

mass solidarity with the other English lads. He strips his shirt off within minutes of arrival at Ostend. Then the group code demands that he jeers at every aspect of life in the host country. 'They' have 'pissy beer', 'ugly birds' 'shitty trains', 'crappy grounds', a frantic need to reassure themselves that being English is being best. He uses any aggressive patriotic catchphrase: 'Ee-i-addio we won the war' to the Italians; 'wops', 'greasy dagoes', 'Argies', 'spiks' both in casual conversation with each other and shrieked at the Italians.

And then there is the need to drink, not to get tipsy, but to get paralytic. A duty-free litre of Drambuie disappeared easily amongst a small group during my half-hour flight. The amount of drink served up by nervous but delighted publicans in Brussels was staggering. Once drunk, there is the standard practice of getting onto the tables and stamping. And the drunker one gets, the more intense all the other modes of behaviour become, until what is left is a lunatic hatred and blind aggression towards anything that does not conform.

And one fatal and final rule: English fans think they must have an end of the ground to themselves. A far-off corner of the 'shitty' foreign field must be forever England. The fans must have 'Lebensraum' in the stadium. And this is the clause in the British fans' sick book of rules of which the flag-waving Italians in Z block were fatally unaware. They committed the provocation of being Italian. So the charges of the Liverpool fans were required under the code of conduct for two reasons: One — just to get at the 'spiks'. Two — to purify Z Block and establish English rule at that end of the ground. This meant forcing a terrified crowd against barriers and concrete walls; forcing and forcing them until victory. It could only have led to murder.

There was something about the application of British purity which drew a timbre from values which reach beyond football. The same newspapers which brand these fans as 'animals' also write headlines like 'Hop off You Frogs' and the legendary 'GOTCHA'. Indeed, there was little to differentiate the drunken hysteria in

the bars of Brussels and one night in a packed pub in Tufnell Park in 1982, when gleeful patriots celebrated the sinking of the *Belgrano* in a wash of beer: the drinkers looked alike and the tunes were the same — the words adapted. Politicians and sociologists can argue about whether the behaviour of these fans is legitimised by the patriotism currently preached by the leaders of society — but the important point is that the fans think that it is. The influence of the Falklands cult on the English supporters abroad is obvious; 'Argie' is used to insult an Italian, a Spaniard, and Frenchmen, a Chilean or a Belgian.

The behaviour of English fans was, and is, sickening. It is hypocritical to belabour them for besmirching British values when in so many other areas of national life violence is made heroic, narrow chauvinism is appealed to and the need of the whole community for sports they can enjoy and take part in is ignored. □

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CHILE

CHILE DEFENCE PACT CONFIRMED

Leaked government documents prove that Britain and Chile still have a secret Falklands military pact against Argentina. But the increasing, gross abuse of human rights in Chile has nevertheless led Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to prepare secretly to end cordial relations with the Pinochet dictatorship, reports Duncan Campbell. Research: Patrick Forbes

BRITAIN AND THE United States are considering cutting ties with the Chilean military junta if human rights are not restored according to Foreign Office papers leaked by a civil service 'mole'. But the continuing secret British military and intelligence arrangements against Argentina would have to be abandoned if Britain is to make its feelings felt about human rights in Chile.

A review of diplomatic relations with Chile was ordered by Sir Geoffrey Howe in November last year, after the Chilean dictatorship declared a 'State of Siege', and banned all political activity. The current repression of political and human rights in Chile is now comparable to the period directly after Pinochet's 1973 *coup d'etat*, which was followed by a 12-year 'State of Emergency'. Death squads are now operating again in Chile, as they do in El Salvador, for almost the first time in eight years.

Howe's decision to apply pressure on Chile was not taken unilaterally, but followed American pressure after the US had also reviewed its ties with Chile. After the US initiative, Sir Geoffrey ordered Foreign Office officials to conduct a 'Contingency Planning' review of British links with Chile. On 23 November 1984, a paper prepared by the South America Department of the Foreign Office was circulated, outlining British government options if the human rights situation 'continues to worsen'.

Details of the Chile contingency plan are contained in documents, classified

CHILE: CONTINGENCY PLANNING

1. In response to the recent deterioration in the political situation in Chile, in particular the declaration of a State of Siege on 6 November, the Secretary of State has called an office meeting to consider policy on our bilateral relations, to be held before his departure for Peking on 18 December.

striking political gesture on our part. But, it could also carry unacceptable penalties. The Chileans would regard an embargo as a major shift of British policy; and this could, in turn, hazard the defence and other cooperation we enjoy over the Falklands. Also relevant here is Chile's agreement with Argentina over the Beagle Channel; this could, in turn, make it easier for the Chileans to reduce the level of their co-operation with us if they were so tempted.

The Chile 'contingency plan': Falklands co-operation would be an obstacle

'confidential', sent two months ago to Jeremy Corbyn MP by Geoff Dennis, the mole in the Overseas Development Administration. One option considered would be for Britain to reimpose a complete arms embargo against Chile. This had been British government policy until Mrs Thatcher changed it in 1980; it has also been US policy since 1976.

An arms embargo would be a 'striking political gesture on our (Britain's) part'. But the problem would be the effects on the secret British-Chilean military pact, details of which were revealed in the *New Statesman* five months ago. The review warns that a full-scale arms

embargo against Chile: 'could carry unacceptable penalties... (and) could hazard the defence and other co-operation we enjoy over the Falklands.'

Britain had previously benefitted from the dispute between Chile and Argentina over the ownership of islands in the Beagle Straits. But a peace treaty which resolved the issue (in favour of Chile) was signed in 1984, and was ratified by the Argentine Senate in April.

