



## Government Chief Whip

12 Downing Street, London SW1

PRIME MINISTER

### Ministerial Changes

I wrote to you on the 26th August with ideas for possible changes and comments on some Ministers. This minute up-dates that one and takes account of the circumstances that now exist. A summary of my proposals is annexed at the back.

The need is to strengthen DTI, with consequential adjustments. Some room for further manoeuvre is also highly desirable, to promote a few back benchers, but I know you do not wish any general re-organisation at present and there is no case for it.

### TRADE AND INDUSTRY

I had proposed that the Minister for Industry and the Minister for Aerospace should be moved sideways and their Parliamentary Secretaries sacked. In my view that is not now possible or wise. At least one of the Ministers should go, otherwise it will seem that juniors are being sacrificed for the poor performance of their seniors.

### Trade

The Trade section under Michael Noble and Anthony Grant has been the most troublefree. John Davies feels - and I agree - that this pair will handle the EEC legislation side of DTI as well as anyone. Michael Noble will be happy to stay or to go at your pleasure, but I suggest you leave him and Grant alone for the present.

### Industry

Eden and Ridley have not had the shoulders for Industry. Both have been wounded seriously enough by recent press speculation to be somewhat ineffectual in their present posts. I suggest Eden should be moved sideways but retained in the Government and Ridley sacked. Ridley will be bitter about this and say he has been sacrificed on the altar of orthodox Conservative political doctrine. He is likely to rejoin the Powell clique: he was moving away from that but is likely to return now to make trouble, although not, I suspect, to an intolerable extent. His present family trouble has affected his work

/Contd

(as he admits privately) and he is now separated from his wife and so could perhaps be expected to improve. Nevertheless, his performance has been weak and if we do not dispose of him now there will not be the vacancy we require.

My recommendation is that Eden should be replaced by Edward du Cann. Although he has been quiet in the House he has not been unhelpful. He has warned me he is a possible abstainer on the 28th, but of course if you decided to bring him back and invited him in time, and he accepted, he would be an extra vote.

I made him Chairman of the Select Committee on Expenditure, which he likes although he has not exerted himself. But he is wondering about his future. Whether he would accept an office not in the Cabinet I do not know, but the offer of Minister could not easily be turned down. It would strengthen your Government to bring him back, and be well received in the Party.

An alternative replacement for Eden is Chataway. He has handled one Nationalised Industry with apparent ease, and would certainly strengthen the DTI team in the House and have more scope than he now enjoys.

To replace Ridley I suggest Emery (45). He ought to be in the Government, and this is the natural opportunity for him. I should add that Davies does not care for him much but the post is only a junior one. He is able and a keen European.

### Aerospace

Corfield has been disappointing. He attended the last Aviation Party Committee meeting on 4th August and it broke up most unhappy at his performance. He thinks he is good but no one else does.

In August I recommended a sideways switch but I think now that he is the Minister to go. He is a naturally discontented character and seems to complain whether in office or out. I think now we must just take the strain of that: it will be no better in a year's time.

David Price is a tragic case, with much ability in his own field but somehow it does not emerge. He knows promotion is not available (I made this clear when Aviation Supply was merged with DTI) and he may therefore resign anyway. I suspect, however, he will remain until pushed. However, as he is harmless and as it seems to me undesirable and dangerous to wield an axe too harshly on the Department as a whole, I suggest you leave him where he is. If he decides to resign on his own account, that is another matter: it would not matter one way or the other.

For Corfield I propose the promotion of Onslow (45). He is well versed in the subject: he is Chairman of the Aviation Committee and Member of the

1922 Executive: he has had a special (if minor) brief in connection with your PQ.'s: he has in fact been thoroughly co-operative and sensible. The Aviation Committee is now strong: we have several Members with much technical knowledge and all respect Onslow. None of this ensures he will be a good Minister, but I think he would be.

#### Additional Minister

Drumalbyn is Minister without Portfolio, and was one of the leaders on the Industrial Relations Bill in the Lords. It has been suggested that he now takes the lead on EEC legislation in the Lords, but George Jellicoe and Michael St Aldwyn feel strongly he is best in a Department. John Davies wants him as an extra Minister in DTI. DTI will have as much work on EEC as any Department, and therefore by appointing Drumalbyn here, he would serve both purposes.

In a Department of this size one Minister ought to be in the Lords in any case.

#### Summary

To summarise the above suggestions for DTI: John Davies and one Minister and two Parliamentary Secretaries remain unchanged (unless Price resigns); Eden is switched and Corfield and Ridley go, while Drumalbyn comes in as an extra.

