear what the Festival, as an event, also made apparent — no differences or criticism of the given line could be tolerated. Predictably, the IUS and WFDY fell in behind his position.

By the time of the Third World Youth Festival in East Berlin war had broken out in Korea, and the Soviet Union had precipitated a crisis in the United Nations by its temporary withdrawal. It was not surprising to find the United Nations' action in Korea criticised. It was surprising to hear the United Nations repeatedly attacked as an organisation, and an ideal, for at that time the United Nations was most active in its efforts to secure true independence for people in colonial areas.

The techniques of the Festival were now slightly time worn. The old standbys, first used in 1947, were again redone on a massive scale. Grand parades, mass rallies, numerous cultural presentations — all intended to bolster the morale of a desolate East Berlin, as well as to impress Festival participants — required the expenditure of about 50 million dollars. The forms were the same, only the content was changed to conform to the current Soviet Party line. Praise of the Chinese communists was lavish, and for those who have watched the shifting nature of Soviet foreign policy, it is not surprising that such praise was completely absent by the time of the Helsinki Festival in 1962.



One curious aspect of pre-Festival literature for the Third Festival reflected the continuing Soviet ambivalence and subterfuge on the question of Germany. Every attempt was made to conceal the fact that the meeting would be confined to East Berlin, and every effort was bent towards giving the impression that all German youth had consented to be host. Propaganda advantages might have been derived from this questionable technique, but they were certainly outweighed by the exodus of thousands of Communist-orbit youth, who, in the unaccustomed freedom and confusion of the Festival, managed to spend most of their time in the Western Sector. Apparently, this was a lesson the Soviet did not forget; at the next Festivals, held in countries either bordering or not wholly within the Soviet orbit, the number of participants from the Soviet bloc countries was sharply reduced.

This was also a difficult period for the IUS and WFDY. Soon after the formation of the International Student Conference (ISC), the IUS called for a unity meeting between the IUS and non-members to talk of an eventual reconstitution. At length the meeting was held and seemed to have no real consequences, but at the IUS Council Meeting, held immediately thereafter in Bucharest, Joseph Grohman, who had been president of the IUS for six years, resigned his post. His resignation had been requested because of his alignment with his fellow countryman Rudolf Slansky, chief of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who had been purged and subsequently executed. (Not even top officials of the IUS were free from the swift changes in Communist ideology.)

The death of Stalin soon made it clear that Soviet Communism itself was subject to major re-orientation. The Festivals were to mirror those changes.

### PART III

#### THE MIDDLE PERIOD: BUCHAREST, WARSAW, MOSCOW

After the death of Stalin and throughout 1953, the Soviet Union entered into the period popularly known as the "thaw". This movement reached a climax during 1956 after Krushchev, speaking at a closed session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, uttered his renunciation of certain Stalinist policies and condemned certain aspects of Stalin's character. By late summer of 1953, Lavrenti Beria, chief of the Secret Police, had been arrested and the era of terror seemed to be nearing an end. Within the Soviet Union there was a period of tremendous ferment. The period was perhaps best typified by Olga Berggolts, a poet who re-defined Soviet arts so as to substitute lively human figures for robots, and human conflicts and dilemmas for the mindless opposition of Soviet heroism and bourgeois villainy.

Inevitably, the changes within the Soviet Union had their effect on Soviet foreign policy objectives. The IUS, reflecting the changes in the Cominform tactics, restrained its blatantly partisan attacks on the West and by the time of the 20th Party Congress, the IUS Presidium itself admitted "that the IUS was slow in reacting to a number of changes that the student movement underwent in the post-war period... When going to our Congress we should openly see that the time when the division took place, was a period of cold war with all of its negative influences." Thus, the IUS indicated that it had received a gentle nudge from backstage. The Presidium then went on, "this does not mean that the student movement is entirely dependent on the general international situation but, at the same time, it would not be realistic to imagine we are living in a vacuum."

The Fourth Youth Festival was held in Bucharest, Romania, in the summer immediately after Stalin's death during a period in which the changes in Soviet foreign policy later evident, were as yet unsecured and unclear. Partly because of previous commitments the IUS and WFDY were committed to holding three big events in 1953: the Festival in Bucharest, August 7 through 16; the Third WFDY Congress also in Bucharest, July 25 through 30; and the Third IUS Congress in Warsaw,

August 27 through September 3. Insofar as there was by this time a new Soviet line, these three events adopted it. For the first time the meetings evidenced a genuine concern over the Soviet Union's relationship to the leadership elements fighting for independence in the colonial areas. The old tactic of linking the foremost figures in the struggle for freedom with Western Imperialists clearly risked Soviet Union isolation when these leaders came to power. Moreover, the Soviets also began to understand that in dealing with young people, especially from developing areas, they were dealing with intelligent, sophisticated and politically alert individuals. Clearly, it would no longer do to lump all of the West together as if it had only one ideology, nor was it profitable to blame all of the evil in the world on non-Communists. And if Soviets goals were to advance, some of the sabre rattling of the past would have to cease.

The Fourth Festival, then, had a different tone, one reminiscent of the united front approach of the 1930's. No longer were there dogmatic demands for complete support from non-Communist organisations, instead Festival propaganda and prepared statements given in seminars suggested "limited support" on specific "non-partisan" issues. The old approach of bitter and belligerently hostile denunciation of all non-Communist countries was soon condemned as "left deviationism" at the WFDY and IUS meetings, and the Festival was prophetic in its adaptation of that line. To some extent this break with the past and the condemnation of the old methods was a chattering experience. The ideological debate and the acrimonious discussions of those years closely parallel today's struggles between the Chinese and Soviet leaders.

The Fourth Festival was the most expensive yet held. Conservative estimates, including free transportation for delegates coming from Communist countries and from those countries which the organisers wished to influence, place the cost between 40 and 100 million dollars.

Even though there had been a change in Soviet domestic and foreign policy lines, it was still too early for the Soviets to reverse their policy of exploiting the economies of the Eastern European countries to build up the Soviet Union. The severe housing shortage that had troubled Bucharest for ten years could not be cured in the summer. But to make the Festival participants comfortable "volunteer labor" constructed an 80,000 seat stadium, an artificial lake and an open-air theatre. 29,000 young people from 111 countries were on hand.

The Festival, in retrospect however, was a curious event. It followed Stalin's death so closely, and conditions in the Soviet Union were so far from settled, that it was most difficult for the organisers to capture the correct mood or feature the appropriate lines. They found themselves in an awkward position: the old harsh attacks on the West were repressed, more of an effort was made to court people from the developing areas, but when the Korean armistice was signed during the course of the Festival, an hour long mass demonstration exorciated the United States and Britain as Imperialist incendiaries. The curious nature of the event, the confused lines and tactics were the inevitable result of a Festival held between the era of "terror" and the era of "good feeling."

For the IUS and WFDY the changes that occurred after the death of Stalin came none too soon. Both were heavily strained by the burden of carrying identification with the Stalinist ideology. The Third IUS Congress of 1953 had only 10 non-Communist delegations in attendance. Recent disaffections included their heavily influential Latin American affiliate, the Brazilian National Union of Students. Perhaps because the IUS, as a student organisation, detected more quickly the changes in intellectual moods, it more readily adapted itself to a somewhat softer position. In part, it utilised a tactic which soon became a regular part of the Festival repertoire — Communists from former colonial areas, in no way representative of students from those countries, were encouraged to deliver the really strongly anti-western speeches. In this way the IUS appeared as a moderating influence.

The WFDY never really recovered from the splits that arose at the time of the Tito crisis. In particular, they were injured by the defection of their Scandinavian affiliates. As their youth and student organisations went into

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temporary decline, the Festival became a more important event for the Soviets.

The decision to hold the Fifth Festival in Warsaw, Poland came at a time when the Soviet Union had decided to totally refurbish its international image. The event nearly coincided with the Four Power Peace talks in Geneva. Hopes for a lasting and productive peace ran high after the Geneva Conference but were to be dashed by the Geneva Foreign Ministers meeting in October of 1955. Within the Soviet Union, the principle of collective leadership suffered a stunning blow in February of 1955 when Malenkov resigned from the Premiership. During the preceding months a number of persons closely connected with Malenkov's career had been demoted and the proteges of Krushchev had been promoted. During all of 1955 this process continued apace until it became clear that Krushchev was to be the single most important figure in the Soviet Union. The one-man rule of the Stalin era had a resurrection.

In Poland itself, conditions were ripe for political change. Wladyslaw Gomulka, denounced in 1948, removed from his political post in 1949, arrested in 1951, was soon to be released from prison in 1955. Only a year later he was to become the Prime Minister of Poland.

Poland is a country of fierce nationalists, who deeply resent the Soviet intrusion into their country. It is also a country with a strong intellectual class that has demanded its right to be heard and to dissent. It must be presumed that the decision to hold the Festival in Warsaw was a calculated risk. The fact that large numbers of Polish youth would be able to have contact with many non-Communists, even if in a controlled environment, must have somewhat troubled the Soviet leaders.

Perhaps for these reasons the program of the Festival was somewhat different from those of the past. Cultural events and mass demonstrations were a more significant part of this Festival than of past ones. No doubt this was a reflection of the Poles' attempt to influence the meeting toward an even softer political position; French songs, and slogans with universal appeal replaced the older, sterner Communist words. It was still true that cultural exhibitions and awards were limited to those issues considered politically valuable by Communist organisers. But the 20 days' stay for the 30,000 young people who came to Warsaw, was dominated by receptions, parades, and athletic events which left little time for serious discussion. From the organisers' point of view, that was probably all to the good since Eastern Europe was in those days ready for political mutiny, a mutiny which Hungary would soon begin with blood in its own streets.

#### *The 20th Party Congress, Hungary and the Moscow Youth Festival*

In February 1956, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union met in Moscow. The windows were thrown open to receive the fresh breath of criticism. The fiercest speech was made in secret session by Krushchev himself, a speech containing denunciation of the cult of personality. The speech exposed Stalin's crimes during the great purge in the 1930's and the World War and in its documentation went a long way towards proving the arguments of non-Communist opponents.

The tempo of change in Eastern Europe quickened. The Polish Communist leader Bierut died in Moscow while attending the Congress. With a new-found freedom the press exposed inefficiencies in the economy and the population's harsh living conditions. The summer of 1956 was a season of widespread discontent. Everywhere, the peasants were opposed to the collectivisation and to the various devices used to exploit them for the economic purposes of the regime. The workers were hostile, and they were more dangerous to the regime because they were concentrated in the main cities and because the official ideology required that the working class be the mainstay of Communism. Most dangerous of all was the disaffection of the intelligentsia, particularly of its youth. This was most obvious in Poland and Hungary for there discontent could polarise around two outstanding personalities, known to be opposed to current policies and leaders — Gomulka in Poland and Nagy in Hungary. A second factor was that in both Poland and Hungary there were among the older generation of intel-

regime and who had the experience to give a lead to the intellectual youth which was also against the regime but was inexperienced and inarticulate.

The Soviets soon learned that the youth of Eastern Europe was determined to be free of the intellectual shackles clamped on it by its Russian-centered neighbors. It demanded the right to think for itself, to work out in the privacy of its own nation, free from outside interference, its own national destiny. Clearly the Communists had underestimated the youth from developing countries. They too have proved alert to encroachment and resentful of any outside interference. As colonialism broke down, the new-found freedom demanded self-determination of a personal destiny.

So it was in Hungary. A new degree of freedom demanded an even greater right of self-determination. In Hungary on the 23rd of October a series of demonstrations, demanding social and political liberties, started a crisis. Security forces were ordered to fire on the people and soon the students and bystanders were joined by groups of armed workers from factories in the Budapest suburbs, and then by individual soldiers and units of the Hungarian Army. Soon no one was fighting for the regime except a few thousand Security Policemen and foreign troops.

