FINANCIALTIMES

Saturday October 13 1984







ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON THATCHER AND CABINET AT PARTY CONFERENCE INJURES 30

IRA bomb kills 3 at Brighton

BY PETER RIDDELL, KEVIN BROWN AND LISA WOOD IN BRIGHTON

No. 29,447

AT LEAST three people, including Conservative MP Sir Anthony Berry, were killed and 30 people-two of them Cabinet Ministers-injured in yesterday morning's attempt at Brighton to assassinate Mrs Margaret Thatcher and other senior ministers.

The bombing, at the Grand Hotel, was the most violent challenge to constitutional authority in modern British political history. Responsibility was admitted by the Provisional IRA.

Mr Norman Tebbit, the Trade and Industry Secretary, and Mr John Wakeham, the Government Chief Whip, were both seriously injured after being buried in rubble for several hours. Mr Wakeham's wife, Roberta, was among the dead.

Police feared that other bodies might still be in

the rubble, but the search was being hampered by the need to carry out structural work to prevent the hotel from collapsing.

The murder of Sir Anthony Berry will mean a by-election in his Southgate constituency in north London which he held for 20 years.

The Provisional IRA said in a statement to the Press Association in Dublin that a 100 lb gelignite bomb had been detonated "against the British Cabinet and warmongers." The Home Secretary, however, said 15 to 20 lbs of explosive were used.

The bomb went off at 2.54 am at the seafront hotel, where the Prime Minister and most of the Cabinet were staying for the Conservative Party Conference which ended yesterday.

The Royal Sussex County Hospital said last night Mr Tebbit had a gash on the left side of his body and broken ribs, but not a broken leg, as first feared. Following an operation he was sitting up fully conscious and is said to be comfortable.

However, his wife Margaret is in a serious but

stable condition in the intensive care unit with back

Mr Wakeham has serious injuries to his lower legs on which he has had surgery. But last night he was reported to be conscious and the hospital said there was no immediate cause for concern.

The only other MP taken to hospital was Sir Walter Clegg, MP for Wyre. The hospital said 12 of the injured had been

The conference went ahead as planned and Mrs Thatcher opened her speech in the early afternoon by condemning the attack as an attempt not only "to disrupt and terminate our conference, but also to cripple Her Majesty's democratically elected Government."

The Prime Minister and senior colleagues only narrowly escaped injury and death, Within 25 minutes of the explosion she and her husband and some other ministers left the hotel for Brighton police station. She looked unruffled with not a hair out of place.

Mrs Thatcher's determined responses to yesterday's events won universal admiration from those at Brighton, underlining her strength of resolution as a national leader also seen during the Falklands War.

She was said by close advisers to be very shaken, especially given the uncertainties about the health of close colleagues, but determined to defy terrorists.

She made "business as usual" the theme of her

The immediate response among ministers, MPs and conference representatives was numbness and shock that such an outrage had occurred and had so nearly wiped out most of the Cabinet. Much of the seafront was closed yesterday morning and people Continued on Back Page

Rescue battle and IRA tactics, Page 2; Contrast with U.S., Page 2; Inquiry and Thatcher speech, Page 3; 'We go on as before', Page 22

A sombre closing of Tory ranks

A SUBDUED crowd of Con-A SUBDUED crowd of Con-servative Party members gathered in front of a tele-vision set in the Brighton Conference Centre yesterday, having poured out of the morning debate on Northern

The TV interviewer was asking Mr John Gummer, the party chairman, to describe the mood of the conference, in the wake of the bombing at the Grand Hotel in the early hours of the morning.

There is very little I can It is sombre, very sombre indeed," Mr Gummer murmured.

previous evening, a rift had appeared in the party over Mrs Margaret Thatcher's leadership style, the handling of the miners' strike and rising unemployement. But yesterday, in the shadow of the bombing, the party

members closed ranks behind the leader.
A standing ovation greeted

looked tired as she appeared on the conference platform just before the start of business at 9.30 am. She was characteristically determined to demonstrate that terrorism could not prevent her or her government from carrying on business as usual. After a two-minute silence

and a speech from the Rev John Milburn, vicar of the nearby parish church, the conference launched into debate Northern Ireland. Mr Douglas Hurd, the new Northern Ireland Secretary, was prominence by the events of the night.

The rank and file was soon reminded that events such as the hotel bombing were com-

mon in the life of the prowon in the life of the province. Mr John Taylor, Official Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford, recalled how he had been shot in the head by the Irish Republican Army and three of his properties had been blown up.

There was no doubt where the sympathies of the conference lay. Mr Taylor was cheered when he said there must be no encouragement

for a united Ireland or for the New Ireland Forum, which had been overwhelmof the north. In contrast, a speaker who called for a 'single political entity," em bracing north and south, faced angry heckling.

There was also applause for Mr Hurd when he expressed the government's resolve, and said that British democracy

would outlive the bombs and

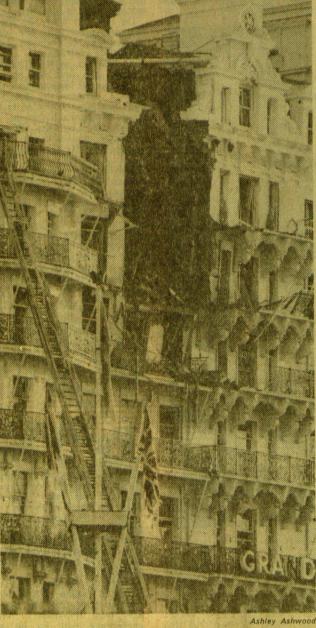
Against the background of the scenes at the Grand Hotel next door to the conference hall, where rescue workers were still searching for bodies, the air of normality during the education debate

which followed was almost uncanny. Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary gave a relaxed speech, a few hours after he had been seen staggering out of the bombed hotel in his pyjamas.

In the lounges and foyers

cussion of the bombing domi-nated all other topics. Their reactions were mostly

of shock and outrage. But, while police helicopters hovered and police reinforcements from London patrolled every street corner, one Tory Continued on Back Page



The upper floors of the Grand Hotel, Brighton, which were

Rule of law will prevail -Thatcher

MRS MARGARET THATCHER yesterday presented the Govern rule of law and democracy in face of "an organised revoluminority" miners' strike

Denouncing as hinhume the morning's bomb attack, she said it had failed as 'all attempts to destroy democracy by terrorism will fail."

She then continued with the bulk of her major speech to the Conservative Party conference in Brighton on the theme of business as usual."

Speaking as a national leader,

she said Britain, "faces now what is probably the most testing crisis of our time-the battle between the extremists and the rest.
"We have seen in this

country the emergence of organised revolutionary minority who are prepared to exploit industrial disputes but whose real aim is the breakdown of law and order and the parliamentary government.

"If their tactics are allowed succeed, if they are not brought under the control of the law, we shall see them again organised by militant union leaders in the country."

Mrs Thatcher said that the Government had done everything "it could to prevent the miners' strike. Indeed some would say we did too much." The National Union of Mineworkers' executive "did not want a settlement. They wanted a strike. Otherwise they would strike. Otherwise they would have balloted on the coal board's offer," she said.

This presentation of the Government as the defender of freedom won the loudest applause from Conservative members who clearly linked her termination in the face of the



Thatcher conference Mrs. Margaret addresses the yesterday

early morning bomb explosion.

Mrs Thatcher's speech was hurriedly amended as a result of the explosion. She apparently dropped some of the more contentious and partisan pas-sages attacking Labour over the miners' dispute in the belief these would be inappropriate. Otherwise, she sought to

answer doubts expressed during the conference over the Govern-Continued on Back Page

Speech details, Page 3; Editorial Comment, Page 22

devastated by an IRA bomb **BRITAIN SINCE 1979** IRA BOMBINGS IN

(INLA) Airey Neave killed by a car bomb in the Commons car park

bomb explodes in a sorting MARCH 7 1980 WILTSHIRE

(IRA) Two injured in explosion at Netherton Army barracks.
MARCH 7 1980 LONDON (IRA) Explosion at Hammersmith TA hall. ARCH 7 1980 LONDON

(IRA) Explosion at Bromley-

Lt Gen Sir Steuart Pringle (RM), injured in car bomb OCT 26 1981 LONDON (IRA) Bomb disposal officer killed

OCT 26 1981 LONDON (IRA) Bomb outside Debenhams, Oxford St—defused. NOV 13 1981 LONDON (IRA)

(INLA) Airey Neave killed by a car bomb in the Commons car park.

(*) Five injured as a letter bomb explodes in a sorting

(INLA) Airey Neave killed OCT 10 1981 LONDON (IRA)

Two killed, 39 injured in a nail bomb attack, Ebury Bridge Road.

(*) Five injured as a letter bomb explodes in a sorting

OCT 10 1981 LONDON (IRA)

Two killed, 39 injured in a nail bomb attack, Ebury Bridge Road.