The successful new treaty, the Foreign Office documents note, could 'make it easier for Chileans to reduce the level of their co-operation with us if they were so tempted'. That

Arms jamboree with the Dictator

INCLUDED in the leaked Chile review papers was a long list of arms that British military dealers, including the government's own Defence Sales Organisation, hoped to hawk to Chile — if, that is, the Chileans had any money to spend. All of these proposed deals had already been given official 'political approval for marketing', by the Foreign Office.

Military equipment	Number for sale	Comment
British Aerospace Jaguar fighters	18	Chile can't afford
British Aerospace Harrier fighters	12+ ?	US refused to allow sale*
British Aerospace Hawk fighters	12+ ?	'Long term prospect' only
Westland Lynx Naval Helicopters	6	Chile won't afford
HMS Ajax (anti submarine frigate)	1	Royal Navy prepared to sell during 1985
HMS Engadine (helicopter ship)	1	But the Royal Navy don't want to sell it
RN County Class destroyers	2	But the Royal Navy don't want to sell
RN Survey Ship	1	Available for sale in 1985
Centaur half track vehicle	300	One demonstration vehicle already sent to Chile (NS 3 May 1985); but the Foreign Office comments 'politically difficult here. To be watched carefully'.
Blowpipe missiles	30	Chile can't afford yet
Seacat missiles	?	Chile might buy in 1985
Rapier missiles (with Laserfire)	16	Chilean requirement later in the 1980s
Sea Wolf or Sea Dragon missiles	?	Chile might buy guns instead
Swingfire missiles	?	Chile can't afford
Miscellaneous naval spares, radar equipment, night sights	—	'Worth about £2million per annum'

*Because of the US arms embargo since 1976, which affects Harrier parts.

would mean that, if the Chilean government took offence at a new line on human rights, it would stop providing military facilities for Britain and cease sharing intelligence information on Argentina.

The Foreign Office claimed this week that there is no special military 'pact' with Chile, in the form of a 'treaty'. The government has not, however, denied the existence of the less formal arrangements for the secret use of Chilean military bases during the Falklands war made with Pinochet in 1982 by the then British Ambassador. This is described instead as an 'operational matter' precluding comment. (In fact, any formal 'treaty' would by definition have had to be publicly deposited with the United Nations, which would naturally defeat the purposes of a secret military pact.)

British forces are continuing to use Chilean military facilities, such as the port of Punta Arenas, the Ministry of Defence acknowledged this week. Royal Navy ships operating in the Falklands area 'call at Chilean ports from time to time, usually on their way home from a Falklands tour of duty'. Besides this, Britain sells Chile military supplies, and is currently training Chilean naval and air force personnel, both here and in Chile. The Ministry of Defence also acknowledged that Chilean airfields were now available for British emergency use for the 'air bridge' to the Falklands.

SEVERAL OPTIONS for showing British displeasure with the Pinochet regime were reviewed by Sir Geoffrey Howe last December. They included:

- Recall or withdrawal of the British Ambassador if death squad activities continue and 'moderate' opposition leaders were still arrested;

- A total arms embargo (at the moment, government policy is to offer to sell Chile arms provided they cannot be used for internal repression);
- An end to overt military arrangements;
- Trade sanctions, including the blocking of international loans, and pressure on British banks not to make or renew loans to Chile;
- A boycott on Chilean government politicians making official visits to London; the government would choose to receive only opposition leaders instead.

Another option was to cancel permission given to Fairey Engineering Ltd to tender to refurbish a 'research' nuclear reactor near Santiago. But following an earthquake in Chile and adverse publicity the Chilean government has cancelled its plans.

The review describes the military equipment that British companies have tried to flog to Chile. These include four types of aircraft, five Royal Navy ships (three of which the Navy don't want to sell), four types of aircraft and helicopter, six varieties of missile, and 300 army vehicles (see box). The only one the review regards as 'politically contentious' is the sale of 300 Centaur army vehicles.

In the six months since the review, no immediate public action has been taken. But a special emissary, Sir William Harding, the Foreign Office Under Secretary in charge of the Americas, was sent to Santiago to, as Sir William's junior said, 'express the British government's concern at the human rights situation'. The British Ambassador in Santiago has also been told to apply pressure. After three recent death squad murders, the British Ambassador warned the Chilean Interior Minister that 'a clarification of these crimes' was needed 'if the statements of the Chilean government were to have any credibility'.

Opposition MPs are asking that Howe now

exercise his 'options' to promote the restoration of democratic rights in Chile. 'If Howe and his staff want us to be impressed that there has been serious consideration given to human rights in Chile', said Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn, 'then now there must be some action taken. The military pact with the Chilean dictatorship must end immediately. The case for an all-out arms embargo is utterly compelling. It is now quite intolerable to continue to permit British arms merchants to try and suck yet more money and lives out of Chile'.

The Chile Solidarity Campaign (CSC), of which Corbyn is a member, has just sponsored a visit to Britain by Maria Maluenda, the mother of one of Chile's new 'disappeared'. Maria Maluenda was one of Salvador Allende's leading diplomats before the dictatorship seized power. Her son, Jose Parada, a Catholic Church human rights worker, was one of three people abducted and murdered by army-linked 'death squads' on 28 March this year. His mutilated body was discovered two days later on a road outside Santiago.

Signora Maluenda made an official visit to the Foreign Office a month ago, together with CSC organiser Quentin Given. The Assistant Under Secretary for the Americas, David Thomas, agreed that the human rights situation 'had deteriorated seriously since January 1984'. 'A dangerous polarisation', he said, 'hindered the return of democracy'. However, the British government regarded 'denunciation' as 'not a constructive policy' but was already participating in EEC diplomatic initiatives. Nevertheless, Thomas said, 'when international human rights are breached, governments do have a right to intervene'. □

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