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THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER 1917 AND PERESTROIKA:
DOES THE REVOLUTION CONTINUE?

HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT MOSCOW TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

SUMMARY

1. Preparations for a major Soviet anniversary. Intended as a showpiece for perestroika, but from the outset overshadowed by a serious rift in the Soviet leadership. (Paragraphs 1 to 3).
2. Three hour address by Gorbachev on 2 November, formally re-evaluating Party history and aspects of ideology. The product of lengthy preparations, including a Central Committee plenum. The object of the speech was to consolidate the theoretical basis of perestroika. Although disappointing to liberals and the West, and clearly the result of a political compromise, it probably served Gorbachev's purposes. (Paragraphs 4 to 9).
3. 179 foreign delegations turned up for the anniversary. A special meeting was arranged for their benefit on 4/5 November - claimed to be the largest ever gathering of Communist and other left wing parties and movements. The meeting was addressed by Gorbachev, who gave further emphasis to the diversity of international Communism. General support (Ceausescu and Castro apart) for perestroika, but some criticism of the Soviet Union. (Paragraphs 10 to 15).
4. Public events and British representation: Red Square Parade and two Kremlin receptions. Attendance of Shadow Foreign Secretary. (Paragraphs 16 to 18).
5. Conclusions: The effect of the Eltsin affair on the celebrations: the major talking point of the week. Eltsin's dismissal will have detracted from the leadership's attempt to use the anniversary to demonstrate unity in the cause of perestroika. A hard fight ahead for Gorbachev. (Paragraphs 19 and 20).

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BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

17 November, 1987

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP
etc., etc.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

Sir,

1. In the first half of November 1987 the Communist Party of the Soviet Union celebrated the 70th Anniversary of the "Great October Socialist Revolution"; and dropped from its ruling body the most outspoken advocate of reform. In this despatch I seek to draw lessons from probably the most testing fortnight of Mr Gorbachev's two and a half years as the Soviet leader. Annexed are a chronology of the events attending the anniversary celebrations, and a list of foreign delegations.
2. Anniversaries, both of people and of events, matter to the Russians. This is partly because they provide secular substitutes for the high days and holydays which, until the Revolution, were provided by the Orthodox Church calendar; and partly because they provide occasions for displays of unity between Party and people, and of popular enthusiasm for the policies of the day. Decennials are accorded particular reverence: the 70th Anniversary of the Revolution gained further in significance from the fact that it fell at a critical phase of the development of Gorbachev's internal and external policies.
3. The week should have been pure showpiece for Gorbachev and his policies. It was immediately preceded by the launching of his book, ambitiously entitled 'Perestroika. New Thinking for Our Country and the World'. Gorbachev, we are told, spent much of the summer working on the volume (in the period when he dropped out of public view); whatever assistance he may have had, I see no reason to doubt this. Certainly the book is a far cry from the turgid hackwork to which some of his predecessors put their names, if not their pens. The curtains having thus been raised, the scenario was for a celebration of perestroika and glasnost' in three acts: first, a reappraisal of Soviet history and, to some extent, ideology in Gorbachev's speech on 2 November at the

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"Joint Gala Session of the CPSU Central Committee, The USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation"; second, a chorus of support from the world communist movement and a wide range of left-of-centre parties and movements, attracted to the broader church of the new political thinking; and finally the parade, the parties and the October Revolution holiday itself. In contrast to the Party Congress - the last occasion to which such a profusion of guests was invited - this should have been a week of declamation rather than debate, an advertisement of internal solidarity and external sympathy for Gorbachev's efforts to reconstruct the Soviet Union. Though not of direct relevance, the agreement reached in the preceding week on the Summit with the United States formed another part of the backdrop.

Gorbachev's Speech to the Joint Session

4. Gorbachev opened the celebrations with a three hour set-piece oration entitled "October and Perestroika: The Revolution Continues". I was present in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses for the speech: in the years since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Western Ambassadors have been instructed to stay away from such occasions, but in 1987 our Western partners broke ranks under various pretexts and we were obliged to follow. I have reported and commented on this address in a series of telegrams which I need not repeat now; but Gorbachev's speech deserves to be set in context.

