

# Unions will CITIZEN demand more 28-10-1989 — Wiehahn

TRADE unions have become most reactive agents in the chemistry of change in South Africa and an important part of the process of social engineering toward a new South African society, said Professor Nic Wiehahn, director of the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa.

Speaking at the Financial Mail Investment Conference yesterday, he said trade unions were a reality of South Africa's economic and social scene.

He saw the demands of unions widening in scope in the purely industrial relations field, and probably including shorter working hours, longer holidays, paternal leave, security of employment and income as well as subsidised pension funds.

"I expect that wage demands will move away from basic levels and rather take into account cost of living, inflation, and profits made by employers."

Privatisation and de-

regulation appeared to be of great concern to trade unions since they feared that job security and security of income were threatened, Wiehahn said. Hence their demands for participation in the decision-making process on these subjects.

In the political field, he expected that unions would increase pressure on management for greater involvement in the process of political change and for management to come out openly in support of much quicker change.

"Added to this, of course, is the whole question of public holidays — the recognition of certain days associated with Black liberation as paid public holidays."

Wiehahn believes that the degree of unions' exposure to international influences will increase and as will their thrust for the South African system to align with and underwrite African and ILO labour standards.

"An interesting development in this regard is the request by Cosatu unions to the government to repeal the Labour relations Act and replace it with a so-called Labour Code."

While labour law would always be necessary, Wiehahn asked whether or not the present laws should not be replaced by a single labour code consisting of two parts, one having the power of legislation and the other being a guide to employers and trade unions.

"Labour law in South Africa must endeavour to harmonise with the present tone and atmosphere of negotiation and peace seeking. It must have the principle of growth."  
— Sapa.



Prof NIC WIEHAHN



# Pik rejects Soviet offer to arrange ANC talks

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — A superpower such as the Soviet Union could play a positive role in facilitating negotiations within South Africa, but intermediaries were not needed, Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday.

He was reacting to the statement by Mr Anatoly Adamashin, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, that the Soviet Union was ready to help arrange negotiations between the South African Government and the A N C.

Mr Botha reiterated the position stated by the

State President, Mr F W de Klerk, that South Africa's political negotiations should be conducted by South Africans themselves, without outside interference.

However, Mr Adamashin's statement of Soviet policy supporting peaceful negotiation is seen in government and Opposition circles as significant, because of Russia's involvement with the A N C and her influence on South Africa's neighbours.

"We support those in South Africa who are for the peaceful dismantling of apartheid, and of resolving internal problems in your country," Mr Adamashin told Radio South Africa in a telephonic interview from Paris.

"If there is a will to talk, I think it will be possible to organise the talks."

Mr Adamashin also made it clear that the Soviet Union was in favour of the negotiated settlement of regional disputes, and would not interfere in South Africa's internal affairs.

Responding to that statement, Mr Botha said that obstacles in the path of negotiation for a new constitutional dispensation had to be removed so that South African leaders could negotiate "in direct talks with each other".

The S A Government considered it essential that the country's problems should be solved by South Africans themselves. For that reason, intermediaries need not be used.

"Of course, it does not mean that a superpower like the Soviet Union

could not play a positive role.

"It is noticeable that Mr Adamashin's statement has a neutral tone, without the presumptuous and arrogant claims made by some other countries on the subject of South Africa," Mr Botha added.

While the government has rejected the use of intermediaries, an A N C spokesman, Mr Wilton Mkwayi said: "With a mediator there can be no dispute about the conditions agreed to by both sides with regard to, say, the use of military forces."

Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the Democratic Party and a former South African diplomat, welcomed Mr Adamashin's statement on the peaceful resolution of regional issues.

"While the Democratic Party rejects external pressures and believes they are inimical to progress, we recognise that somebody like Mrs Thatcher can play a role as a facilitator. And the same may be said of the Soviet Union," Dr Worrall told *The Citizen* in an interview.

"In the first place the Soviet Union is a very relevant major power in Southern Africa, not simply because of its connections with the A N C and other 'liberation movements', but because of its involvement with Mozambique and Angola.

"This is obviously another positive and helpful statement, which adds to

the climate of reconciliation and strengthens within the region the momentum towards a peaceful resolution of the outstanding issues in South Africa."

Dr Worrall added there was still "an enormous gap" between the perceptions of the government and of the A N C on what was required to get negotiations going.