OCT 17 1981 LONDON (IRA)

DEC 17 1983 LONDON (IRA)

Six killed, 91 injured, Harrods bombing.

DEC 25 1983 LONDON (IRA)

Two injured in explosion in Orchard St.

11 soldiers killed, 59 injured in two bomb attacks, on the Houeshold Cavalry in Hyde Park, and the Royal Greenjackets in Regents Park defusing a device in Oxford DEC 10 1983 LONDON (IRA) Four injured in a bomb blast,

Woolwich barracks. DEC 13 1983 LONDON (IRA) Kensington High St,

Bomb explosion at Attorney DEC 17 1983 LONDON (IRA)

OCT 12 1984 BRIGHTON (IRA).

Before yesterday 85 people had been killed and injured in IRA and INLA attacks since the IRA started its campaign of bombings on

* No responsibility claimed, Irish connection suspected.

WORLD NEWS

Goal talks continue at Acas

The National Coal Board and the National Union of Miners last night agreed to continue their talks into a third day today at the Advisory, Concilia-tion and Arbitration Service. despite earlier optimism yesterday, hopes are not high.

Miners' president Arthur
Scargill said: "The fundamental difference between us remains.' Board chairman Ian McGregor said he would " never, compromise on board's right to manage." Back

French Basque alert

More than 1,000 police are on alert in the French Basque British Rail investigators were region for the first visit to the region by President Francois hostile reception.

Five die in Lebanon

Five villagers were killed by gunmen in the south Bekaa valley area of south Lebanon.

Grenada coup trial

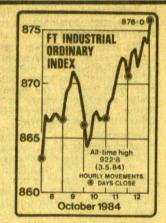
Nine former Leftist leaders, including former deputy Premier Bernard Coard, go on trial in Grenada next week charged with the murder of former Premier Maurice Bishop and seven others in last year's

Baby killed by stoning

A white three-week-old baby died in hospital in a black suburb of Johannesburg after black youths stoned the car in which the baby's mother was taking home a black servant.

Portsmouth bomb scare

Portsmouth's city centre was sealed off after the discovery of a large unexploded war-time bomb. Bob Hope's one-man, one-night show at the Guildhall was



EQUITIES advanced, following a strong rise in gilts on hopes of a settlement of the miner's Ordinary index closed 5.4 up at 876. This represents a gain of highest level since May 21. Page

British Rail search

searching yesterday for clues to what caused Thursday night's Mitterrand, who was given a train crash in which three people died and 18 were injured at Wembley. Earlier in the rescue operations it had been feared that at least seven had

Hard to stomach

Philippines police said a man ate a hearty meal, then dropped a nine-inch snake into his soup and insisted on not being charged. After that, they said he swallowed the snake and demanded where the evidence was. He was freed,

Chess: World championship, game 12-Holder Karpov and challenger Kasparov agreed a draw, Karpov leads 4-0.

Financial Times

apologise to readers, advertisers and distributors for the shortage of yesterday's FT, due to action by machine members of the National Graphical Association, Action by NGA members of the department resulted in an abnormal number of typographical errors in this

BUSINESS SUMMARY

Annual rate of inflation falls to 4.7%

ANNUAL INFLATION rate fell 5 per cent in August, lending support to the Government's view that upward pressure on prices remains subdued. The retail price index rose only 0.2 per cent in September, well below most City expectations. Back Page

U.S. BANK certificate of deposit rates fell up to 25 points, following better than feared third quarter results from major U.S. banks. Equity prices continued their recent rally, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average up 7.62 to 1,190.7. Wall Street, Page 26; Bank results, Page 25; U.S. economic

statistics, Page 6 JAMES CAPEL, the stockbroking firm which is to be acquired by Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, is to set joint company with Gerrard and National, the discount house, to make markets in gilts. Back Page and Lex

BANK OF ENGLAND made three appointments to the board of Johnson Matthey Bankers and accepted the resignations three existing directors. Page 24 KUWAIT Petroleum is negotiat-

ing to buy the former Gulf Oil UK refining and marketing assets, held by Chevron of the U.S. since its takeover of Gulf.

DRESDNER BANK of West Germany and Sanwa Bank of Japan have gone into partner-ship with the Chinese, setting a leasing company in ng to help promote Chinese foreign trade. Page 25

RAYBECK, clothing maker and retailer, incurred a £2.61m loss in the 26 weeks to July 28, against a £1.21m profit in the last reported financial period, the 39 weeks to January 28. Page 24; Lex, Back Page

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Citifunds UK News: General market and latest share index, 01-246 8026; overseas markets, 01-246 8086

MARKETS

DOLLAR DM 3.116 (3.118) DM 3.106 (3.096)

FFr 9.52 (9.4925) SwFr 2.554 (2.5475) Y247.7 (247.9) Dollar Index 143 (142.9) Tokyo close Y248.2 U.S. CLOSING RATES Fed funds 97% (93) 3-month Treasury Bills:

9.88% (9.96) Long Bond: 102% (102%) yield: 12.15 (12.17)

London: \$341.75 (\$339.25)

STERLING

New York: \$1.224 (1.222) London: \$1.2265 (1.2255) DM 3.8175 (3.7925) FFr 11.675 (11.6125) SwFr 3.1325 (3.1225) Y303.75 (same) Sterling Index 76.6 (76.3)

LONDON MONEY

3-month interbank: mid rate 1013 % (10%%) 3-month eligible bills: buying rate 10% (1032%) STOCK INDICES FT Ind Ord 876 (+5.4) FT-A All Share 538.25 (+0.2%) FT-SE 100 1,143.7 (+2.4) FT-A long gilt yield index:

New York: DJ Ind Av 1,190.7 (+7.62) Nikkei Dow 10,684,58 (-12.28)

Chief price changes yesterday, Back Page CONTINENTAL SELLING PRICES: Austria Sch 18: Belgium Fr 38: Denmark Kr 7.25 France Fr 6.00: W. Germany DM 2.20: Italy L1.200: Netherlands Fi 2.50: Norway Kr 6.00; Portugal Eac 76; Spain Pta 100: Sweden Kr 6.50; Switzerland Fr 2.00 Ireland 60p; Malta 30c.

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Brighton at standstill as rescue workers battle to free dead and injured

BRIGHTON WAS a town under organisers were still trying to guarded first flor, Mrs Thatcher virtual siege yesterday as the find some missing residents was working in the Napoleon full horror of the bomb at the when the conference opened on Suite with Mr John Gummer, virtual siege yesterday as the full horror of the bomb at the

Grand began to sink in. Traffic crawled to a halt in hours after the blast. much of the town as police isolated the conference area and rush in teams of anti-terrorist

and bomb disposal specialists.

As a blanket of security settled on the seafront, police and firemen were still struggling through tons of rubble to free an unknown number of people

trapped in the devastated hotel. No-one knew just who was in the Grand when the bomb went off, and police and conference

when the conference opened on schedule at 9.30—more than six

It was just a few minutes before 3 am when the bomb ripped out the top of the front The main hotel bar, facing Brighton's elegant promenade was crowded with delegates celebrating the last full day of the conference.

Many weer in evening dress, fresh from the Conference Ball at the nearby Top Rank Centre. Upstairs, on the closely

A rescue worker among the debris of the Grand Hotel

Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour

Party leader, sent a message to

the Prime Minister expressing

horrified and outraged at this

terrible atrocity and naturally relieved to hear that you and

your colleagues have escaped

injury.
"I hear that you are carry-

ing on with your normal engagements. That is good. It is the

way that we must respond to

such vile acts in this democracy.

There can be no concession to

the murdering madnes of those

bombing. They are the sworn enemies of all the people of

normal mind and reasoning

Social Democrats, expressed his

langer that such an outrage

should have occurred at a demo-

Party chief whip, in the absence

of Mr David Steel, the party leader, who is abroad, said the

Liberals were "appalled" by

Mr Norman Willis, the TUC

general secretary, described the

demned by democrats every-

deeply deplore this unacceptable

dent of the SDP, said:

violent and cowardly act. share the distress of

events as "sickening, to be con-

Mrs Shirley Williams, presi-

Mr Alan Beith, the Liberal

cratic conference.'

the bombing.

Dr David Owen, Leader of the

commit crimes like this

his horror. He said:

World heads of state

The Queen, on a private visit tion and the superb rescue Kentucky, sent a message of efforts by local authorities and

condemn outrage

in Kentucky, sent a message of sympathy to the Prime Minister

horrified, and expressing her

Place said she was being kept ully informed of develop-

ments. The Queen is expected

Messages of sympathy were

sent to Mrs Thatcher by President Francois Mitterrand of France and M Gaston Thorn,

president of the European

African President, also sent a message of sympathy.