The Hungarians won an armistice from the Soviets and Imre Nagy formed a new government in which the old socialist and peasant parties were represented. But on November 4th large forces of the foreign Soviet Army attacked the Hungarian capital. They met bitter resistance, especially from the workers, but it was soon crushed. For some weeks, however, the frontier with neutral Austria was open and 200,000 Hungarians, mostly workers and their families, chose an uncertain life in exile.

In Eastern Europe the oppression of the Hungarian Revolution had a more depressing effect than anything since 1948 when the Communist dictatorships had been perfected. No one was more pleased than Walter Ulbricht of East Germany, the outstanding survivor of the purest Stalinist breed. Relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union again deteriorated. In Poland the changes of October 1956 were real — non-political literature and art were almost completely freed and political argument was tolerated provided that it was confined to non-official meetings of small groups of people.

These changes in Eastern Europe were the inevitable result of breaking down the walls which had inhibited freedom during the Stalin era. It is interesting to speculate what role the Warsaw Youth Festival of 1955, providing a breath of fresh air and a glimpse of a different life, played in arousing the sentiments of the young intellectuals of Eastern Europe. Within the context of the Festival, Eastern European delegations were never to be so free again.

The implications of the 20th Party Congress were not lost on the IUS, and neither were the lessons of Hungary. The Presidium planned to curtail its own powers sharply. In the past it had made all important decisions backstage, using the conference's ratification merely to heighten the dramatic effect of unanimity. This year IUS leaders decided to bring more out onto the floor itself to give at least a glimpse of open debate. But from the very first session it was clear that democratisation and the IUS goal of unity were incompatible. The Presidium's overriding desire for unity led it to try to squash even an attempt from the floor to endorse support for the Algerian Revolution. Then shortly later, an Arab-Israeli dispute broke out, and was quelled only when the Presidium reverted to its old railroad tactics. The meeting reflected the uncertain goals of Soviet foreign policy, which still hoped somehow to form common fronts that could encompass French nationalists and Algerian revolutionaries, Arabs and Israelis. It was a vain hope. The truly revolutionary forces could see in the Soviet phalanxes only troops in disarray and a stained banner.

The chaos in Eastern Europe, the confusion caused by the 20th Party Congress, the uncertain course of the Soviet controlled IUS and WFDY, led to the decision that in 1957 Moscow was the only spot for a Festival. And if the event was to detract attention from the unpleasant realities of the last 18 months, it would have to be a spectacular one indeed. By sheer size, 34,000 foreign participants from 131 countries, the event was just that.

A closer look at the figures reveals that 27,000 of those participants were from Communist countries or Western Europe, less than 5,000 came from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

These figures indicate that the primary purpose of the Moscow Youth Festival may well have been to curb dissent among the young people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The event was meant to be a monumental public reaffirmation of their loyalty to the aims of international Communism as defined by the Soviets. An editorial in the Komsomol Monthly, May 1957, gave detailed instructions to the Soviet participants on how to explain certain shortcomings in Soviet social and economic life and how to present Soviet achievements most favorably.

A second aim of the Moscow Festival was to give the youth of the world a case of mass amnesia. By a display of hospitality and goodwill, the organizers hoped to counter the negative impression engendered by the events of the past few months. Consistently, attempts were made to discredit the Hungarian Revolution and soon that event was never to be mentioned at all.

In line with the doctrine of peaceful co-existence, a third purpose of the Moscow Youth Festival was to assure everyone of the good intentions and peaceful aims of the Soviet Union. Many of the Festival events emphasized the peaceful nature of Communism in general, and blamed the non-Communist world for disrupting international peace and understanding.

Yet another aim of the Festival, one which became much more important at the time of the Seventh and Eighth Festivals, was the goal of influencing young people from Asian and African countries. They were the primary objects of all efforts to impress Festival participants with the strength of the Soviet Union and to convince them of the superiority of Communism, especially for ameliorating conditions prevailing in the developing countries. The Secretary of the British Young Communist League may have indicated yet another reason why they were the objects of such intensive effort. Upon his return to Britain he made it clear that recruitment of people for the Communist party hierarchies was one of the goals of the Festival.

Evaluating the effects of the Festival is always a precarious affair. Whether, for example, people from developing areas were impressed by Communist propaganda is hard to say. The Moscow of 1957 was not an economic paradise, and in those days, as now, even if one were inclined to be influenced by Communism, one would have to decide whether he wished to be influenced by the Soviet, the Polish, the Yugoslav or the Chinese variety. In those days too, he would have to decide whether he wished to forget the violent past. No doubt, the relatively small number of Africans and Asians who were there realised the very important fact that if one chose Socialism one did not have to choose Communism. They must also have realised that they were only an incidental goal of the Festival, less important in the organisers' eyes than their own disenchanted youth.

One effect of the Festival is fairly clear, the Soviets were not altogether pleased with the impact the event had on Soviet youth. Alex Shelepin, Vice-President of WFDY, and soon to be chairman of the Soviet Secret Police (KGB), said, "We must be critical of what we saw at the Festival because we cannot agree with and fully accept the actions and behavior of some of the youth delegations at the Festival. Komsomol organisations should continue to struggle against the penetration into our milieu of ideology, morals, and customs which are alien to us." Shelepin clearly had no use for the youthful Asian and Africans who came to tell the Soviet that they had as much to teach them as to learn from them.

The Festival then, in capping the middle 1950's reflected the stresses and strains of that era of Soviet history. Those were years of looking inward, years in which Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, in breaking away from some old dogmas, had to reassess their old beliefs and their relations with one another. The comparatively slight attention given to Africans, Asians and Latin Americans would not be repeated in the coming years. The Soviet Union decided to look beyond its internal difficulties by looking toward the developing nations.

## PART IV

## THE OUTER WORLD: VIENNA AND HELSINKI

In 1959, the Festival was held for the first time in a non-Communist country. Unquestionably this gave the event a more respectable and non-political air, and it increased the possibility that several groups from uncommitted nations, groups which had refused to participate in the past, would now attend. The difficulties within the Communist camp were less grave than they had been in the past few years and the problem with China had not yet fully come to the surface. Memories are short and the Budapest repressions were all but forgotten by youth and students within a year or two.

The new freedom within the Soviet Union allowed the IUS to develop internal politics, and it thus became a forum for debate, even if only within the Marxist-Leninist framework. Where before there had been only praise of the IUS Secretariat, there was now real debate on questions such as peace, disarmament, relative importance of the German question as opposed to the struggle against Western Imperialism. IUS officers from developing countries were capable, and were able to sustain an image of independence from Soviet policies. IUS membership began to grow, especially its membership in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As it grew, the organisation became even more concerned with its image in those areas.

The Soviet Union in 1955 had entered the field of foreign aid to developing society. Statesmen, who only a few years before had been the object for Soviet scorn and ridicule, soon became recipients of Soviet loans and grants in aid. The aid was not without its strings. Even the Chinese were cut off when they elected not to follow the line.

The still ambivalent Soviet foreign policy goals can be traced in the Soviet Union's relationship with Yugoslavia. In August of 1957, Tito met Krushchev in Bucharest and the preceding quarrels seemed to be laid to rest. But, in November of the same year, the Yugoslav refused to sign a manifesto published after the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevic Revolution. This refusal, based on the Yugoslavs realisation that signing would have caused them to abandon their uncommitted foreign policy, led to a new deterioration of Yugoslav-Soviet relations. The Yugoslavs soon thereafter issued a draft program which contained three points totally unacceptable to the Soviet Union. The first was that it was possible to achieve Socialism without revolution; second, that Communist parties do not possess a monopoly on the ability to lead a nation towards Socialism — Socialism can be built under the leadership of parties that are not Communist, that is, are not Marxist-Leninist and do not recognise the supreme authority of the Soviet Union. The third controversial Yugoslav point was the assumption that the principal cause of the danger of war in the world was the existence of two power blocs: the Western and the Soviet.

Naturally, the Soviets were unwilling to admit that their own aims and nuclear bombs were a source of danger. In all three points, the Yugoslav leaders were looking towards a position which could be influential in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The Soviet rejection of these points was further proof that they desired to have relations with developing nations only when it served their own interests.

The Seventh World Youth Festival indicated that although the Soviets wished to have a greater influence and a greater contact with youth from developing nations, they were unwilling to work towards that end in a free and open forum. The 17,000 youth and students who attended were quickly made aware of the fact that most Austrians were not pleased to have the event on their soil. Soviet occupation of Austria had ended only in 1955 and both the Democratic Socialist and Catholic youth organisations in Austria were opposed to the Festival. Approximately 6,000 youth from Asia, Africa and Latin America attended, although, once again neutral countries such as the United Arab Republic, India and Ghana refused to send official delegations. The usual events of a mass nature, including a peace demonstration, anti-colonial rally, and ceremonial opening and closing sessions were held. All of these adopted positions which could be totally

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identified with Soviet foreign policy pronouncements and indicated the degree to which the Soviet Union rather than China, Yugoslavia, or Poland influenced the organization and content of meetings. As a result of the fact that the Soviets ran into more opposition within Austria than they had anticipated, there were several outbreaks of physical violence. Two notable incidents concerned the brutality inflicted on an Egyptian girl journalist and a dispute which arose between the Chinese delegates and some Africans who questioned the Chinese position on Tibet.

Whether the Festival was successful is an open question. The hostility of the Austrians who remembered too well the years of Soviet occupation, the proximity of the Hungarian border which was, at that time, still patrolled, the disagreements in approach to the Festival among the Communists themselves, particularly between Soviets and Poles, Soviets and Yugoslavs, Soviets and Chinese, all detracted from the event. Many of the delegates who the Soviets were most interested in influencing were appalled by the heavy-handed and sometimes violent techniques of the organizers.

Post-Festival meetings of the WFDY revealed controversy about the merits of the event. Some considered it totally negative in its impact on youth from developing nations; others believed that the event should be less political and more cultural. After Vienna there were some shake-ups in WFDY personnel and for the first time the Festival was held again after an interval of three rather than two years.

In the years between the Seventh and Eighth Festivals, it became obvious that trouble was brewing within the international Communist movement. Ideological and policy differences between the Chinese and Soviet Communist leadership were still unresolved. The compromise declaration patched together at the Moscow meeting of the 81 Communist parties in November and December of 1960, provided superficial unity, but the exacerbation of relations between Moscow and Albania, and the Chinese adoption of the Albanians as a client party, made unity pronouncements seem increasingly hollow. On the eve of the 22nd Party Congress, Krushchev faced some hard alternatives. If Chinese and Albanian dependence were left unanswered, Soviet leadership of the bloc and of the world Communist movement would be further undermined. If he chose to demand a confrontation and capitulation from the Chinese, there was the serious possibility that the ranks of the movement would be split. Krushchev directed his propaganda against the Albanian party leadership rather than the Chinese. The tactic was without success; Chou-En-Lai reserved his most biting remarks for Krushchev's attack on the Albanians but he also had a few scorching phrases for Yugoslavia. The 22nd Congress only served to underscore many internal problems within the bloc. It also made it clear that the Soviet Union intended to maintain its position of leadership within the Communist movement at any cost, permitting as little dissent as possible.

There were indications both before and during the Congress that the Soviet policy in the underdeveloped parts of the world was undergoing re-examination. Soviet distribution of future largesse would provide support only for friendly nations that followed the Soviet foreign policy line, cut their economic ties with the West, organized their economy on a Communist basis, and made room for local Soviet-styled Communists in their government arrangements.

The Congress also witnessed Krushchev's renunciation of nuclear weapons as the key to victory for World Communist. This pronouncement rang less hopefully in the world's ears, when at the time of the Helsinki Festival, close to the anniversary of Hiroshima, the Soviets tested a 40 megaton bomb.