While the Soviet Union could push the A N C towards a more realistic approach to the issue, the S A Government also had to adopt a more viable position.

Dr Worrall also rejected pressure from within and outside South Africa for deadlines or schedules. He said the process could not take place in terms of deadlines.

## Peace not furthered by ANC — Pik

PRETORIA. — Organisations, such as the ANC and PAC, which advocated violence did not further the interests of the Southern African region, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He was reacting to an announcement on Thursday by President Tutor Ndamase of Transkei that his government was considering lifting the ban on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Botha said: "All the people of Southern Africa have an interest in peace and stability in the region.

"Parties and organisations which advocate violence to attain political goals in the Southern African region are not furthering the interests of the region." — Sapa.



# And against the flow, Mao's back in the swim

BEIJING — After nearly slipping into oblivion during 10 years of reform, China's Chairman Mao Tsetung is making a comeback with the help of hardline Communist leaders.

Thirteen years after his death, he is once again the subject of newspaper articles extolling everything from his revolutionary leadership to his contribution to Marxist ideology, and even the arts.

Little is said of the death, destruction and economic chaos inflicted on his countrymen by his extremist policies. The tarnishing of his image during a reform programme that is now effectively stalled has been attributed to Western capitalist influence.

Nowhere is the revival more apparent than in Shaoshan, his native village in the southern province of Hunan.

Although only one train a day uses the railway line built to carry visitors at the height of Mao-worship during the chaotic Cultural Revolution (1966/76), there is a steady flow of pilgrims to this revolutionary shrine.

Local authorities say they have been increasing at a rate of 50 000 a year recently.

The Shaoshan railway station, with its huge murals depicting Mao amid adoring masses, is undergoing a facelift.

The *Farmers Daily* newspaper says that more buses have been put into service to carry visitors from Shaoshan station to the home of the "Great Helmsman".

When a pro-democracy movement swept across China earlier this year, some demonstrators looked to Mao as a figure of incorruptible virtue, and sported buttons bearing his smiling face.

Since hardliners crushed the protests and ousted top reformers in June, he has gained even more currency.

**G**overnment officials have been sent to Shaoshan to revive their revolutionary spirit and support for the party line.

Earlier attempts to downgrade the former leader, still officially "70 percent good and 30 percent bad", have not convinced the people of Shaoshan.

The predominantly agricultural region, often called "China's rice bowl", has enjoyed only limited progress since senior leader Mr Deng Xiaoping initiated economic reforms in 1978.

Many say they miss the days when Mao was in charge, insisting that they were better off under the egalitarian system Mr Deng abandoned in favour of market-oriented policies.

"Before, we were sometimes hungry, but everyone got the same. When Deng first introduced reforms we got more to eat, but the difference in incomes now is very bad," said a peasant as he transplanted rice in a paddy near Shaoshan.

Whatever they may say about the halcyon days under Mao, many others in Shaoshan profit from once-shunned free enterprise. There are more than 1 600 family-run businesses, and some are earning lots of money.

There are hair salons with pictures of Hong Kong pop stars, and video game parlours from which the beeps and buzzes of "Space Invaders" resound over the muddy streets.

Perhaps the most incongruous mixture of old and new ideologies is the "Mao Family Restaurant" run by Mrs Tang Ruiren, the 58-year-old wife of one of the few blood-relatives of Mao remaining in the area. She combines commercial acumen with veneration of the late chairman.



**MAKING A COMEBACK:** After nearly slipping into oblivion during 10 years of reform, China's Chairman Mao Tse-tung is back in vogue — 13 years after his death.

The restaurant stands directly opposite the farmhouse where Mao was born. It serves the late leader's favourite dishes. Its walls are covered with Mao memorabilia: portraits, slogans, and a large colour photograph of Mrs Tang and family meeting the chairman in the adjoining room in 1959 — an occasion she delights in recalling.

Although Mrs Tang is very much part of the economic elite with an annual in-

come of nearly R40 000 — compared with an average of only R700 — she is a stickler for Maoist virtue.

She insists that all customers behave in a way the late chairman would approve — no arguing, shouting or illicit trade while dining.

Asked to compare Mao and Deng, Mrs Tang recalled meeting Mr Deng once when he visited Shaoshan. "I was not impressed," she said, but would not elaborate.