Prime Minister, sent a message to Mrs Thatcher expressing

and Queen Sofia sent a message

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of

Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Indian

West Germany expressed shock

and condemned the "incom-

Prime Minister, said in a message to Mrs Thatcher that

all terrorism and violence was

contemptible and should be

King Hussein of Jordan

expressed his "deep shock and anger" at the "despicable, dastardly and criminal"

London, Mr Charles Price, was at the scene at the time and

The American Ambassador in

expressing their grief.

prehensible act."

condemned.

Mr P. W. Botha, the South

Sig Bettino Craxi, the Italian

King Juan Carlos of Spain

in Britain early on

deep concern. Buckingham

was shocked and

chairman of the party. In the room next door, Mr Dennis Thatcher was in bed. Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, were in their

ing the three great officers of state, were most of the rest of the Cabinet and many of the prominent

ministers.

The blast was followed by a deafening roar of masonry as the central section of eight floors fel inwards into the basement and ground floor.

For two minutes there was an eerie silence as shocked victims tried to grasp what had happened. Then the fire alarms began and, just a minute later, the first police car arrived, siren wailing.

Inside the hotel, electric power was cut off, leaving many of the injured in darkness, and water began to cascade into the damaged rooms from smashed storage tanks in the loft.

On the first floor, the Prime Minister, unhurt by the blast, checked on the condition of her immediate colleagues.

At 3.05 am, as Mrs Thatcher dressed, the first fire engines arrived and it became clear that serious damage on the first floor was largely limited to the Prime Minister's bathroom, the study used by the Foreign

Secretary, and a nearby suite occupied by Mr Gummer.
At 3.15 am, the Prime Minister, Mr Thatcher, Mr Brittan and Sir Geoffrey left in two black Daimler cars for Brighton police station, from where the Thatchers were taken at 4 am to Lewes police station, where they spent the night.

Slowly, rescuers began to bring out the injured, many of whom weer tended in the road outside before being ferried in fleet of ambulances to the Royal Sussex County Hospital.

Most immediate fears centred around Mr Norman Tebbit, the Frade and Industry Secretary, who fell several floors with his wife Margaret as their bed disappeared into a vast hole in the middle of the hotel.

Mr Tebbit and his wife comforted each other as firemen John Wakeham, the Govern-fought to reach them through ment Chief Whip, who was



Bomb experts with sniffer dogs go into the Grand Hotel

mounds of rubble, lit, in the absence of mains electricity, by

BBC television arc lights. Finally, Mrs Tebbit was brought out with neck injuries, but it was 6.40 am, nearly four hours after the explosion, before firemen gingerly carried out her husband.

Rescuers paid tribute to Mr for release, trapped in a crouching position by an electricity cable and piles of brickwork. He was fully conscious as he was stretchered out, and was taken to hospital in obvious

Even less fortunate was Mr

freed at 9.45 am, nearly seven hours after the blast, with multiple injuries.

Hours later, as Mrs Thatcher was making her keynote speech to the afternoon session of the conference, firemen were still struggling, suspended by ropes from the top of the building, to free an unknown number of people still trapped in the base-

Firemen said the strong construction of the hotel had prevented a worse disaster, but the rescue had been complicated by the danger that even opening the wrong door could have brought tons of extra wreckage down on the heads of the

Outside the hotel there was Brighton seafront as delegates stumbled from the ruins, many still in evening dress and with their clothes caked in dirt and masonry dust.

Government security went back into the hotel to rescue dozens of official red boxes containing Cabinet

As they were piled up under guard against the nearest available wall, Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary, appeared on the seafront in dressing gown and slippers, using his red box as an impromptu seat. Patrick Jenkin,

emerged clad in pyjamas and mackintosh, and Lord Gowrie chief economics spokesman ir

the Lords, also in raincoat and pyjamas, helped carry deak chairs from the beach for use as emergency stretchers.

Lord Denham, Government Chief Whip in the Lords, stood barefoot on the seafront as he told how dust and rubble had almost choked him.

almost choked him.

Mr Nigel Lawson, the Charcellor, left the hotel in pyjama top and the trousers of

his suit.
Mr George Younger, the Scottish Secretary, was trapped on an upper floor for three kin, the quarters of an hour before secretary, was able to leave.

Party leaders decide swiftly to continue conference

THE DECISION to go ahead with yesterday's conference sessions was taken shortly after the bomb explosion.

Mrs Thatcher's first reaction, even before the scale of the atrocity was known, was that there must no concessions to terrorism.

Standing on the steps of Brighton police station less than an hour after the blast, she told newsmen: "The conference will go on as

rescuers struggled to free those still trapped in the wreckage of the Grand Hotel, Mrs Thatcher led her party in a surge of anger against the bombers, mixed with determination to frustrate their aims and thankfulness that most Cabinet members were unscathed.
"We were very, very

fortunate. You hear about these atrocities, but you don't expect them to happen to you," she said. "But life must go on as usual."

Viscount Whitelaw, the

Leader of the Lords, who was staying with friends in Brighton, said: "It's like any other terrorist incident. One has to keep one's feet on the ground."

Standing in front of the ruined hotel, he added: "One must keep a sense of balance and continue with life in exactly the same way as before. If you don't, you are giving the terrorists exactly what they want.

Mr Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, who left the hotel shortly after the explosion, said the decision to go on would be welcomed by delegates "because they will not want to feel that this kind

of incident will destroy a party conference, a demo-cratic assembly of this kind." Mr Nigel Lawson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was staying in the Grand,

said: "There was no panic. Everyone left in an orderly manner, and I'm not hurt in any way."
Mr Harvey Thomas, the conference organiser, described how he was rescued by fire-

men after being trapped for an hour in the rubble on the He said from his stretcher:
"I thought it was an earthquake, Then I realised you just don't have earthquakes in Brighton—at least not

during the Tory conference." Mr John Gummer, chair-man of the party, who was working with Mrs Thatcher when the bomb exploded, said the main force of the

explosion had passed them by "We were able to get back and rescue the main valuables in terms of papers and that sort of thing, but everything else has had to be left there,"

he said.

Mr Gummer said the bombing was "something which no civilised society can possibly put up with.

He said party workers and police swung into action soon after the bomb blast to make

sure the conference would open on time. "By the time the dust had cleared, none of us felt very much like sleep anyway," he

As party workers shifted into top gear to prepare the conference centre, others turned to practical problems such as clothes for delegates who left the Grand in their night clothes, among them ference chairman.

That problem was solved

a telephone call to Lord Sieff, president of Marks and Spencer, by Lord McAlpine, Conservative Party treasurer. Delegates who needed clothes were supplied by the Brighton branch of

Marks and Spencer, which called in staff to open early.

The conference hall was half empty as the morning session began at 9.20 am, with many delegates still queuing to pass the tight security at

Mrs Thatcher took the platform with her husband shortly before 9.30 am, entering the hall without the usual stage managed applause. Delegates were still milling around, but stoped to give the leader a spontaneous standing ovation.

Grim reminder of the deadly power of the IRA

THE BOMBING is a grim reminder that the Provisional IRA retains the capacity to death and destruction in the British mainland as well as in Northern Ireland, perhaps DR GARRET FITZGERALD, not exactly at will but certainly Irish Prime Minister, said when the opportunity and motive present themselves.

the bombing would not make co-operation between the British and Irish Governments There have been strong hints. for some time that the Provimore difficult but rather made sionals might revert to the use it more necessary. of bombs as a result of the con-The character of tinuing argument, within the organisation between the advo-Thatcher and the British people, he said was such that cates of purely violent methods they would not be deflected and those who wan to mix "con-trolled" violence with lectoral from what they thought were politics-what has been called The bombing would create the "Armalite in one hand and worldwide revulsion against the ballot box in the other"

'The enemy

of us all'-

FitzGerald

correct policies.

the Irish people.

phoned the British Ambassador

with the injured and bereaved.

Ulster leaders

By Our Belfast Correspondent

join chorus

of revulsion

and pain they inflict

Conservatives.

stand her ground.

Mr John Hume, leader of the

By Brendan Keenan in Dublin

approach. People are very clear that the IRA are outlaws and alien in these islands—and that what Provisionals' political wing, to overtake the main Northern they do in no way represents Ireland nationalist party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party in the polls appears to Events of this kind go to show there is one common have strengthened the hand of the militants. The advocates of enemy—the terrorist, the enemy us all-whether it is the an emphasis on the ballot box British people, the Irish people vere probably at their strongest or the unionist population of Northern Ireland." last Christmas, when, after the bombing at Harrods store Charles Haughey, the London, the IRA took the almost unprecedented step of Irish Opposition leader, tele-

in Dublin Mr Alan Goodison, to ask him to convey his dismay at what he called "this out-Sinn Fein leaders such as Mr Gerry Adams, the party president and West Belfast MP, were rage" and his deepest sympathy critical of the damage such attacks could do to their strategy of winning electoral support in Ulster while wooing British politicians, particularly still has "active service units" during the summer was desbeen to persuade Mrs Thatcher the lon on the left. Their position is in England, probably based in cribed by one leading Repubthat Northern Ireland requires mistake.

saving it had not authorised the

Brendan Keenan reports on the tactics of terror

not nearly so strong now, after European elections in June, when the SDLP leader, Mr John Ethine, MP, polled 147,000 votes against the 91,000 for Sinn Frain's Mr Danny Morrison.