The tensions within the Communist world were reflected in Helsinki. At the Moscow Youth Festival in 1957, 1,566 Chinese delegates had attended, in Helsinki there were only 99. The Chinese, like the Poles, the Democratic Socialists, the delegates from the United States, had the dubious distinction of having their views totally unrepresented during the course of the meeting. The 12,000 delegates from 135 countries who attended quickly learned that, as in Austria, the native population was not happy to host the event. The usual mass events that characterize all Festivals, were held and the usual appeals were made to the aspirations of the people from

developing areas. But on the morning of August 6, when it became known that the Soviet Union had resumed nuclear testing with a tremendous 40 megaton blast, many of those same delegates were shocked into disbelief. Later when several Festival delegations attempted to carry banners reading "STOP TESTS — EAST AND WEST", they were forbidden to do so by the International Preparatory Committee. In the specially constituted Free Tribune, neutral voices did nearly succeed in taking over the discussion, and they were highly critical of Soviet foreign policy. But, for the most part, the same seminars, the same cultural events, had the same easily identified objectives: the glorification of the goals of Soviet foreign policy to the exclusion of Western economics, Democratic Socialism, Chinese Communism and more importantly to the exclusion of discussion of the real problems facing developing nations.

The Soviet decision to break the moratorium on nuclear testing at the time of the Helsinki Festival may indicate that they found it necessary to adopt a more militant posture in their struggle against the Chinese. It clearly demonstrates that in the final analysis, they are not at all concerned about the hopes and opinions of the neutral world.



ELIMA, Kinshasa  
25 March 1973

EAST GERMANS HOST 10TH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

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After a gap of five years, another World Youth Festival - the Tenth - is to be staged in East Berlin from July 28 to August 5. The 10th Festival coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Festival movement and, according to its organisers, will be "the largest ever organised".

As usual the Festival is sponsored by two Soviet-controlled international Communist front organisations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS). Arrangements are being handled by a 60-strong International Preparatory Committee (IPC), drawn from international organisations and national preparatory committees in participating countries. But the IPC, whose constituent meeting was in Sofia in January, 1972, meets infrequently, and the real power lies with a Permanent Commission, comprising 22 full-time, paid officials, mostly from the WFDY, the IUS, and the East German Youth Organisation (FDJ). Its leading members are Roberto Viezzi (Italy), President of WFDY, a former member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee and a member of the Italian Communist Youth Federation (FGCI); Alain Thérèse (France), WFDY Secretary-General and a member of the French Communist Youth Organisation (MJC), Fathi el Fadl (Sudan), IUS Secretary-General; and Dominique Vidal, the Festival Coordinating Secretary who is a Bureau member of the French Communist Students' Union (UEC).

The Festivals claim to be open to all young people aged between 14 and 32 "irrespective of nationality, creed or politics". Dominique Vidal has claimed that over 130 countries will be represented in East Berlin, but up to two-thirds of these will be Communists or supporters of Communism, despite the organisers' avowed aim of attracting young people of all persuasions, provided that they are "progressive" and "against imperialism". China and Albania will again presumably not be invited but Cuba, which boycotted the Sofia Festival, is to send a large delegation and has promised to "spare no efforts to support the 10th Festival" - reflecting her improved relations with the Soviet Union.

The cost of the Festivals runs into millions of dollars. The most expensive - estimated to have cost 100 million dollars - was in Moscow in 1957. Despite scaling down since then, the bills for the last three - in Vienna, Helsinki and Sofia - are believed to have been around 10 million dollars. Participants pay an enrolment fee and an "all-in" sum for travel and accommodation expenses, though these are often heavily subsidised or even waived for delegates from developing countries. To cover the cost of non-paying participants and the rest of the Festival's expenses, a World Solidarity Fund has been set up, to which national preparatory committees, international organisations and individual delegates are asked to contribute, and much publicity is being given to the fund-raising activities of "Subbotniks" (voluntary Saturday labour

battalions) in East Germany. But these efforts fall short of meeting the total cost. A substantial subsidy, mainly from the Soviet Union, is always required.

#### East Berlin could pose problems

Of the nine Festivals, the first six were held in East European capitals (Prague 1947, Budapest 1949, East Berlin 1951, Bucharest 1953, Warsaw 1955, and Moscow 1957). The next two were staged in neutral countries - Vienna in 1959 and Helsinki in 1962 - in the hope of minimising the Festivals' Communist associations. In both cases, however, lack of enthusiasm by people in the host countries dampened the proceedings, and for the last Festival in 1968 the organisers were forced to retreat to the Communist bloc, to Sofia, after vain efforts to find a Third World venue. Festival plans for Ghana and Algeria fell through.

The choice of East Berlin for the 10th Festival is hardly auspicious: the divided city, with the East Germans' wall, seems unlikely to make a favourable impression on Festival visitors, while the proximity of West Berlin could create problems for the organisers - especially if delegates accompanied by East German friends wish to cross to the West. The organisers claim that the choice of Berlin - "in a State building Socialism" - will be received with enthusiasm by young people everywhere, and it is being presented as a gesture of solidarity with East Germany in its campaign for international recognition. In an interview with the East German peace movement journal, *Information* (No. 7, 1972), Dominique Vidal said the choice of East Berlin "is a sign of the confidence which the youth of the world feel towards the GDR, its party and government, its people and its rising generation. It shows that the youth of the world realises the importance of the GDR's correct policy as a contribution to the struggle for peace and security. It confirms the firm will of the youth of the world to see the GDR finally recognised by all countries and recognised as a member of the United Nations and its specialised organisations".

The Festivals used to take place every two years. The five year gap between the 9th and 10th is probably due not so much to difficulties over a venue, but to indecision about what form the Festival should take, or whether it should take place at all. Even before the 9th Festival it was rumoured that Moscow was no longer willing to meet the costs involved and preferred smaller, regional gatherings. Observers believed that the future of the Festivals would hinge on success in Sofia. But the 9th Festival failed to blur the disunity of the international Communist movement and exposed the gap between orthodox Communism and the "New Left". Complaints were made about discrimination and the manipulation of debates, the unsubtle methods used by the Bulgarian police to keep the Festival on prescribed lines, and the way the organisers set out to muzzle, isolate and discredit delegations like those from Czechoslovakia (pro-Dubcek) and Yugoslavia.

By the end of the Sofia Festival the concept of the movement in its present form was being openly questioned. Some delegates suggested that the three sections of politics, sport and culture should in future be separated. Others said that the Festivals should be held on a regional basis;

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several delegations thought the festivals a relic of the cold war era and should be discontinued.

Although the Soviet and other Festival organisers have presumably debated these questions over the past four years, the 10th Festival will "follow the ideas of previous events", according to Jean Diard, the retiring Festival Coordinating Secretary, at the IPC meeting in Sofia in January, 1972.

#### Political slant

Traditionally, the Festivals have combined a wide range of activities attractive to young people - films, concerts, musical and sports competitions, dancing, exhibitions, sightseeing - with political debates, seminars and demonstrations on issues of particular interest to the Soviet Union. The organisers no longer seem to try to conceal the Festival's political and partisan character: the Czechoslovak newspaper, *Mlada Fronta*, stressed on January 22, 1972, that the Festivals are "an enormous political manifestation"; three days later Günther Jahn, First Secretary of the FDJ Central Council, was quoted in *Mlada Fronta* as saying that the 10th Festival would have a "clearly political character in view of its anti-American bias". An article in the Belgian Communist Party newspaper, *Le Drapeau Rouge*, on January 19, 1973, said the Festival "will be a strong manifestation of solidarity with the people of Socialist (Communist) countries who are building a new society". The January, 1972 Appeal issued by the IPC forecast that the Festival would "allow the world's youth and students to show their solidarity with the youth of the Socialist countries building Socialism in the face of imperialist manoeuvres and provocations".

Plans for Vietnam to take a prominent place on the Festival agenda may be tempered by the recent signing of a ceasefire agreement. The IPC Appeal had marked the 10th Festival as "a unanimous expression of international solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia". *Le Drapeau Rouge* reported on January 19 that as well as a day of solidarity with the youth of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, there would also be a forum where expressions of solidarity with Indochina would occupy a decisive place.

The IPC Appeal said the 10th Festival would also be a "powerful demonstration of solidarity" with other liberation movements and with "the struggle of the youth of Africa, Latin America and Asia, for their freedom, national independence, democracy and social progress". There appears to be no mention in the Festival programme of West German "revanchism" - presumably omitted in deference to Moscow's improved relations with Bonn.

Details so far published suggest that the "struggle against imperialism" may supplant Vietnam as the dominant theme of the Festival, which is being presented as the climax of the campaign launched by WFDY in 1971-72 - "Youth Accuses Imperialism". The IPC Appeal promised that the Festival would be "a pledge by the youth of the world to fight against imperialism, above all US imperialism, and militarism". The slogan of the 10th Festival is "For Anti-imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship". Among "anti-imperialist" events, according to *Le Drapeau Rouge*, will be a day of "solidarity with youth struggling against imperialist aggression" and a tribunal where "the crimes of imperialism will be publicly denounced and condemned".

In support of the Soviet Union's policies in the proposed European Security Conference, the IPC Appeal predicted that the Festival would "confirm youth's deep aspirations and commitments to the struggle for disarmament and peace, as is evidenced by the many important initiatives of young people in Europe for security and cooperation in their continent". There would be a day of "solidarity for peace, security and cooperation". Other Festival days are to be devoted to solidarity with East Germany, Youth and Students Fighting Imperialism, Fascism and Repression, Students and Women.

## Le 10<sup>me</sup> festival mondial de la jeunesse

Après un intervalle de cinq ans, un autre Festival mondial de la jeunesse — le dixième — aura lieu du 28 juillet au 5 août à Berlin-Est. Le 10<sup>me</sup> Festival coïncide avec le vingt-cinquième anniversaire du mouvement du festival, et selon ses organisateurs, ce sera «le plus grand jamais organisé».

Comme d'habitude, le festival est parrainé par deux organisations para-communistes internationales d'obédience soviétique, la Fédération mondiale de la jeunesse démocratique (FMJD) et l'Union internationale des étudiants (UIE). Un Comité préparatoire international (CPI) de soixante membres venant d'organisations internationales et de comités préparatoires nationaux des pays participant s'occupent des arrangements. Mais le CPI, qui fut créé lors d'une réunion tenue en janvier 1972 à Sofia, ne se réunit pas fréquemment, et le pouvoir réside vraiment dans la Commission permanente, laquelle comprend vingt-deux membres à plein temps, dont la plupart sont des fonctionnaires salariés de la FMJD, de l'UIE et de la Fédération de la jeunesse est-allemande (FDJ). Ses principaux membres sont Roberto Viezzi (Italie), président de la FMJD, ancien membre du Comité central du Parti communiste italien et membre de la Fédération de la jeunesse communiste italienne (FGCI); Alain Thérèse (France), secrétaire général de la FMJD et membre du Mouvement (français) de la jeunesse communiste (MJC); Fathi el Fadl (Soudan), secrétaire général de l'UIE; et Dominique Vidal, secrétaire chargé de la coordination du festival, qui est membre du Bureau de l'Union (française) des étudiants communistes (UEC).

Les festivals affirment être accessibles à tous les jeunes âgés de quatorze à trente-deux ans, «quelles que soient leur nationalité, leur croyance ou leur politique». Dominique Vidal a affirmé que plus de 130 pays seront représentés à Berlin-Est, mais jusqu'à deux-tiers d'entre eux seront

les communistes ou des sympathisants du communisme, malgré l'objectif avoué des organisateurs d'attirer des jeunes de toutes les croyances pourvu qu'ils soient «progressistes» et «anti-impérialistes». Une fois de plus, on ne croit pas que la Chine et l'Albanie seront invitées, mais Cuba, qui a boycotté le Festival de Sofia, enverra une délégation importante et a promis de «s'employer à prêter son appui au 10<sup>me</sup> Festival» — faisant ainsi ressortir l'amélioration intervenue dans ses relations avec l'Union Soviétique.