Like many other businesses in Shaoshan, the Mao family restaurant does a brisk trade in Mao badges, once worn by all Chinese but until recently relegated to the bottom drawer in most households.

During this year's demonstrations, which brought the nearby provincial capital Changsha, like other cities, to a standstill, peasants and workers wore Mao badges and carried portraits of the chairman as they paraded through the city.

**T**ang insisted that while some used the badges nowadays as souvenirs, most bought them to wear.

A group of visitors from Shenzhen, the freewheeling zone of liberal economic policies near Hong Kong, expressed great interest in Mao, though they said they had never studied his works at school.

A worker from an electronics factory, carrying a handful of badges and a lotus flower from the pond near Mao's house, said she did not know anything about the late chairman's politics — but at least he was handsome. — Reuter.



# You can't stop 28-10-1989 STAR march on the road to Azania

**N**EXT month, Namibia will be firmly on the road to becoming a reality. The transition from South West Africa, will, for some, perhaps be a painful one. But for the people of Namibia, it has never been anything else. To them, SWA meant oppression, while Namibia stood for independence. I say this even in spite of the fact that the major political party in the area took its name from the colonial name of the country.

I doubt, indeed, that once the independence process is over, Swapo will continue using that name. But, for the moment, Swapo is the identifiable fighter for the rights of the people of the area and will probably be kept through one more election.

The question emerges once more: with Namibia a reality, is

**Write  
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JOE  
LATAKGOMO



Azania still just a dream? How far, indeed, are we from the realisation of the Azania of which we have all been dreaming? Indeed, what does Azania conjure for the whites of this country?

But then, that is perhaps putting the cart before the horse. For, while there have been exciting developments in the political arena in this country and negotiations are firmly on the agenda, there are still many obstacles in the way to a liberated South Africa.

Tomorrow, thousands of people are expected to attend a rally to welcome the released Rivonia group and Mr Oscar Mphetha at Soccer City. There have been marches and protests and it is clear that the Government is getting the message that it cannot continue keeping the lid on this boiling pot of resistance.

This week, however, the Conservative Party had its congress and there were ominous statements from Pretoria. Mr de FW Klerk, the CP said, did not understand the Afrikaner. Even the British Empire, they said, had not been able to break the Afrikaner. "Now we are much stronger and the ANC cannot be compared with the British Empire," the CP maintained.

## Legitimate leaders

Perhaps the CP does not ask itself why the Boers were able to resist the British. If it had sought an answer to this question, then it would know that that is precisely the reason why blacks will be able to resist, and overcome, white domination and repression.

But that is not the point I really wish to make. The fact of the matter is that we seem headed for a situation where many now believe that all you need for the South African problem to be resolved is the National Party at one end of the table and the ANC on another, and *voila*, the country's problems will be solved.

The reality, however, is that it will be even more difficult just to determine who sits at the negotiation table — if we get that far — than to get the Nats to accept the need for negotiation with legitimate black leaders.

At the same time, various parties are striving to bring the ANC and the PAC together. The suggestion is that a united front is important for the final assault on the Government. Now I'm not quite sure about that. I ask, why do these Western powers, which often accuse African countries of rushing into one-party states, seem so keen to create the ground for just such a situation?

I am not for a moment suggesting division in purpose. But surely, diversity in thinking and ideological positions is healthy for democracy? Of course, all black organisations are committed to the destruction of apartheid. And so, it looks like there is a particularly rough road ahead for us, difficult terrain to conquer. But, conquer, we will.



# DP must be sure of a seat at the table

SATURDAY STAR 28/10/89

THE Democratic Party admits that Mr FW de Klerk's moves to "a new South Africa", such as permitting protest marches and releasing political prisoners, were creating a "temporary" dilemma for the party.

But it absolutely rejects suggestions that the moves were making the DP superfluous.

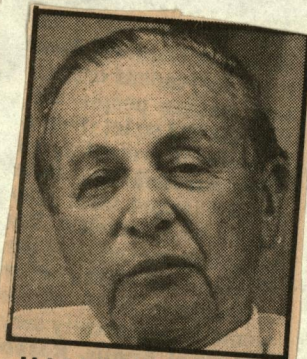
According to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall the party had, in the long run, an essential place in the political arena in order to keep alive liberal values at the negotiation table.