#### HOME OFFICE

In my view this Department is in need of strengthening. Richard Sharples is a weak performer and inspired little confidence during the passage of the Immigration Bill. He is without presence and lacks any lustre, and should be replaced. Mark Carlisle has been competent - too talkative but valuable. Windlesham is unknown, and came in for criticism over lengthy delays in replying to letters on immigration and race matters.

If Sharples is dropped, van Straubenzee could replace him. He has done well in the House at Education and could be promoted to this more tricky post. Immigration is a subject to which we pay too little attention. Labour appointed one Minister in the Commons to take responsibility for this whole section of the Home Office, and I believe the nature of the topic justifies that treatment. We are vulnerable in this field. I suggest Reginald Eyre (47) who knows the subject and would take much trouble.

#### EMPLOYMENT

Paul Bryan and Dudley Smith have been disappointing. Robert Carr says Bryan has been good in the Department but in House of Commons terms he has been weak, and appears at times even disinterested. I think he could go, to make

room for John Eden who should be retained in the Government for many reasons. As Minister for Industry he was somewhat over-promoted, but he ought to have another chance. This switch amounts to slight demotion but perhaps he could retain his present salary (£7,625 as against Bryan's £5,625).

#### HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The only link at all weak is Michael Alison. Though accessible to Members in the House he has scored few points and made no impression. He has done nothing (apart from signing some inadequate letters) to require being dropped, yet nothing to commend his retention. He is not up to a Treasury post, which would be his ambition. Although it might be hard to drop him I am not sure that anyone would notice. There is a ready replacement to hand in Worsley. He knows the subject, is able, and in my view deserves a place. He is Willie Whitelaw's PPS at present.

There is a case for adding another Minister to this Department, based on the volume of correspondence with Members, correspondence dealing with those sensitive human and family problems that demand careful replies. It is a widely held House of Commons view that the Labour Government handled this aspect better than we do. The objective is to keep out of trouble, which requires inter alia paying meticulous attention to replies to M.P.s letters. If you like this idea I suggest Nicholas Scott as a suitable person.

#### EDUCATION

I have proposed above that van Straubenzee should be promoted. My recommendation to replace him is David Lane, who is interested in the subject and should make a good junior Minister.

#### AGRICULTURE

A comparatively heavy session lies ahead for this Department with a Bill, EEC negotiations and legislation. There is a case for appointing a third post here (and there are several good candidates) but Jim Prior is confident of managing with only two altogether if you would promote Stodart to Minister of State. I support this. He has done well both in the House and outside, was a junior Minister in the last Government and in my view deserves to be accorded this status.

#### EEC LEGISLATION

You have decided already that Geoffrey Rippon shall be in charge, and assigned Geoffrey Howe to help him. Tony Royle is also available to assist. From the Common's point of view I hope you will not make Royle a Minister of State, as Alec Douglas-Home proposed; he has not earned it whereas, for

example, Dean or Buchanan-Smith have.

Geoffrey Rippon has asked for an extra Minister to be assigned to him. If you want this, I suggest St John Stevas who has worked hard for the cause.

In the Lords both Alec Douglas-Home and George Jellicoe find Lothian too lightweight to lead. You suggested Jellicoe could do it himself, and with the help of Drumalbyn at DTI this will be possible. Priscilla Tweedsmuir has been suggested, but that would require another Minister in the Scottish Office. St Aldwyn proposed Polwarth: he would be a strong addition in present circumstances but I know you doubt his willingness to serve. As Drumalbyn is a Minister already, his secondment to DTI seems the obvious move.

### ENVIRONMENT

In my August paper I proposed that Julian Amery should be switched, if you thought it practical to do so in the short time between the end of this session and the Second Reading of the Housing Bill (only a couple of weeks). In the light of his success at the Conference I fear it would look strange now to make such a move, but I must tell you that in Commons terms he is a real anxiety. Housing was new ground to him and although he has no doubt tried to master it, he carries no conviction that he has done so. It is a technical subject and the unfortunate fact is that none of our housing experts feel or believe he knows his stuff. Add to this his general style and manner, and you can appreciate why he is thought so unsuitable for this office.

As an example, Amery's handling of the Housing Bill on the 9th July enabled the Opposition to force extra time, and that was in effect an agreed measure!

On Wednesday of this week he attended the Party Committee to deal with Housing as it affects Social Security. He opened by going through the White Paper very cursorily; he gave the impression that he was entirely ignorant of the fundamentals of our social security system; he was strongly attacked by Ralph Howell and all the Members present indicated to the Whip that Amery was quite useless in this field.

I have spoken with Peter Walker, who is well aware of the situation. He intends to give Channon as much work in the Committee as possible, but it seems inevitable that with Amery we shall get into a mess at moments with this Bill.