Ces festivals coûtent des millions de dollars. C'est celui qui se déroula en 1957 à Moscou qui a coûté le plus cher — on estimait qu'il aurait coûté 100 millions de dollars. Malgré la réduction intervenue depuis lors, on croit voir que les derniers festivals — ceux à Vienne, Helsinki et Sofia — ont coûté environ 10 millions de dollars. Les participants payent un droit d'inscription et un montant «forfaitaire», pour les frais de déplacement et de logement, mais ceux-ci font souvent l'objet de subsides élevés ou même de dérogations pour les délégués venant de pays en voie de développement. Pour couvrir les frais encourus par les délégués participant à titre gratuit et les autres dépenses du festival, il est institué un Fonds de solidarité mondiale auquel on sollicite la contribution des comités préparatoires nationaux, des organisations internationales et des délégués individuels, et on fait beaucoup de publicité autour de l'activité des «soubbotniks» (bataillons de volontaires travaillant le samedi) en Allemagne orientale pour recueillir des fonds. Mais ces efforts ne suffisent pas pour payer le montant total

des frais encourus. Il est toujours nécessaire d'avoir un subs. de substantiel, principalement de l'Union Soviétique. Le 16 février, AIDN, Agence d'informations est-allemande, rapportait que l'on savait que plus de 18 millions de marks étaient maintenant déposés au crédit du compte du festival. Etant donné que, selon le quotidien tchécoslovaque Mlada Fronta du 11 janvier, il n'y aura pas «assez de temps, de fonds ou d'ouvriers» pour ériger des logements temporaires à l'intention des délégués du festival, on a persuadé les citoyens de Berlin-Est de recevoir chez eux les visiteurs en qualité de hôtes. Après une campagne de recrutement menée les 6 et 7 janvier, Mlada Fronta annonçait qu'environ 100.000 lits seraient mis à la disposition des délégués au festival. La plupart d'entre eux seront probablement des Allemands.

### Berlin-Est pourrait poser des problèmes

Sur les neuf festivals, les six premiers ont eu lieu dans ces capitales d'Europe orientale (Prague 1947, Budapest 1949, Berlin-Est 1951, Bucarest 1953, Varsovie 1955 et Moscou 1957). Les deux suivants se sont déroulés dans des pays neutres — Vienne en 1959 et Helsinki en 1962 — dans l'espoir de réduire au minimum les associations communistes du festival. Dans les deux cas, cependant, le manque d'enthousiasme des pays hôtes a diminué l'ardeur des débats; et pour ce qui est du dernier festival tenu en 1968, les organisateurs se sont trouvés dans l'obligation de battre en retraite et de le tenir dans un pays du bloc

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communiste, notamment à Sofia, après de vains efforts pour trouver une ville du tiers monde pour l'accueillir. On a dû abandonner les plans visant à organiser le festival au Ghana ou en Algérie.

Le choix de Berlin-Est comme ville d'accueil du 10<sup>me</sup> Festival n'est pas de bon augure. En effet, il semble invraisemblable que la ville divisée entourée du mur des Allemands de l'Est fasse une impression favorable aux visiteurs du festival, tandis que la proximité de Berlin-Ouest pourrait créer des problèmes pour les organisateurs — surtout si les délégués accompagnés d'amis est-allemands souhaitent se rendre à l'Ouest. Les organisateurs prétendent cependant que le choix de Berlin — situé «dans un pays édifiant le socialisme» — sera reçu avec enthousiasme par les jeunes du monde entier, et ils le pré-

March, 1973

sentent comme un geste de solidarité avec l'Allemagne orientale dans sa campagne en faveur d'une reconnaissance internationale. Dans une interview qu'il a accordée à Information (N° 7, 1972), revue du mouvement est-allemand de la paix, Dominique Vidal a déclaré que le choix de Berlin-Est était un signe de confiance que les jeunes du monde ressentent pour la RDA, son parti et son gouvernement, son peuple et sa jeune génération. Il montrait, a-t-il ajouté, que la jeunesse mondiale se rend compte de l'importance que revêt la politique correcte pratiquée par la RDA comme contribution à la lutte pour la paix et la sécurité. Il confirmait la ferme volonté de la jeunesse mondiale de voir la RDA reconnue en fin de compte par tous les pays et admise en tant que membre des Nations Unies et de ses agences spécialisées.

Les Festivals avaient lieu tous les deux ans. L'intervalle de cinq ans entre le neuvième et le dixième festival n'est probablement pas tellement dû aux difficultés pour trouver un lieu de réunion qu'à l'indécision quant à la forme que devrait assumer le festival, ou sur la question de savoir s'il devait avoir lieu. Même avant le neuvième festival, le bruit courait que Moscou ne voulait plus en payer les frais et préférait des réunions plus limitées sur une base régionale. Les observateurs pensaient que l'avenir des festivals dépendrait du succès remporté à Sofia. Mais le neuvième festival n'a pas réussi à atténuer le manque d'unité régnant au sein du mouvement communiste international et a révélé la distance séparant le communisme orthodoxe et la «Nouvelle gauche».

## 10TH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

EAST BERLIN, JULY 28-AUGUST 5, 1973

CPYRGHT

### THE "MOST POLITICAL" FESTIVAL

Mike Down, Secretary of the British National Preparatory Committee, wrote that the Festivals of the 1960s had inevitably become "more politicised, less European-centred", causing many problems, both political and organisational. Because of the crisis in world capitalism and the upsurge of the liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, this Festival would be "the most political so far". With so many events devoted to Vietnam it would "bring home the reality of the great victory won by these heroic people". (*Comment*, February 24)

### FESTIVAL "A FIRST CLASS SCHOOL FOR THE POLITICAL MOULDING" OF YOUTH

In an article on the Festival movement entitled "comrades-in-arms to meet", V. Vasilenko wrote that the Festivals while tackling concrete practical problems, also fulfilled certain general political tasks. By the last one in Sofia [in 1968] the movement had reached political maturity and "clear-cut anti-imperialist objectives". He refuted "bourgeois propaganda" claiming that the Festivals were purely "Communist affairs". Young Communists had always been the core of the Festival movement and delegates usually held strong views on peace and progress, but far from all were Communists.

The youth leagues of the "Socialist" countries saw the Festival as an important form of "popularizing the peace-loving foreign policy of their States and the great gains of the Socialist system in every sphere of public life". ~~The confrontation of political positions and principles, the~~

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complexity of organisational problems made the Festivals "a first-class school for the political moulding of the active members of the international democratic youth and student movement". Their success was largely due to the fact that they enjoyed the support not only of youth and student organisations, but also of a number of progressive governments, and such organisations as the WPC, the WFTU, the WIDF and the IOJ. They were also backed by the Governments and Communist Parties of the "Socialist" countries. Many inter-governmental organisations and above all the UN and its agencies regarded them as an ideal way of imbuing the younger generation with the ideals of peace and social progress. All in all more than 10,000 young Russians have participated - they have invariably demonstrated a high level of political consciousness. (*Molodoi Kommunist*, No. 1).

#### IUS PRESIDENT SPEAKS ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF FESTIVAL

"The International Union of Students attaches the greatest importance to the 10th World Festival in Berlin as a forum of anti-imperialist solidarity" said Fathi el Fadl (Sudan), IUS Secretary General, in an interview with the *ADN* Prague correspondent. As with all nine previous festivals, the IUS was taking "an active part" in the preparation and organisation of the Festival. He stressed the importance of the "solidarity days" during the Festival and the student programme including seminars on the role of students in the anti-imperialist struggle, on the tasks of students concerning reform and the democratisation of education and on cultural questions, as well as of the various scientific discussion groups.

The IUS Secretariat had already sent delegations to various parts of the world which visited among others several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and Australia and New Zealand to help student organisations set up National Festival Committees and to inform them about the Festival programme and plans. The next meeting of the IUS Executive Committee in Sofia on March 2-5, in which representatives from the Festival Committee would also participate, would discuss Festival preparations. The IUS had received many letters from would-be participants from students in IUS affiliated and non-affiliated organisations. (*Neues Deutschland*, February 7).

#### FESTIVAL SLOGAN OUT OF TUNE WITH DETENTE AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The Festival slogan, "For Anti-imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship" was described by the *Daily Telegraph's* Eastern European correspondent Annelise Schulz as striking "a discordant note, somewhat out of tune with the phrases of *détente* and peaceful co-existence coming from Eastern bloc leaders these days. It leaves little doubt that the political and ideological struggle against the West is going on unabated". Proceeds from an international bazaar would swell a fund for supporting "liberation fighters" in the Portuguese colonies, South Africa and Latin America or member organisations forced to function illegally, an open admission from Communists who label as "interference in internal affairs" even harmless contacts of Western citizens in Eastern countries.

#### MEETING OF EAST GERMAN FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, BERLIN, FEBRUARY 16

The 3rd meeting of the East German National Festival Committee was held in Berlin on February 16 to discuss the state of Festival preparations.

Present were Prime Minister, Willi Stoph, and representatives of the Politbureau of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) including Dominique Vidal (France), Co-ordinating Secretary, and of the IPC Permanent Commission. Greetings were conveyed from Erich Honecker, party First Secretary and Chairman of the National Preparatory Committee.

In the foyer of the meeting hall was a model of Berlin showing how Berlin would be decorated from Karl-Marx-Allee to Unter den Linden with flags and chains of pennants. New posters spelt out the Festival slogan - "the fight for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship". Günther Jahn, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council reported on national and international preparations, claiming that preparing for the 10th World Youth Festival had become "a matter of the heart" for the whole population of East Germany. He said that the Festival project had an appeal among youth. Over 1.3 million youths were familiarising themselves during the FDJ study year with the themes of the international youth movement so as to be "class-conscious conversation partners". The forthcoming 125th anniversary of the Communist manifesto had provided the opportunity for them as the heirs of the manifesto to understand better the world-changing views of the working class. More than 1.7 million youths had undertaken personal Festival tasks. The FDJ's membership was the highest ever. "It is already clear that working youth regards the fulfilment and possible over-fulfilment of the 1973 economic plan as its best contribution to the Festival preparations". On March 7, the FDJ's anniversary, appeals to all affiliates and pioneer friendship organisations would open the third and final stage in East Germany of preparation for the Festival. "Thereby, more and more the competition of all the FDJ affiliates for the 50 Ernest Thalmann banners of honour of the Central Committee of the SED is intensified".

The Festival concept was fundamental to the discussions between the FDJ and representatives from 403 organisations from 118 countries. The FDJ was to use the occasion of the International Fighting Day of Youth to invite members of the Permanent Commission and representatives of the international democratic youth movement to the second "Festival Journey of Friendship" in the DDR from April 27 till May 2.

Rudi Singer, Chairman of the State Radio Committee, spoke of the extensive political, ideological, cultural and organisational preparations. There would be a series of radio discussions, a week of radio dramas for young people, etc. Paul Verner, SED Politbureau member, declared that Festival guests expected from East Germany not only the necessary organisational and technical conditions for a successful Festival, but also a worthy contribution to the interesting Festival events and that East German youth would contribute to solving "the burning questions of our time". For many participants it would be their first step on Socialist soil, and therefore, "our young people must prepare themselves to stand their ground and, as young citizens of East Germany, to worthily represent their Socialist state". All young East Germans, he said, were called upon to accomplish in the coming months new achievements, in continuing the Festival preparation, for the universal development of East Germany in the political, economic, cultural and military sphere, so that socialism was further strengthened and peace made more secure.

Much of the Festival's success would depend on how fully East Germany created all prerequisites for ensuring that the programme be fully

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 implemented. East Germany would set to work to make this manifestation into an event whose effect would extend far into the future. (ADN, Tass, February 16; *Neues Deutschland*, February 17).