The IRA, not for the first

time, has also struck hard just when it appeared to be under considerable pressure. The seizure of a large quantity arms on the trawler Marita Anne off the south-west Irish coast two weeks ago was a severe blow to it. The arms had been shipped from the U.S. and the failed operation will have cost the IRA a very large The failure of Sinn Fein, the part of its funds which are becoming increasingly difficult to

tory and the arrest of those present by police in Dublin portant by security forces north and south. Last March. hree men were arrested separately in London. Belfast and Dublin and charged in connection with bombings in London in 1981. Those attacks included the planting of a bomb in Oxford Street which killed a homh disposal expert, and the wounding of Sir Stewart wounding of Sir Stewart Pringle, then Commandant of

he Royal Marines. Perhaps most worrying for the security forces, is that the Prichton bomb shows the IRA

London, despite the arrests. IRA tactics have become much more refined since the early from Ireland to carry out the operations, and several were Sinn Fein's popularity.

The best evidence is that the IRA operates "sleepers" in Britain, who spend long periods working and living normally, and staying away from obvious Irish haunts. When an operation is planned by the IRA, they send someone from Ireland to carry it out with the "backup" provided by sleepers.

Yesterday's bombing must revive fears that the IRA may be in a position to carry out attacks in London this Christmas-a favourite tactic in the

Anti-bombing measures Ulster have been reduced in recent years as the IRA confined itself largely to attacks on members of the security often part-time members of the police, or Ulster Defence Regiment. The security around centre of Belfast were relaxed some time ago, and

That has angered IRA militants, who say the authorities have taken advantage of the political approach to claim to getting on top of violence.

pare the effects of the result the publicity with the

The conclusions from this grizzly research are known only to the IRA and it is unlikely ever have resisted the opportunity to strike directly at a British Prime Minister a Cabinet if it presented itself.

Nevertheless, the Brighton bombing appears to run counter to another argument advanced the Sinn Fein leadership which is that it would be best to encourage a sense of complacency in the British Govern-

The argument runs that an ill-out electoral challenge to the SDLP or a major bombing blitz in England would only encourage British ministers to cooperate with Dublin on a political initiative along the lines advocated by Mr Hume and Dr Garret FitzGerald, the Irish Prime Minister.

The Brighton bombing, unlike many previous outrages, comes at a time when serious political discussions are under way and between Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Dr FitzGerald. The Irish

serious and urgent political action.

The bombing, however tragic ally, is bound to make that par of their path easier.

London is most interested"in r FitzGerald's ideas for creat ing security arrangements will which Ulster Catholics could isolating and eventually defeating the IRA. The problem's that such arrangements involving the Republic (in ways as yet unspecified) in Ulster security is bound to alarm unionists.

The gap between the two Governments was spelt out by the new Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, at yesterday's debate in Brighton Mr Hurd said that none of the three options outlined by the main southern Irish parties and the SDLP in the report of the New Ireland Forum would be acceptable for the foreseeable future to the majority in Northern Ireland and these options were a United Ireland. federal/confederal Ireland o the one most frequently mentioned — joint authority between the Republic and Britain in the Province.

At Brighton, the IRA got closer to the centre of British political life than ever before. It was an undoubted military coup for them, but at a time when Dublin and London are working more closely together than ever in the search for a political settlement it could sin the long run prove a costly

Informal security in stark contrast to U.S.

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witnessed "both the devasta- relatives of those killed

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THE BOMBING was strongly THE RELATIVE informality at condemned by Northern Ire-land's political parties, with the the Grand Hotel during the Conservative conference is in stark exception of Provisional Sinn The Rev Ian Paisley, leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, sent a message to the Prime Minister expressing deep apparent at similar events elsewhere, notably in the U.S. Security for President Ronald

Reagan is much tighter than that for Mrs Margaret Thatcher. He said: "Northern Ireland not surprisingly given that the people, during the past 10 years know exactly what these bomb-President has already survived one assassination attempt. ings are like, and the sorrow

President Reagan is continuously guarded by a phalanx of secret service men, one of Social Democratic and Labour whom never leaves his side Party, called it an attack on Whenever the President is to democracy itself. His party sent travel anywhere, the secret service, the wing of the U.S. message of sympathy to the Treasury Department historic-In another message handed in at 10 Downing Street, Mr James Molyneaux, the Official Unionist dent's safety, dispatches a number of agents, weeks before, to Party leader, said Unionists knew that Mrs Thatcher would "advance" the site, and pre-

Andrew Arends on how America guards politicians Conservative Party conference, the Republican convention, security was "tighter than a

drum," according to one party At the convention in August the presidential party occupied an entirely separate building, a new section of Loew's Anatole

Hotel, in Dallas, construction of modate the President. Secret service men had been securing" the hotel for over a month, one Washington official said yesterday. "And for the week before the convention began, the place was completely

sanitised." Access to the building during Pare security arrangements. the convention was strictly At the U.S. equivalent of the limited to members of the

Reagan-Bush staff, authorised to be there. All staff members in Even journalists have to have contin with the President had been screened long beforehand, by the U.S. law enforcement agencies such as the FBI, and

Staff members requiring regular access to the President were issued with special lapel pins, clearly identifying them as authorised personnel. These pins were invariably changed daily. Even with thes pins, staff were stopped at regular check points, and asked to protheir credentials

One White House aide at the convention said: "No unauthorised personnel could have made through the front door of Brighton Grand Hotel on Thurs- set-up.

Even journalists have to have special secret service security passes, which have to be displayed at all times. And in Dallas, even star television journalists, with faces at least as familiar as the President's credentials, and then escorted by secret service men to their destination at the President's

service refused to comment on the President's security arrangements at all, other government ex-government officials, with experience of security de-

day evening and Friday morn

Common sense is the best weapon against these sorts of attacks," one former official said and when you put most of ion, you had better make sure that not just anybody can wan

Some U.S. officials expressed shock at the ease which the IRA had in launching the attack None the less, said one: "all remonstrates how easily detar nined terrorists can through the best security arrangements.

Moreover, when the two coun tries' security arrangements don, U.S. officials have been pleased with the British security

UK NEWS-THE BRIGHTON BOMBING

Prompt start Victory for miners by violence 'would be defeat for democracy' for inquiry into butrage at **Grand Hotel**

AN INQIRY into the Grand Hotel bombing is to be carried out by Mr John Hod-dinott, deputy Chief Con-stable af Hampshire,

Mr Roger Birch, the Chief constable of Sussex, announced the inquiry yesterday, amid mounting concern over security precautions at

Mr Hoddinott drove to Brighton yesterday, and began immediate investigations in what was intended to be a wide ranging inquiry into all aspects of conference

Mr Birch said security was tougher than at past conferences, but conceded that the bombers had found a gap in his precautions.

He indicated that security planning had concentrated on controlling an expected lobby by striking miners rather than preventing a terrorist

attack.
"Lt would be easier to anticipate that we would have demonstrations and violence of that sort, rather than explosions, but we did not discount them in our plans,"

Mr Birch said the bomb attack "must raise question marks" for police and security officers in charge of

future conferences.

However, he allowed the final day of the conference to go ahead as planned.

"We were quite happy that, provided we were a little more stringent than we have been, that it would be safeto carry on." he said.

Mr Birch said total security at conference hotels was impossible in a democratic

"It is quite impossible to search everyone going in and out, bearing in mind that even a small amount of explosive can cause a huge amount of

damage," he said.

The police presence in Brighton had been heavy throughout the week and, for the first time, passers-by were prevented from walking on the forecourt of the Brighton Centre, where the conference was held, being forced to

walk in the road instead.

The bar at the Grand Hotel, which is normally open to the public, was closed to all but conference delegates, ob-servers and guests, and bags were searched at the Brighton

However, there were no metal detectors and no search of bags at the Grand. Many bona fide conference pass-holders said they had been able to enter the hotel without a check on passes, and here was no procedure, either in the conference or in hotels, conference checking that pass-holders were who they purported to

Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, said there was no way that total security could not run a conference like that," he said.

Mr Brittan said there had been no advance warning of the bomb. He promised a full inquiry into security. Viscount Whitelaw, Leader

of the Lords and a former Home Secretary and Northern Ireland Secretary, said:
"There is no such thing as perfect security in any organisation. There cannot be. But the security in my judgment was very well done."