5. The most important point to be made is that this was not Gorbachev speaking, but the Party. It was not Gorbachev's personal address in the manner, say, of his remarkable reformist statements in September at Murmansk and Leningrad. As part of the process of perestroika, Gorbachev and his Party colleagues had decided to make a formal re-evaluation of Party history and of important aspects of ideology. From time to time echoes of the drafting battles reached our and other Western ears. After, it appears, a minute process of scrutiny by Party ideologists, the draft was submitted on 21 October to a plenary meeting of the Central Committee convened specifically for the purpose. The value to Gorbachev of this painstaking approach was that the speech was unassailable. Where he staked out new positions (or revived old ones, whether by re-opening historical consideration of Bukharin, Stalinism, and Khrushchev, or by giving different answers to classic Marxist questions on the nature of the struggle with imperialism and capitalism) Gorbachev was acting with the full authority and backing of the Central Committee, itself a body which is still far from being restructured in his own image. The price he paid was to genuflect in many places to old-fashioned dogma; and the result to Western ears was a curious and disappointing hotch-potch. In short, the speech was a political deal. It was characteristic of Gorbachev in that he kept his policy broadly on course while maintaining the collegiality of the leadership.

6. The build-up to the speech had led Soviet and Eastern European liberals and Western observers to expect too much. It was preceded by a steady flow of revelations in Soviet newspapers and journals about the "blank spots" of Soviet history. Historians, writers and journalists had progressively extended the bounds of permitted historical discussion. By the time of the anniversary it had become almost commonplace to read personal accounts of Stalin's purges and of collectivisation, and to encounter such previously unmentionable names as Trotsky and Bukharin. Television footage showing Krushchev was screened; and his photograph appeared in the central press. This inevitably focussed attention on the historical elements of Gorbachev's address. Although it was known that Ligachev and other conservative Party figures were uneasy at the pace at which glasnost was opening up history, much of the Moscow intelligentsia, encouraged by leaks from inner sources, persuaded itself that Gorbachev's speech would at last bring the Soviet Union to terms with the stark facts of its history. Gorbachev's theme and title did not contradict this line of thought. He now habitually describes perestroika as a revolutionary process. This implies a clear break with the past. At the same time, his speech had to establish a line of descent from the ideas of Lenin and the October Revolution to those of Gorbachev and perestroika. But if perestroika is a continuation of Leninist thinking and a revolution is nevertheless required to put it into practice, things must by definition have gone badly wrong in the intervening period. To spell this out frankly turned out to be too much for the Central Committee - perhaps too much for Gorbachev himself. Gorbachev did not break a great deal of new ground. Some of the more awkward aspects of Soviet history have been remitted to two Commissions for further study. Liberals and Western democrats were disappointed.

7. Rapid economic advancement is the kernel of Gorbachev's "restructuring" but as yet he has little tangible proof that his policies are showing results. The economy in 1986 did not meet all the ambitious targets set out in the current Five Year Plan. The results for the first nine months of this year were published on the eve of the anniversary and strongly indicated that the main targets will once again be missed in 1987. Heavy autumn rains had ruined any chances of a record grain harvest. As a result, the economic message in the speech and throughout the anniversary week was muted. The emphasis had to be political.

8. The external dimension of Gorbachev's address was more interesting, though hardly revelatory. He surprised me and many others by resurrecting the Communist International and placing it in an honoured niche in the Communist Hall of Fame. I think that was precisely his object: world revolution is now a museum piece and, as he said, the international Communist Movement must henceforth take new forms. He then went on to post the way ahead. He did this both by establishing an ideological base for interdependence in a world in which capitalism is not about to wither away; and by reiterating in clear and unmistakable terms the more tolerant attitude towards local variations on Communism which he has promulgated as part of his "new political thinking".