#### PROGRAMME

The programme [see also International Organisations, No. 26, p.10] of which politics will be the central issue, will be finalized in March. There will be a separate theme for each day of the Festival, the most urgent being that of solidarity with Indochina. The Middle East having "taken the centre of the stage" in the peace struggle, an additional theme on the problem of the Arab countries has been included. (*Morning Star*, London, March 23). The Festival will begin on July 28 in the Chauseestrasse Stadium with a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and will end on August 5 with a final demonstration in the Marx-Engels Platz. There will be about 1,500 events ranging from beat-groups to top-level orchestras. There will be song contests including political songs, a carnival, a grand ball, exhibitions of photographs and children's drawings; an Anti-Imperialist Centre at Humboldt University; an International Solidarity Centre at the Television Tower; meetings, conferences, and seminars as well as sporting events. The basic content of the cultural programme will emphasize the Festival's political character. The results of the "Youth Accuses Imperialism" campaign will be reviewed. (*Neues Deutschland*, February 9; *Tass* and *ADN*, February 16; *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, March 6).

#### IPC PERMANENT COMMISSION OFFICES

The Permanent Commission of the International Preparatory Committee and the East German Organising Committee both have their headquarters at Mauerstrasse 39. The 22-member Permanent Commission, the executive organ of the IPC, has six offices whose work is controlled by Permanent Commission members, namely: Festival Programme, headed by Nikolai Smelov (USSR); Communications, headed by a WFDY representative; Students, headed by an IUS representative; Press and Propaganda; Finance; and General Services. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, March 6).

#### ATTENDANCE FIGURES

About 20,000 is reckoned to be the limit for foreign delegations mainly for technical reasons. [Previous figures given, however, were 30,000 foreigners and 70,000 East Germans]. Countries have had to be allocated quotas. Some, such as Spain, Greece, Portugal, South Africa, Jordan and the Dominican Republic, are not on the "open" list, but this will not necessarily prevent their attendance. (*Morning Star*, London, March 23). Prominent guests expected include Angela Davis and Jane Fonda from the USA, and Valentina Nikolaeva-Tereshkova (astronaut) and Maya Plisetskaya (ballerina) from the USSR. (*Daily Telegraph*, March 8).

#### PUBLICITY

The IPC has started to publish a newspaper entitled *Festival* in six languages - English, Arabic, Spanish, German, Russian and French edited by Herbert Khemann. It will inform youth about the work of the IPC and publicise the views of important representatives of the Festival movement and well-known politicians, and carry detailed information about



Berlin. Its total circulation is about 150,000. In addition festival placards and information bulletins have been sent to nearly 130 countries. (*Mlada Fronta*, February 8; *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, March 6).

#### FESTIVAL ACCOUNT

M. (Ostmark) 21,000,000 (about £2,500,000) has now been paid into the Festival account as a result of the proceeds of voluntary work and donations by FDJ members. (*ADN*, March 6).

#### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND

Erwin Farkas, Treasurer, claimed that "considerable results" had been achieved since the beginning of the world-wide solidarity campaign to enable delegates from under-developed countries to attend the Festival. The proceeds from voluntary work benefited the Festival as did lotteries and cultural events; badges, propaganda material and home-made articles have been sold or will be sold during the Festival. (*Festival*, No. 2). The British have promised to raise £1,000 for the Solidarity Fund and expect every delegate to collect at least £2. Any extra will be given towards the Nguyen Van Troi children's hospital. (*Festival*, '73 leaflet).

#### ORGANISATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

##### Accommodation

Berliners have offered some 77,000 flats for Festival guests. In addition 1,100 school and college buildings are being prepared to house visitors. (*Mlada Fronta*, January 10).

##### Entertainment

A varied programme of films, concerts, dances and discotheques will be put on for Festival guests. (*Mlada Fronta*, February 6).

##### Transport and Restaurant facilities

A programme is in preparation for putting on 343 special trains. Foreign guests will be fed in 22 restaurants and East German guests in 12 large open-air restaurants. (*L'Humanité*, March 19).

#### ARAB LEADER MEETS IPC PERMANENT COMMISSION MEMBERS

On February 21, Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), met members of the IPC Permanent Commission and was briefed by Dominique Vidal on the state of preparations. (*ADN*, February 21).

#### PERMANENT COMMISSION APPEAL ON VIETNAM

The Permanent Commission, welcoming the Vietnam peace agreement, appealed to youth and student organisations to help the Vietnamese people; to demand that the US end its "aggression" in Laos and Cambodia; and for donations for the construction of the Nguyen Van Troi children's hospital. (*Tass*, February 9).

NATIONAL PREPARATIONS

Africa. The All-Africa Youth Movement is sending the largest yet contingent to the Festival. African preparations are to culminate in an All-African Youth Festival in Tunis from July 15-22 to be attended by over 4,000 young people from nearly 40 African countries. (*Molodoi Kommunist*, No. 1; *Advance*, Nigeria, February 11-17).

Argentina. The National Preparatory Committee set up last September has organised several events and has participated in others, mostly connected with Indochina. (*WFDY*, No. 1).

Burundi. The NPC was founded by numerous public figures, the Rwagasore Revolutionary Youth (JRR) assuming overall responsibility. (*Festival*, No. 2).

Chile. A Chilean Federation of Socialist Youth delegation visiting the USSR discussed Festival preparations with Gennadiy Yanayev, chairman of the Soviet NPC. (*Moscow Radio*, February 6).

Cuba. Young Cubans are preparing for the Festival with new achievements in the field of production. Local preparatory committees are carrying out economic tasks in honour of the Festival. (*WFDY News*, No. 1). A Cuban Communist Youth Union (UJC) delegation has gone to Berlin to attend "consultations" on preparations for the Festival. (*Prensa Latina*, March 18).

Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union wants to show itself through its participation in the Festival as a "strong united organisation" which is once again "a firm link in the progressive youth and students movement of the world". (*Mlada Fronta*, March 3).

Denmark. The "broadest-based ever" NPC has published the first issue of its Festival newspaper and will issue posters, pamphlets and stickers. The first informative meeting about the Festival has been held in Copenhagen and similar meetings will be held in other towns. (*Mlada Fronta*, February 17).

East Germany. The Secretariat of the FDJ Central Council held a course for FDJ officials in Bogensee near Berlin from February 21 till March 1 on the basic preparations for the third and last stage of work for the Festival, to begin on March 7. Paul Verner, Politbureau member, spoke on "Our tasks in the further execution of the decisions of the SED 8th Conference" and the importance of fulfilling them. Günther Jahn, member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ, spoke about their political and organisational tasks for the last stage of the Festival: the main thing was to further strengthen the FDJ as a political fighting organisation. A meeting was held in Berlin on March 1 of representatives of factories, educational institutes, young people and members of the National Front, which discussed how to prepare school children for the Festival more effectively. (*Neues Deutschland*, March 2).

Egypt. NPC members were among delegates to a friendly meeting at the East German Culture and Information Centre in Cairo where they learned of the state of Festival preparations and of the Festival programme. (*Neues Deutschland*, February 26).

Finland. President Kekkonen agreed to act as patron of the Finnish preparations. About 800 young Finns will attend the Festival. 54 national youth organisations are participating via the NPC including, for the first time, Conservative Youth and Students Organisations. The NPC whose chairman is Ilkka-Christian Björklund M.P. is organising a campaign "An hour's pay for the Festival Solidarity Fund". They have already collected \$250,000 towards the Nguyen Van Troi hospital. Two main issues were involved in preparations in Finland - national preparations and cooperation of youth organisations started during preparations for the WFDY-CENYC European Youth Security Conference /held in Helsinki last August, see No. 259, p. 77. (*Kansan Uutiset*, Helsinki, March 8; *Morning Star*, London, March 23).

France. Interviewed on French preparations for the Festival, Roland Favaro, Secretary General of the French Communist Youth Federation said that the French delegation of 2,000 would be "very representative" but would not include *gauchistes* for fear of "incidents". (*Magyar Ifjúság*, March 2).

Great Britain. The British delegation of 500 [previously "about 600"] must be representatives of either a trade union, student union or youth group. Attempts to establish Scottish and Welsh committees were unsuccessful. Priority will be given to increasing participation of young trade unionists, and in involving young people in solidarity work on international issues. The task of appointing delegates and broadening support for the Festival was urgent. (*Morning Star*, February 9; undated circular from the British Preparatory Committee). The British NPC is emphasising the political side of the Festival. Its Appeal, referring explicitly to US "imperialism" in Vietnam, white "racist" regimes in Southern Africa, the struggle for "civil rights" in Ireland, the workers' struggle against Tory anti-union laws and the fight for sexual and racial equality, has the support of 15 organisations. (*Comment*, February 24). NPC Representatives recently visited East Germany to get up-to-date information on the Festival. Anthony Burnell was impressed with Berlin, saying "Any young person coming from a capitalist country can see here with his own eyes what 'Socialism' is". (*WFDY News*, No. 1). The NPC has appointed a full-time organiser at its office at 129 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4. A Soviet Komsomol delegation in the UK discussed the Festival with youth and student groups. (*National Union of Students (NUS) Information Bulletin*, No.2).

Mozambique. "Active preparations" are going on for the Festival. In the "liberated" zones, Festival commissions to popularize and prepare for the Festival have been set up. (*WFDY News*, No. 1).

Norway. An NPC has been set up and local ones are planned. (*WFDY News*, No. 1).

Panama. The NPC, consisting of more than 50 organisations, is beginning an intensive propaganda campaign and is organising a national youth and student festival soon. (*WFDY News*, No. 1).

Sierra Leone. The All-Peoples Congress (APC) National Youth League is forming a Festival preparatory committee. (*Sierra Leone Radio*, March 1).

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Somalia would like to send twice its quota of delegates. (*Morning Star*, London, March 23).

Switzerland. The headquarters of the NPC is in Basle. All organisations represented on it will participate in a youth camp at Whitsun. (*WFDY News*, No. 1).

USSR. As well as the official Soviet delegation of about 1,000 Komsomol members, many young Soviet tourists are sure to participate in the Festival. (*Neues Deutschland*, March 22). G. Yanayev, NPC Chairman, said in a *Pravda* interview on March 7 that the Festival would be a reflexion of the increasing political activity of youth. The extensive composition of the participants adhering to various political views would make it a place of heated discussion. Young people from 59 countries discussed Festival preparations at a 10-day Seminar at Abramcev near Moscow. (*Mlada Fronta*, February 5).

Venezuela. The NPC has appealed to youth organisations to join in preparations which will include a series of financial activities to collect funds to finance the trip to Berlin. (*Tribuna Popular*, Caracas, February 4).

Vietnam. The Youth of the Workers' Party of Vietnam appealed on February 8 to young Vietnamese to prepare for the Festival. (*Granma*, Havana, February 9).

Yugoslavia. Some 400 young people will attend the Festival. The NPC has adopted a programme which will express Yugoslavia's specific views on the Festival slogan and on the principles underlying the international policy of the Yugoslav Youth Union. The Youth Union favours "the broadest representation" at the Festival, especially from the non-aligned countries. The Festival should be "a gathering to work and not a series of manifestations". Yugoslav youth would like it to avoid being an occasion for competition between youth organisations, but an opportunity for world youth to put forward its achievements and aspirations on a basis of equality. National preparatory committees have not yet been informed about the exact content of the Festival programme nor the full list of those invited. The Yugoslav Youth Union was unequivocally in favour of China and Albania being invited, and also of entirely open and democratic proceedings within the Permanent Commission of the IPC, and the immediate convocation of the third session of the International Committee (presumably IPC). (Yugoslav Telegraph Service, *Tanyug*, March 13 and 23).

LA PRESSE, Tunis  
5 March 1973

# 1<sup>er</sup> festival panafricain de la jeunesse

CPYRGHT

Sous le signe de l'indépendance, de l'unité et de la solidarité

**P**LUS de vingt pays africains ont déjà confirmé leur participation au premier festival Panafricain de la Jeunesse. 1000 jeunes prendront part à cette manifestation historique qui vient ainsi consacrer les efforts entrepris par le Mouvement Panafricain de la Jeunesse, l'organisation continentale de la jeunesse africaine, au cours de ses dix années d'existence. C'est aussi le début d'un plus grand élargissement de son action, de son audience et de son développement. Cet événement dont les dimensions dépassent l'aire du continent africain, s'inscrit comme une contribution concrète de la jeunesse africaine à la lutte multiforme de la

jeunesse démocratique et progressiste de par le monde contre l'impérialisme, le colonialisme, le néo-colonialisme, le sionisme et le racisme. Une rencontre qui fera certainement date.