Veteran Yeoville DP MP Mr Harry Schwarz said the DP would have to examine Mr De Klerk's moves closely.

"If the Government is doing the right thing we must support it. What is most important is what is done — not who does it.

"This is an idea that has to get a grip in the party."

But in any case, he said, it was essential for the DP to get itself a place at the negotiation table.



**HARRY SCHWARZ:**  
Our role is to act as a catalyst to bring the people together.

It could only do this if it had a meaningful support base and a definite plan to put on the table.

This plan would have to reflect the human rights values the DP and the old Progressive Federal Party stood for, and the free enterprise economic system.

"Many people are arguing that the only partners at the negotiation table will be the NP and the ANC. That will be disaster. It should be a representative body in which broader opinion is represented.

"And in the same way that the ANC doesn't represent all of black SA — and groups like Inkatha must all be represented — so the NP does not represent all of white SA — and the DP supporters should be represented.

"We represent a meaningful body of opinion. Our role would not only be to advocate our own distinct policy, but to act as a catalyst and to bring people together."

DP national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe said the Government had conceded the importance of the DP. In advertisements placed in the *International Herald Tribune* it had said the DP would be "a crucial partner for the NP in the reform process".

The more the NP moved in the DP policy direction, the greater became

## PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

the DP's bargaining position because this actually increased its support.

"We saw this in the last election. The NP's reform rhetoric made our policy seem more respectable. And people said if those are the values which even the Government is now endorsing, let us back the DP because they have stood for them for years."

He said that if the NP did continue to move into genuine reform it would be "crazy for us not to join them".

But he forecast a merger between the NP and the DP in those circumstances — not an erosion and ultimate disappearance of the DP.

Dr Worrall said the DP would remain relevant for five reasons:

- It was the DP's good performance

in the election which had allowed Mr de Klerk to claim he had a mandate of 75 percent of the electorate or reform.

- The 27 percent of the electorate which he calculated that the DP represented had a critical role to play as a bridge in values between the ANC and the Government.

- Mr de Klerk was likely to run into difficulties with his reform moves as his concept of negotiations was not generally acceptable to blacks.

Mr De Klerk would insist on negotiating with black groups as a representative of the Government — something blacks would find unacceptable as they would insist that all negotiating partners be equals.

He would also run into difficulties because his negotiating "bottom-lines" were way above what blacks expected.

- The DP was also important in steering a significant number of whites towards a constitutional solution based on common interests and values, not on race or on numbers.

He said the Government was still talking of protecting white interests in a new constitution.

"This will condemn whites to the status of a permanent minority. We say don't look at the colour of a man's skin. Look at common values. Then whites can be part of a majority."

- The DP was also important in guarding the liberal values in any negotiation process against possible inroads from both the NP and the ANC.



# Death shattered a dream

## ANC leader, wife never managed to live together

THE one person who waited for many years, but was not around to greet African National Congress leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi (65) when he was released from prison to a hero's homecoming recently, was his wife Irene.

She died 10 months ago — almost a year after the couple had married behind prison bars.

They had been lovers before Mr Mkwayi's arrest 24 years ago, but they never had the opportunity to live together as man and wife.

Mr Mkwayi, who led the military arm of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe high command, was sentenced to life imprisonment in December 1964 at the end of what was called the "little Rivonia" trial.

For 22 years the couple tried to get permission to marry, but prison authorities continually refused until 1987 when they were suddenly and unexpectedly given the go-ahead.

Until then, Mrs Mkwayi spent many years travelling to Robben Island to visit her common-law husband. For the first 12 years the couple were denied any form of physical contact.

When he and seven other long-term political prisoners were released two weeks ago, Mr Mkwayi, who has no remaining family in Soweto, was taken by prison authorities to the old Orlando West home of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mkwayi, speaking from his temporary home in an exclusive interview this week, said (although he was very happy to be released) he felt the loneliness of not having his wife at his side.

"I was married to my wife and I was married to my organisation (the ANC). My wife died, leaving my organisation to console me."

### Saw specialist

The last time he saw his late wife was on October 25 last year when she came to visit him on Robben Island. She was going to visit him the next day but he suggested she saw a specialist instead as she was not well. "I never saw her again."

Mrs Mkwayi died the next month. "I don't know how to express the shock I felt the day I heard she had died," he said.

