



Mr has  
Seen

Box  
D. Howell if

Margaret

"Thames"

The attached was  
at the back of David  
Howell's first draft  
for the YC speech.

Did you see?

Yes Adon  
Party on

15/2.

From DAVID HOWELL



HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

307

31.1.78

Dear Adam,

This is very much a first slice, much in need of correction, but it may just help provide the basis for a proper speech draft.

I also attach a note I have just done for Angus Maude's themes group which puts many of the same points. It may perhaps be helpful for Margaret to see this too to pick up the theme we are trying to put over.

Yrs

David Howell

Margaret

We meet to discuss  
this at 3 p.m. tomorrow,  
Wed.

Adam

Note on Themes for Mr. Angus Maude's Group - by David Howell M.P.

1. Strong political themes only develop from a strong and penetrating overall critique of the political situation. And good phrases only grow from those themes. Neither themes nor phrases can be constructed in mid-air, like advertising slogans, in the hopes that they will somehow 'stick' and sound plausible.

It follows that in developing our themes we must know clearly what our basic message is. Everything flows from that. If the basic message is obscure, out of focus or diffuse then no amount of theme-devising or phrase-making will help.

2. The proposition on which this paper rests is that we do have a basic and central message to which all our themes, positive and negative, should relate.

It is that a further round of socialist government will carry this country forward to a 1984 world. It can be debated whether this will be socialism or corporatism or an anaemic mixture of the two. But the certain prospect under Labour <sup>is that</sup> power of all kinds will continue to be concentrated in state hands, freedom narrowed and the concept of individual responsibility replaced by the cult of official state responsibility, with increasingly disastrous consequences for standards of personal conduct, <sup>respect for the law</sup> and public morality.

3. In my view our commentaries and criticisms, as well as our expositions of new policies and intentions, whether in the economic, the educational, the social or any other field, should flow from this point.

4. To start, first, with the attacking and destructive side of our case we have to assault and destroy the key Labour proposition - namely that socialism is not a danger, that it means decent mild administration under the bland and reassuring Mr. Callaghan.

To meet this we have to establish:-

- a) that Mr.C is temporary and pliable
- b) that the true face of socialism remains authoritarian, paternalist and oppressive
- c) that anyone who thinks things are safe should realise that there is a rumbling volcano of socialist hate waiting to bury us all, given the chance
- d) that the socialist longing is to take us out of the Western and into the Eastern European orbit
- e) that socialists are itching to get political hands on the judiciary, the army and any other independent sources of influence in a free society which might challenge party domination, including the House of Lords and a free press.
- f) that the alleged closeness between Labour and the unions has an ugly side, namely Labour political subservience, of a completely uncritical kind, to all manifestations of union power, however offensive to basic standards of behaviour in a free country and of attitude towards the individual
- g) that wherever there is independence, whether there is a wish for the family or the individual to work for themselves, to stand outside the corporate scheme of things, Labour will be down like a ton of bricks. That is its instinct and that is what will always happen.

5. Turning to the creative and positive side of our case I think the main emphasis ought to be on those of our plans which are going to disperse ownership (the essential bulwark against state power), encourage talent, give incentive to personal capital accumulation and to property ownership, in particular of the home, reject the wage-slave mentality of modern socialism, encourage the growth and start-up of businesses of all kinds, provide a tax structure which brings capital and savings back to the grass roots and generally reinforces the post-socialist society against corporate tendencies.

6. Hand in hand with this strategy of freedom in a property-~~owning~~ owning democracy must go our commitment to provide the framework of law and support for personal and property rights which seems currently to be slipping away with the ascending spiral of violence, property assault and public disorder.

From this there flows the rationale for our very strong

determination to enlarge and equip more effectively the police and the machinery for upholding the law. If this is to be a free country it must be an ordered one. What is the use of better schools if children are not safe returning from them, or if at the schools themselves the 'eternal values' are undermined and ~~derided~~ derided as middle class?

Magistrates must have powers restored to pass sharp sentences. Treatment policy must provide corrective institutions which really do deter. The cause of crime may be the culture of ~~xxx~~ personal irresponsibility which comes from collectivism, but the control of crime rests with more police, more detection and sharper penalties when caught.

A Government which is going to protect people and property must be committed to law and lawful behaviour from its very boots. Grunwick shows this not to be the case with the Labour Administration. The socialist belief that property is theft, that violence is 'justified' keeps breaking through the bland surface of Callaghanite reassurance.

7. Finally, the assault on Big Brotherdom means safeguarding the institutions which check, ~~and~~ balance and restrain the political Executive. That is why we are on the side of a strong Parliament, open debate and free criticism and comment on every issue from abuse of union power to excessive immigration. It means fewer and clearer laws, fewer bureaucrats and a constant preference, constantly applied, in favour of private enterprise doing the job wherever it can.

8. These themes can be summed as a concern for people's right to own, right to earn and keep a fair part of their earnings, right to run a business, <sup>vis a</sup> to decide how to help their own families and the community, right not to be bullied by corporate power, right to personal safety, right to live life on a human scale. XXXXX