9. The question of whether or not the speech was "disappointing" perhaps misses the point. It is more useful to consider what sort of a benchmark has now been set solemnly and officially by the Central Committee through its General Secretary. In one of the world's most conservative societies, it is worth bearing in mind how far the leadership have travelled since the 60th anniversary, and especially in Gorbachev's short period. Ten years ago, Brezhnev delivered a characteristically cliché-ridden and complacent address, interspersed with frequent bursts of prolonged (sycophantic and stage-managed) applause. The speech was replete with bombast: "No single society existing anywhere on earth has done and could have done for the popular masses, for the workers, as much as socialism has done. Every Soviet person possesses in their entirety the rights and freedom which allow him to take an active part in political life ... [We have achieved] huge economic and scientific-technical might, and a rich experience in the building of a new life. We have literally all that is needed to go forward confidently to our cherished goal - to Communism, to conquer all the new summits of progress." Some are prone to compare Gorbachev with Khrushchev, and to argue that the former has gone no further than Khrushchev went at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961. (On that occasion Khrushchev gave an edited public version of the still unpublished 1956 summit speech, naming Beria and Yagoda as well as Stalin and describing inter alia the suicide of Ordzhonikidze and the murder of Kirov). But the political circumstances were entirely different. Khrushchev used de-Stalinism to attack his enemies, and was ultimately ousted for just this sort of "voluntaristic" tactic. Gorbachev, as one local source has remarked approvingly, is different in that he has attacked Stalinism rather than Stalin and Stalin's people. While I would not go as far as the Foreign Ministry official who characterised Gorbachev's remarks about world Communism as "breathtakingly new", I do not dismiss the view of those, within the official machine as well as outside, who maintain that overall the speech has consolidated glasnost' and perestroika and incorporated a number of forward steps.

The Outside World

10. If the accent during the week was on both the past and future of the Soviet Union, a secondary theme was the implications of Soviet policy for the wider world (just as Gorbachev addressed his book not just to the Soviet people but to the world as a whole). The Soviet leadership took advantage of the anniversary, and of currently intense international interest in their country, to broadcast their message to a large and sympathetic audience from around the globe.

11. Introducing Gorbachev on 2 November, President Gromyko referred to the presence of 163 visiting delegations from 119 countries. Some of the most senior foreign visitors joined the Soviet speakers at the 'Joint Gala Session' on 2 and 3 November. Not surprisingly, they chimed in with Gorbachev's line on the modern and tolerant shape of international Communism. General Jaruzelski was conspicuously effusive, describing the process of

of Soviet reform as an age of enlightenment and renaissance. Other fraternal leaders rehearsed their own national history in terms of the influence of socialism while lauding the reform process in the Soviet Union. President Ceausescu typically stood alone in declining to use Gorbachev's buzz words.

12. On 4 and 5 November, the CPSU arranged a separate meeting specifically for its guests from Communist and other left wing parties. By this time the number of participating delegations had apparently swelled to 179, making this - according to the Soviet press - the largest gathering of its kind ever to be held. The meeting provided the occasion for a second, and much shorter, speech by Gorbachev. He developed some of the themes laid down in his earlier address, and placed particular emphasis on the importance of revamping socialist theory to take account of the changing situation in the world:

"A new reading is needed of the theoretical legacy created by our predecessors in the name of man's social emancipation - an appreciation deriving from precise analysis of new realities and yielding optimally correct political conclusions".

He also yet again distanced himself from the concept of monolithic Communism:

"We do not in the least claim a monopoly on the truth: we are engaged in a search ourselves and invite others to look jointly for the ways along which mankind could cross the minefield of our times What is needed is a more sophisticated culture of mutual relations among progressive forces. The kind that would make it possible to accumulate all the diversity of experience and that would help understanding of the surrounding world in all its many colours and in its contradictory nature. The 'arrogance of omniscience' is akin to fear of not being able to cope with new problems".

And, in contrast to Brezhnev and his predecessors, Gorbachev was frank about the relative lack of success of socialism. In particular, socialism had yet to come to terms with the consequences of capitalism's use of the scientific and technological revolution:

"The fact that present-day socialism is trailing so far behind capitalism in its level of technological development has delayed our emergence to a new level of understanding of [the productive] process. The conditions for overcoming this lag are taking shape in the course of revolutionary perestroika".