Nous publions ci-dessous quelques thèmes qui seront débattus au cours des forums qui seront organisés parallèlement aux autres activités culturelles et sportives. « Echabab » ouvre ses colonnes à toute personne désireuse d'apporter sa contribution à la discussion de ces problèmes qui, sans aucun doute, sont d'un intérêt capital pour l'Afrique et sa jeunesse.

## Thèmes

jeunesse africaine face au problème de l'unité du continent pour la sauvegarde de l'indépendance et la solidarité interafricaine.

jeunesse africaine confrontée à la situation économique du continent, rôle de la jeunesse dans la réhabilitation, la formation et le développement de la culture africaine.

Afrique et le Tiers-Monde, solidarité dans le domaine économique pour enrayer l'exploitation des pays dits sous-développés dans le cadre de leur indépendance et leur unité.

rôle de la jeunesse dans la réhabilitation, la formation et le développement de la culture africaine.

lutte contre les derniers vestiges coloniaux et racistes, facteur de stabilisation de l'Afrique.

jeunesse de l'université en Afrique

- Les problèmes posés pour la jeune fille africaine dans l'évolution et la participation effective à la vie et à la responsabilité en Afrique.

- Danger de la pénétration sioniste en Afrique.
- L'Afrique face au capitalisme et au sionisme.
- Rencontre des jeunes enseignants, éducateurs et animateurs de la jeunesse.
  - L'école et la vie.
  - La réforme de l'enseignement, alphabétisation.
  - Activités extra-scolaires.
  - Réhabilitation des langues africaines.

- Rencontre des étudiants.
  - Réforme de l'université africaine.
  - Démocratisation de l'ENSEIGNEMENT.
- Rencontre entre jeunes écrivains.
  - Cinéastes et journalistes.
  - Rôle de l'écrivain dans la société africaine.
  - Rôle de l'information en Afrique.
  - Le cinéma en Afrique.

- Rencontre entre jeunes de tous les secteurs.
  - La jeunesse et le syndicalisme.
  - Les artisans de la main à la machine, expression motifs.
- Rencontre entre jeunes filles et femmes.
  - Emancipation de la femme africaine.
- Les formes de l'exploitation de la terre et le rôle de la jeunesse rurale.
- Le sport comme moyen d'ÉDUCATION.

CPYRGHT

# La jeunesse africaine et le festival mondial de la jeunesse

Quinze pays africains (dont trois mouvements de libération) ont participé à cette session annuelle. L'ordre du jour contenait, outre l'examen des rapports financiers et d'activité, l'étude du programme pour 1973 et tout particulièrement la préparation du 1<sup>er</sup> festival panafricain de la jeunesse qui se déroulera à Tunis du 15 au 22 juillet prochain ; 4.000 jeunes venant de toute l'Afrique y sont attendus. Les participants ont adopté à l'unanimité la décision de confier à douze pays la responsabilité du Comité africain préparatoire (C.A.P., qui fonctionne depuis février et dont la Tunisie assume le secrétariat général). Le C.A.P. en collaboration avec le secrétariat du M.P.J. a été chargé d'effectuer une tournée dans les pays africains « pour sensibiliser les chefs d'Etat sur l'importance de cette grandiose manifestation » et pour obtenir une aide matérielle indispensable à la réalisation de ce festival. Des démarches similaires seront effectuées auprès de l'O.U.A., de la Ligue arabe et de l'UNESCO. De plus, des comités nationaux préparent déjà activement leur participation au festival dans de nombreux pays.

Kou Sissoko a affirmé que, si la jeunesse d'Afrique souhaite participer à la rencontre de Berlin, elle le fera uniquement à certaines conditions et si la dignité africaine est respectée.

Les préalables de participation sont :

a) l'exclusion du festival de Berlin de tous les pays pratiquant une politique d'apartheid ou impérialiste (Afrique du Sud, Portugal, Israël, Rhodésie, etc...),

b) la non-participation des groupuscules, des micro-organisations et des individus non représentatifs,

c) la participation de la Ligue de la jeunesse chinoise, partie intégrante du mouvement anti-impérialiste de la jeunesse et la participation de la jeunesse palestinienne. Ces conditions préalables posées par la jeunesse africaine ne constituent pas une innovation. Par deux fois déjà, lors de réunions du Comité International Préparatoire (C.I.P.) du X<sup>me</sup> festival (à Sofia en janvier et à Berlin en octobre), le M.P.J. avait manifesté « sa ferme volonté de refuser d'être aligné dans les mêmes rangs que l'apartheid et le racisme ». C'est pourquoi l'avertissement du M.P.J. à cette fois été sans aucune ambiguïté : si les demandes africaines étaient rejetées, ce qui serait regrettable, a affirmé le secrétaire général M. Sokou Sissoko, le M.P.J. entend fermement « boycotter la rencontre de Berlin par une action directe de tous ses membres et par un large appel à tous les pays progressistes et épris de paix, de justice et d'égalité ».

CPYRGHT

**C**EST à Tripoli (Libye) du 28 au 31 décembre 1972 que s'est tenue la session annuelle du Comité exécutif du Mouvement Panafricain de la Jeunesse (M.P.J.). Fondé en 1962 lors du congrès de Conakry (Guinée), le M.P.J. regroupe aujourd'hui 35 organisations de jeunesse du continent ; il a obtenu le statut consultatif à l'UNESCO et bénéficie du soutien de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine (O.U.A.)

Outre la préparation de son propre festival, le Comité exécutif a longtemps discuté de la participation des mouvements de jeunesse membres du M.P.J. au X<sup>me</sup> festival mondial de la jeunesse et des étudiants organisé à Berlin-Est à partir du 22 juillet par la Fédération Mondiale des Jeunes Démocrates (F.M.J.D., Budapest). Lors d'une conférence de presse tenue à Alger le 3 janvier le secrétaire général du M.P.J., M. Sokou

LA PRESSE, Tunis  
1 January 1973

PAN-AFRICAN YOUTH FESTIVAL SET FOR TUNIS IN JULY

CPYRGHT

Tripoli is the site from 27 to 30 December 1972 for the meeting of the executive committee of the African commission named to plan the first Pan-African Youth Festival in Tunis, which will take place from 15 to 22 July 1973.

The plans for the festival are not precisely new. The idea is a pretty old one, and has been advocated by many of the organizations that belong to the MPJ [Mouvement Panafricain de Jeunesse; Pan-African Youth Movement].

For that matter, an initial attempt to put together such a festival for African young people was made back in 1965 in Bamako.

That first attempt, probably because it was ahead of its time, amounted to not much more than an encounter among the young people of a few African nations. A delegation of Tunisian young people, consisting of just a few chosen leaders, went to that meeting.

At the second conference of the Pan-African Youth Movement, which was held in Algiers from 20 to 23 July 1967, Tunisia's bid to organize and host the first Pan-African Youth Festival was accepted, and a planning commission was set up to work toward a target date of 1972. It was to work out the program for this great demonstration, and to send out a summons to all African youth. A letter of information about the planned festival was in fact sent to the African chiefs of state.

In Dakar, the third MPJ Conference, which met from 25 to 30 December 1969, again confirmed the choice of Tunisia as the rendezvous for all of Africa's young people, but postponed its date by a year, since the planning and preparation had not made much headway.

That work was to lead to adoption of an overall program for the festival at the meeting of the planning commission, which was held from 18 to 21 January 1970.

The high point in preparations for this great manifestation came in the spring of 1972 at Rabat, where the 9th OAU summit meeting passed a special resolution dealing with the festival.

Furthermore, the speech delivered at that summit meeting by [Tunisian] President Habib Bourguiba was adopted by the MJP leaders as the charter for African Youth.

In addition, these same leaders talked with Mr Mohamed Masmoudi, Tunisia's foreign minister, who assured them of the total support and encouragement of the Tunisian government.

Finally, the current meeting in Tripoli will be dealing with certain points relating to the coming festival, and will have to work out procedures for Africa's participation in the 9th World Youth Festival, which is to be held in East Berlin next summer (see below).

Before the Tunisian delegation left, we were able to get in touch with Mr Mohamed Eltaief, who is in charge of foreign relations for the UTOJ [Union Tunisienne des Organisations de Jeunesse; Tunisian Union of Youth Organizations], who was kind enough to tell us something about the festival organization and some of the problems the MPJ leaders are having to deal with.

"The only major problem facing us right now is that of organizing, in the same month of the same year, and with only a week's interval between them, our own festival and the 10th world festival, under the auspices of the FMJD [Federation Mondiale des Jeunesses Democratiques; World Federation of Democratic Youth Organizations] in East Berlin.

"The leaders of this movement have contacted several African countries, including Tunisia, asking them to postpone the African festival by another year.

"We have of course rejected this suggestion, explaining to the FMJD leaders that there is no reason to delay our festival, and that the African youth groups will go together to take part in the 10th world festival as soon as the Pan-African one is over.

"This means that Tunis will be the departure point for African youth for East Berlin, where we shall come in as a united front.

"Actually, we have decided to go together to this 10th Festival, meaning that we shall go as the youth of a whole continent, or we shall not go at all.

"The whole matter, however, is still being studied.

"But there will be no change in our position.

"Besides, at the international meeting of young workers in Moscow from 10 to 15 November of this year [1972], the people in charge of African Youth insisted, when the Komsomol leaders demanded that we postpone the Tunis festival, that a paragraph concerning the festival be inserted into the final resolution adopted at the close of that meeting.

"But the thing that greatly surprised us was finding that, in the Moscow News [Nouvelles de Moscou] for 2 December 1972,



n° 48) this paragraph had been removed, and the final resolution as published in that paper carried no mention of it.

"This was an act which the African leaders regret and deplore, and they have demanded an explanation of it from the people in the Soviet youth movement who were responsible for it.

"In any case, aside from this problem which will be dealt with in Tripoli, the preliminary work is moving ahead satisfactorily.

"We have set up a national preparations committee made up of representatives of the national youth organizations and of the government departments involved.

"This national committee, which is headed by Mr Ahmed Chtourou, the Minister for Youth and Sports, will be primarily concerned with the selection of the people for the Tunisian delegation."

And so, as of now, there is frantic activity in the Tunisian youth organizations to prepare every tiny detail of this tremendous event, which will bring together no fewer than 4,000 African young people inspired by the loftiest aspirations of the African peoples, all of them eager for total independence, unity, and solidarity.

"Africa's youth," it says in the appeal issued by the MPJ, "as it gathers for its first festival, aware of the historic role in the present political, social, and economic state of the continent, joins in the vast campaign for winning independence, the only path open to the African masses for emancipation and social advancement.

"Many countries have achieved political independence. New exigencies and new imperatives have come to light. Africa finds itself facing the problems which derive from freedom, finding that real freedom is economic freedom, and that political independence is only a first step toward it.

"Africa needs the vitality of its children to solve these problems."

And so the Pan-African Youth Movement, by organizing next July's historic encounter, will surely emerge in the vanguard of the African revolution. [This is a] revolution aimed at unifying the continent and devoted to open and ongoing struggle against all the real ills of present-day society: colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and Zionism.

On another level, this encounter, this coming together of the real forces in Africa will make it possible to discover the vast artistic and cultural wealth of our continent, and, in so doing, beyond any doubt to enrich civilization as a whole.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, London  
31 March/1973

# Pax Sovietica lures the young

ANNELISE SCHULZ, in Vienna, on  
the 10th World Youth Festival

CPYRGHT

"FOR anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship." This is the slogan under which some 20,000 young people of Communist and other Leftist-sponsored organisations from 130 countries are to meet in East Berlin on July 28 for the 10th World Youth Festival.