He added: "The police had a desperately difficult task. I think they have done it extremely well but we shall have to wait for the inquiry

Mr Douglas Hurd, the Northern Ireland Secretary, said it was "foolish" to speculate on the possibility of an "autumn offensive" in

Britain by the IRA. He said it was doubtful that the attack was connected with yesterday's con-ference debate on Northern Ireland but he added: "It does bring home to people forcefully the kind of experitotally mistaken. ences which many people in Northern Ireland have

endured these past years." Mr Hurd said he was grateful for a message of sympathy and solidarity sent by Dr Garret FitzGerald, the Irish

Prime Minister.

He refused to speculate on what new initiatives Dr Fitzmight agree at the next Anglo-Irish summit but he stressed: "It is clear that both the principals are anxious to deepen the relationship they have established

Mr Hurd declined to say what action he might take as a result of the bombing,

except to continue a firm security policy.

Mr John Gummer, the Chairman of the Conservative Party, said: "The terrible thing is that anyone is pre-pared to do this, and if it is the IRA it is yet another example that those are people who have no interest in demo-

cratic decisions. "They are concerned to bomb their way into power and this Government never give way to bombs. We will not give way to bombs in Britain any more than we will give way to bombs in Belfast."

able to gain by violence what they cannot achieve by negotia-

tion, it will be a defeat for democracy, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister, warned yesterday in her warmly acclaimed speech to the Conservative conference in

She described the strike as she described the strike as a battle between the extremists and the rest, and told her supporters in the crowded conference hall "The nation faces what is probably the most testing crisis of our time."

To tumultuous applause, which was sustained through a standing ovation lasting some eight minutes, the Prime Minister promised "This Government will not weaken. This nation will meet the challenge. Democracy will prevail."

While her supporters demonstrated that their admiration for her has reached new heights in the wake of her remarkable escape from injury in the IRA bomb attack on the Grand Hotel and her coolness and courage in responding to it, Mrs Thatcher was clearly deter-mined that the impact of the outrage should not obscure the concern she feels over the issues at stake in the miners'

The Prime Minister was insistent that the Government was not responsible for the nation's having to experience seven months of an agonising

To cheers, she declared: "Let me make it absolutely clear. The miners' strike was not of this Government's seeking, nor of its making."

Mrs Thatcher stressed that the strike had been called even though the National Coal Board had produced its best-ever offer, coupled with the highest ever for the first time, the promise that no miner would lose his job against his will.

The offer had been made, she said, even though the coal industry was making enormous losses—£1.3bn last year—equal to the sum paid out in salaries to all the doctors and dentists in the National Health Service

Mrs Thatcher declared: "This is a dispute about the right to go to work of those who have been denied the right to go to She said it must never be for-

gotten that the overwhelming majority of trade unionists, including many striking miners, deeply regretted what had been done in the name of trade unionism. When the strike was over,

everything possible must be done to encourage moderate and responsible trade unionism so that it could once again take its "respected and valuable place" in Britain's industrial Condemning the executive of

the National Union of Mineworkers—but without mentioning the name of Mr Arthur Scargill, the union president—the Prime Minister said they were the issue, but refused to heed the few isolated calls for an alternative policy.

closure of uneconomic pits had never been granted either to miners or to workers in any other industry.

The Prime Minister challenged: "Why, then, demand it? Why ask for what they know cannot be conceded?"

"There can be only one explanation. They did not want a settlement. They wanted a strike. Otherwise they would have ballotted on the Coal Board's offer."

Mrs Thatcher praised the bravery of the miners who were facing the violence of the picket lines as they continued to work, and scornfully rejected the description of "scabs" applied to them by their former work-She said: "They are lions.

workmates. Not only are they members of the same union, but the working miner is saving both their futures."
Mrs Thatcher acknowledged that Thursday's debate on unemployment had reflected growing unease in the party over the issue, but refused to

What a tragedy it is when striking miners attack their

Defiant Thatcher attacks IRA

RESOLUTE and defiant, the Prime Minister denounced the IRA bomb attack as an attempt to cripple Britain's democratically elected Gov-

Praising the calm and firmness of purpose which had enabled the conference to run its full course despite the outrage, Mrs Thatcher declared: "The fact that we gathered here now,

shocked but composed and determined, is a sign not only that this attack has failed, but that all attempts to destroy democracy by terrorism will fail."

She said the bomb attack at the Grand Hotel was first and foremost an inhuman indiscriminating attempt to massacre innocent, unsuspecting, men and women staying in Brighton for the

the spirit of enterprise which provided new jobs, and claimed that the Government was helping to encourage it by cutting taxes, reducing inflation and keeping costs down.

The Prime Minister seemed to lift the veil on some earlier Cabinet discussions when she explained that her response to demands for more capital investment was to ask the minister concerned where compensating expenditure cuts could be made in his own or in some other department.

The only other alternative, she said, was to ask Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which taxes should be put up.
Mrs Thatcher reaffirmed her

opposition to any increase in income tax—" it is already too high "—and made it clear that she would be reluctant to ask the Chancellor to consider increasing VAT. Mrs Thatcher confirmed that

the biggest ever act of de-nationalisation—the impending sale of share in British Telecom -would be followed by further instalments in the Government's privatisation programme before the next general election.

She implied that she still saw
the Labour Party as the main

challenger to the Conservatives, and forcefully restated her belief that its commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament

would prove disastrous.

The Prime Minister predicted that the nation would give one answer — "No defence, no Labour Government."

She contended "No one in their senses wants nuclear weapons for their own sake. But

equally, no responsible Prime Minister could take the colossal gamble of giving up our nuclear defences while our greatest potential enemy kept theirs."



Mrs Thatcher acknowledges her standing ovation

Bomb attack 'will not shake our resolve'

Douglas Hurd, said yesterday in obliterated and forgotten." has first major speech as Mr Hurd spoke of the Northern Ireland Secretary. achievements of the last few

Mr Hurd was replying to the Northern Ireland debate the first

at the start of the debates.
She was flanked by Viscount
Whitelaw, deputy Prime Minister, and the members of the
Cabinet, with the exception of
Mr Norman Tebbit.

Because of intense security

at the doors of the conference centre, where policemen took statements from guests at the Grand Hotel, only a sprinkling of representatives were in the

Mrs Thatcher slipped in the front of the conference centre as a nine-car decoy was driven round the back of the hall, with motorcycle outriders.

Then Mr John Gummer, the party chairman, went to the rostrum and, his voice breaking with emotion, said: "We intend to continue with our conference in exactly the way we would have done had this out-rage not happened."

After applause, he continued: We shall do so because those who wish to intimidate demoeracy must be shown that, what-ever means they use, those means will fail.

"We do, of course, know that there have been some deaths, and a number of injuries. We don't know the full

extent of those yet."

He called for two minutes' silence for the victims of the blast. The conference was then led in prayer by a local clergy-man, then went straight into

the debate,
As Mr Hurd spoke, Mrs
Thatcher's eyes appeared to
well with tears, but she controlled her emotion and
applauded his commitment to

counter the challenge of the been "moved by killing for the sake of killing, but perhaps they hoped to shake our resolve, your resolve, in carrying forward the work in which we are engaged," said Mr Hurd. If so, they were deeply and

son of Viscount Kesmley, and a former deputy chief whip, was

appointed by Mrs Thatcher last

year to take charge of liaison between Conservative Central

Office and No. 10 Downing

Street, working closely with Mr

John Gumner, the party chair-

Knighted in the 1983 dissolution honours, he entered parliament in 1964 holding the

seat of Enfield Southgate for

Educated at Eton and Christ-church, Oxford, he joined the Sunday Times, and became its

He was a director of Kemsdew

Newspapers from 1954 to 1959.

He later became a deputy chairman of Leopold Joseph and

assistant editor in 1952.

the next 20 years.

THE BOMB OUTRAGE will not shake the Government's resolve in carrying forward the work in which it is engaged. Mr outlive their bombs and their bullets, and this party will be debating its policies in freedom after they and their deeds are

years, and the work of Mr Jim Prior, his predecessor. "In Northern Ireland the

debate of the day, only hours after the bomb attack.

The Prime Minister was applauded and cheered as she took her place on the platform

There had been a significant the debate of the day, only hours after the debate of the day, only hours after the day, only hours after the bomb attack.

The Prime Minister was time for slow, and still incomplete healing." He said.

There had been a significant the debate of the debat drop in the casualties from the "campaign of terror." In 1979, 113 people died as the result

of terrorist violence. Last year the total was 77. So far this year, it was 52. There were now Because of intense security 9,000 regular troops in province compared with 22,000 There is greater stability in both communities than for a number of years, and there is feeling that new efforts can

be made to bring an end to the Turning again to the Propeople donated money to them out of their feeling of vague goodwill towards a romantic

"They are not buying the unity of Ireland," he said. They are overwhelmingly buying the death of Irishmen. There is no heroism in the violence of the Provisional IRA or of any other terrorist group. There is only ugliness, futility and grief, and we will have no truck with it."