13. On past occasions, the CPSU has been known to restrict the right of unorthodox guests to speak, or to publish little or nothing of what they have said. At this meeting, time permitted 63 delegates to deliver their statements: and all delegates were given a chance to publish their positions in the press. By no means all the statements will have been music to Soviet ears. Many were only too happy to agree that ideological and other differences within the left need not be a barrier to cooperation. But the delegate from the Italian socialist party cast doubt on 1917 as the starting point for socialism, while Le Painsec of the French socialist party criticised Soviet behaviour over human

rights and in Afghanistan. He picked up the references of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski respectively to 'socialist pluralism' and 'socialist personalism' and expressed the hope that such phenomena would be realised. As I have reported separately, the Chinese were careful to distance themselves from these proceedings, having sent only a non-Party delegation from a friendship society to represent them at the festivities.

14. There was a heavy turn-out from the Third World. Syria was represented, as at the Party Congress, by the Deputy General Secretary of the Ba'ath party, who repeatedly evaded Soviet attempts to arrange a meeting with Yasser Arafat. Arafat himself seemed upset not to receive a high level of attention, but secured an invitation to visit the Soviet Union again before the end of the year. The Afghan leader Najibullah spoke cautiously of 'the strengthening of the armed forces as the sure way to internal political normalisation': the official account of his meeting with Gorbachev referred to problems 'which the CPSU and PDPA had to solve'. Some prominence was given to the Cambodian question, with speeches from Heng Samrin, Nguyen Van Linh and Kaysone Phomvihane. All three Indochinese leaders were received by Gorbachev: and Nguyen Van Linh, for no apparent reason, was awarded the honour of replying on behalf of foreign guests to Gorbachev's speech at a reception. The Ethiopian delegation also received conspicuous attention. The Cubans arrived without Castro, who then made a point by turning up late on 4 November. In his public speech Castro signally failed to pay tribute to Soviet internal reforms; and the report of his bilateral meeting with Gorbachev included a pregnant reference to the need to improve the efficiency of Soviet/Cuban cooperation.

15. It was self-evidently a propaganda coup for the CPSU to attract such a wide range of fraternal delegates to this Party celebration. In the communique on its meeting of 12 November, the Politburo declared that the meeting had 'marked the beginning of a broad dialogue of international left-wing forces'. It remains to be seen whether this will turn out to be the first of a series: a proposal from the Belgian (Flemish) Communist Party for a pan-European follow-up was greeted with enthusiasm. It may be going too far to suggest, as some have done, that the Russians have in effect achieved the long-term goal of reviving meetings of the World Communist Movement under their banner: but they have certainly tried hard to plant the seeds of a new united left.

Pomp and Circumstance

16. As with the political message, there has been an evolution in the style of celebrations since Brezhnev's day. Ten years ago, tributes to the leadership in slogans and pictures were everywhere to be seen. At the 70th Anniversary, the number of slogans on public buildings and banners were sharply reduced, and the only portrait in evidence was that of Lenin. The parade itself remains much as before: no significantly new equipment was on display and the military demonstration still ended menacingly with an array of missiles.

17. Gorbachev also presided over two Kremlin receptions, for the foreign delegates and the diplomatic corps. A feature of the former was the way in which Raisa Gorbacheva held court in her own right, scorning to join the other Politburo wives who were dutifully sitting with their husbands to listen to the concert with which the reception ended. Gorbachev hosted the diplomatic reception with elegance and aplomb: I was able to convey to him the Prime Minister's personal good wishes and her hope that he would visit Britain in 1988.

British Representation

18. British representation during the week was far from conspicuous. The Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain spoke at the fraternal gathering, and even presumed to point out that Communism needed to make itself more attractive if it was to have an impact in the West; but he was overshadowed by the heavyweights of the movement. The Labour Party was represented by the Shadow Foreign Secretary, the Rt Hon Gerald Kaufman MP. Mr Kaufman did not arrive in Moscow until the evening of 5 November, partly perhaps to avoid involvement in the meeting of the broad left on 4-5 November; and the only official events which he attended were a Kremlin reception and the Red Square parade.