### JANET HEARD

Mr Mkwayi was refused permission to attend his wife's Soweto funeral, which was restricted and characterised by heavy police presence and the chanting of freedom songs and marching.

Mrs Winnie Mandela lives in Mr Mandela's other home in Diepkloof.

"I think I have seen her twice since I came out," he said, adding that the authorities had informed him before his release he would be staying at the Mandela home until he had one of his own.

Mr Mkwayi returned to Soweto to be greeted by a large "family". When the Saturday Star visited the house this week it was filled with people.

### Photo album

Two "bodyguards" stood at the entrance of the gate, and three women were preparing food in the kitchen. A number of activists from Soweto civic and youth organisations were busy around the house.

He said the past few weeks had been "exhausting, especially without a wife to comfort me", but the spirit of the people in Soweto had given him hope and inspiration.

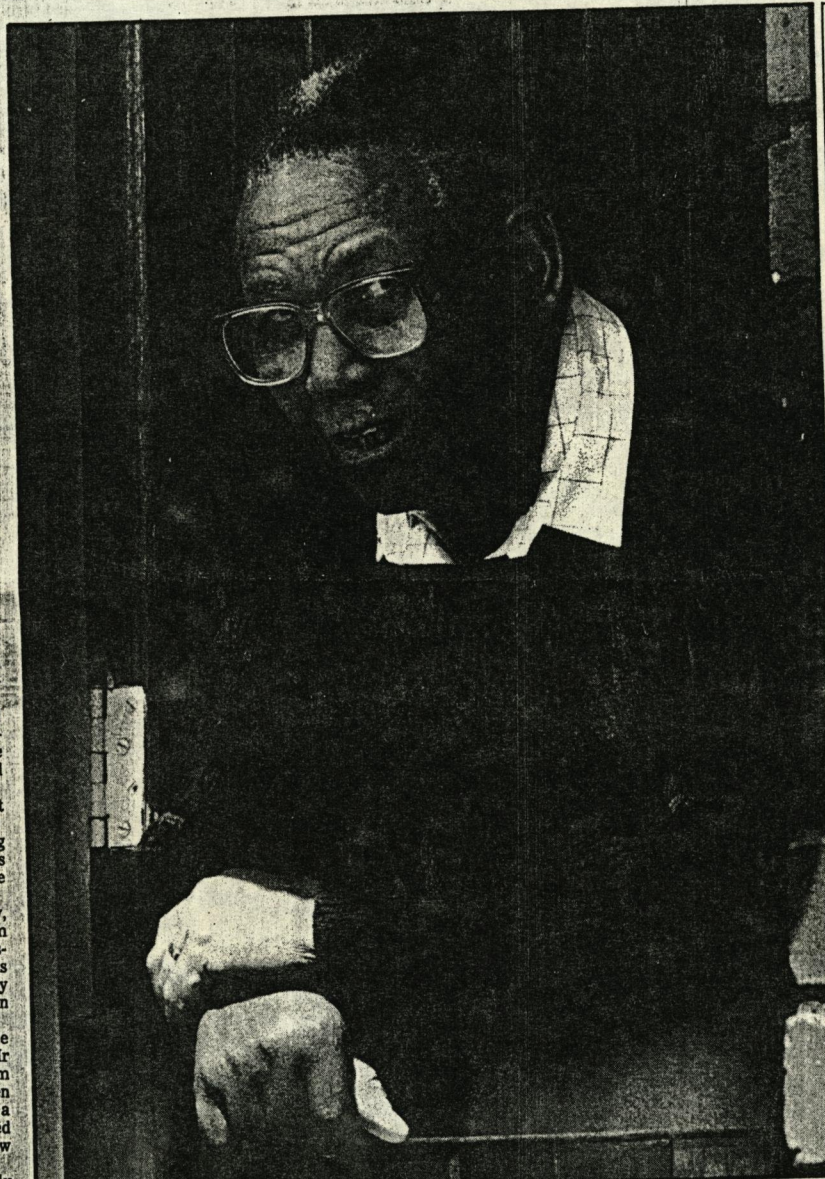
Mr Mkwayi has conducted about four press interviews a day and has given impromptu speeches to young people from neighbouring schools who have been walking past the home to greet him.