The debate, in which constant reference was made to the bombing, was thrown into some consternation when Mr John Rutherford (East Surrey) said Ireland was a natural geographical unity and should one day have a single political

Cries of "Traitor" erupted from the floor, and the chairman had to break in to quieten delegates.

Mr Rutherford said that a united Ireland could not be achieved against the wishes of the majority in Northern Ireland. "I believe it should Mr Hurd said those who be our long-term policy to find planted the bomb may have a method of unifying Ireland with the consent of both sides of the country."
Mr Rutherford alos shook

past criticism of bias and delegates when referring to violence within the Royal Ulster Constabulary. He said: 'It will take them a long time

slow in taking off. Heserved as parliamentarly private secre-tary to Mr Peter Walker in the

In 1975 he was appointed an opposition whip, stayed on as a junior whip in Mrs Thatcher's

first government and rose to be

man, he remained in the back-ground until his arrest in

April this year for driving with

twice the legal limit of alcohol

Publicity surrounding the

court hearing in August during

which it emerged that Sir

Anthony had injured a police-man and driven at speed

through a red light in his attempt to escape arrest was

widely felt to have ended all

hopes he may have had o ffur-

ther promotion, and possibly

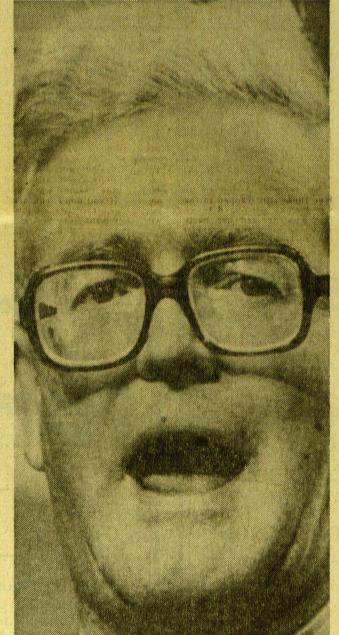
A popular but rather reserved

deputy chife whip in 1981.

Heath Government.

in his blood.

His parliamentaryl career was even his political career.



Mr Douglas Hurd: Democracy will outlive bombs and bullets

Strangford.

Mr Taylor, who was staying on the fifth floor of the Grand Hotel, said: "It was a terrible experience—one I don't want to

experience again. "Our system is stronger to live down that reputation." having had seven IRA bullets and police in Ulster, and theirs. The democracy which we have inherited will strongly rebuffed by Mr John in Northern Ireland as a for "a just solution"

Kemsley's son was deputy Chief Whip

Taylor, Official Unionist MP for Minister at Stormont in charge properties bombed over the last 10 years, including one last year, but I was never closer to a bomb than I was last night.

The conference approved a "I have had personal ex-perience of terrorism myself, support for the armed forces having had seven IRA bullets and police in Ulster, and urging Mr Hurd to continue the search

Margaret van Hattem traces the career of Sir Anthony Berry

"The Government and supporters say that all nambles of losses and conflict and costs is the price that has to be paid to 'save democracy'," he said. "If it was, it would be orth paving double and more. But it is not the price for democracy, it is the price of the

in the end to go ahead.

Joseph pledge on head teachers

in pit strike By Margaret van Hattem, Political Correspondent

Thatcher

accused

of deceit

NEIL KINNOCK, Labour Party leader, yesterday accused Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister, Mr Peter Walker, the Energy Secretary, and Mr Norman Tebbit, the Industry Secretary, of deliberately deceiving

country about the miners. Speaking in his Islwyn constituency, Mr Kinnock said that the pit closure procedures which the miners were fighting to preserve were not those caricetured by the Government. The procedures provided for closure of pits with "large outputs and reserves of coal" which miners accepted were "exhausted" as defined by the Plan For Coal

The procedures had never implied that the miners wanted to "produce mud" as the Prime Minister had claimed, or that the National Union of Miners wanted pits kept open until the last ton of coal had gone, as Mr

Walker had claimed.

Mr Tebbit was equally deluded when he claimed that the problem of closures could be settled if it were left to "the chaps concerned at pit level" for that was precisely what miners were trying to ensure. Instead the National Coal Board was trying to ensure that the chaps at pit level were dis-regarded.

Mrs Thatcher, Walker and Tebbit cannot be so stupid that they fail to understand that, and the only conclusion can be that they are being deliberately and systematically deceitful. Government claims that their

investment programme was generous were also misleading, he said. More than four-fifths of coal investment was going into new development in a number of areas in Eastern England. Thus claims that redundancies would be volun-tary were false. For in coal-fields with up to 21 per cent unemployment, there would be no more jobs locally.

Even if there were jobs in other coalfields, those wishing to moxe to take them up would be unable to sell their houses He said the oGvernment claimed they showed their faith in the mining industry by making subsidies equivalent to £130 a man. That faith was not very impressive, considering that that cost of putting the same man out of work in areas where there was no other work would be at least £6,000 a year.

The Government had also mis-calculated badly on the cost of the strike. In March this year it said it was necessary to cut coal output by 4m tons and coal board losses by £350m in order to bring output into line with the market. Seven months later more than 54m tons of coal output had been lost ad independent estimates put the cost of the dispute at £3.5bn.

Prime Minister's incompetence

Mr Kinnock is reported to have had secon dthoughts about deliverying this seem following the bombing in Brighton esterday morning, but decided

GREATER encouragement is to sentation. "I accept that there be given in "even more careful is real concern but I think that selection" of head teachers, Sir the use of the remedy must Keith Joseph, the Education remain in the hands of parents.

Secretary said yesterday.

tives to raise standards, asked that more should be done to equip children with skills relevant to modern Britain. In discussing concern about lack of discipline in schools Sir Keith said: "We can all recognise that the discipline and values in a school depend crucially on the nearest thing we have to a magic wand in education, the head teacher." Not only was selection of head teachers going to receive more attention but more training was

going to be devoted to them. The issue of "peace studies" and Left-wing propaganda in the school curriculum has received considerable attention in the debate with calls for the Government to pay more concern to the issue. Sir Keith said: "The Government can only make sure that ibas does not creep in if the public com-

is real concern but I think tha

on education which, while applauding government initiatives to raise standard. the arts to science, technology and engineering in universities and polytechnics.

The arts should not be forgotten, he said. "We need philosophy and physics... because we live in a world the reflects not only science an technology but the social value that we inherited from the pas and that are modified as we on into the future by those study them and try to talk abou

tives on the quality of teaching the motivation of pupils and th current national consultation or the latter issue, and in particular peace studies that had drawn considerable passion from the

Lady Olga Maitland (North Norfolk), of the Women and Families for Defence, spoke of the anti-patriotic propaganda He urged parents with com-plaints to make group repre-called peace studies.



Sir Keith Joseph: Even more careful selection needed

Guidance for magistrates on 'sensitive' cases

BY RAYMOND HUGHES, LAW COURTS CORRESPONDENT

LORD HAILSHAM, the Lord motivated, or at least sincere Chancellor, yesterday gave magistrates guidance on

politically sensitive" cases. of the Magistrates Association there were one or two rules of commonsense law which were apt to be overlaid or forgotten a welter of rhetoric or a fog of pettifogging legalism. In a free country like Britain, there was freedom to

demonstrate or strike, provided it was not done in a way that contravened the law. The purpose of demonstrating striking was in most cases elevant to the administration

A malicious, foolish or wanton on might be perfectly lawful well-intentioned, properly

series of acts might be against the law if done illegally, or accompanied by illegal acts He told the annual meeting designed to further what might the Magistrates Association otherwise be a perfectly praiseworthy cause "We who have taken the

judicial oath cannot choose what laws we enforce, or what acts we allow to go unpunished, by reference to our private stan-dards or values," Lord Hailsham

He said that if a court was flooded by a sudden flow of cases—such as was currently happening in some Midlands and northern England courts because of the miners' strike they should not hesitate to ask him to help by sending out a

Sir Anthony Berry

FINANCIALTIMES

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Saturday October 13 1984

The start of a dialogue

Conservative Party conference -is to restate basic principles rather than to change them. In the tragic circumstances of Brighton yesterday Mrs Thatcher, who had shown her usual courage and determination in the small hours of the morning amid the debris of the bomb outrage, might have been tempted to make a defiant and angry speech. It is all the more significant that she did not. Whereas in 1981 she confronted the critics in her own party and

the country who were arguing for change — "The lady's not for turning" — yesterday she reasoned with them. The reasoning was not always convincing, but the purpose was clear and encouraging: to show herself not so much as the leader of a counter-revolution as the leader of the natural party of national government appealing to the broadest possible constituency.