The Fall of Boris Eltsin; and Conclusions

19. So much for the formal programme. As I indicated in my introduction, I cannot describe the 70th Anniversary celebration without reference to the unprecedented public row within the CPSU involving the person and performance of the Moscow Party First Secretary, Boris Eltsin. I have reported this in a succession of telegrams of which number 1657 contains a full assessment. Suffice it to say here that this was an unintended sub-plot which threatened to take over the play. It provided the major talking point of the week of festivities, and must have riveted the attention of foreign delegates. It has caused tremors not only here but, to judge from my colleagues' reporting telegrams, in Eastern Europe as well. It took place during an event which had been stage managed to show that perestroika was well on its way, was firmly set within the Leninist tradition, and had a message for the socialist community throughout the world, It has shown a global audience that Gorbachev and his allies are embattled; that they cannot move as fast as some of them would wish; and that Gorbachev himself has been unable to save an important if impulsive lieutenant.

20. The Politburo concluded that the 70th Anniversary had demonstrated "the high spiritual mood of the Soviet people, their unity with the Communist Party, their powerful support for the course of acceleration, and for reconstruction and for the renewal of all spheres of life in our society". However this was not the leap forward which some had predicted. It was overshadowed by the Eltsin affair, to the timing of which Gorbachev seemed to have reacted bitterly. Even on the historical front, Gorbachev had mixed success. At his second speech of the week, on 4 November, he claimed that "now we have definitively overcome attempts to be cunning with history, during which we at times

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proceeded not from what there was, but from what we wanted to see". That claim seems over-optimistic. I would prefer the verdict of an unofficial Soviet contact who summed it up thus: "there were differences of view; the outcome was a draw; this was all that Gorbachev needed". Soviet contacts, both official and unofficial, have stressed that Gorbachev's speech will not result in limits being set on glasnost'. They believe that in practice it will give new impetus to the opening up of Soviet history. They may well be right with regard to the speech. But the process whereby it was negotiated, and much more significantly the saga of Eltsin's downfall has indicated the strength and depth of the constraints under which Gorbachev is working. As he presses ahead with the critical process of putting perestroika into action and of seeking to produce results in the three years between now and the next Party Congress, the omens for Gorbachev and his allies are not encouraging. He has a hard fight ahead of him both on the economic front and in his campaign to modernise the Party, in which next summer's special Party Conference will play an important part.

21. I am sending copies of this despatch to HM Ambassadors at Washington, Bonn, Paris, Peking, Eastern European posts, UK Representative at NATO and UK delegate to CSCE, Vienna.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,

Bryan Cartledge

Bryan Cartledge

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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 21 October 1987 Plenum of Central Committee (CC) of CPSU 'to discuss questions connected with the 70th Anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution and certain other current tasks'.
- 27 October Beginning of a series of press conferences on the theme of the October Revolution and perestroika: press conference on 'the economic and social policy of the CPSU' by Aganbegyan and Zaslavskaya.
- 28 October Press conference on Soviet culture by Aitmatov (writer), Shatrov (playwright), Efremov (theatre director).
- 30 October Joint US-Soviet announcement of Washington Summit on 7 December 1987.
- 31 October Press conference on 'Socialist democracy' by Lukyanov (Secretary, CC), Shakhnazarov, Vlasov (Minister of Interior USSR), Sukharev (Minister of Justice RSFSR). In response to a question Lukyanov admits that Eltsin made a 'politically mistaken' speech at the recent plenum and had tendered his resignation.
- 1 November Launch of Gorbachev's book 'Perestroika, New Thinking for Our Country and the World'.
- 2 November Meeting of CC CPSU, Supreme Soviet USSR and Supreme Soviet RSFSR to mark 70th anniversary. Speech by Gorbachev 'October and Perestroika: the Revolution Continues'.
- 3 November Kremlin meeting between members of the Politburo, party veterans, representatives of fraternal parties. Bilateral meetings between Gorbachev and Jaruzelski (Poland), Mengistu (Ethiopia), Najibullah (Afghanistan), Kadar (Hungary) and Husak (Czechoslovakia). Press conference by Yakovlev (Secretary CC CPSU) on 'October, Perestroika and the contemporary world'.
- 4 November Meeting of Parties and movements participating in the celebrations. Addressed by Gorbachev. Bilateral meetings between Gorbachev and Honecker (East Germany), Marchais (French CP), Ram (General Secretary All-Indian Committee, Indian National Congress (I)), Natta (Italian CP), Ceausescu (Romania), Mies (West German CP) and Ortega (Nicaragua).