Midway through the interview, Mr Mkwayi fetched his photo album which he had kept with him in prison. He showed the pictures of his very unusual wedding ceremony conducted at Pollsmoor Prison in November 1987.

That day, the bride wore a white outfit and he wore a tuxedo. Mr Mkwayi had brought with him from Robben Island — where he had been held prisoner since 1965 — and a bouquet of flowers he had picked from the prison garden of fellow prisoner, Mr Elias Motsoaledi.

For their "honeymoon", the newlyweds were given a special visit of 40 minutes the following day. Then the two were separated again with the hope that one day they would be united together under one roof.

It was never to be.



TEN MONTHS TOO LATE: For 24 of the 25 years he was in prison, African National Congress leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi's wife Irene stood by him. His release last week came too late for her — she died 10 months ago.

●Picture by Sean Woods.

## Anger at kosher killing

### KAREN STANDER

THE SPCA has publically criticised kosher slaughtering for the first time after "years of fruitless discussions", and called on the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry.

The chief rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues, Rabbi Cyril Harris, could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals said in a statement that animals slaughtered by the *shechita* method were not stunned before their throats were cut.

And after slaughter, 45 per cent of *shechita*-killed animals failed to be declared kosher — sometimes because of a nick in the butcher's knife or damage to the carcass.

The society said: "The consumption of certain tissues in the hindquarters is also forbidden."

"To remove them is a specialised time-consuming skill which is not practised in this country. Therefore all hindquarters are declared non-Kosher."

"This means that four animals have to be killed without pre-slaughter stunning to supply the same amount of kosher meat as one humanely killed animal would normally provide."

The organisation called for:

- Animals to be slaughtered in an upright position and not rotated on to their side or back prior to the throat being cut, to avoid the severe stress which accompanies the rotation.
- As a compromise, animals to be stunned immediately after the throat has been cut.

The society added: "The SPCA's opposition to the religious methods of slaughter is not based on any religious intolerance, but on a desire to see that all animals slaughtered for food are slaughtered as humanely as possible."



Massive turnout expected

# Security concerns on eve of rally

NATAL WITNESS

28 OCTOBER 1989

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JOHANNESBURG — The SA Police and 700 official marshals who will be monitoring the gates at the welcoming rally for seven freed ANC prisoners in Soweto tomorrow have been put on "red alert" following a right-wing threat to kill one of the men.

Two men who claimed to be leaders of an organisation called the Gemeente van die Verbondsvolk told the Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad they had a plan to create a blood-bath in South Africa by shooting a black person at the rally.

Senior S.A.P. spokesman General Herman Stadler said police were aware of the threats, and contingency plans had already been made to deal with such an incident.

The chairman of the National Reception Committee (NRC) to welcome the recently released ANC prisoners, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the rally would go ahead as planned despite the right-wing threats and has called on people attending to conduct themselves "in a disciplined and peaceful manner".

More than 1 000 people are actively involved in the organisation of the rally to be held at First National Stadium in Soweto tomorrow. Regional members of the NRC have arranged with Putco to bus in thousands of supporters on the Witwatersrand and the rest of the country.

More than 100 diplomats have also

been invited to attend, said Mr Murphy Morobe, joint chairman of the NRC.

Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu will deliver the keynote address at what several posters now proclaim as an ANC rally.

He will address major issues including the immediate elimination of apartheid, the unbanning of the ANC, the release of all political prisoners and the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe, sanctions, protests and the bid to forge a democracy in a unitary South Africa with one man one vote.

The "black consciousness movement" said at a news conference on Thursday its presence at the rally was in line with its desire to promote unity in South Africa.

While many anti-apartheid groups will be attending the rally, the PAC will not.

"Mr Jafta Masemola (the eighth security prisoner released along with Mr Sisulu and others on October 15) has not been invited to address the rally," Mr Benny Alexander, Publicity and Information Secretary for the PAC said last night.

He said this might be because the ANC wanted its addresses to make a particular political statement.

He said the PAC had already indicated a willingness to work towards unity in terms of the "struggle".

The joint chairmen of the NRC, Mr Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Morobe, publicity secretary for the "mass democratic movement", will introduce the four ANC speakers. They are: Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu.