The motto strikes a discordant note somewhat out of tune with the phrases of détente and peaceful coexistence coming from Eastern bloc leaders these days. It leaves little doubt that the political and ideological struggle against the West is going on unabated. In the international Preparatory Committee for the festival it was only the British delegate who opposed the words "anti-imperialist." He indicated that the British will campaign under their old slogan, "For solidarity, peace and friendship."

The United Kingdom Preparatory Committee, under the chairmanship of Mike Terry, secretary of the National Union of Students, has made it clear, though, that they are also "wholeheartedly anti-imperialist." They expected to send some 600 delegates to East Berlin, at a cost not exceeding £10 a head. World Youth Festivals, spon-

sored by the Soviet-dominated World Federation of Democratic Youth, with headquarters in Budapest, and by the International Union of Students, another Communist front organisation, have been held at irregular intervals since the war, the last in Sofia in 1968. In that tense summer of the Prague reformers, the gathering had demonstrated little peace and even less friendship as hardliners confronted "liberals" over developments in Czechoslovakia. The Soviet invasion following hot on the heels of the festival was not conducive to friendly feelings either. So the organisers gave the festival idea a five-year respite.

When protests over the Czech events had subsided, the efficient East Germans could be trusted with preparing the next festival in the right spirit, all the more so as most members of the Politburo are in the Preparatory Committee, headed by Erich Honecker himself. The party leader had been leader of East German Communist youth at the time of the third festival in East Berlin in 1951. "Peace," in the context of the festival motto, is obviously identical with "pax Sovietica." The visitors will hear appeals to follow the Indo-Chinese

events with close attention since armistice there did not mean final peace. A "youth court" is to assemble under the slogan "Youth accuses imperialism," with the aim to expose "crimes of international imperialism."

Discussions will take place in the anti-imperialist centre, to be established at the Humboldt University. Topics will include the struggle for social progress in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the fight of Arab peoples against "Israel aggression."

Proceeds from an international bazaar selling souvenirs are to swell a fund for supporting "liberation fights" or member organisations forced to function illegally. Money will go above all to the three Portuguese colonies, to South Africa and Latin America, a statement from Budapest said. This open admission comes from Communists who are inclined to label as "interference in internal affairs" even harmless contacts of Western citizens in Eastern countries.

More on the charitable side will be a collection for hospital building in North Vietnam. It is said that about £200,000 is to be handed over at the festival to Hanoi delegates for this purpose.

On the lighter side will be

displays of gymnastics and fireworks. Five hundred theatre and film performances are scheduled, and a "house of political song."

Prominent guests expected include Angela Davis and Jane Fonda, from America, and the Soviet woman cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova, and the ballerina Maya Plisetskaya.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth was founded in November, 1945, at a conference in London. It established headquarters in Paris but was expelled by the French authorities in 1951 and has been functioning since then from Budapest.

The original plan was to found an ostensibly non-partisan organisation, and at first it did attract a number of uncommitted youth groups. But, when the pro-Communist position of the federation's executive became ever more apparent, non-Communists withdrew.

The federation claims to have more than 100 million members in over 100 countries, the overwhelming majority naturally in Communist States. Details of its finances are not published, and claims that the organisation is run solely on the proceeds of membership fees cannot be verified.

DRAPEAU ROUGE, Brussels  
19 January 1973

CPYRGHT EAST BERLIN PREPARES TO WELCOME WORLD YOUTH

Even though Belgium was the first NATO power to establish diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic (27 December 1971), we should not forget that it took Belgium's diplomats more than 23 years to recognize the GDR.

Nevertheless, the first socialist state in German history, founded on 7 October 1949 in the poorest, least industrialized part of Germany, on the rubble of WW II, has long been an uncontested reality. And what a reality! Today the eighth-ranking among the world's industrial powers, the GDR is considered by many observers the real "German miracle."

From 22.32 billion marks (308 billion Belgian francs) in 1949, the national revenues of this country with very limited natural resources had grown to 113.6 billion marks (1,568 billion Belgian francs) by 1971. During the same period, the GDR's foreign trade has grown from 2.702 to 42.140 billion marks. As for the average monthly income of workers and employees, it has gone from 439 marks in 1955 to 762 marks in 1970. In order to grasp the full significance of this trend, you must bear in mind the remarkable stability of prices typical of the GDR's economy, as it is typical of most of the socialist economies, at a time when inflation is a phenomenon afflicting all the capitalist countries. During the first 9 months of 1972, individual consumption has increased by 6.3 percent, and 250,000 people have experienced a substantial improvement in their housing conditions.

In addition to industrial development, the public health and educational systems are GDR achievements which have won it a glowing international reputation. We recently held a round-table discussion on the health delivery system in the GDR (Drapeau Rouge, 1-7 December 1972). As for the school system, we shall say simply in 1972, 85 percent of school-age children had received 10 years of general polytechnic education, and that by 1975 every school child in the nation will be getting it. The GDR is one of the top nations in book publishing: in 1970, its 78 publishing houses brought out 5,234 titles, with a combined press run of 121.8 million copies. During the years from 1969 to 1970, 660 works from some 40 foreign countries were translated in the GDR, and published in a total of 13 million copies.

This, boiled down to a few figures, is the GDR which millions of tourists and millions of West Germans and West Berliners discovered before official Belgium did so in its turn, just a few months before the GDR's entry into the United Nations this year.

The capital of the German Democratic Republic will be the setting this summer for a huge international youth meeting: the

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10th World Young People's and Students' Festival. The international committee for this festival has just recently held another meeting in Berlin, in the impressive Stadt Berlin Hotel, which rises 36 stories above the Alexanderplatz. Perhaps it is symbolic: the hotel was built by young workers in the Freie Deutsche Jugend [Free German Youth]. The meeting provided the occasion for the committee to see how preparations for the festival were coming along, both in the GDR and abroad.

### No Little Thing

Mounting a world festival, even in a city of 1.2 million souls, even when the people have a real gift for organization, is no small thing. For example, you have to find accommodations for tens of thousands of foreign participants, as well as for some 100,000 young men and women who will be coming from all parts of the republic. This means that housing must be built -- and occupied after the festival by Berliners. The city must be beautified, and it is being beautified, thanks mainly to its "subbotniks."

Erich Rau, secretary of the central council of the FDJ, talked to us about these problems and these activities. First of all, we asked, what is a "subbotnik"? The word comes from Russian, and means something like "volunteer unpaid work on Saturday." Before WW II, the young people in the Soviet Union made a great contribution to the success of the 5-year Plans through their "Red Saturdays." In their own republic's early years, the young people in the GDR volunteered their "subbotniks" to rebuild the celebrated Berlin zoo, the Friedrichshain Park, housing, schools, and day-care centers. Twenty years later, their sons and daughters are beautifying Berlin by the same, still-young means.

We were present at such a "subbotnik." It is more accurate to say that we were one little ant among the mass of 10,000 people who, across the square from the Rote Rathaus (Red City Hall) were transforming a vacant lot into a park. Elsewhere in Berlin, some 90,000 more were busy on other projects. People fed them and gave them drink. But the yield of their day's work was totally paid into the Festival fund: more than a million marks.

They told me that the FDJ brigades in the Eisenach automobile plants have sent five Wartburg automobiles to the central council of the Youth Organizations. All five cars were built after regular production quotas had been filled, and they were built just for the Festival. At Sommerdau, the local FDJ section organized a scrap metal drive and netted 13,860 marks. At Zwickau, the young workers in the synthetic resins plant produced an extra 5,000 cans of paint, which is being sold on little stands in the city. In addition to all this, and still just as an example, the young workers in the porcelain china plant in Ilmenau, together with their comrades in two other plants, made some 249,000 bricks. Funny porcelain factory, you may say. But relax: these young people traveled all the way to Erfurt to form a special brick-making brigade. All this for the Festival.

Tuned In to the World

But, Erich Rau warned us, these efforts should not make us forget that the GDR's young people are tuned in to the world. They know what is happening in the capitalist countries as well as in the socialist countries. They travel (mainly in Belgium), they read, and they talk.

And then of course they sing and dance a lot. There is certainly not a single FDJ singing group that has not yet made its contribution to preparations for the Festival.

The newspapers publish the words and music for new songs. Lyricists and composers are working on what is to become the "Festival Song." Very soon it will be chosen. The dancers have been practicing ever since October, when a number of early previews of their work was staged for the public. Nobody will doubt me when I say that the GDR's young athletes and sports enthusiasts are doing their best too.

Gradually, the program is taking on shape and polish. At work on it are artists, directors, producers, party members, and thousands of "willing helpers" who vie with one another in ingenuity in preparation for the festivities, which will include a major production whose theme will be "The GDR's Youth Greet the Youth of the World."

And of course the students are into it too. During their vacations, they helped work on the subway, on building new housing, and on finishing a giant stadium.

As Erich Rau sees it, success is a foregone conclusion:

"Preparations for the Festival are in full swing, but there is still a lot to be done. We have to create such a climate among all the young men and women in the republic that we shall be able to say that the whole country is welcoming the youth of the world to Berlin. Everybody together, under the slogan 'Bring everybody in, touch everybody, don't leave anybody out; we want to be the best possible hosts to our guests.'"

60 Countries Already...

Dominique Vidal, coordinating secretary for the international committee, told us that a national festival committee has already been set up in 60 countries all over the world.

In Peru, for example, 27 youth movements are taking part, and in Argentina the communist, radical, and Peronist groups are coming. Committees are operating in almost all the European countries. The committees are underground in Spain, Greece, and Portugal. In the USSR, Poland, and Denmark there are large-scale plans afoot. But even in India, local festivals are planned in all the federal states to prepare for the big one in the GDR. In 98 countries, 230 youth organizations are pledged to collect \$400,

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 000 for a children's hospital in Hanoi, as part of the campaign called "The Youth of the World Accuses Imperialism."

Asked about delegations to Berlin, Dominique Vidal says they are counting on representation from more than 130 countries.

### Nine Unforgettable Days

While the program is not yet cast in its final form, we can give you some idea of what it will be like. In the 9 days from 28 July to 9 August, there will be:

1. the opening demonstration;
2. a day of solidarity with young people struggling against imperialist aggression;
3. a day of solidarity with young people struggling against monopolies, exploitation, militarism, fascism, and racism;
4. a day of solidarity with the GDR's young people who are building socialism;
5. a day of peace, security, and cooperation;
6. a day of rights for young people, students, and children;
7. a day for women and girls;
8. a day of solidarity with the young people of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia;
9. the closing ceremonies, with an appeal to the young people of the world.

In addition to this, there will be a ceremony called "The Youth of the GDR Greets the Youth of the World," a solidarity center in which Indochina will occupy a key position, and another which will put imperialism in the dock -- with, among other things, a tribunal where the crimes of imperialism will be publicly denounced and condemned.

There will be sports competitions, meetings, seminars, pageants and parades, and all the encounters which Festival buffs know about, with the human warmth and contagious enthusiasm they bring with them.

Because the Festival is not just a get-together for young people out for a good time. It is meant to express the international solidarity of youth in the struggle against the forces of war, against imperialism, against fascist oppression, against exploitation and racism, and for peace and friendship among peoples.

### Practical Solidarity

The 10th Festival, the greatest international encounter of young people and students in the world, will be a powerful expression of the solidarity of all young people with the struggle of the heroic peoples of Indochina against imperialist American ag-

gression, as well as with the national liberation movements in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America, and with the struggle of the peoples of the capitalist countries.

Open to all young democrats and progressives the world over, the 10th Festival will be at the same time a mighty demonstration of solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, who are building a new society.

There is no doubt that a great many young Belgians will be eager to take part.

Thousands want to go to Berlin next summer. But in many countries, the young people's participation is involved with the financial and material resources of the youth organizations and the progressive student movements. This is particularly true of countries where the young people, the students, and the people are struggling against imperialist aggression and colonial oppression, against fascist terrorism, for national liberation and independence, and for democracy. This is why every effort must be made to enable young men and women from these countries to attend the 10th Festival.