- 4 November (cont) Press conference on 'Historical path of the land of the Soviets' given by Smirnov (Director of Institute of Marxism/Leninism), Volobuev and Polyakov (corresponding members of Academy of Science), Rzheshhevsky (Doctor of historial sciences).
- 5 November Second day of meeting of Parties and movements, and conclusion. Bilateral meetings between Gorbachev and Kronic (Yugoslavia), Papaionnu (AKEL), de Poinsec (French Socialist Party), Yasser Arafat (PLO), Ditfurt (FRG 'Green' Party), Dos Santos (MPLA).
Press conference on the new political thinking given by Arbatov (Director of IUSAC), Primakov (Director of IMEMO) and Falin (Chairman of Novosti).
- 6 November Reception given by Gorbachev for diplomatic representatives from Western countries.
Bilateral meetings between Gorbachev and Phomvihane (Laos), Batmunkh (Mongolia), Fidel Castro (Cuba).
- 7 November Military parade and demonstration of workers in Red Square. Speech by Minister of Defence D T Yazov.
Brief address by Gorbachev at Kremlin reception marking the 70th anniversary.
- 11 November Eltsin removed from office as First Secretary of Moscow Gorkom at a plenum of the Gorkom.
- 13 November Pravda publishes a full report of the proceedings of the Moscow Gorkom plenum.

I. PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OR STATE DELEGATIONS FROM CMEA MEMBER STATES, STATES OF SOCIALIST ORIENTATION AND FINLAND (ALL INVITED BY THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS)

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>DELEGATION LEADER</u>
Bulgaria	Todor Zhivkov
Cuba	Fidel Castro
Czechoslovakia	Gustav Husak
GDR	Erich Honecker
Hungary	Janos Kadar
DPRK	Pak Sung Chul
Mongolia	Jambyn Batmunkh
Poland	Vojciech Jaruzelski
Romania	Nicolae Ceausescu
Vietnam	Nguyen Van Linh
Yugoslavia	Bosko Kronic
Afghanistan	Najibullah
Angola	Jose Eduardo dos Santos
Ethiopia	Mengistu Haile Mariam
Finland	Mauno Koivisto
Cambodia	Heng Samrin
Laos	Kaysone Phomvihane
Nicaragua	Daniel Ortega
PDRY	Ali Salim al-Deedh

II. OTHER DELEGATIONS INVITED BY CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
 "TO ATTEND THE FESTIVITIES ON THE OCCASION OF THE
 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION":

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>DELEGATION LEADER</u>
Algeria	Mohammed Cherif Messadia (National Liberation Fro
Argentina	Athos Fava (Communist Party)
Australia	(a) Socialist Party: Peter Symon (b) Communist Party: B Aarons (c) Australian Association for Communist Unity: B Bodenham (d) Labour Party: M Bian
Austria	(a) Communist Party: Hans Kalt (b) Socialist Party: Manfred Scheuch & E Freschl
Bangladesh	(a) Communist Party: A Roy & M A Khan (b) National Awami Party: A Wadud S bin Ali (National Liberation Front)
Bahrain	
Belgium	(a) Communist Party: Louis Van Geyt (b) Socialist Party (Flemish Wing): J Veynix
Benin	S Oguma (Popular Revolution Party)
Bolivia	Humberto Ramirez (Communist Party)
Botswana	P H K Kedikilwe (Democratic Party)
Brazil	Salomão Malina (Communist Party)
Burundi	S Rusuku
Canada	William Kashtan (Communist Party)
Cape Verde	Abilio Duarte (PAICV)