Labour's move to the Left, and especially—as Mrs Thatcher was at pains to emphasise commitment to unilateralism, looks very like a retirement into permanent opposition; but if Labour has stopped listening to ordinary people, the Conservatives must listen all the more attentively. or they might risk leaving the centre opposition to offer Thatcherism with a human face. Shrewd political arguments also, as they should, reflect a national need. Success in the long run is built on cooperation and understanding rather than confrontation, and the basic change of direction is now clear and fixed.

Infrastructure

We thus not only heard Mrs Thatcher quoting Lord Keynes, albeit selectively, but we heard her discuss the mine dispute in firm but reasonable terms, looking for a sensible outcome demands. We heard her listing the Government's achievements in infrastructure investment with pride, and stressing the need for interim measures to reduce unemployment.

It may not have been enough to allay the unease expressed ters do actually understand on Thursday, but it was not these facts of public budgeting,

Her quotations from Lord Keynes may have been onesided, but they were apt. As a theorist in the mid-1930s he was concerned to prove that an economy could reach an equili-brium i n which a large number of the labour force would remain unemployed indefinitely. However, as a Government adviser, Keynes also recognised from the start what too many of his followers have forgotten:

THE PURPOSE of a party that the injection of monetary conference—and especially of a demand would be worse than useless if it resulted simply in higher costs and prices.

This insight also proved prophetic; the Keynesian management which had worked so well in the 1950s became increasingly problematic in the 1960s and downringht inflationary in the 1970s. recent figures for private sector pay and the renewed pay disputes in the motor industry suggest that this problem may take as long to solve as it did

Rational wage bargaining is not the only objective of the Government policy of allowing the maximum scope for the operation of market forces; but all its other beneficial results tructural change and techni-advince—are likely to be slow to appear, as she stressed.

What is to be done, however, to help the casualties of this counter-revolution — many of them as innocent as the victims of yesterday's bomb? Here she was less convincing. Mrs Thatcher likes to appeal to housekeeping economics in discussing national problems. This is quite a telling way of illustrating the problems of choice and priorities, but it is not a good way to illustrate the workings of a national economy.

Budgeting

In suitably homely terms, a Prime Minister's spending decisions are unlike those of a housewife, because when she chooses to spend, she will get a great deal of the money back through savings in social programmes and tax revenues; and when she chooses to economise, she will find that some distressing bills are consequently higher. A housewife who could tax the grocer and had to pay him compensation for cancelled orders. would behave differently, especially if the grocer could turn his hand, say, to extending the house. That is the economic case for public investment; it provides real assets at small net cost. The social case hardly needs case hardly needs

It is to be hoped that minisrhetoric remains unchanged. The persistence of inflationary behaviour rules out any old fashioned dash for growth which has worked so gratify ingly for President Raagan; but a modest move in this direction would court almost no danger, would do some perceptible good and would do more than any-thing to sweeten the dialogue which Mrs Thatcher is rightly trying to start.

THE FRAGILITY of the rule of law had been the underlying theme of the Conservative Party Conference in Brighton this week even before the bomb went off at the Grand Hotel early yester-

> It took the explosion and the television pictures that fol-lowed to make the point more forcefully than any of the speakers could. Violence happened in a place that was supposed to be most closely protected.

Yet something else happened too. The conference went on, and Mrs Thatcher emerged i nthe middle of the night to say that it would. Not only that: Mr Neil Kinnock, the leader of the Labour Party, who has sometimes been criticised for being less than forthright in his condemnation of extra-parliamentary activity, issued a message of sympathy and encouragement to the Prime Minister before most

people were out of their beds. For anyone who was there it will remain an unforttable experience - like remembering what you did on the day that John Kennedy was killed. Some slept through it. Others heard the bang, thought it was thunder or the wind, and went back to sleep. Some did not know about it until morning. But it was the continuity that

was so striking. People who would not normally say so, proised Mrs Thatcher for her calm and determination. I was in Munich in 1972 when the Palestinians attacked the Olympic village and while more neonle were killed there than had been in Brighton, the contrast was very stark. Here there was no inquest into the national nsyche, only a readiness to try

to so on as before.

Yet it was still a dramatic inderlining of what had been aid during much of the week The Prime Minister told the conference in her closing speech yesterday. "The nation now faces what is probably the most testing crisis of our time -the battle between the ex-

That section of her address had almost certainly been written before the bomb went off.

It was related to the violence on the picket lines and some of the antics at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool a week ago But oddly enough the words stood, even though this time the violence came, by its own admis-

sion, from the Provisional IRA.
It would be quite wrong to party in Brighton had been engaged on a campaign to impose law and order by force. That goes for some of its supporters, perhaps, but for the Governthe approach is far subtler.

The question is how to maintain law and order when some people want to overthrow it, and how to do it while keeping independence of

Mrs Thatcher said yesterday: What we have seen in this country is the emergence of an organised revolutionary minority who are prepared to exploit industrial disputes but whose real aim is the breakdown of law and order and the destruction of democratic parliamentary government."

But she went on: "No government owns the law." Then she quoted Theodore Roosevelt: "No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey it. Obedence to the law is demanded as right-not ascked as a favour.

The business of trying to achieve that balance of the rule of law by consent has been at the heart of the conference, and quite clearly the Government has been more worried than it is prepared to admit in public about the possibility of uncon-trollable violence breaking out renewal of the troubles in the inner cities.

keynote conference speech was given by Sir Patrick Mayhew, Wednesday evening. He called it "The Rule of Law" and it contained the following quotation from Edmund Burke:

"Nations are governed by the same method, and on the same principle, by which an individual without authority is often able to govern those who are his equals or his superiors: by a knowledge of their temper and a judicious management of it

We shall go on as before

Aftermath of the bombing: the Brighton seafront before dawn yesterday with a gaping hole in the upper floors of the Grand Hotel

THE TORIES AT BRIGHTON

By Malcolm Rutherford

amongst them whom he presides study of a statesman.' That phrase about "the tem-er of the people," which Sir

Patrick underlined, is central. The Government is trying to turn the country round at a time there is great social and economic change in any case, inde-pendently of its owna ction. It would like to accelerate the change rather than slow it down—that is the real difference betwene Mrs Thatcher and Mr Kinnock. But it can only do so successfully if it correctly judges the temper of the people. The news from Brighton is that it is doing pretty well on every issue save one. A Tory Party Conference is no longer an artificial place ni which to take soundings of national opinion. The party has broadened. There have been working minersh ere, and their wives, and they have ceased to be curiosities. Instead, they seem to be natural members of

the Tory movement Government has recovered from the banana skins that dogged cond administration. Minister after Minister has come out with proposals for legislation that could fill the working time of the present Parliament. Indeed, one has the impression that some of them are already working on the Conservative

manifesto for a general election. Mr Patrick Jenkin, the Environment Secretary, is no longer stumbling in his approach to the abolition of the GLC and the metropolitan councils. He actually went on the offensive in anouncing a fundamental finance works. There will be no fiddling about with promises to abolish domes tic rates without knowing what to put in their place. The idea now is for a plan for compre hensive reform to be offered in the manifesto next time.

The Government is on the offensive, too, on the National Health Service. Another of Mrs Thatcher's impetuous promises
—"the NHS is safe in our
hands"—may turn out to be
redeemed. The figures showing an overall expansion of the serrice are beginning to look impressive, despite some local difficulties.

The word is that proposals for reform of all the social services wil be in the Queen's Speech next year, as a result of what Mr Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, calls the biggest review since Beveridge, and a Green or White Paper February March.

achievements to report: Hong Kong, for example, and the final coming to terms with membership of the European Community. The question of whether Britain should be in or out of

Europe has become a dead letter, as has been apparent at all the party conferences this season. Mrs Thatcher yesterday paid a deserved compliment to Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign

Secretary, for his pains.

Defence looks at least like a temporary winner as well, it only because the other parties are so divided on it. Cruise missiles have come without the extent of civil unrest that there might have been, and the search for East-West detente is on

The Prime Minister claimed in her speech that it is now the Tories who are the true peace party and added more strikingly: "This party is pro-American." It is just possible that that old post-war dream has a chance of coming true at last: a Britain that has settled its relationship with Western Europe, and a Europe that can come to terms with the U.S. on a more equal basis. And yet neither the achieve-

ments nor the bomb are the full story of the conference. There remains the one crucial area where the government is not doing well: namely unem-ployment. Mrs Thatcher admited it herself. It was, she said, the "scourge of our times." Certainly it was what the conference was most worried

Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a flop when he avoided address-ing the issue in anything like human terms in his speech on Wednesday. He is not the party's darling and one of his olleagues remarked that he did not even have the sensitivity to feel nervous before speaking — a sure sign of not conference the seriously.

Mrs Thatcher retrieved the an oposition a bit at least by tion. acknowledging that there was a problem. She has also picked up some of the language of other parties by talking about caring and compassion and combining it with convic-It was almost like Dr David emphasising the mixture of toughness and tenderness. But she offered precious few

What she had done on this, as in so many other areas, was to go back to the end of the Second World War—a period when she thinks everything should have been going right and di for a while. The Prime Minister's version of British history is that the rot set in sometime in the early 1950.