While the rally is ostensibly a welcoming home event for the seven ANC men released two weeks ago, and their comrade Mr Govan Mbeki who was released earlier, it will also offer an occasion for the men to communicate to their followers their political platform for fundamental constitutional change in South Africa.

"If the Government interferes with the rally it will be clear evidence that the release of the ANC leaders is not unconditional, but that the leaders have been released with invisible restrictions," said Mr Ramaphosa.

He added that "unconditional release" could only mean that the ANC leaders were free to speak to their people. — Sapa.



# Reds sail into the sunset

28 OCTOBER 1989

PATRICK WORSNIP

**L**ONDON — As East European countries start to throw away the tenets of Marx and Lenin, Western communists are looking for new directions to maintain the left as a credible political force in the 1990s.

Some of them think they have found an answer in new global issues such as protection of the environment which, they argue, cannot be left to private enterprise and need concerted state action.

The West's Marxist parties, already facing decline over the past decade, have recently had to watch several of their brother parties in power in the East move steadily in the direction of the liberal values they once despised.

Earlier this month, the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' (communist) Party renamed itself the Socialist Party and pledged to pursue Western-style multi-party democracy, civil liberties and a market-based economy.

The Polish party has resolved to follow suit at a congress expected in January. It has already handed over government power to the Solidarity movement.

In the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and East Germany, the communists have concluded, with greater or lesser reluctance, that economic reforms and more open public discussion can no longer be avoided.

The major Western communist parties, especially the so-called Eurocommunists of Italy, Spain and France, had all decided by the 1970s that they had to abide by the rules of Western democracy. Even then, they dropped hallowed concepts such as the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Now many of them say the East European model of socialism is discredited and must be replaced with something else.

"The crisis in the communist bloc marks the end of that system as we have known it," Martin Jacques, editor of the British magazine *Marxism Today*, wrote recently.

"The era of the central plan, the monolithic state, the single party and a subjugated civil society is over."

Italy's Christian Democratic Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti told the West German daily *Die Welt* that the Italian Communist Party, the West's largest, "is going through a deep ideological crisis, since all its points of reference have fallen away".

But the Western communists are not yet ready to be written off, and many are now promoting the idea of a "Euroleft" in which they would join forces with other leftist groups, an idea strongly approved by Soviet leader President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The tactic is hardly new — it was used as a springboard to power after World War 2 by the East European communists, who soon dispensed with their social-democratic allies.

But left-wing theorists say the

international situation is now different and the great split at the time of World War 1 between the socialists, who adhered to Western-style democracy, and the communists, who pursued revolution, is healing.

They say the politics of the West will be different in the coming decade, as military blocs dissolve and the world becomes more inter-dependent.

While the 1980s marked the victory of the market, the 1990s will be dominated by broad issues like ethnic tensions and environmental pollution, they argue.

"There is no way that the challenge of the global crisis can be met by an unreformed liberal capitalism," Jacques wrote in *The Independent* newspaper.

Italian Communist Party leader Mr Achille Occhetto has taken a similar line.

"Instead of 'class struggle', we are looking now at the global contradictions that cross all of society — for example the problems of ecology and the unequal status of women," he said recently.

Mr Occhetto, elected last year, has sought to bring his party closer to European social democratic parties, and appears to have been rewarded by a modest success at the polls.

After sinking to 22 percent in local elections in 1988, their worst result in 35 years, the Communists scored 28 percent in European elections this year. They remain the second largest party in Italy, well ahead of the Socialists.

In Spain, the once powerful Communist Party went into a steep decline in the 1980s, eclipsed by the ruling Socialists, and polled only 4.6 percent in parliamentary elections in 1986.

But under new leader Mr Julio Anguita, the party is undergoing a revival as dominant partner in a left-wing grouping called United Left. It could become Spain's third political force.

**T**he hidebound French Communist Party is the exception that proves the rule. Led since 1972 by Mr Georges Marchais, the party has seen its support wither from around 20 percent in the late 1970s to 7.7 percent in this year's European vote.

But the first shots in a challenge to Marchais may have been fired at a recent Central Committee meeting when a handful of other senior Communists led by Mr Charles Fiterman called for reforms in party organisation and a broader political platform.

Even Mr Gus Hall, 79-year-old leader of the tiny American Communist Party, says policies have to change. "Obviously, there have been new relationships between the two so-called superpowers," he said. "The party has to reflect that." — *Reuter*.