Chile	(a) Communist Party: V Teitelboim (b) Socialist Party: A Astengo (c) Radical Party: A Sule
China	Zhang Wengjing (People's Society for Friendship with Foreign Countries)
Colombia	Gilberto Vieira (Communist Party)
Congo	Jean-Michel Bokamba-Yangouma (Labour Party)
Costa Rica	(a) Party of the Costa Rican People: L Chacon (b) People's Vanguard Party: H Vargas
Cyprus	Ezekias Papaioannou (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL))
Denmark	(a) Communist Party: Ole Sohn (b) Social Democratic Party: Lasse Budtz
Greenland	Arqaluk Lynge ("Inuit Ataqatigiit" - Left Wing Socialist Party)
Dominica	Narciso Isa Conde (Communist Party)
Ecuador	Rene Mauge (Communist Party)
Egypt	(a) National Progressive Unionist Party: F Mursi & H A Razeka (b) Nasser Arab Socialist Party: D Daud (c) Communist Party
Finland	(a) Communist Party: A Alto (b) Communist Party (United): T Sinisalo & J Kajanoja (c) Social Democratic Party: P Paasio & U Iivari (d) Centre Party: P Vayrynen & S Kaariainen
France	(a) Communist Party: G Marchais (b) Socialist Party: Louis Le Painsec
FRG	(a) Communist Party: H Mies (b) Social Democratic Party: G Schumacher & O Selbman (c) Green Party: J Ditfurth
West Berlin	Horst Schmitt (Socialist Unity Party)

Ghana	Kojo Tsikata (Provisional National Defence Council)
Great Britain	(a) Labour Party: Gerald Kaufman (b) Communist Party: Gordon MacLennan
Greece	(a) Communist Party: Harilaos Florakis (b) Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK): G Papandreou & V Papandreou
Grenada	George Louison (Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement)
Guadeloupe	C Chipotel (Communist Party)
Guatemala	Carlos Gonzalez (Labour Party)
Guinea	Kerfalla Camara (Military Committee for National Redress)
Guinea-Bissau	T A Lopes (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) (PAIGC)
Guyana	(a) Cheddi Jagan (People's Progressive Party) (b) Ranji Chandisingh (People's National Congress)
Haiti	B Bertoni (United Party of Haitian Communists)
Honduras	Rigoberto Padilla Rush (Communist Party)
India	(a) Indian National Congress (I): R R Ram (b) Communist Party: Rajeshwara Rao (c) Communist Party (Marxist): E M S Namboodiripad
Iran	(a) A Khavari (People's Party of Iran) (b) Farokh Neghdar (Feda'ijan Khalq Organisation)
Iraq	A Muhammad (Communist Party)
Ireland	(a) Workers' Party: Sean Garland (b) Communist Party: James Stewart
Israel	Meir Vilner (Communist Party)
Italy	(a) Social Democratic Party: A Carilia & R Puletti (b) Communist Party: Alessandro Natta (c) Socialist Party: Claudio Martelli
Jamaica	(a) Workers' Party: T Munroe (b) People's National Party: B Jones

Japan (a) Communist Party: M Kaneko
(b) Socialist Party: M Kaneko & S Yamahana

Jordan Y Zayadin (Communist Party)

Lebanon (a) Socialist Progressive Party: Walid Jumblatt
(b) Communist Party: George Hawi

Libya Abu-Bakr Younis Jaber (General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Luxembourg Rene Urbany (Communist Party)

Madagascar Richard Andriamanjato (Party of the Independence Congress)

Mali Amadou Baba Diarra (Democratic Union)

Malta Anthony Vassalo (Communist Party)

Mauritius (a) Militant Socialist Movement: Karl Offman
(b) Mauritian Militant Movement: Paul Berenger