Thus she quoted the 1944 White Paper on full employment and called it not Keynesian but Thatcherite. "Employment cannot be created by Act of Parliament or by Government action alone . . . the success of the policy outlined in this paper will ultimately depend on the understanding and support of the community It was a good theme and no one should believe that Mrs Thatcher does not care about the number out of work. It is make or break for the suc-cess of her administration,

The drama of the bomb has probably given her another reprieve. It took attention away from what has been emerging as the dominant issue of the conference; unemployment and the rule of law. The two go together. It will e easier to maintain the rule of law if unemployment starts to fall. The Government is des-

perately aware of this. It has one other worry which may seem a luxury. It has terrible responsibility because thought was being entertained quite seriously this week that the Tories could win the next election with another increased majority. But what if they do that and unemployment is still climbing? The very thought adds point to the fears about an extra-parliamentary opposi-

To end however, where we came in, during the early hours of yesterday. That is Ireland. If the Government requires a demonstration of the need to put the Irish questions high up in the political agenda, that was First signs are that the hint will be taken. The Provisional IRA has over-reached itself. Out answers for the short or even of that some good might come

Ambitious projects

From Mr A. Gueterbock

Sir,—I wholeheartedly endorse the sentiments for an early Government decision in respect of a cross-Channel link, expressed by Nicholas Colchester in his article, "Time to channel our energies" (Oct 8). Within the bounds of the

British Government's declared monetary philosophy that such a link should be totally financed the private sector, it is indeed ". . . perfectly possible to devise financing schemes schemes that involve a substantial degree of private risk and reward, but the governments are going to have to take the lead."

To be more specific it is the British Government which initially has to take the lead. was a British Government which unilaterally abandoned the last project in 1975, and also originated the present initiative; therefore the French, who have always been in favour of such a scheme, seek assurance that history will not repeat it-self and that this time, once started, the project will be

his succinct summary of the reasons why we should be getting on with the building of a cross-Channel link, Mr Colchester said that the governments "...should identify the most ambitious project that seems economically justifiable ... " and then proceeded to personally identify himself with

the Euroroute scheme Mr Colchester, the words "ambitious" and "economically justifiable" are unfortunately not necessarily compatible. "The five major banks," or.

more properly, the Franco/ British Channel Link Financing p, concluded that the only scheme which is both technically acceptable and financially viable . . ." was the rail operated twin bored tunnel

private and standard commercial road vehicles, proposed by the Channel Tunnel Group.

The Financing Group's report rejected the private financing eapability of bridges and the Euroroute schemes grounds that "... tech and overall financial commitbeyond market ment acceptability.

As Mr Colchester implied, a cross-Channel link is not the overall solution to the problem of unemployment which is such a blight on the national economies on both sides of the Channel, but it would provide a stimulus in the right direction, away from the continuous and depressing upward trend. The Channel Tunnel would provide 250,000 man years of employ-ment during its construction and, in operation, 8,000 new permanent job opportunities in direct and related employment in both Britain and France.

The Channel Tunnel has a far greater road vehicle throughput capacity than the Euroroute scheme which costs at least

three times as much. It makes no economic sense to pay more for less in the "justification of the ambitious." A. F. Gueterbock,

Channel Tunnel Group, 28, Hammersmith Grove, W6.

Top pay rates

and jobs From Mr J. Chancellor

Sir,—In reply to the letter from Mr A. Chancellor (October 9) referring to the record unemployment figures and the large increases in "top-people's"

It is worth remembering the has been using the theme for many months now that many people are pricing themselves out of their jobs.

Perhaps the wheel will turn full circle and they will join the ranks of the unemployed and then (they) will not only be facilities to accommodate all like the rest of us in a physical

Letters to the Editor

James Chancellor. 3 Sloane Terrace, SW1.

Trading on Sunday

From Mr H. Woolf Sir,-I read the first published letter (September 15) from Mr F. T. Pattinson, in opposition to Sunday trading, with a mixture amusement and some disbelief that its content was worthy of publication. It certainly was not worthy of reply Then, his facts and figures were as confused as his argument was

His second letter (October 5) was as much a rag bag of subjectivity, information about New York State, let alone the whole of the U.S., which would not bear close scrutiny and, idle comment upon British retailing, its associated costs and the services supporting it,

This country's greatest trading venue, Oxford Street, used to be closed on Saturday afternoons. Over a year or two in the late 1960s one trader opened, then another, then authority, with an eye on potential vast rating increases but remand, changed the regulations regarding Saturday where upon the rush to open on Saturdays became a flood and now virtually the entire street is open. Every trader has enjoyed excellent extra business as the street has become a magnet for tourists, British holiday-makers and Londoners. The makes the point that the antici-

sense but also in the financial | enjoys are regularly published and the benefits to the balance of payments for the country are well known. The John Lewis Parnership, in this street and others in central London, is however, an exception; it remains closed on Saturday afternoons. All the competitors of this great trading company are open on that day, yet no competitive pressures appear to exist to force the partnership to open.

Those that argue that prices will increase because of proportionate cost increases as a result of a longer or mixed retail amount of spending power available to the public is, as if by magic, fixed to the number of rick H. Jones' letter of same date), should extend their logic and consider closing shops, by law, an extra day or two to save

After all, what is so special about opening five and a half or six days, why not five, four, three, two or even one? If the costs are proportionate and the spend fixed, shops could take it in turn to open say one or two by the local authority so as to maintain a fair share of the fixed" trade and, in deference to the logic, retail staff could go on paid holiday for most of the week, all other costs would be cut to the bone, prices must fall, no one would suffer and many would be advantaged. But who would believe it?

Mr Pattinson's last paragraph booming trade figures the street | pated "free for all shop open- all else, that MBAs are doing | East Barnet, Herts.

ing policy" will be short-lived as a result of people shopping soon at and from their TV screen. I agree, but will they be asked to turn it off between 8.00 pm and midnight, 1.00 pm on Saturdays and al day Sunday?

It surely cannot be other than reasonable that retailers should be allowed to satisfy the needs their customers at times flexible, suitable and convenient those customers? There is after all, massive evidence that this view is shared by the

H. Woolf 60 Kings Road, SW3.

Graduates in business

From the Director, Business Graduates Association Sir,—Many of the headlines referring to the recent report of business graduates published by Harbridge House reflect a now familiar criticism of MBAs. They are variously accused of being arrogant and ambitious of being a disruptive influence in their companies.

Close reading of the report, however, reveals that it is the big international companies, frequently American, who profess themselves most happy with MBAs and who employ large numbers of them. Curiously enough, these are the companies which are widely regarded as being dynamic and

successful. Conversely, the adverse comments tend to come from the more traditional companies who have difficulty in utilising the talents of MBAs. There is some evidence from our own records that disillusionment is great in this type of company leading to a drift away from organisations

employing increasing numbers also emulated GEC's wisdom companies are struggling to mium charge upon their money keep the few they have then management? the Harbridge House report

precisely what they have been trained to do, that is, stimulate organisations to improve. 28, Margaret Street, W1.

Premium on money management

From Mr R. Eastley

Sir, - As a small business owner with a healthy credit bank balance I decided to follow Lord Weinstock's example by transferring "idle" money into a separate IB a/c with the same bank operating my firm's cur rent business, with instructions -which were accepted-that on each month's maturity the interest be transferred

Caution was taken to ensure the current did not fall below a comfortable operating margin, and, of course, my instruction incorporated measures to ensure I acquired satisfaction by a monthly instrument of money movement between the two.

Since my implementation of this business "benefit," ever, I became aware that my 'entry' charges 0.267p had escalated to £1.008 per entry on successive statements. Further malfeasance mani-

fested itself into my receipt each month, on the day of

maturity, a form requesting per-

mission to roll-over-completely ignoring my seven-day prior Needless to say, the inevitable occurred on one occasion and while my IB a/c remained exceedingly healthy, the current

invoked an overdraft twice the interest rate of the IB. (Holidays were, of course, the excuse and my vituperations even brought my bank manager to

It is probably obvious that If successful companies are other firms and companies have are they, too, receiving a pre

"Money matters"

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You are invited to attend at the following locations:

22 October Meridien Hotel 7.30pm **Tabuk** 24 October King Abdul Aziz Military

Cantonment Hospital 6.00pm 27 October Riyadh Palace Hotel

6.30pm Dhahran 29 October International Hotel 6.30pm

Bahrain 30 October Diplomat Hotel 6.30pm

31 October Ramada Hotel 6.30pm Abu Dhabi 3 November

Sheraton Hotel

7.00pm

Dubai 4 November International Trade Centre 7.00pm

Muscat 6 November Al Falaj Hotel 6.30pm

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eturn it to Paul Holmes, Manager West End Trust Branch, 16 St. Jam	
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