The means are there: the international preparation committee has set up a World Solidarity Fund for the Festival. All money collected can be sent to the Fund's account, number 8.13.6773.00 at the Deutsche Aussenhandelsbank AG DDR-102 Berlin, Unter den Linden 24-30.

UNSERE ZEIT, Duesseldorf  
9 March 1973

SOVIET YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS LEADER DISCUSSES WORLD YOUTH  
FESTIVAL

CPYRGHT

(Interview with G Yanayev, Chairman of the Committee for Soviet Youth Organizations by H Kuschnik, Unsere Zeit Moscow correspondent; place and date not given)

(TEXT) UZ: What is significant about the situation in which preparations for Berlin's Tenth World Youth and Student Festival is taking place?

YANAYEV: As you know, the words "youth festival" were first heard in October 1945 in somber, gaslit London's venerable Albert Hall where the World Youth Conference was taking place. Two years later Prague was the first capital in the world to receive youth from all over the earth.

A look at the past shows clearly how the festivals faithfully reflect all the stages in the fight waged by the world's progressive democratic forces in the postwar period. Many critical problems are now no longer on the agenda of the fight. Hundreds of millions of people have created dozens of new free countries to put on the postwar map.

Today concerns about the "cold war" are being replaced by hopes of mutual understanding and cooperation. The great power of the people's solidarity and the triumph of reason have brought peace to sorely tried Vietnam. Efforts to understand, to work together despite divergent points of view, the conviction that the most complicated problems can be solved without prejudice or threat, these are new aspects in the current international situation. They directly affect the development prospects of the international democratic youth movement.

#### Soviet Union's Peace Program

This is an outcome of the foreign policy activity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is also the result of consistent implementation of the peace program submitted by the 24th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which announced that the party would work to guarantee peace and security, reach international detente, wipe out the war spots and imperialist aggressions, and develop international cooperation. These changes would have been impossible without the help of world public opinion in which progressive, democratic youth is the motive power.

The international youth movement's recent history is characterized by youth cooperation on a broad front in solidarity with the peoples and youth of Indochina, in guaranteeing security all over the world, in supporting the people and youth who are fighting against colonialism, fascism and reaction for the welfare and rights of youth, and also in supporting the national liberation movement.

Not only traditional but also new forms of cooperative work are being developed. A system of international consultations and meetings between national and international youth organizations is developing. The possibility of solving critical questions in youth's life and struggle is evidenced by the outcomes of the world rally of working youth in Moscow which included representatives of 271 youth organizations and youth sections of unions from 115 countries as well as representatives of international organizations. The forum's representative character and the wide range of subjects reflected the world's new situation, and contributed to further development and cooperation and to consolidation of working youth's unity.

After 22 years the World Festival will again be held in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic. In the capital of a sovereign socialist state, the first worker-and-farmer state on German soil. The constructive policy of peace and friendship between peoples followed consistently by the GDR has won it international respect. The voice of the young republic can be heard on all continents; without its participation no important international problem can be solved.



The stubborn and continuous refusal of several governments to recognize the GDR, and the policy of discrimination against it have proven themselves totally unrealistic and unnecessary. As a result of the country's active foreign policy program and due to the concerted efforts of world public opinion, including youth, the diplomatic blockade of the GDR was broken and it now has diplomatic relations with more than 70 countries. In the GDR a new generation grew up; its moral and political character is marked by a profound sense of social duty in the fight to consolidate the workers' power, to develop the socialist homeland and make it flourish, to establish friendship and alliance with the socialist brother countries, and to create permanent peace among nations.

The Free German Youth's (FDJ) initiative to hold the Tenth World Festival in the GDR capital was applauded around the world. The fact that Berlin was chosen as the tenth meeting place of world youth is an expression of world youth's confidence and respect for the GDR. In the GDR the festival preparations became an affair not only for youth but for all the people in the republic.

UZ: Just a short time ago in many a place one could hear the opinion expressed that world festivals had had their day, that their ideas were hopelessly obsolete and therefore had no future. What is your comment on that?

YANAYEV: Since the time of the first world meeting of youth and students in 1947 a new generation has grown up. The fact that boys and girls of all countries still carry the festival baton is evidence that the ideas of the world youth rally are up to date, that young people still like the festival movement slogans, that its noble aims have support, and finally, that the best traditions of the democratic youth movement have continuity.

#### Free Platform of Youth

Today, questions on the widening of contacts and on exchanging of ideas being discussed so widely, it is probably in order to recall that all nine previous festivals promoted these very goals. They gave their emphatic Yes to all ideas on good-neighbor relations, friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation. And also their emphatic No to ideas of war, militarism, misanthropy, and national hatred.

The world youth festivals strengthened the feeling of mutual trust among the boys and girls with different skin color, different creeds and political convictions. They became powerful manifestations of youth solidarity in the anti-imperialist fight for peace, against war, for national independence of peoples and for the rights of the young generation. Hundreds of thousands of young people from all countries thus had the opportunity to use the platform of the

festival freely to express their opinions on the future, on the roads to progress and on the problems that affect youth now.

The festivals taught young people respect for the culture of every nation and confidence in their ability to accomplish their mission to contribute to the enrichment of the world's cultural heritage. They stood for renunciation of the obsolete concept of a policy of force and aggression, of mistrust and fear, for denunciation of ideas and actions that humiliate men. They developed the feeling of social responsibility for the civilization of our time and the future of mankind.

The world festivals became so popular because they promote youth's creative spirit and are in line with its efforts to develop and apply its talents widely. The atmosphere of friendly competition helped many artists and artist collectives to become famous. At such competitions, talented poets and writers were discovered. Countless expositions and competitions became a kind of debut for young painters.

#### No! to War and Militarism

These unforgettable rallies popularized among the youth of all continents, works which propagate the ideals of peace, cooperation and humanism.

Picasso's famous "Dove," the Greek revolutionary poet Kostas Jannopoulos' poem "The Last Song," written in a dark dungeon before his assassination, and awarded the highest prize; Anatoli Novikov's song "Youth March," that became the hymn of democratic youth; Maya Plisetskaya, creator of the "Dying Swan," and the laughter of Yuri Gagarin, the world's first cosmonaut -- these are unforgettable facets of these rallies.

Nazim Hikmet, Gerard Philip, Frederic Joliet-Curie, Pablo Neruda, Salvatore Quasimodo, Madelaine Riffault, Bertrand Russell and Thomas Mann, Jorge Armado and Herluf Bidstrup actively supported the world festivals idea, placed their art at the service of these ideas, and inspired the festival participants with good talks and impassioned exhortations to peace and cooperation for the sake of the future. They saw here a new form, rich in prospects for understanding and cooperation among young people of the world.

Of course not everyone will applaud the festival. It has many enemies. Today's generation has not forgotten how the very word festival was entered on the police lists immediately after its creation, and was even prohibited in some places. The world has not forgotten how attempts were made in the Viennese Prater to unloose hoards of "red" rats on the platform. In Helsinki the delegations of the socialist countries were pelted with stones and plastic bombs. No

matter what efforts the hate-filled enemies of the unity of youth may make nor how great the sums they may spend for bribes to bring discredit on world youth's efforts for solidarity and the anti-imperialist fight, all these plans are destined to fail.

UZ: What questions, in your opinion, will be the focus of attention at the Tenth World Festival?

YANAYEV: The Tenth World Festival will be an important milestone in the world campaign "Youth Unmasks Imperialism." This campaign has become the mobilizing factor for the broad masses of youth and students.

The new tone of the Berlin world youth rally is also expressed in the call of the international (line omitted) solidarity for peace and friendship."

Representatives of various countries will report in Berlin on how they are collecting funds to rebuild Vietnam, on voluntary efforts by youth, on the superior fulfillment of assignments by the Vietnamese patriots and on the tremendous support and brotherly help for their contemporaries who are enthusiastically and with perseverance raising their country up again out of the ruins and are healing the wounds caused by barbaric aggression.

#### Understanding, Humanism

The voice of solidarity with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia who are fighting for their independence can be heard everywhere.

The Tenth World Youth and Student Festival will also be a great manifestation of solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people as well as with the national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and the south of Africa, and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America -- all of whom are fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, fascism and zionism for freedom, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The festival will offer the progressive youth of the world an opportunity to express solidarity with the youth of the socialist countries who are building a new society and making a decisive contribution to the anti-imperialist fight. It will demonstrate solidarity with youth and students in the capitalist countries in the fight and activate their participation in the campaign for disarmament, peace and European security.

Traditionally the festival program includes forums of representatives from international and regional youth and student organizations, the "free platform of youth," conferences and seminars on such current problems as youth's fight for its socio-economic and democratic rights, the fight against

monopolies, and also cultural and athletic events.

At present the permanent commission of the international preparatory committee is at work in Berlin. The festival's aims are published in Festival, the paper put out by the commission. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Student Federation, the Pan-African Youth Movement, the Organization of Young Democratic Christians of Latin America, their regional organizations as well as other associations in the entire world are making a great contribution to the World Youth Festival preparations.

The festival movement found wide acclaim. Hundreds of thousands of boys and girls of all countries are preparing for it actively. Countless rallies, demonstrations and manifestations are being held. In many countries national preparatory committees are already at work; they combine various political organizations, unions, cultural institutions and youth and student athletic clubs that support the festival idea.

Young Americans want to tell about their fight to end the Vietnam war; they are gathering funds to build a children's hospital to be named in honor of Nguyen van Troi, the national hero. In the liberated areas of Mozambique, the National Liberation Front organized festival commissions to popularize the festival. Teachers, soldiers and officers collaborated on these commissions. Respected artists in the Federal Republic called upon progressive West German young people to hold a singing contest called "The Tenth World Youth and Student Festival." In Panama, within the framework of preparation for the Berlin rally, there is to be a national youth and student festival. In Argentina athletic competitions for the "Tenth Festival Prize" are being prepared.

#### Europe: Cradle of the Festival

UZ: What space will you devote to such questions as consolidation of European security, and development of cooperation and mutual understanding among representatives of Europe's young generation at the world festival?

YANAYEV: Europe can justifiably be called the cradle of the festival. Nine European capitals have already received young people from all over the world and put concert halls and theaters, stadiums and university auditoriums at their disposal. Recently the youth of Europe has been agitating more and more actively for guarantees for peace, security and cooperation on the continent as well as for calling a pan-European conference. That is why representatives of various international and national youth organizations in Europe participated in the World Opinion Forum for Security and Cooperation in Brussels in June, 1972.

At this forum constructive initiatives of the general public were developed. Their aim was to transform Europe into a continent of peace. Motivated by the desire to underpin and further develop the results attained at the Brussels forum, young communists and social democrats, Catholics and liberals, members of the worker-and-farmer youth as well as students, all assembled in Helsinki in August 1972 at the International Conference of Youth and Students for European Security and Cooperation. This became a new milestone on the road to union of Eastern and Western youth organizations in their peaceful fight for the continent's peaceful future. Doubtless a great deal will be said about this in Berlin.

UZ: How is Soviet youth preparing for the festival?

YANAYEV: The boys and girls of our country, the youth organizations, heeded the call of the preparatory committee and are actively cooperating in the preparations. In June 1972 the Soviet preparatory committee was formed. Preparation for the World Festival was discussed at numerous youth gatherings and conferences. The Sixth Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee in the name of the Komsomol with its 30 million members, supported the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students to the hilt.

An important event in the course of the preparations was the union festival of Soviet Youth. The successful conclusion of the first stage of the union festival was a production exposition by the Komsomol and all Soviet youth at the jubilee of the Soviet state. The second stage will be determinant in Soviet youth preparations for the Tenth World Festival. The Soviet delegation will display triumphs and feats at the Berlin Festival that were perfected in the multinational Soviet state for the 50th jubilee.

The delegation will have the best representatives of Soviet youth, representatives of various nationalities and peoples as well as winners in the union festivals and competitions to be organized within the framework of preparations for the festival. Soviet youth and the Leninist Komsomol will do everything in their power to contribute to the successful course of the Berlin festival.