Graham Page also remains a problem. There is no alternative, as it seems to me, to leaving him to take the Local Government Bill through the Commons, and we must just hope that he does so adequately. I have no confidence in him now.

/Contd

## OTHER DEPARTMENTS

### Treasury

You may feel this is the appropriate time to make Maurice Macmillan a Privy Counsellor.

### WHIPS

More has resigned and Monro has been promoted. You have already agreed that Gray shall replace Monro.

As already indicated above, I feel that Eyre should be promoted. He has had long service in the office and is certainly deserving of another place.

I am concerned about numbers. We worked the first session with 12 altogether, which is the smallest number for that period of time, I think for 20 years. We are now facing what you know to be an intensely controversial session and I do need at least one more. In addition, I believe also that it is now essential once again for there to be a European Whip in the office. There was such a Whip in 1959-64 (and possibly earlier) but not since. Even with one extra Whip I cannot spare somebody for the constant absences in Europe. In any case I feel I need to be in closer touch with European matters now, and a Whip is the best method. I hope you will feel able to help me in this way.

I would propose Rossi should be the European Whip. I am not ready to propose names to fill the vacancies, but will of course make proposals if you agree on numbers.

### CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY

We have discussed this several times. In my view a change now is essential because everyone knows the present Chairman has, unfortunately, failed. If he is not moved there will be much rumblings.

You know my views about going outside the Cabinet. Ideally this job would best be done by Carrington or Whitelaw, but my strong opinion is that to add the Party Chairmanship to the responsibilities of either of them would weaken our position in an even more important area. With a small Cabinet facing an intense and controversial session, my conviction is you need every one of them concentrating on Government business and Parliament.

In August I favoured Whitelaw's suggestion of Clyde Hewlett, but I believe now this would not be acceptable and I have therefore dropped it.

There is a choice of strategy: you can have a strong, experienced man to shake up the organisation and impose his will upon it, if such a person is available. Many changes and improvements could be made, but only by somebody with authority who commands respect in the Party. The only person in this category

/Contd

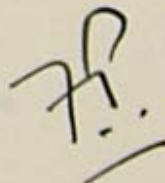
that seems to me possible is Alan Boyd. I had assumed that he would not wish to give up some of his existing life to take on this responsibility, but there are indications that this is not so. If he was available he would add strength to the Party, and indirectly to the Government.

But there is an alternative strategy. You could put in somebody who might not be powerful enough to make radical changes or shake the organisation up, but nevertheless able to carry it along happily and reasonably efficiently for the time being. In, say, 2 years you could then, if you wish, put in someone like Carrington or Whitelaw, or somebody else, to pep up the organisation in the last year before the election.

With this strategy in mind, you might do much worse than Chelmer: he commands respect in all the areas and in the National Union. He would not bring about great changes but neither would you hear the sound of broken glass. My feeling is that he would be extremely pleased and the appointment would go down well.

If you decide to follow this latter strategy, I recommend strongly that Hewlett is created a Peer and made Treasurer of the Party. There is a pay-off here which in my view you should deny no longer. I suggest further that Charles Longbottom is made a second Treasurer of the Party. He has been extremely helpful in every way in recent years, is well known in the City, and already raises considerable sums for the Party.

I suggest Tatton Brinton, one of the Treasurers now, should become a Third Vice-Chairman. This would strengthen the links between Central Office and the Parliamentary Party, which would be necessary if the Chairman is not a Member of Parliament. The man who would be the best for this job in my opinion is Keith Speed, but I fear I cannot spare him from the office this session in view of the other changes that are taking place.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J.P.' with a horizontal line underneath.

22nd October 1971

SUMMARY OF CHANGES

<u>DTI</u>	<u>Existing</u>	<u>Proposed</u>
S. of S.	J Davies	no change
Trade	Noble	no change
	Grant	no change
Industry	Eden	du cann (or Chataway)
	Ridley	Emery
Aerospace	Corfield	Onslow
	Price	? no change (he may resign)
Minister without Portfolio	-	Drumalbyn

HOME OFFICE

	Sharples	van Straubenzee
(extra)	-	Eyre

EMPLOYMENT

	Bryan	Eden
--	-------	------

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY

	Alison	Worsley
(extra)	-	N Scott

EDUCATION

	van Straubenzee	Lane
--	-----------------	------

EEC

(extra)	-	St John Stevas
---------	---	----------------



Those who might be  
dropped from the  
Government

Back benchers recommended  
for promotion

Corfield

du Cann

Bryan

Onslow

Sharples

Emery

Ridley

Lane

Alison

Worsley

Scott

St. John Stevas