Mexico (a) Institutional Revolutionary Party: A Nunez & A Molina
(b) Socialist Party: L Valdes, P Gomez & J Ortega
(c) Socialist People's Party: J Cruikshank Garcia

Morocco (a) Socialist Union of Popular Forces: M Lahbabi
(b) Party of Progress & Socialism: Ali Yata

Mozambique M dos Santos (FRELIMO Party)

Netherlands (a) Communist Party: Elli Izeboud
(b) Labour Party: W van Velzen

New Zealand M Tucker (Socialist Unity Party)

Norway (a) Communist Party: Kare Andre Nilsen
(b) Labour Party: Thorbjoern Yagland

Pakistan Communist Party representative

PLO Yasser Arafat (Chairman)

Palestine Naim Ashhab (Communist Party)

Panama (a) Revolutionary Democratic Party: R Vasquez
(b) People's Party: Ruben Dario Sousa

Paraguay L Rolon (Communist Party)

Peru (a) Communist Party: Jorge del Prado
(b) People's Party (APRA): N Mujica & Carlos Roca
(c) Socialist Revolutionary Party: A Filomeno

Philippines Felicissimo Macapagal (Communist Party)

Portugal (a) Communist Party: Alvaro Cunhal

Reunion Communist Party: Paul Verges

Rwanda M Ntahobari (National Revolutionary Movement)

El Salvador (a) Communist Party: Shafic Jorge Handal
(b) Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front:
N Diaz & J Rodriguez
(c) Revolutionary Democratic Front: Eduardo Call

San Marino Gilberto Ghiotti (Communist Party)

Sao Tome & Principe R V Braganca (Liberation Movement)

Senegal (a) Party of Independence & Labour: A Dansoko
(b) Democratic League: Abdulai Batili

Seychelles Jacques Hodoul (People's Progressive Front)

Sierra Leone E T Kamara (All People's Congress)

South Africa (a) J Slovo (Communist Party)
(b) O Tambo (ANC)

SWAPO Sam Nujoma (President)

Spain (a) Socialist Worker's Party: S Clot & A Sercas
(b) Communist Party: Gerardo Iglesias
(c) Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain:
Ignacio Gallego

Sri Lanka K P Silva & P Keuneman (Communist Party)

Sudan Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud (Communist Party)

Sweden (a) Social Democratic Labour Party: S Ericsson
(b) Left Party - Communists of Sweden: Lars Werne
(c) Workers' Communist Party: Rolf Hagal

Switzerland	(a) Labour Party: G Schpilman
	(b) Social Democratic Party: T Meissen
Syria	(a) Baa'th Party: Abdullah Al-Ahmar
	(b) Communist Party: Khalid Baghdash & Yousef Feisal
Tanzania	Charles Kileo
Tunisia	(a) Communist Party: Mouhammed Harmel
	(b) Destour Socialist Party (PSD): Ahmed Ben Arfa
Turkey	(a) Communist Party: H Kutlu
	(b) Workers' Party: N Sargyn
	(c) Left-Wing Unity of Turkey & Turkish Kurdistan (unnamed representative)
Uganda	National Resistance Movement: M Kigongo
USA	Gus Hall (Communist Party)
Uruguay	(a) Broad Front of Uruguay: M Arana, L Senatore & V Penco, F Ottonelli
	(b) Socialist Party: J Pereira
	(c) Communist Party: Rodney Arismendi
Venezuela	Alonso Ojeda (Communist Party)
YAR	Muhammad Saeed al-Attar (General People's Congress)
Zambia	E Mudenda (United National Independence Party)
Zimbabwe	Nathan Shamuyarira (Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)) & K Sorsa (Socialist International)
Socialist International	K Sorsa

III. OTHER GUESTS

Officially described as "a delegation of the editorial collegium of the Journal World Marxist Review, veteran internationalists, delegations, leaders and activists of international, regional and national foreign trade-union, cooperative, women's, youth, antiwar and other public organizations, friendship societies from various countries and production front-runners from socialist countries - winners of the socialist competition to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution".

